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ABSTRACT

Described as a statement of progress, intended to provide reflective recall for those involved and to illustrate the scope and context of the program, this document presents a collection of abstracts and working papers submitted by seventeen officers of the United States Information Agency (USIA) who took a six week intercultural course offered by the USIA. Reflected in these papers are the following themes: (1) key definitions and models of communication theory and culture theory; (2) the pervasive influence of such key underlying issues as the principle of similarities and differences and the effect which control, conflict, technology, cultural stability and change, and cultural imperialism and dependency might have on intercultural communication; (3) specific communication and cultural components and variables; and (4) linkages that have practical applicability. In addition, an essay review of books utilized in the USIA course, selected book reviews by course participants, an evaluation of the course, and biographies of the course participants are included in this document. (Author/EB)

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USIA INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE:

1977 PROCEEDINGS

Edited by Michael H. Prosser

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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International Communication Agency

Washington, D.C., 1978

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On April 1, 1978, the United States Information Agency and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State were joined to form a new organization, the International Communication Agency, which is publishing this Proceedings.

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To Jefferson and Franklin,

and all the other children who became fatherless or motherless for a sizable portion of six weeks in order that their parents might learn to become more effective contributors to intercultural understanding.

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Population Reference Bureau, World Population Growth and Response: 1965-1975--A Decade of Global Action (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1976), 271 pp. reviewed by Nicholas Dima.....page 312

Rollo May, Love and Will (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), 352 pp.
reviewed by Gary Edquist.....page 323

Glen H. Fisher, Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 188 pp.
reviewed by Eugene Harter.....page 327

Jeremy Tunstall, The Media Are American (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 353 pp.
reviewed by Roberta Jones.....page 333

Raphael Patai, The Arab Mind (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 376 pp.
reviewed by Dian McDonald.....page 340

Bill Moyers, Listening to America (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), 377 pp.
reviewed by Linda McKeever.....page 345

Akira Iriye, ed., Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 304 pp.
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FOREWORD

Intercultural communication lies at the very heart of public diplomacy. For this reason USIA considers its intercultural communication course the most important single offering out of some 25 courses, workshops, seminars, and briefings which are developed by the training staff and presented on a regular basis. It is essential that Foreign Service Information Officers as well as domestic employees understand and follow the principles which are most effective in communicating across cultural barriers and national boundaries. Furthermore, they must be conversant with the latest developments in the communication technologies and systems which are basic to our overseas operations.

It is through our Intercultural Communication Course that most employees become familiar with current theory and have the opportunity to discuss the application of that theory to the practical challenges that confront us overseas.

I am pleased with the outcome of our tenth running of this course, as it was a relevant, stimulating, intense intellectual experience for the participants, and wish to express my appreciation to Michael Prosser, who did a superb job of designing and coordinating the program for USIA.

We intend to build on the success of this latest offering, increasing the number of employees in USIA who can be rightfully called communication professionals.

Intercultural communication is, I am proud to report, alive and well at USIA.

L. Robert Kohls
Chief, Training and Development Division
United States Information Agency

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This Proceedings of the tenth USIA Intercultural Communication Course is a statement of process, intended to provide reflective recall for those who were involved and to illustrate for other interested persons the scope and content of the program.

It is not a set of papers such as those presented at an academic conference or published in a scholarly journal, but a collection of abstracts and of tentative and semi-spontaneous working papers. Readers are cautioned to keep this context in mind. The Proceedings does not represent a finished, refined, polished piece of scholarship on the part of speakers or course participants. We offer only the speakers' briefest summary of what they have said more comprehensively elsewhere, and the contributions of the participants represent course work completed, in most cases, as initial graduate-level scholarship in the field and, in all cases, under extreme time pressure.

Seventeen officers of diverse backgrounds were selected to participate. Four were naturalized Americans, born and reared in foreign societies, France, Laos, Romania, and Vietnam who provided interesting points of view with respect to intercultural communication. Six held advanced degrees, including one Ph.D., and five more had done graduate work beyond the bachelor's degree. Participants ranged in age from

twenty-seven to sixty-two with the mean being thirty-eight. The six women and eleven men included Foreign Service Information Officers and domestic employees, and represented all four media offices, the Personnel Office, and two geographic areas. Of the domestic employees, five were writer-editors and three were involved with foreign broadcasts for the Voice of America.

They were confronted with an abundance of work and very little time to complete it. Exposed to speakers, books, and articles conveying new theoretical constructs, culture models, and paradigms relating to various dimensions of intercultural communication, the course participants were under pressure to complete a variety of assignments. Readings were voluminous and complex and required careful perusal for comprehensive understanding. Working in teams of two and three, participants chose a topic for research of potential interest to the Agency, formulated a simple hypothesis, developed a suitable methodology, briefly surveyed the literature, located an adequate sample, actually conducted the research, and finally analyzed and discussed the results, preparing both oral and written reports. Each participant also read and reviewed an important work in a sub-speciality of the field, and each took two oral examinations in the form of Socratic dialogues. Many participants continued to spend time each day keeping up with the affairs of their offices, and others were

called back to their offices occasionally to participate in important decision-making. It is no exaggeration to describe the commitment as intense.

Yet the participants performed well under these circumstances, and the research reports and book reviews selected for publication here represent the skill and potential they demonstrated. They were professional communicators in the process of becoming communication professionals.

This course enjoys a reputation as being among the pioneering efforts in the United States to link theoretically-inclined academics with practically-inclined official international communicators. The present leadership of the Agency, more even than previous administrations, identifies communication theory, applied to international and intercultural settings, as central to the mission of USIA. In fact, as this Proceedings goes to press, the Congress has approved the Administration's reorganization plan which will combine USIA and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State to form a new United States International Communication Agency. The proposed title reflects the increasing importance the Agency's leaders attach to the study of intercultural, crosscultural, and international communication for those engaged in public diplomacy on behalf of this nation.

Thus, assuming it will usefully continue the dialogue initiated by our speakers and participants and stimulate additional interest among others

within the Agency and the academic community, we are pleased to present this Proceedings of the 1977 USIA Intercultural Communication Course. If if makes even a modest contribution to the development of the field and to increased professionalism within the field, its addition to the literature will be justified.

Michael H. Prosser
Academic Coordinator

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the spring of 1977, Alan Carter, then Assistant Director of USIA for Public Affairs; L. Robert Kohls, chief of the Training and Development Division; and I discussed ways in which I might usefully serve the Agency during a one semester leave from the University of Virginia. Both provided considerable support in helping me with this special opportunity to translate theoretical concerns into practical applications for the Agency.

Jeffrey Lite, Training Division's program coordinator, and Mary Lou Edmondson, then program manager for the Intercultural Communication Course, enthusiastically supported my efforts, and provided the administrative support that resulted in the smooth management of the course. Four members of the Training Staff gave special assistance: Gene Leonard, audio-visual officer; Charlie Hinton, secretary; Craig Cornett, staff assistant; and Cathy Alvarez, fiscal assistant.

Alan Kotok, evaluation officer of the Training and Development Division, assisted in developing behavioral objectives for the course, in developing pre- and post-tests, and in evaluation during the context of the course itself. He also served as the computer programmer and analyst for the six pilot field studies. Barry Fulton, chief of the Agency's Resource Analysis Division, and Edward Stewart, Adjunct Professor at the

University of Southern California-Washington Center, served with me on the research consultant team for the six field projects and as critics for the final oral and written reports.

Thanks are also due the various speakers inside and outside the Agency who shared their thoughts with us on a wide range of subjects, both orally during the course itself and in brief written abstracts or outlines of their remarks for The Proceedings.

Finally, thanks are due to the participants themselves who devoted themselves fully for six weeks to the arduous task of learning; and, for their understanding, the spouses and children who temporarily lost their partners or parents to the cause of improving intercultural communication.

USIA 1977 Intercultural Communication Course: An Introduction

Michael H. Prosser

Basic Premises

There are two approaches to the study of intercultural communication, one emphasizing socio-cultural aspects and the other the international relations and media aspects. Both approaches have been offered during the history of the USIA Intercultural Communication Course, the choice reflecting primarily the special interest of the academic coordinator.

It was my bias as this year's academic coordinator to concentrate on the former aspect, the social and cultural dimensions of communication, while recognizing the importance of the latter as well. I was most interested in considering the major constructs of communication and of culture, examining the linkages between and among them, and exploring possible applications of abstract theory to practical situations with which the participants deal in their professional lives.

The most basic constructs of the fields of communication and culture can be stated quite simply. As with the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution upon whose ten short articles a large body of law has grown, it is possible to offer two or three dozen initial hypotheses for the study of intercultural communication which then can be interpreted, expanded upon, and applied.

It is likely that the participants in the course, all of whom have several years experience as professional communicators, intuitively recognize and accept or reject many of these basic premises without knowing the precise labels or theoretical formulations attached to them. One value of the course, then, has been to provide an opportunity to examine principles of communication academically and theoretically, introducing new ideas and perhaps correcting misconceptions.

Where to Begin

Two definitions of communication determined our starting points: One is frequently spontaneous communicative bahavior that is without a conscious intention to influence, and the other is consciously planned communication that is intended to persuade. For much of the history of USIA, its mission has been formulated in large part with the latter definition in mind, leading to the notion that USIA is the propaganda arm of the United States government. This emphasis has changed, however, and under the current administration, committed to promotion of international understanding, the mission of the Agency is now built upon the former definition of communication.

Two definitions of culture also served us as starting points for our discussions: the concept of culture as the phenomenon by which traditions are passed down from one generation to the next often unconsciously and that of culture relating to its social environment as a set of controls, prescriptions, and formulas which members of that culture must observe

to maintain acceptability in that cultural setting. In a sense, these definitions complement the first two definitions offered for communication as well. The first definition of culture emphasizes the often spontaneous and unplanned nature of passing down customs, language, mores, and values from one group to another; the second emphasizes the persuasive, instrumental, and influential nature of programmed and planned efforts to incorporate members of a culture forcefully if necessary into these same customs, language, mores, and values.

With these definitions of communication and culture in mind, and with the understanding that both communication and culture are dynamic processes, it seemed useful to note several issues which might serve as pervasive threads throughout the course. The most important of these seemed to be the principle of similarities and differences. There are certain similarities among all cultures which allow intercultural communication to take place at all, while at the same time, there are differences, such as language, nonverbal cues, attitudes, beliefs, and values, which create barriers to communication across cultural boundaries.

Another issue is that of control and conflict: One definition of culture as a system of controls has already been cited, and control leads inevitably to conflict. The culture which is control- and conflict-free would be a utopian society of perfect harmony which, unfortunately, in the human context appears to be unworkable.

A related issue is technology, a major force in the development of intercultural interchange through the centuries. In a sense, every culture is technological. Once technological progress begins, it is both irreversable and it is geometric in its spread. By accidental or planned interaction with members of other cultures, technological advances spread downward and outward. Some cultural determinists posit that the impact of technology upon culture is so great that it is technology that controls us almost absolutely rather than we who control our technology. Others suggest that it is precisely such phenomena as our ability to create symbols and tools and to use and control them, as well as to be able to reflect upon what we have made, that distinguishes us as humans.

This issue leads to others, such as cultural stability versus change, and cultural imperialism versus dependency. The most committed members of a culture want to maintain stability, for they perceive the passing down of traditions and the maintenance of certain controls as essential to insure their cultures' survival. In order to survive intact, in other words, a society must remain farly constant. On the other hand, for a culture to flourish, it must change as the social environment around that culture advances and changes. Just as constancy is required for cultural survival, so too is change, lest the culture atrophy and disappear. Cultures maintain themselves by gaining new members, either internally through birth, or externally by winning converts to the goals, values, and customs

of the culture. Often, such conversion takes the form of cultural imperialism, while the weaker culture becomes dependent on the stronger.

The recognition of such broad underlying themes in the study of communication and culture and their linkages led us to address more specifically key communicative and cultural components. It is difficult to distinguish genuine communication components such as participants, messages, linguistic and non-verbal codes, and channels as entirely separate from such cultural variables as values and value orientations, thought-patternings, attitudes, perceptions, prejudices, and stereotypes. The overlapping is obvious. Nevertheless, by isolating such variables for closer study, it seemed likely that we would be able to come to a fuller understanding of the whole.

The working paradigm of the course, then, was based on our intention first to explore key definitions and models of communication theory and culture theory; second to examine the pervasive influence of such key underlying issues as the principle of similarities and differences and the effect which control, conflict, technology, cultural stability and change, and cultural imperialism and dependency might have on intercultural communication; third to isolate specific communication and cultural components and variables; and finally to discover linkages that have practical applicability.

Course Objectives and Requirements

The Intercultural Communication Course aimed to develop among participants a critical awareness of the major relationships between communication and culture. This critical awareness included the ability to:

1. Recognize, identify or describe:
   a. basic principles in interpersonal communication, both within and including between cultures;
   b. basic principles in collective communication and culture, i.e. communication from one cultural group to another;
   c. opportunities and problems arising from similarities or differences in cognitive factors (such as beliefs, attitudes, values, and thought-patterning) and language and non-verbal codes among various cultural groups.
2. Analyze and synthesize major works published in the field of intercultural communication.
3. Apply basic principles of intercultural communication to issues related to Agency functions or programs.
4. Apply principles and research methods used in intercultural communication to decisions on strategy, messages, media, and audiences.

To demonstrate their mastery of these abilities, participants were required to satisfactorily complete the following:

1. A written examination, comprised mainly of multiple choice and short-answer items to measure their understanding of basic principles, opportunities, and problems in intercultural communication. Given on the last day of class, the thirty-item test essentially duplicated a test that had been given on the first day of class; though the questions were different, the testing allowed us to draw some conclusions about individual and collective progress over that period.

2. One 300-600-word book review of publishable quality to include a synthesis and critical analysis of the author's ideas in the context of the course. Originally two book reviews were to be written; that requirement was reduced because of time pressure.

3. Two oral examinations, in the form of extended Socratic dialogues (each lasting about two hours) during which half of the class at a time was to discuss the major concepts in the course and consider their practical applications. The first exam placed the participants in the roles of scholarly book reviewers for specific texts they had been assigned to read; they were to provide a thorough synthesis, analysis, and critique of the author's views. This exam thus reinforced the notion of developing the written book review. The second oral exam required participants to consider a specific

situation in the Agency, either domestic or overseas, and explicate the major principles, theories, and concepts that they would apply inductively in dealing with that situation.

4. The designing, conducting, and reporting of a simple field research project using standard research methods. Working in teams of two or three, participants were to prepare both written and oral reports which specified the purposes, hypotheses, and research methods; reviewed the literature; discussed the problems and findings of the study; and made recommendations for future research.

Course Resources

A rich resource was provided by the course participants themselves. Their wide foreign and domestic experience, varied cultural backgrounds, high level of maturity, and special interests offered a very useful experience.

Sufficient funds were allocated to bring in several outstanding speakers and to provide a substantial number of books to each of the participants. Some speakers were selected because of their theoretical expertise, including cultural anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, communication theorists, linguists, political scientists, psychologists, international relations experts, area studies specialists, diffusion of innovations experts, researchers, and intercultural trainers; others were chosen because they were able to filter their presentation through their own cultural backgrounds. The importance of this last factor is illustrated by the number of women and

foreign-born-and-reared speakers born and raised outside the United States. Biographies of the speakers are included with brief abstracts or outlines of their remarks further in the Proceedings. Nearly two dozen full-length authored or edited books and monographs, plus a large collection of photocopied articles and essays from books and journals were provided to each participant. Some of the books were to be read almost in their entirety, while others had only selected items assigned; additional material was provided as useful future reference. The materials included works of both theory and application; several of the authors listed were also speakers in the course.

Other resources included several speakers from within the Agency, the Agency Library, which contained an excellent collection of appropriate books and articles, a fully equipped audio-visual facility with videotaping ability for most of our sessions, ample computer time for our research projects, and a highly supportive staff. These resources far exceeded those available in virtually any university that teaches a similar course.

The U.S. Information Agency's
Tenth Annual

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE

September 6 - October 14

Syllabus

All sessions will be held in Room 1100-1776. Free time is provided daily for lunch from 12:00 to 1:00 p.m. and for course reading and projects from 1:00 to 3:00 p.m., with the exceptions noted. On Wednesdays and Fridays the reading/project time is extended until 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, September 6

9:00 - 12:00 — COURSE INTRODUCTION
Michael H. Prosser, Professor, Department of Speech Communication, University of Virginia, and the course academic coordinator

A pre-test is administered; class members participate in expectation and self-identification exercises; and Prosser explains the goals and requirements of the course.

3:00 - 5:00 — BASIC CONCEPTS AND MODELS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
L. Robert Kohls, Chief, Training and Development Division, IPT/T
Michael Prosser

Kohls presents three value-free models of culture in order to examine the fundamental premises around which cultures develop, and contrasts American and non-American cultural assumptions.

Reading: John C. Condon and Fathi Yousef, Introduction to Intercultural Communication (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1975), 306 p.

Andrea Rich, Interracial Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), Chapters 1 and 2, p. 1-42.

Wednesday, September 7

9:00 - 12:00 FILM: "BWANA TOSHI" (115 mins.)
Michael Prosser

This film demonstrates the opportunities and problems facing a young Japanese Overseas Volunteer as he finds all of his cultural norms and expectations clashing with those of his hosts. A discussion follows.

1:00 - 2:30 LUNCHEON: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Alan Carter, Acting Deputy Associate Director for Policy and Plans, USIA

The Foreign Service Club
2101 E Street, N.W.

Reading: Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), Unit I, p. 3-48.

K.S. Sitaram and Roy Cogdell, Foundations of Intercultural Communication (Columbus: Charles Merrill, 1976) Chapters 1 and 2, p. 1-48.

Michael H. Prosser, "Communication, Communications, Intercommunication," Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 1-22.

Thursday, September 8

9:00 - 12:00 THE PRINCIPLE OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES
Edward C. Stewart, Adjunct Professor, Southern California University, Washington Center

Stewart presents an overview of the field of intercultural communication, and establishes the principle of similarities and differences in values, beliefs, and attitude formation in different societies as the basic organizing principle in the study of intercultural communication.

Thursday, September 8 (cont.)

3:00 - 5:00 DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING FIELD RESEARCH
Barry Fulton, Chief, Resource and Operations Analysis Staff, IOA/A
Edward Stewart
Michael Prosser

Reading: Hal Fisher, "Interviewing Cross-Culturally," in Michael H. Prosser, ed., Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 155-164.

Samuel L. Becker, "Directions for Intercultural Communication Research," in Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), p. 346-355.

Margaret Mead, "Some Cultural Approaches to Communication Problems," in Samovar and Porter, op. cit., p. 356-361.

Richard E. Porter and Larry Samovar, "Intercultural Communication Research: Where Do We Go From Here?", in Readings in Intercultural Communication, Vol. III (SIETAR, 1973), p. 1-13.

John C. Hwang, "Intercultural Communication Problems in Cross-Cultural Research," in Readings in Intercultural Communication, op. cit., p. 41-46.

Claire Selitiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stewart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959), p. 146-186.

Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 198-206 and 206-210.

W. Charles Redding, "Research Setting: Field Studies," in Phillip Emmert and William D. Brooks, eds., Methods of Research in Communication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 105-159.

Friday, September 9

9:00 - 12:00 THE BAFA BAFA SIMULATION
Michael Prosser

Reading: Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), Part II, p. 49-108.

Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), p. 1-60.

Monday, September 12

9:00 - 10:30 THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Anne Devereux, Policy Officer, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange, CU/OPP

10:30 - 12:00 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF COMMUNICATION
Michael Prosser

Prosser discusses the components of communication--the communication event, its messages, participants' codes, and channels--and links these to the components of culture.

2:00 - 4:00 INSTRUMENTS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
Edward Stewart
Barry Fulton
Michael Prosser

4:00 - 5:00 RESEARCH PROJECTS
Teams of three participants each meet to design an intercultural communication field project. Stewart, Fulton, and Prosser serve as research consultants, and work with each team for one hour to assist in the development of the project.

Reading: Michael H. Prosser, ed., Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 45-66, 82-92, 122-132, and 549-557.

Peter S. Adler, "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man," in Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976).

Edward C. Stewart, "An Outline of Intercultural Communication," Readings in Intercultural Communication, Vol. III (SIETAR, 1973), p. 14-36

Tuesday, September 13

9:00 - 12:00 THE CULTURE CONCEPT
Roy Wagner, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia

Wagner discusses various anthropological approaches to the notions of "Culture and "culture."

3:00 - 5:00 CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION
Roy Wagner

Reading: Roy Wagner, The Invention of Culture (New York: Prentice Hall, 1975), Chapters 1, 2, and 6, p. 1-34 and 133-160.

Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books), Chapters 1, 2, and 15, p. 3-54 and 412-454.

Wednesday, September 14

9:00 - 12:00 A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
Michael Prosser

Reading: William J. Starosta, "A Critical Review of Recent Literature," in International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. I (December 1974) p. 110-127.

William J. Starosta, "A Critical Review of Recent Literature," in International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. II (December 1975) p. 108-128.

William J. Starosta, "A Critical Review of Recent Literature," in International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. III (December 1976) p. 173-185.

Nemi C. Jain, Michael H. Prosser, and Melvin H. Miller, eds., Intercultural Communication: Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association Summer Conference X (Speech Communication Association, 1974), p. 116.

Thursday, September 15

9:00 - 12:00 CONTRASTING VALUE SYSTEMS IN INDUSTRIAL AND NON-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES
Edward Stewart

3:00 - 5:00 THE CONTRAST-AMERICAN SIMULATION
Mr. Khan, Consultant in Intercultural Communication
Edward Stewart

Reading: Edward Stewart, American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburg Press, 1971), 92 p.

Friday, September 16

9:00 - 12:00 LEADING CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS
Michael Prosser

Prosser discusses the four pre-eminent academic approaches to culture--evolutionalism, functionalism, cultural history, and cultural ecology--and their applications to intercultural communication.

Reading: Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973), Chapters 3-6, p. 55-169.

Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), Chapters 5-8, p. 61-112.

Monday, September 19

9:00 - 12:00

TESTING THE CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION EMPHASIS OF USIA
Richard Cohen, Special Assistant to the Director, USIA
Peter Janicki, Deputy Chief, Media Research Division, IOR/M
Kenneth Adler, Deputy Chief, Attitude and Audience Research Division, IOR/A

The roundtable participants discuss the research aims of USIA, as well as its research methodologies and program use.

2:00 - 5:00

RESEARCH PROJECTS
Michael Prosser
Edward Stewart
Barry Fulton

Teams meet to discuss and design their field projects; Stewart, Fulton, and Prosser will again be available on an individual basis to work with each team for an hour to assist in the project development. Participants should finalize their project design today.

Reading: Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), Chapters 9-15, p. 113-211.

W. Beltrans, "Alien Premises, Objects, and Methods in Latin American Communication Research," in Everett M. Rogers, Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1976), p. 15-42.

Tuesday, September 20

9:00 - 12:00 — CONTRASTING BASES FOR VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN EASTERN AND WESTERN SOCIETIES
K.S. Sitaram, Chairman of the Speech Communication Department, Utah State University

Sitaram discusses Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic world views, and contrasts them with Platonic and Aristoteleon theories of communication.

3:00 - 5:00 — CONTRASTING EASTERN AND WESTERN VALUE SYSTEMS
K.S. Sitaram
Anne Devereux
Michael Prosser

Reading: K.S. Sitaram and Roy T. Cogdell, Foundations of Intercultural Communication (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1976), Chapters 3-8, p. 49-193.

Wednesday, September 21

9:00 - 10:30 — THE FORMATION AND MEASUREMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION
Hamid Mowlana, Professor of Communication, School of International Service, American University

10:45 - 12:30 — THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY
Hamid Mowlana
Gregory Guroff, Senior Soviet Analyst, Soviet and Bulgarian Affairs, IOR
David Nalle, Assistant Director for the Near East and South Asia

Reading: Michael H. Prosser, ed., Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 93-110, 287-315 417-434, and 469-491.

Thursday, September 22

9:00 - 12:00 THE ROLE OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION
Maureen O'Sullivan, Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Francisco

3:00 - 5:00 VALUE SELECTION EXERCISE
COMMUNITY LEADER EXERCISE
Michael Prosser

Participants use various interpersonal and collective skills to explore the ways in which values are translated into attitudes, beliefs, and ritualistic behavior.

Reading: Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), Unit III, p. 109-144.

Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, "Hand Movements," in The Journal of Communication, Vol. 22 (December, 1972), p. 353-374.

Paul Ekman, "Movements with Precise Meanings," in The Journal of Communication, Vol. 26:3 (Summer, 1976), p. 14-26.

Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, Unmasking the Face (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 11-33.

Friday, September 23

9:00 - 12:00 THEORIES OF LANGUAGE
Michael Prosser

Prosser discusses the leading theories of languages and bilingualism, and examines the concepts of language universals as summary statements of all human speakers and the generative theory of grammar as the underlying arguments of the Sapir-Whorf theory.

Reading: Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), Units IV and V, p. 145-288.

Andrea Rich, Interracial Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), Chapter 6, p. 125-160.

Monday, September 26

9:00 - 12:00 — SIMULATION GAME: STARPOWER
Michael Prosser

1:00 - 5:30 — GROUP ORAL EXAMS
Michael Prosser

Half of the class reports at 1:00 p.m. and half of the class reports at 3:30 p.m. to engage in a dialogue with the academic coordinator and other participants about the lectures, reading assignments, media presentations, and simulations of the first half of the course. Class members will receive oral and written evaluations of their participation from Prosser.

Tuesday, September 27

9:00 - 10:45 — CONTRASTING CULTURAL THOUGHT PATTERNS
Raymond Clay, Visiting Lecturer in Communication, Fairfield University

Clay introduces a classification of cultural thought patterns, and discusses the manner in which they interact, leading to interchange or conflict both within a single culture and between cultures.

11:00 - 12:00 — SIMULATION OF THOUGHT-PATTERNING CONCEPTS
Raymond Clay

3:00 - 5:00 — THOUGHT-PATTERNING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: LATIN AMERICAN CASE HISTORIES
Raymond Clay

Reading: Larry Samovar and Richard Porter, Intercultural Communication: A Reader (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1976), p. 170-188.

John C. Condon and Fathi Yousef, Introduction to Intercultural Communication (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1975), p. 250-270.

Wednesday, September 28

NOTE: Participants will hand in today two 600-900 page book reports on extra reading; some of these will be selected for oral presentation on September 30.

9:00 - 10:30	THE PSYCHO- AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION Rachel Birtha, Writer/Editor, Near East and South Asia Branch, IPS/PN
	Birtha discusses the psychological and sociological aspects of linguistics and culture
10:30 - 12:00	FILM: "BLACK GIRL" (90 mins.)
1:00 - 2:30	MULTICULTURAL AUDIENCE REACTIONS Rachel Birtha
	Birtha analyses the reactions of different American audiences to the black-directed, black oriented film, "Black Girl."

Reading: Mary Cassata and Molefi Asante, eds., The Social Uses of Mass Communication (Buffalo: The State University of New York Press, 1977), p. 1-93.

Thursday, September 29

9:00 - 12:00 — INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS: CULTURAL AND COMMUNICATION MODEL APPROACHES
Marshall Singer, Professor of International Relations, University of Pittsburgh

2:00 - 5:00 — THE LEVITT'S BOX EXERCISE
Marshall Singer

Participants explore the processes of communication with and without feedback.

Reading: Marshall Singer, "Perceptions and Communications," in Weak States in a World of Powers (Free Press, 1972), Chapters 1 and 2, p. 8-51.

Friday, September 30

9:00 - 12:00 — ORAL PRESENTATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS' BOOK REVIEWS
Michael Prosser

Several class members present their reviews to the class.

3:00 - 5:00 — RESEARCH PROJECTS

Project teams meet to finalize their written reports and oral presentations to the class. The written reports will be due on Friday, October 7, and the oral presentations will take place on October 7 and Wednesday, October 12.

Monday, October 3

9:00 - 12:00 — THE MEDIA: PAST AND FUTURE
Walter J. Ong, S.J., Professor of English and Psychiatry, St. Louis University

3:00 - 5:00 — AFRICAN TALKING DRUMS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR TODAY
Walter J. Ong, S.J.

Reading: Walter J. Ong, S.J., The Presence of the Word (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 17-110.

Walter J. Ong, S.J., Why Talk? (California: Chandler and Sharp, 1969), 38 p.

Walter J. Ong, S.J., "World as View and World as Event," in Michael Prosser, ed., Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 27-44.

Tuesday, October 4

9:00 - 12:00 — COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Nobleza Asuncion-Lande, Associate Professor of Speech and Drama, University of Kansas
Nojoku Awa, Assistant Professor of Communication, Cornell University
William Starosta, Assistant Professor of Speech Communication, University of Virginia

The panel members present papers on the relationship between communication and development in the Philippines, Africa, and the sub-continent, respectively.

3:00 - 5:00 — COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT ROUNDTABLE
Nobleza Asuncion-Lande
Nojoku Awa
William Starosta

Reading: Michael Prosser, Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 241-416.

Nobleza Asuncion-Lande, "Implications of Intercultural Communication for Bilingual and Bicultural Education," in International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. II (December, 1975), p. 62-73.

Wednesday, October 5

9:00 - 12:00 THE ROLE OF SATELLITES IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS
Hamid Mowlana, Professor of Communication, School of International Service, American University

Reading: Hamid Mowlana, "Social and Political Implications of Communication Satellite Applications in Developed and Developing Countries," in Brent Ruben, Communication Yearbook I (New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1977) 427-438.

Hamid Mowlana, "A Paradigm for Mass Media Analysis," in Heinz Dietrich-Fischer and John C. Merrill, eds., International and Intercultural Communication (New York: Hastings House, 1976), p. 474-484.

Hamid Mowlana, "Who Covers America?", Journal of Communication 25:3 (Summer, 1975), p. 86-91.

Thursday, October 6

9:00 - 12:00 THE SOCIOLOGY OF MASS MEDIA SYSTEMS
Gertrude Joch Robinson, Associate Professor of Communication, Institute of Communication Research, McGill University

Robinson examines the political, historical, economic and sociological variables which affect the evolution of media systems.

3:00 - 5:00 STRUCTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING MASS MEDIA SYSTEMS
Gertrude Joch Robinson

Robinson compares and contrasts Canadian and Yugoslavian media to illustrate the structural factors which determine mass media systems today.

Reading: Gertrude Joch Robinson, Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communication in Yugoslavia (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), Chapters 1 and 2.

Ronald Atkey, "The Law of the Press in Canada," in George Adam, ed., Journalism, Communication, and the Law (Prentice-Hall, 1976).

Franz Kempers, "Freedom of Information and Criticism in Yugoslavia," Parts 1 and 2, Gazette, 13:1 and 13:4 (1967) p. 3-21 and 317-336.

Thursday, October 6 (cont.)

Reading (cont.): Earl Beattie, "In Canada's Bicentennial Year: The Influence of the U.S. Mass Media Probed," Journalism Quarterly, 44:4 (1967) p. 667-672.

Carter Bryan, "Communism With A Difference," Journalism Quarterly, 43:2 (Summer 1966) p. 291-299.

Friday, October 7

9:00 - 12:00 ORAL PRESENTATION OF TEAM PROJECTS
Michael Prosser
Edward Stewart
Barry Fulton

Each team has one hour for its presentation, with research consultants Prosser, Stewart, and Fulton on hand to provide comments and written evaluations.

Reading: Michael H. Prosser, Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 435-461 and 492-541.

NOTE: Written reports of team research projects are due today.

Monday, October 10

COLUMBUS DAY -- HAPPY HOLIDAY!

Tuesday, October 11

9:00 - 12:00

TRAINING THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COUNTERPART
Robert Morris, Director, Michigan State University AID Communication Seminar
Daniel J. Kealey, Coordinator, Anglophone Program, Briefing Centre, Canadian International Development Agency

Morris will discuss AID's programs designed to prepare foreign national training participants for their return home after long-term training in the United States, and Kealey will discuss CIDA's intercultural training programs for its own employees and their families.

3:00 - 5:00

TRAINING THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COUNTERPART: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION
Robert Morris
Daniel Kealey
Michael Prosser

Reading: Daniel J. Kealey, "CIDA Adaptation Program," Canadian International Development Agency, 1975.

Brent Rubin and Daniel J. Kealey, "Behavioral Assessment and the Prediction of Cross-Cultural Shock, Adjustment, and Effectiveness," (Presentation at the 3rd Annual Conference of SIETAR, Chicago, February, 1977).

Wednesday, October 12

9:00 - 12:00

ORAL PRESENTATION OF TEAM FIELD PROJECTS
Michael Prosser
Barry Fulton
Edward Stewart

1:00 - 5:30

FINAL ORAL EXAMS
Michael Prosser

Half of the class will report at 1:00 p.m. and half at 3:30 p.m. for the final oral exam, patterned after the mid-term on Monday, September 26.

Thursday, October 13

9:00 - 12:00	LIFELONG ADULT EDUCATION: THE HIDDEN AGENDA John Ohliger, Basic Choices, Inc. Ohliger examines the assumptions behind the shifting focus from formal to non-formal, and from "classic liberal" to vocational education in developing societies, and questions the ability of this new emphasis to meet human needs.
3:00 - 5:00	PROSPECTS FOR A LEARNING SOCIETY John Ohliger

Reading: John Ohliger, "Is Lifelong Adult Education A Guarentee of Perpetual Inadequacy?" Convergence, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1974) p. 47-59.

John Ohliger, "Prospects for a Learning Society," Adult Leadership, 24, September, 1975, p. 37-39.

Friday, October 14

9:00 - 11:00	COURSE SUMMARY Michael Prosser
11:00 - 12:00	COURSE EVALUATION Jeffrey Lite, Program Coordinator, Division of Training and Development
12:30 - 2:00	LUNCHEON: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR USIA Charles Bray, Deputy Director, USIA The Van Buren Room, Department of State

MODELS FOR CONTRASTING AND COMPARING CULTURES

L. Robert Kohls

L. Robert Kohls is Chief of the Training and Development Division at USIA. He has for the past ten years been actively involved in preparing hundreds of U.S. businessmen and their wives, Peace Corps volunteers, and military personnel for living and working effectively in other countries. He regularly teaches a course in Intercultural Communication at the University of Maryland.

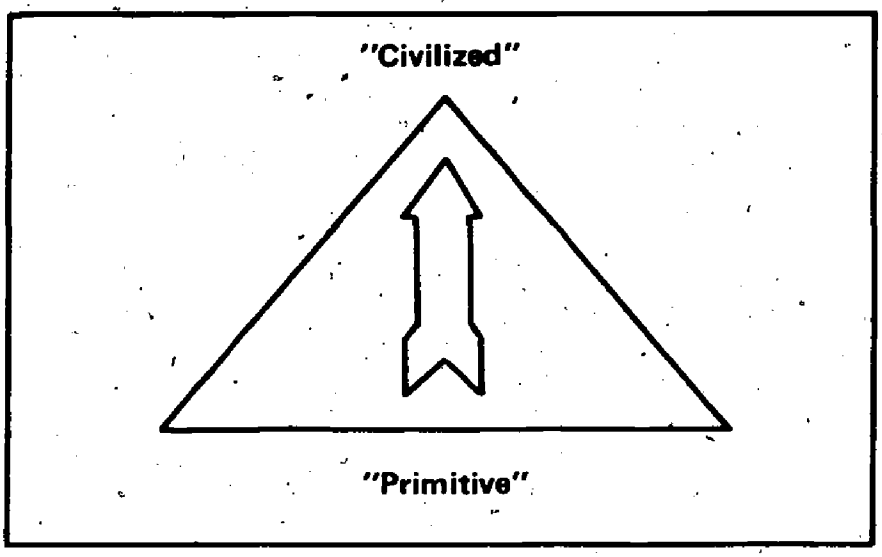
In his 15 years of teaching experience, Kohls has held posts at New York University and The New School for Social Research in New York City. His academic specialty is cultural history and the cultures of non-Western societies. He holds his Ph.D. from Columbia University.

In addition to seven years overseas living, Kohls has traveled and done field work and research in more than 50 countries in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, Europe, Central and South America. He has developed training programs and cultural materials for many diverse cultures, including Korea, Japan, Tunisia, Libya, Brazil, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Four relatively culture-free models and one anti-model for comparing cultures were presented to the group to introduce them to intercultural communication concepts.

The anti-model, one which all of us carry in our own minds by virtue of having been enculturated as Westerners, was described as "a counterproductive and very dangerous idea to carry with us overseas."

The Anti-Model



The first of the four acceptable models was the Kluckhohn Model (see figure 1), developed by anthropologists Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn. Using this mode, Kohls plotted a "typical middle class American," then he contrasted this with someone from a more "traditional" culture, as well as with the Arab, Japanese, and hippie value systems.

The Edmond Glen Model, as modified by Paul Kimmell, poses two sets of theoretical axes (see Glen Model I, figure 2) and sets four types of cultures in the resulting pairs of neighboring influences (see Glenn Model II, figure 3).

The Fisher*-Kohls Model, using bi-polar projections (see figure 4) compares the total populations of any two cultural groups in various sets

*Glen Fisher, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

of contrasting beliefs:

FATALISM; ACCEPTANCE	⟷	OPTIMISM; CONTROL
BEING	⟷	DOING; ACTION
TRADITION; CONTINUITY	⟷	CHANGE; PROGRESS
PAST	⟷	FUTURE
SPIRITUAL VALUES	⟷	MATERIALISM
COOPERATION	⟷	COMPETITION
FAMILY; GROUP	⟷	INDIVIDUAL

Edward Hall, in Beyond Culture, interprets cultures in a way which can be translated into a Model when he speaks of high and low context cultures:

Swiss-Germans
Germans
Scandinavians
U.S.
French
English
Italians
Spanish
Greeks
Arabs

THE KLUCKHOHN MODEL

ORIENTATION	RANGE					
HUMAN NATURE	BASICALLY EVIL		NEUTRAL	MIXTURE OF GOOD & EVIL	BASICALLY GOOD	
	MUTABLE	IMMUTABLE	MUTABLE	IMMUTABLE	MUTABLE	IMMUTABLE
MAN-NATURE RELATIONSHIP	SUBJUGATION TO NATURE		HARMONY WITH NATURE		MASTERY OVER NATURE	
TIME SENSE	PAST ORIENTED (TRADITION-BOUND)		PRESENT ORIENTED (SITUATIONAL)		FUTURE ORIENTED (GOAL-ORIENTED)	
ACTIVITY	BEING (EXPRESSIVE/EMOTIONAL)		BEING-IN-BECOMING * (INNER DEVELOPMENT)		DOING (ACTION ORIENTED)	
SOCIAL RELATIONS	LINEALITY ** (AUTHORITARIAN)		COLLATERALITY *** (COLLECTIVE DECISIONS)		INDIVIDUALISM **** (EQUAL RIGHTS)	

Figure 1

EXPLANATIONS OF TERMS USED ABOVE:

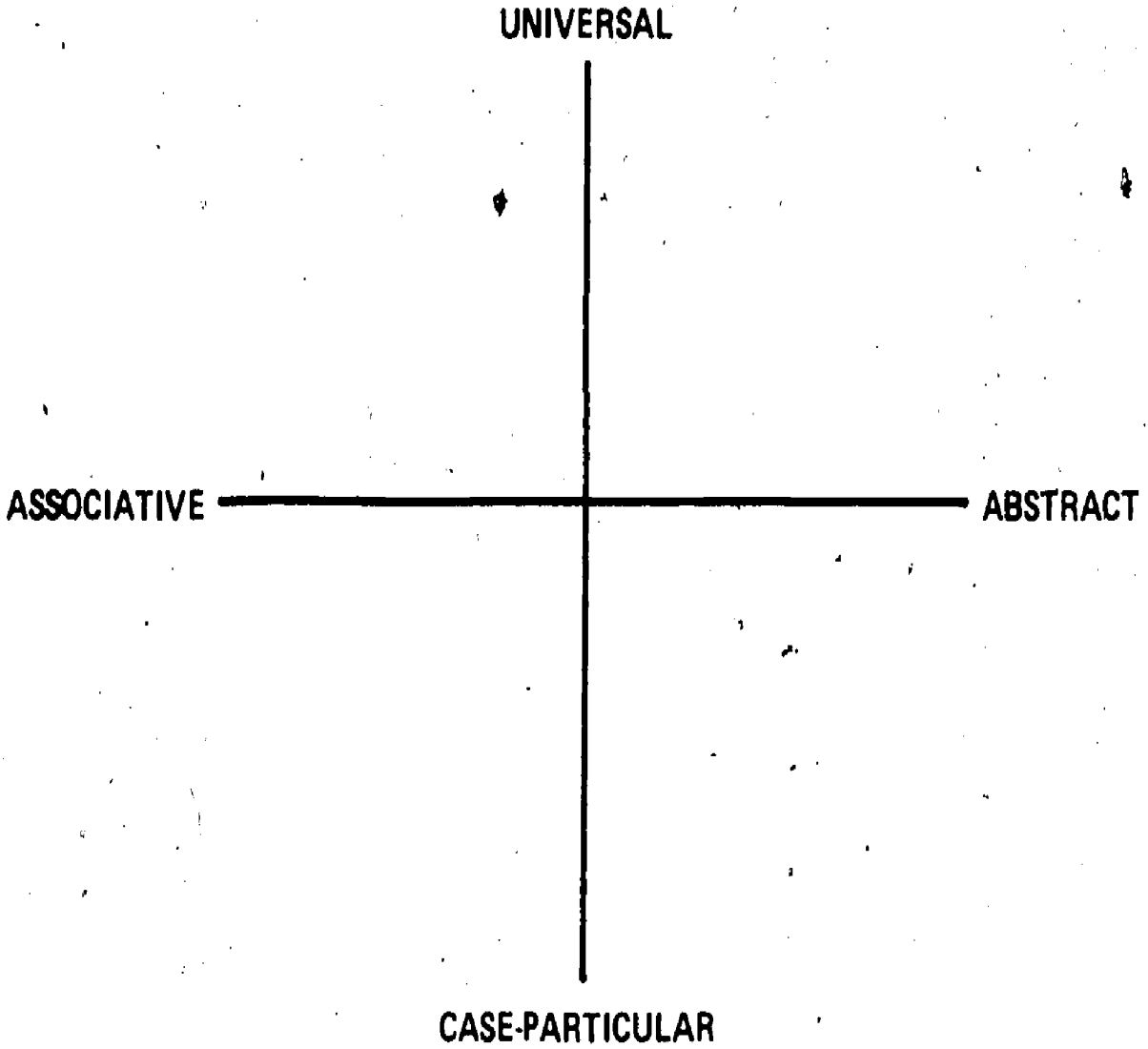
* BEING-IN-BECOMING - THE PERSONALITY IS GIVEN TO CONTAINMENT AND CONTROL BY MEANS OF SUCH ACTIVITIES AS MEDITATION AND DETACHMENT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF AS A UNIFIED WHOLE.

** LINEALITY - LINES OF AUTHORITY CLEARLY ESTABLISHED AND DOMINANT-SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS CLEARLY DEFINED AND RESPECTED; RIGHTS ACCORDING TO RANK.

*** COLLATERALITY - MAN IS AN INDIVIDUAL AND ALSO A MEMBER OF MANY GROUPS AND SUB-GROUPS; HE IS INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT AT THE SAME TIME.

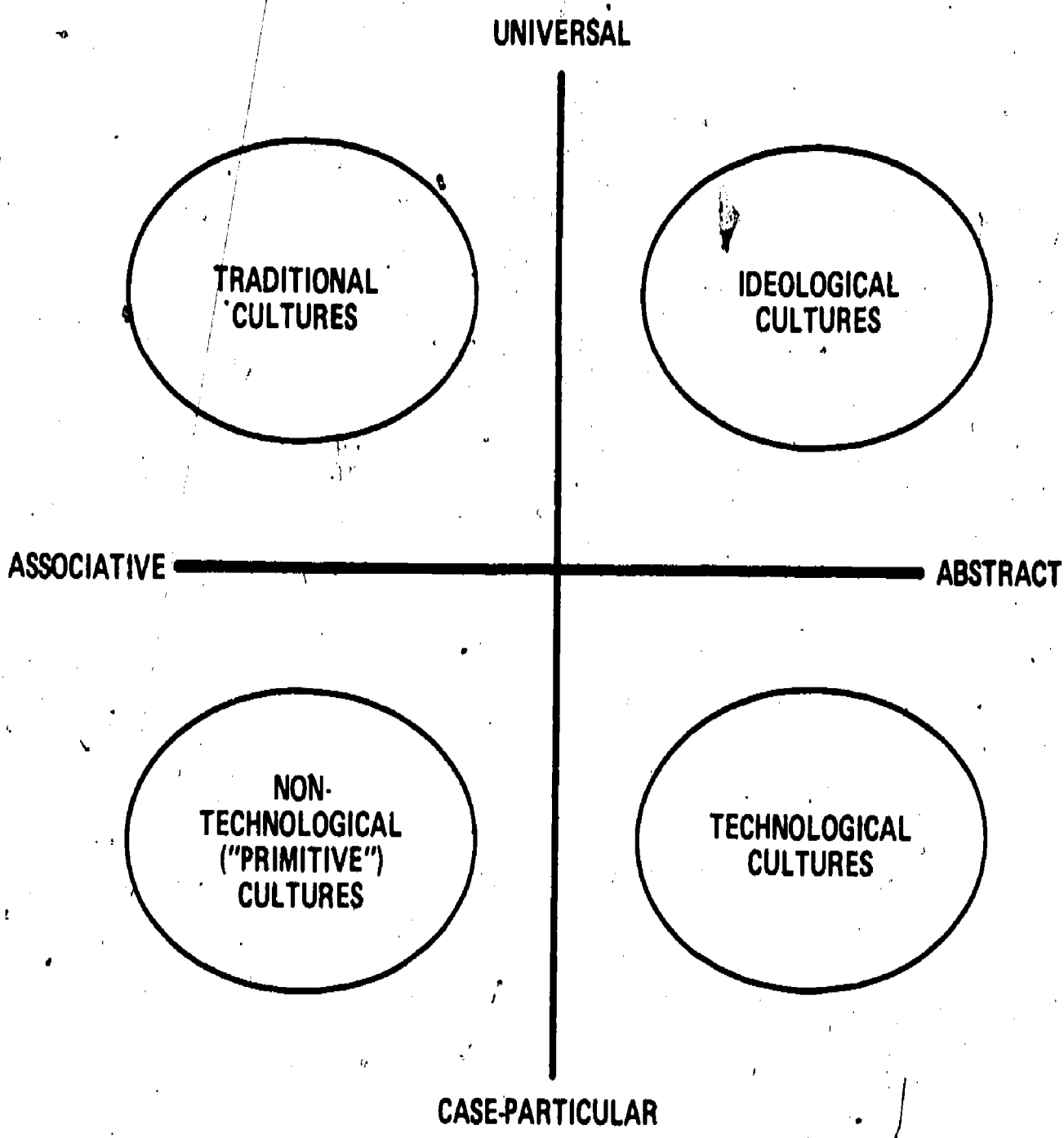
**** INDIVIDUALISM - AUTONOMY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

EDMOND GLENN MODEL I



countries).

(The Ideological Cultures include the Communist bloc



EDMOND GLENN MODEL II

BI-POLAR PROJECTIONS:

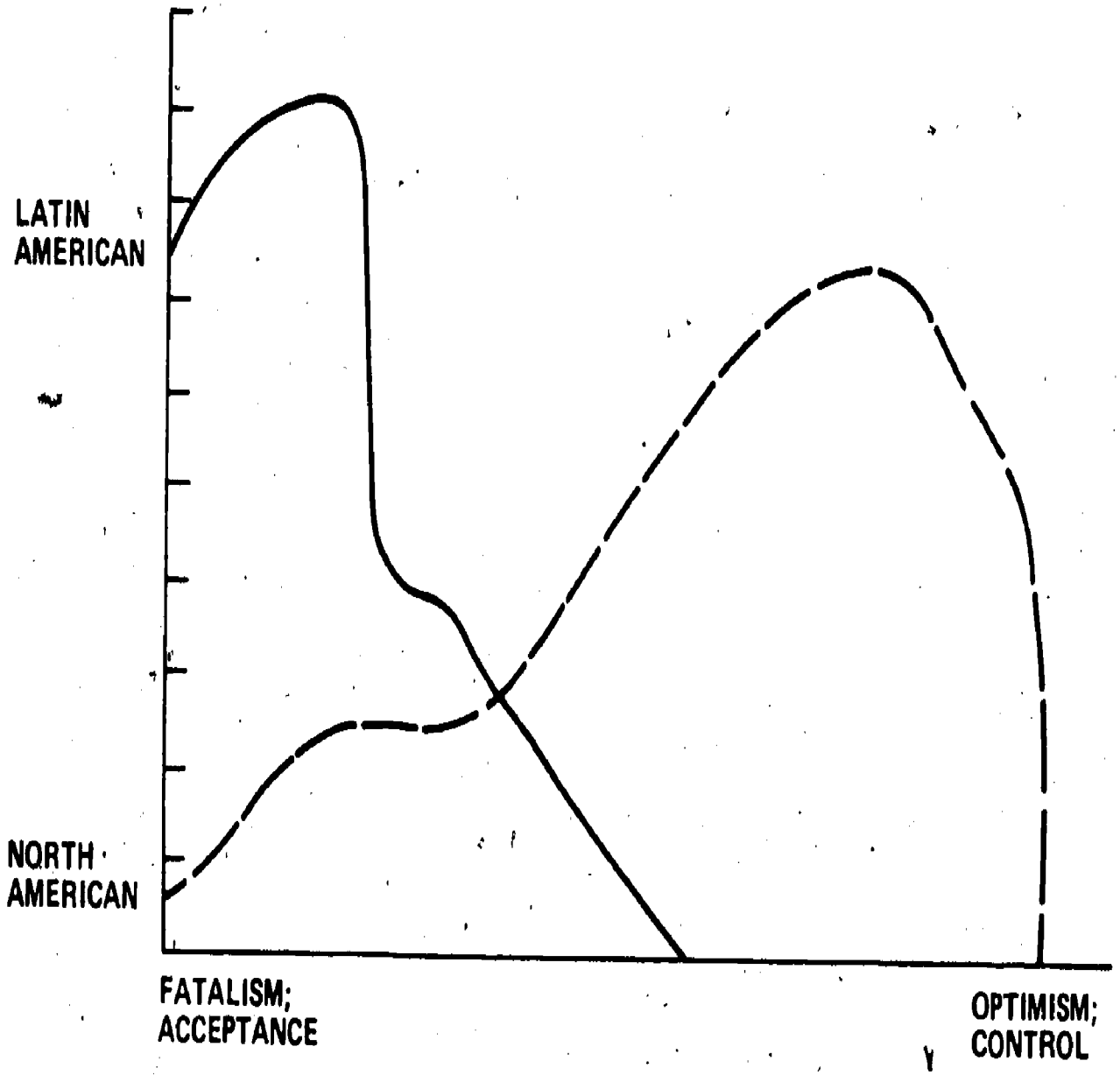


Figure 4

BASIC CONCEPTS AND MODELS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Michael H. Prosser

Michael Prosser is Professor of Speech Communication and former chairman of that department at the University of Virginia, where he teaches courses on intercultural communication and the rhetoric of the United Nations. He has taken a leave of absence from Virginia during the 1977-78 academic year; in addition to serving as the coordinator of the Intercultural Communication Course offered by the Agency September 6 to October 14, he has assisted with the Agency's cross-cultural communication seminars (Fall, 1977), and now serves as a Distinguished Visiting Professor at Kent State University for their winter and spring quarters in 1978.

Prosser received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois in 1964, and since has taught at SUNY at Buffalo, Indiana University, and the University of Virginia. He has also been a visiting faculty member at Queens College, CUNY; California State University at Hayward; Memorial University of Newfoundland; and jointly at St. Paul's University and the University of Ottawa in Ottawa, Canada.

In 1973 and 1974, he was the chairperson of the first two national conferences on intercultural communication in the United States. He is the editor or author of six books, including: Sow the Wind, Reap the Whirlwind: Heads of State Address the United Nations, a two-volume, numbered set published in 1970 by William Morrow for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations; Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples, published by Harper and Row in 1973; and Cultural Dialogue published in 1978 by Houghton Mifflin Company.

He is a past vice-president of the International Communication Association and chairman of its Intercultural Division and past chairman of the Commission on International and Intercultural Communication of the Speech Communication Association. He was a charter member of the board of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR). He is coordinating and editing a twenty-one program series on intercultural communication for the Voice of America Forum radio series which will be published in book form for the Voice of America for world-wide distribution.

The range of potential models and paradigms for our use in understanding the dimensions of communication is considerable. Here, we simply wish to highlight five: the Shannon-Weaver model, the Lasswell paradigm, the ABX and ABCX models, and the cultural communication model of Rich.

The Shannon-Weaver model, initially designed as a mathematical machine-oriented model, in its simplest terms indicates that a source encodes a message through a channel to a receiver which decodes the message. The intention of the authors of the model was not to discuss qualitative transmission of a message, but primarily its quantitative ability to move pieces of information efficiently from one place to another. The source and receiver may either be persons or machines. No concept of feedback is involved. Some later writers have suggested the idea of a helix which demonstrates the ongoing nature of communication and the implication of feedback as an important ingredient.

Essentially the 1948 Harold Lasswell paradigm "Who says what through what channels to whom with what effect" includes the element of source, message, channel, and receiver, but adds a sort of dangling participle "with what effect." It changes the Shannon-Weaver model's information flow to a purposive, instrumental effect of the communication which takes place. Several writers have argued that the "with what effect" phrase added on is not entirely clear, and of course it still misses the point that most human communication includes feedback of some sort, though admittedly it decreases and becomes more ritualized as the collective nature of its

directionality increases.

Theodore Newcomb's sensible and basic ABX model postulates that A speaks to B about subject X, which includes A's orientation toward B as well as his orientations toward the subject X, with the same conditions for B in terms of his orientation toward A and toward subject X. Newcomb suggests that the stronger A's orientation toward B and subject X, the more likely that there will be agreement between A and B about subject X. This agreement is parallel to the notion expressed by Edward Stewart about the Western perspective that the more similarities which we find that we share, the more likely that we are able to communicate effectively. And conversely, the Western notion is that the more dissimilar we are the less likely we are able to communicate effectively. It should simply be noted that Eastern traditions might place the emphasis on the tolerence of dissimilarities rather than similarities as the focal point for effective communication. The key problem with the Newcomb model, although it clearly does allow feedback, is that it fails to recognize that there are always a multiplicity of channels, contexts, messages, and, in interpersonal as well as collective communication, of senders and receivers.

Taking the Newcomb model as a starting point, Bruce H. Westley and Malcolm S. MacLean attempt to develop their model as ABCX, person, or primary group, or entire social system A speaks to person, or primary group, or entire social system B through a gatekeeper C, which may be

any of the communications channels or media that select A's message about subject X to B. In short, they have added a filtering device for A's message to B. The printed page, the receptionist, the selection of stories by an editor or broadcast supervisor all become gatekeepers, sometimes diminishing, distorting, or expanding upon the original message by A so that B may receive it quite differently than A intended it. Both purposive and non-purposive messages can be transmitted through the gatekeeper C. In both the Newcomb and Westley-MacLean models, feedback remains a key ingredient. If A is to continue to have purposive communication with B about shared messages, B must provide feedback about how he/she perceives such information in some way or another. While newspapers receive relatively little feedback, letters to the editor are submitted; phonecalls are received; subscriptions are maintained or cancelled. If A feels that his message for B has been filtered incorrectly through C, he or she can provide additional feedback or can use additional means to get the message across properly to B, perhaps through a different gatekeeper or even directly. This model basically links communication as process with communications as channels and ties in directly to intercultural and crosscultural communication when A becomes a total cultural or social system; B becomes a different total cultural or social system; and possibly C as gatekeeper becomes still another.

Finally, the Andrea Rich model is specifically oriented toward the idea of communication between races, ethnic groups, and cultural systems.

This model, with its seven expanding phases is found in chapter one of her book Interracial Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). It is somewhat complicated, beginning in phase 1 with A and B representing intercultural communication, and subsequent phases adding dimensions of interracial communicat[redacted], contracultural communication, economic or class parameters in communication, ethnic parameters, and last the multidimensional view of all of the added aspects of each of the first six models incorporated into the seventh. Ideally cultures A and B are equal, but in fact, Rich believes that in most societies culture A is dominant thus affecting adversely all other cultural elements in the total model. As other factors are added, it becomes still more difficult for minorities to communicate on an equal footing with members of the dominent culture.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Alan Carter

Alan Carter, currently Acting Deputy Associate Director, USIA (Policy & Plans), entered the U.S. Information Agency in 1955 and served his first tour of duty abroad in Karachi, Pakistan, as Radio Officer. This was followed by a four-year assignment in New Delhi, as press attache for Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker and John Kenneth Galbraith. His first Washington assignment (1962-63) was Special Assistant to the Deputy Director. He was then appointed by Edward R. Murrow as Assistant Director (TV Service) until 1965, at which time he was appointed Assistant Director (Near East and South Asia).

From 1970-74 he was Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs in Tokyo and served in the same capacity in Saigon until the evacuation. He then served as Senior Civilian Coordinator on the Interagency Task Force on Vietnamese Refugees at Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania, where he was awarded a Presidential Citation for his work. From 1975-76, he served as Assistant Director, USIA (Public Information), and in 1976, he received USIA's Distinguished Service Award and in May, 1977, the Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy.

Before entering the foreign service, Mr. Carter spent ten years in broadcasting. In 1950-51 he was Program Director of radio station WNYC in New York City. From 1951-52 he was Staff Producer/Director of radio station WNBC in New York. This was followed by his work as Campaign Director for the San Antonio Council for Educational TV in 1953.

Mr. Carter graduated from the University of Michigan in 1947 with a B.A. in Political Science, following three years in the U.S. Navy.

The perception of the meaning and role of public diplomacy--both that held by the officers of USIA and, to a lesser extent, by other members of the foreign affairs community of which the Agency is a part--has changed greatly over the three decades of the Agency's existence. We have lagged unconscionably behind the discoveries of the academic discipline of intercultural communication, but I would like to suggest today that finally, on the brink of the creation of a new agency whose very name links it to that discipline, we are able to give new meaning to the term "public diplomacy" and to the mission in which you are all involved.

I would like to trace very briefly the evolution of the perception of USIA's mission in the context of three theories of communication, and suggest that the final "institutional" realization of what the academics have been trying to tell us for years defines a role for the Agency which is less ambitious and yet more profound than the one that we have traditionally assumed.

Contemporary communication research can be dated from the propaganda analysis and market research of the 1940s. Under what I would characterize as the "influence theory" or the "hypodermic needle theory," we assumed that a communication message can act on man against his will; in this context man is cast as essentially irrational, and manipulatable--not merely by his peers or even by his own government, but by foreign governments.

This then is the classic definition of "propaganda." In 1948 Harold Lasswell stated the paradigm which underlies the influence theory: Who says what in what channel to whom with what effect." Communication research at this time focused on the sender of the message, and dealt with such questions as : "Is it more effective (i.e. can you better influence) to state your negative case before your positive case? Is a tall speaker more effective than a short speaker?" The influence theory was clearly a kind of "Madison Avenue theory of human behavior."

Even as countless studies attempted to reveal the sources, messages, and conditions which influence the receiver, however, the influence theory's model began to be recognized as an asymmetric, linear view of an extremely complex process. In the 1950s the "functional theory" addressed itself to the other side of the communication act. We then began to think of the receiver as the most important part of the process, who acted selectively on certain messages according to the function that the communication served in his terms. At this time inquiries into what had been called "cognitive dissonance" indicated that man tended to gather and retain information selectively in order to reinforce his belief system, and to discount or distort information that directly challenged his closely held beliefs.

Like the influence model of communication, however, the functional model concentrated only on the role of one of the participants in the communication act. It was not until the 1960s--with the interactional and

transactional models--that communication theorists began to concentrate on the dynamic complexity of the process. Based on general systems theory, the key concept of the interactional and the transactional models is interaction: each participant in the communication act influences the other and serves each other's needs. Thus while the influence model posits an irrational man who can be manipulated against his will, the interactional or transactional models see man as essentially rational, and engaged in exchange according to his needs and belief systems.

Not surprisingly, the government has lagged a decade behind the scholarly disciplines; we are only now, as an Agency, translating the scholars' emphasis on exchange into the mission of dialogue.

And here I use dialogue--a word understood in so many different ways--as defined by Harry Ashmore, President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions:

> As opposed to argument or debate, dialogue is not intended to resolve issues, but to clarify and illuminate them. It is, essentially, a rational exercise by which differences may be narrowed and perception improved.

Director Reinhardt articulated this sense of the Agency's mission in his commencement speech last May at Knoxville College, in which he stated: "There is nothing in our history, nothing in our value system which enables us to be propagandists." He went on to say that the USIA must reject the role, imposed on us both from within and by other agencies, of a missionary or public relations agency and take on the more plausable,

and enormously difficult goal of public diplomacy: improving perception and developing understanding among peoples and nations on issues of mutual importance. This will become the mandate of mutuality of the new International Communication Agency.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD: THE PRINCIPLES OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES [1]

Edward C. Stewart

Introduction

Intercultural communication is so loosely structured that some writers deny to it the status of a field in any formal sense. The ambiguous theoretical structure reflects the status of both major concepts, communication and culture, which have stoutly resisted formal definition in the social sciences.

Concepts in intercultural communication generally "sensitize;" they "convey a sense of reference and orientation grasped through personal experience" (Williams, 1973). Although formal concepts exist, they are not the significant features of the field.

Competence is proposed as the frame for formal definition of theoretical terms, and it carries implications for theories of performance. These acts of communication are human products which impinge upon the humanities and the arts as well as the social sciences.

Basic Concepts

Writers in the field of information and communication theory often refer to the paradox of communication. The process is concerned with

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1. The synopsis is based on paraphrasing from a manuscript, Stewart, Edward C. An Outline of Intercultural Communication, in press.

what is shared between senders and receivers, but if too much is shared there is no reason to communicate. The need to communicate arises when something is not shared, cannot be foreseen and must be conveyed. It is this unknown element that is an essential part of communication, and which is largely neglected.

Both the sciences and conventional wisdom are based on the principle of similarity, which seldom receives the treatment of theory.

Similarity in communication--The prevalence of similarity in communication is found in the field of interpersonal attraction. The attraction paradigm is perhaps the best known example of the use of similarity in social psychology. In the area of diffusion of innovations, researchers speak of homophily, which stresses the significance of similarity, in contrast to heterophily which may be described as the hurdles of difference which innovations must surmount to succeed.

Difference in communication--Although it has been suggested that difference is the core of communication, it is only in intercultural, if there, that difference becomes the centerpiece. Yet to note a similarity must imply recognition of a difference, a divergence from sameness.

There is evidence from the laboratory that the perception of difference is at least as fundamental as the perception of similarity. At the perceptual and judgmental level there exists a difference between perceiving and judging same and different, with different apparently the easier and

preferred response. Building on this psychological process, there may well exist a general "mental set" to find similarities versus meeting differences. It is on this issue of differences, either naturally or by acquisition, that intercultural communication rests its claim for identity. The concept of differences may be approached by building theory on dimensions ("diversified sameness") rather than on categories. Furthermore, contrasts may replace comparisons as tools of thinking. Finally, static concepts may yield to dialectical processes.

Theory of Communication

Success has eluded efforts to define the process of communication rigorously and adequately. Communication is most effectively considered as a competence theory, and analysis of communicative acts are resolved into finite features, subsumed under the two classes of structural components and functions. Since there is a better fit between a component and a function, these can be reported together. It should be remembered, however, that communicative acts exist while the components and functions serve only as terms of analysis. Several functions and components, if not all, may be needed for analysis of a communicative act.

Finite Features of Communication

Component	Function
Code	Metalinguistic
Content	Referential
Sender	Expressive
Receiver	Directive
Form	Aesthetic
Channel	Phatic
Setting	Contextual
Event	Metacommunicative
Time	Individuates

Cultural Aspects

Core theory of culture in intercultural is defined as subjective culture, referring to perceptions of an individual which are shared with other members of the collectivity and which govern their behavior. Subjective culture is a cognitive theory providing the background for the competence theories of communication. With this definition of culture, attention turns to those processes of the individual affected by culture.

Perception, when rigorously defined as an elaboration of sensation, represents universal human processes with only a few aspects sensitive to cultural influences. It is in the areas of patterns of thinking, assumptions and values that most of the cultural influences are found.

Intercultural Communication

The theory of communication combines with cultural components to produce the variations in communication caused by the cultures of the sender-receivers. The key concept for analysis is cultural difference. These are so numerous that it is essential to establish a reference culture which can be used as the frame of analysis for cultures and cultural differences. The concept of contrast cultures have served this function.

Some components of intercultural communication are more important than others. Critical areas include thinking, values, interfaces established between communicator, orientations to action, forms and principles of representation, trust, private and public rules, reserves of meaning and functional cognitive systems. The list is an empirical grab bag of issues and problems encountered in actual experience.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE INQUIRY
Barry Fulton

Barry Fulton received his Ph.D. in Communications from the University of Illinois. He has been a USIA officer since 1968, having served in Pakistan and Japan. He has taught at Penn State, University of Illinois, University of Maryland, San Antonio College, Pakistan Press Institute, and American University. He was Director of the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service in Turkey. His articles have been published in Quarterly Journal of Speech, Central States Speech Journal, Journal of Communication, Foreign Service Journal, and USIA Communicator. Mr. Fulton is presently the Chief of the Resource and Operations Analysis Division in USIA.

I. Scientific Method

"...is an attempt to render reality intelligible and meaningful by seeking knowledge grounded in system and order and generality." - Jensen

"...the method of all human inquiry, which differs at least [illegible] in this, that it is explicit and systematic." --Bronowski

"...in contrast to scientism: parochial view that aim of science is prediction and control by means of experimental technique--in which all phenomena are reduced to observable, measurable, and quantifiable physical entities." --Jensen

"...science is not the blank record of facts, but the search for order within the facts." --Bronowski

"...research acknowledges two masters: scientifc rigor and depth of meaning." --Dollard and Auld

"passionate preference" --Frost

II. Chronology

Middle Ages--"world of things ordered according to their ideal natures"

17th Century--Descartes & Bacon typified logical and experimental methods (as well as French and British worldviews)

Late 17th Century--18th Century--"Newtonian World Machine"

19th Century--Newtonian assumptions permeated every science: cause and effect

20th Century--cause and effect was replaced by chance and probability

"concept of the inevitable effect (is replaced by) that of the probable trend."--Bronowski

Examples: quantum physics, Max Planck, 1900

Principle of Uncertainty, Heisenberg, 1927: we can know either the location or speed of an electron, but not both--and so cannot predict its future.

Mendel's Law (19th Century): 1 white, 1 pink pea: 1/4 W, 3/4 P

Science comes to accept as a collorary of probability a degree of uncertainty

III. Measurement

A. William H. George, The Scientist in Action

sense illusions--observations without comparison
coincidence observations--observations of coincidence with any given standard
measurement--combining coincidence observation with counting

B. Event and observer are not separable

> "...relativity derives essentially from the philosophic analysis which insists that there is not a fact and an observer, but the joining of the two in an observation. This is the fundamental unit of physics: the actual observation. And just this is what the principle of uncertainty showed in atomic physics: that event and observer are not separable." --Bronowski

Also--Hawthorne Effect, Western Electric, Chicago, 1920s.

IV. Reliability

A. Synonyms: dependability, stability, consistency, predictability, accuracy

B. Two factors: Stability--consistency of measurement on repeated applications

Equivalence--extent of consistency when different investigators or instruments are used at the same time

C. "Reliability is associated, then, with random or chance error. Reliability is the accuracy or precision of a measuring instrument." --Kerlinger

D. Impossible to eliminate error, only to minimize it.

V. Validity

A. "The validity of a measuring instrument may be defined as the extent to which differences in scores on it reflect true differences among individuals, groups, or situations in the characteristic which it seels to measure..." --Selltiz

B. An instrument is said to be valid if it "measures what it purports to measure." --Kaplan

C. Pragmatic (real world predictions, distinctions) and construct (symbolic, theory)

(NOTE: Sensitivity is degree to which instruments are capable of making distinctions.)

VI. Error Sources (A, B, C from Webb et at, Unobtrusive Measures)

A. Reactive effects in the respondent

1. Guinea Pig Effect (Hawthorne effect)

2. Role Selection

3. Measurement as change agent (new attitudes suggested by measurement)

4. Response sets (Yes more likely than No)

B. Reactive effects in the investigator

1. Interviewer effects (e.g., Race, age, sex, manner)

2. Change in research instrument or investigator (e.g., calibration, mood, etc.)

C. Sampling

D. Lack of clarity in measurement instrument

E. True differences in a characteristic which the instrument is not known to be measuring.

FIELD RESEARCH METHODS: DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Edward C. Stewart

Edward Stewart was born in Sao Paolo, Brazil, and came to the U.S. as a boy. He served in the U.S. Army in Europe during the Second World War and later took his Ph.D. in Psychology at the University of Texas. He has taught at Lehigh University in the areas of perception theory and social psychology. In 1959 he joine the Human Resources Research Office of the George Washington University and in 1962 began to work principally in the area of intercultural communication. He has continued his research and teaching specialization in this area since then.

Mr. Stewart has served as a consultant on intercultural communication with the Peace Corps, the Agency for International Development, the Foreign Service Institute, the Military Assistance Institute, the Business Council for International Understanding, the American University, the Regional Council for International Education, and Westinghouse Corporation. He has made a major contribution to the field of cross-cultural training by developing a simulation exercise using non-American actors to role-play "contrast-Americans" in scenarios based on the overseas experiences of technical advisors. He has also published a variety of reports and papers in this field.

I. The Scientific Approach

From the outside, science is perceived as a clearly defined area ruled by the scientific method. From the inside, however, the terrain is not that well mapped. There is Friedrich Kekule, the German scientist who discovered the structure of the benzene molecule in a dream. Einstein for aesthetic reasons seized the idea developed in the nineteenth century of non-Euclidean geometries and applied them to fit the physical world into a

four dimensional mathematical one (Kline, 1959). There are other examples, and when we move to the areas of the social sciences, the terrain is even more uneven. The uncertainty suggests that we speak of an "approach" and ease ourselves into the subject area of "science."

A. Science and Common Sense [1]

At the outset, we may ask the question of how science differs from common sense? There are five features of science which distinguish the approach from common sense. None of these are definitive.

1. Man-made concepts (Constructs) are systematic and employed with deliberate control.
2. Theories and hypotheses are tested
3. Controls used in observation and experiments rule out alternative cause
4. Relationships are cultivated for their own sake
5. Rules out metaphysical explanations

B. Science and Other Ways of Knowing

Another slant on science can be gained by comparing the scientific approach to knowledge with other approaches or methods. We leave science for last, number four below.

1. Kerlinger, F.N. Foundations of Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

1. Tenacity

Some people seem to believe what they believe because it seems to be the truth. (Kerlinger, 1964, following the philosopher Peirce). This method suggests the importance of the sake of custom, and seems to refer to the thought of those who are deeply immersed in their social forms and accept their conventions for the truth without questioning.

2. Authority

There are those who need to receive backing for knowledge from authority. A test which measures this quality refers to it as Divine, fate, control, and invariant source of knowledge.

3. A priori

This refers to the method of knowing depending on intuition.

4. Science

The important thing about this method of knowing is that it searches for objectivity so that the ultimate conclusion of every man is the same. Knowledge is always checked and anchored outside the reality of the scientist. Although an original idea such as Kekule's or Einstein's may have a non-objective source, eventually the idea must be planted in a reality which lies entirely outside the personal beliefs and emotions of the scientist.

II. Scientific Explanation and Theory

A. Scientific theory may be thought of to be composed of three parts. These are a proposition, systematic interrelations and explanation of a phenomenon. More formally, these ideas may be put as follows:

Theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomenon by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena.

B. Research

Scientific research is systematic, controlled, empirical, and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena.

In this definition, hypothesis is the critical term, which we isolate for salience below.

III. Hypothesis [1]

Hypothesis is a proposition about factual and conceptual elements and their relationship that projects beyond known facts and experiences for the purpose of furthering understanding.

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1. Brown, C.W. and Ghiselli, E.E. Scientific Method in Psychology. New York: McGraw Hill, 1955.

A. Features of Hypothesis

1. Conceptual in nature; developed by reasoning; provides a deductive mark to empirical research.
2. Verbalization potential--varies with degree to which postulated elements can be traced to relevant existing facts.
3. Forward reference--rational leap beyond known facts and experience.

B. Functions of Hypotheses

1. Explanation--introjects meaning, cause-effect relationship
2. Stimuli to research
3. Source of methodology--conditional statements suggest methods of verification
4. Criteria for evaluating experimental techniques--establishes context
5. Organizing principle

C. Hypotheses Related to Other Terms

1. Facts--Hypotheses are conceptual and explanatory. Their contents may be, and eventually are, factual.
2. Theory--Hypothesis is more narrow, restricted and simple than theory.
3. Scientific Law--Hypothesis lack verification while laws have it.

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THE INTERPERSONAL DIMENSION IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Anne Rogers Devereux

Anne Rogers Devereux joined the Department of State in November, 1975, to serve in the Office of Policy and Plans, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, where she has the chief responsibility for research and evaluation in the Bureau.

A graduate of Newton College/Boston College in Newton, Massachusetts, Devereux earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in 1973 in Philosophy from Georgetown University. She has extensive experience in writing and editing, having served as literary production editor for Basic Systems' books designed to assist organizations seeking funds from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity. She presently has in progress an anthology of essays by women who have successfully responded to the challenges of contemporary women's education and vocation.

She is a member of the Board of Directors of the Chol-Chol Foundation for Human Development, an international foundation for the development of educational, medical, and agricultural projects in Latin American countries. She has also served as American Assistant to the President of Jyoti Nivas College, Bangalone, India for planning international support and programs. In 1974, shw was elected to the Board of Directors of the Crystal Institute where she has been coordinating and reviewing the development of task-oriented programs for mid-career management, youth, teachers, counsellors of young adults, etc.

Underlying the success or failure of intercultural communication is the ability of men to enter into meaningful interpersonal relationships. A culture--that which expresses a people in its concrete form--supplies that "yeast" whereby a matrix of social activities in a community of men is orchestrated to bring a person to the height of his powers. In a community men live no longer side by side, but with one another in a relationship

where indifference, alienation, and isolation cannot prevail.

In the larger world, communities must touch and dynamically resonate and explore relationships of mutual revelation. The conditions necessary for successful interrelations among cultures are basically the same as those which must obtain between persons engaged in an interpersonal exchange. Among the qualities which must exist for an "I-Thou"[1] relationship, in which two people meet and know each other in their unique value and not simply as a content of one or the other's experience or as basis of some utility, are three: a sense of self-identity; justice and hope. Without the presence of these conditions genuine dialogue gives way to a caricature of dialogue.

First, in all successful interpersonal and intercultural communication, there must be a basic sense of self-identity or self-worth, and this cannot be realized in a vacuum without the recognition of another person. Thought itself does not take place in colloquy with oneself. A sense of one's worth, value comes only through human interaction with another.

Second, there must exist between two persons, between two cultures, a basic relationship of justice. By this I mean justice in its general aspect as described by Aristotle--giving to another his due, acknowledging another's basic worth, humanity, perfectability, inviting the revelation and growth of these qualities in the other; it requires both listening and support.

Only thus can trust be established, creating an indispensable condition for authentic dialogue, relationship.

Third, the virtue of hope is an essential element in any real communication or communion between persons or cultures. That communication or communion implies a real presence to the other, not just to the content of what he is saying. It requires an openness which goes beyond mere acceptance of the other. Hope provides a relaxation which fosters the patience with another, which refuses to force my personal rhythm (or standards) upon him. (It is not an abandonment of the other with no idea of my involvement for that is the opposite of love.)

Perhaps hope is most perfectly crystalized in caring. Care is the opposite of apathy; it is the source of will; it is the refusal to accept the emptiness which I find all around me; it is the dogged insistence on human dignity--enabling man to point to a new morality of authenticity in relationship. The German philosopher, Martin Heidegger "thinks of care as the basic constitutive phenomenon of human existence.... It is thus ontological in that it constitutes man as man."[2] He says that "willing is caring made free," and Rollow May adds, "made active."[3]

These elements of hope, along with the opposition to pretension, with the refusal to be hardened into a position that there is no way out, with the patient aiming at reunion, recollection, and reconciliation allow man to transcend the bonds which otherwise would constrict his ability to enter

into trusting dialogue with the other. It is hope that perhaps most buoyantly carries men forward to that perfection of communication experienced in a communion. In both the interpersonal and the intercultural, hope works to ensure that freshness which characterizes each effort to say "something new" to the other.

If cultures are really to interact in a lasting relationship of mutual enrichment, the qualities which have been described must activate that relationship--a self-identity which is rooted in affirmation by the other; a justice which enables the seed of trust to grow; and a hope which denotes the essential availability of a person or culture to enter into a trusting dialogue with the other.

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1. Cf. Martin Buber. Between Man and Man (New York: Macmillan, 1975).

2. Rollo May, Love and Will (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1969), p. 290.

3. Ibid.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

Michael H. Prosser

The components of communication are those factors essential for an effective minimal study of communication in a community or culture. We want to expand our understanding of communication to its relationships with the components of culture. We wish to see how the cultural communicator inter-relates these components in various cultural contexts, and how cultural spokespersons manipulate these characteristics in interaction with the cultural spokespersons of other cultural groupings. Part of what we are seeking to accomplish, in the words of Clifford Geertz (1973:19-23), is an understanding of "the said of speaking." Stated more directly, we are interested in social discourse. However, while I have indicated that communication and culture are intertwined, and while this linkage involves various forms of social discourse, our chief aim is to understand social discourse in the cultural context, that is, cultural dialogue.

The purpose of the ethnographer is to describe the social discourse of a community or culture. Naturally, the total understanding of a community or culture is difficult to achieve. As Geertz suggests, cultural analysis should involve guessing at meaning, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses. Thus, Geertz argues that ethnographic description is interpretative: it is interpretation of the flow of social discourse. The interpretation attempts to rescue the "said" of such discourse from perishing, and to fix it in perusable terms. Much

of the perishability of social discourse is attributed to the fact that no matter how advanced the technology aiding us to gain our information, all aspects of social discourse cannot be adequately captured. Geertz adds a key element to his description of ethnographic collection: it is microscopic. It is simply not possible to study an entire culture from all of its potential vantage points (1973:19-21). The mapping of a culture or community may include thick (in depth) ethnographic detail, and thin (relatively superficial) ethnographic detail. Both types of detail aid in understanding the ethnography of a community's social discourse.

Attempting to understand cultures in general, and specific cultures and their members in interaction, is an enormous task. A useful departure point is a consideration of the communicative components present in most communities or cultures. In his essay, "Toward Ethnographies of Communication" Dell Hymes suggests: "The starting point is the ethnographic analysis of the communicative habits of a community in their totality, determining what count as communicative events, and as their components, and conceiving no communicative behavior as independent of the set framed by some setting or implicit question. The communicative event is thus central" (1973:46). The communicative event may be seen as the total communicative involvement of the community or culture. While communication does not describe all that occurs in culture, it does become highly significant for the later interpretation of other cultural components.

Hymes believes that communication makes the closest contacts in culture with its social, political, and moral concerns. This frame of reference leads Hymes to the following questions: What are the communication events and their components in a community? What are the relationships among them? What capabilities and stages do they have, in general and in particular cases? How do they work? (1973:58)

Hymes suggests that the consideration of communication can be initiated with any of the components as long as the communicative event remains the central point of the analysis. As an example, he selects "message" as the first component to be considered:

> The concept of message implies the sharing (real or imputed) of (1) a code or codes in terms of which the message is intelligible to (2) participants, minimally an addressor and addressee (who may be the same person), in (3) an event constituted by its transmission and characterized by (4) a channel or channels, (5) a setting or context, (6) a definite form or shape to the message, and (7) a topic and a comment, i.e., it says something about something--in other words that the concept of message implies the array of components previously given (1973:48).

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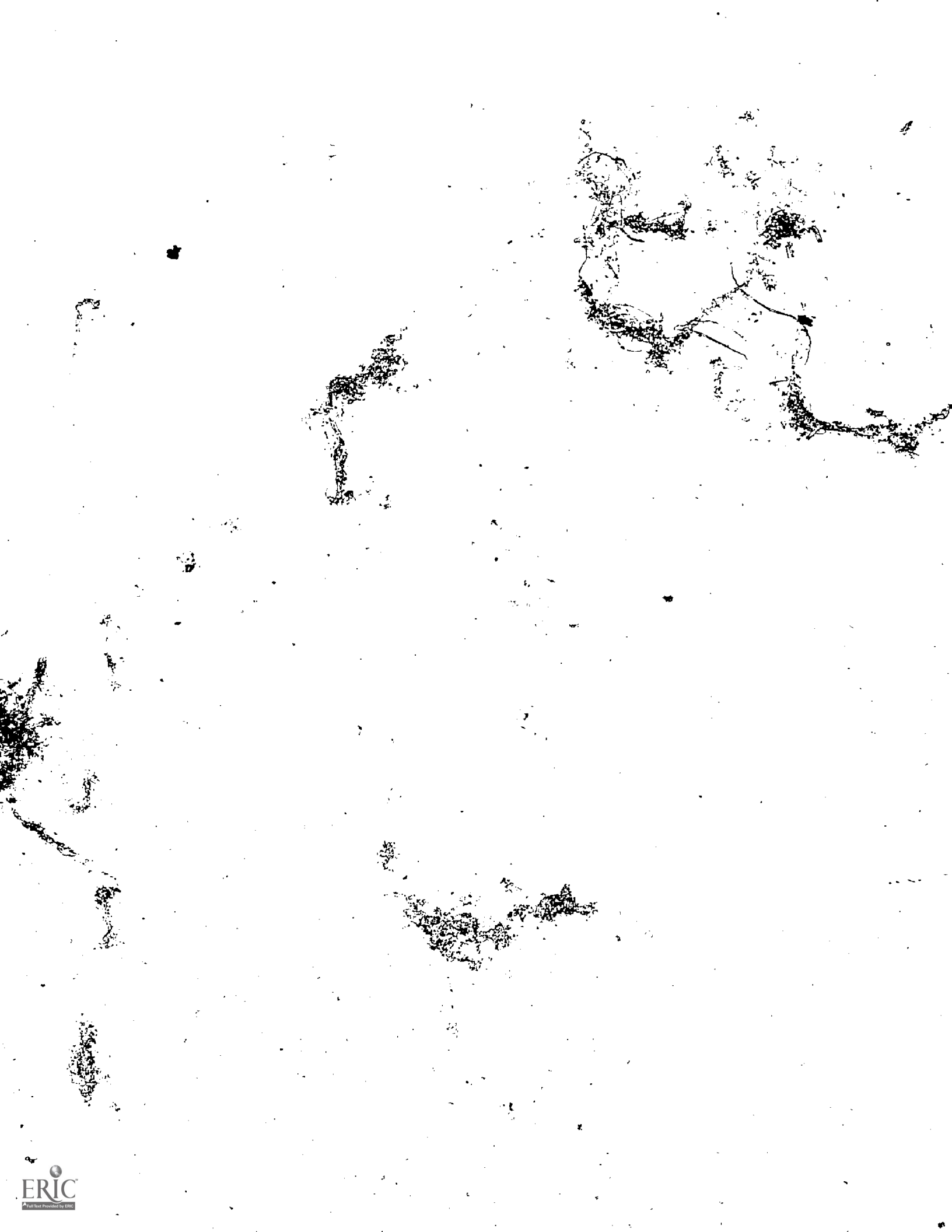

THE CULTURE CONCEPT

Roy Wagner

Roy Wagner was born on October 2, 1938, in Cleveland, Ohio, and graduated from James Ford Rhodes High School in Cleveland. He received his AB (cum laude, medieval history) at Harvard (1961), and his AM (1962) and Ph.D. (1966) degrees in anthropology at the University of Chicago. He has carried out approximately two years of fieldwork among the Daribi people of Mt. Karimui, Paupa, New Guinea, in 1963-69. He has served as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University (1966-68), Associate Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University (1969-74), and is presently Professor and Chairman of the Anthropology Department at the University of Virginia. His major publications include: The Curse of Snow: Principles of Daribi Clan Definition and Alliance (University of Chicago Press, 1967), Habu: The Innovation of Meaning in Daribi Religion (University of Chicago Press, 1972), and The Invention of Culture (Prentice-Hall, 1975).

I. Culture as an Analytical, Philosophical Perspective

A. History and origin of the term

1. Cultivation

2. Selective refinement of strains

3. Education, building

4. The folkloric definition

B. Culture as an Alternative Objectification of the Human

1. Immanent humanity, the Biblical, tribal view; forms of culture implicit in man

2. Culture as man's "improvement" the ideology of the civil state:

a. The Greek Polis

b. Ibn Khaldun, consensus and law, China

c. Culture as cumulative refinement: collective enterprise

3. Culture as physically immament in man (seeing adaptation to cu as the locus of culture itself). Sociobiology.

4. Culture as learned (partially invented and self-taught) patterning of the perceived world of human interaction

C. Culture as an Operational Tool: Anthropologists Paint "Culture" on Other People

1. The fieldworker's interpretive craft: remaking experience as "another culture," contrasted with the missionary who perceives it as personal challenge (At Play in the Fields of the Lord), the administrative person who measures against economic or developmental standards

2. "Culture" is applied naively, regardless of its appropriateness or "fit" the subject of the research (most people do not think of their lives, situations as "culture"), or of the ambiguities that attend upon its formulation ("culture" may mean, among other things, either simply "a patterned world view, way of life" or "the increment of man's refinement").

3. The anthropologist narrows and specifies the notion of "culture" in the course of understanding and explanation. Transforming his experiences into "culture," the anthropologist then transforms "culture" on the model of his experiences, or at least on that of his theoretical paradigm.

II. Culture and Explanation

A. A scientific problem: what constitutes significant evidence, data for the study of culture? A theoretical question: what are the salient features of culture? The theoretical paradigms of anthropology have been worked out as dialogues between these two considerations. Theory constitutes a creative narrowing of the range of interest and explanation, yielding explanatory power at the expense of breadth and comprehensiveness (i.e., as oppossed to "shotgun" ethnography).

B. The Anthropological "Solutions"

1. Historical solutions: a dynamic of cultures

a. Evolutionary anthropology (1870-1900): "stages," "survivals," traits: E.B. Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan

b. Diffusionism (1900-1920): trait complexes, assumption of little inventiveness, much traveling, "age-area" hypothesis, museum orientation; Frobeniu, Graebner, Schmidt, "helio-centrists," Frazer

2. Systemic solutions: the dynamics of a culture

a. Integrationism (1920-1950): how does an individual culture "work", keep together as a unit? British "functionalism," American "configurationalism," social versus psychological; Malinowski, Radcliff-Brown, Evans-Pritchard; Benedict, Mead, Bateson, Kroeber

b. Structure and differentiation (1950-1970): what are the parts of culture, how is it "divided up" in its own view. Franco-British "structurealism," American "ethnosemantics;" Levi-Strauss, Leach, Lounsbury, Frake, Conklin

C. The Culture of Anthropology and the Anthropology of Culture

1. Anthropology as cumulative "culture," a "subject" or "discipline," assemblage of institutions, positions, personae, titles, libraries, courses--an analogue of the larger "culture"--treats each of these "phases," theoretical approaches, as a "contribution," ignoring differences.

2. Each theoretical phase, approach, insists on its particular perspective as a corrective to the inadequacies of other approaches. Each exhausts its particular "resource" or "insight" in the course of working it out with the data. Theoretical approaches cover all of anthropology by setting different facets of the whole <u>against</u> one another, as a set of complementary <u>contradictions</u>.

3. Anthropology both is and is not culture; it contains in itself, and must therefore perceive in the subjects it studies, both "culture," as established convention, and the innovation, creativity, opposition, etc. that serves as culture's creative reflex.

CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

Roy Wagner

A. Culture as a Closed System

1. Culture is a construction of the anthropologist, who is subject to scholarly, esthetic influences as well as intuitions, data from the people being studied the tendency is to construct a complete, perfect, and "closed" system as model of culture.

2. A culture that is in fact "closed" in terms of its meanings, etc., is impervious to any kind of communication, comparison, change; but a model that is loose-ended, open, undefined, is imprecise, faulty from the standpoint of the scientific ideals that inspire the work.

3. Since the collection of data, etc., about a culture is necessary to its construction, and this collection is a matter of communication, it follows that:

   a. A "closed" model of culture denies the means by which it was arrived at and constructed, in the name of "objectivity."

   b. A viable model of culture is impossible without communication.

   c. Since "culture" is only conceivable as a product of communication, the fact that there are "cultures" whose members must communicate means that the initial communication was in some sense incomplete, unsatisfactory.

B. Communication and Communitas

1. Communication as sharing, equalizing, liminizing between different statuses, divisions. Communitas. Abosolute communication would erase the markers of identity: a telepath would have difficulty distinguishing self from other.

2. What keeps all of human culture from collapsing into communitas? Communication, communitas require, feed upon differences (cultural, social, individual), whereas differentiation feeds upon similarity. Both communication, the creation of shared similarity, and differentiation, the creation of dissimilarity, are strongly motivated human concerns. Communication must fail as well as succeed; its failures constitute differentiation, its successes communitas.

3. Individuals, social units, cultures differentiate themselves by habitude, develop shared conventions as a kind of "frozen" communitas. Because symbols largely constrain their users, these sets of conventions tend to develop into the kind of broad patterning or structuring of reality that we call "culture." Communication between cultures then entails the rather formidable tasks of ethnology: forging a bridge or mediation between orders that are not simply different structurings of the same reality, but structurally different realities. This involves:

   a. Learning or replicating, insofar as this is possible, the conventional forms and orders of the target culture.

b. Creating a basis of communication, or mediation, between the two cultures. This can take the form of a person--someone who is conversant in both orders, or a set of forms that make one accessible to the other.

C. The Culture of Communication

1. Long-term communication between cultures leads to the setting up of mediational forms, habits, etc., that are "in between," liminal to the cultures.

2. These intermediary forms, personalities, etc. are constituted in the same way as "culture" is constituted, and become what I shall call "cultures of communication." They obey the same rules as other cultures, and, though they may appear only as languages, actually have memberships, customs, beliefs, lifestyles. If you learn them, can get by in them, you do well: translators, anthropologists, cultural "brokers." They may include: anthropological monographs, anthropologists, missionaries, traders and trade communities, administrative and diplomatic missions, lifestyles, Pidgins, jargons, creoles.

3. Example: Melanesian Pidgin.

a. Origins: Maritime English; adaptation (Australia, etc.)

b. German administrative language

c. Lingua franca of Papua New Guinea

d. Pidgin culture as a lifestyle: labour camps, family language, etc.

e. Problems of culture of communication: bilingual illiteracy

CONTRASTING VALUE SYSTEMS IN INDUSTRIAL AND NON-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES AND VALUE CHANGE

Edward C. Stewart

In this presentation I shall cover the subject assigned which is contrasting values in industrial and non-industrial societies. At the same time I am taking the liberty to introduce a subject which I have not been asked to cover, and which is not on the syllabus for the course. The subject is value change. In the field of communication, particularly developmental communication, both the researcher and the practitioner have been restrictive in their thinking about change. I am convinced that the conceptual blinders worn by communicators have hampered field operations and have made Americans working in this field unnecessarily ethnocentric. A broader perspective on value change would have improved many programs of the past, and I introduce the subject here with the hope that it will contribute to those in the future.

The first part of the presentation follows the subject I have been asked to cover.

I. Terms of Analysis

A. Communication

We have seen that communication is a difficult subject; it is more of a problem than a discipline. Its complexity led us to define it as competence theory and then proceed to identify the finite features of the process of communication. One of these was the component of code which is associated

with the metalinguistic function. (We refer to language in the sense that it has linguistic functions which structure the communication process.) The concrete nature of the code gives us an excellent indicator of cultural features of the users of the code.

The phenomenon of lexical marking yields important insights into certain cultural qualities in American society. In English, adjectives come in unequal pairs, one of the adjectives is positive while the other is negative (far-near, or good-bad). The positive adjective, i.e., good refers to all variations of goodness-badness. This aspect of language reflects, with some distortions, cultural qualities in American cultures such as the focus on negative factors in problem solving, and the stress on aversive conditioning in American norms of child rearing and teaching.

The code and its linguistic features is a subject that can only be mentioned in passing. Perhaps the examples used are enough to establish the significance of the uses of language in revealing cultural qualities.

B. Patterns of Thinking

Thinking may be defined as an extension of thought going beyond the evidence at hand; it implies establishing a relationship beyond available facts. Two dimensions are usually identified with patterns of thinking: a perceptual and a cognitive. In this course, patterns of thinking will be presented according to the model developed by Glenn, and it incorporates the two dimensions as associative-abstractive, and case-particular-universal.

When we consider patterns of thinking such as the Japanese, the Chinese and many other which deviate sharply from the patterns found among the western cultures, it becomes necessary to draw attention to the interesting relationship existing between human groupings and cognitive patterns. We refer to the Durkheim-Mauss hypothesis that the organization of thought resembles the organization of the group.

Recently the hypothesis has been elaborated by Mary Douglas (1973) who derives the epistemology, belief systems and values of the members of a culture from the social forms used in the society.

Finally there is the concept of functional cognitive systems (Cole and Scribner, 1974) which is perhaps the most important distinction among cultures in the cognitive area. Examples of functional cognitive systems found among Americans and not shared with all other societies are the implied observer agent, decision-making and problem solving. (Stewart, in press).

C. Values

Values and similar concepts such as value orientations, assumptions or priorities all have in common the optative quality, oughtness. To clarify an unusually murky area, three kinds of values can be identified. Operative values refer to realistic choices, or to inferred values which explain choices made. Conceived values are ideals which may not directly influence choices but which loom in the background, pervade choices and

have a general if indirect influence. Object values are those which can be said to be objectively good. Values in the health area are of this kind. (Morris, 1956)

II. Industrial and Non-Industrial Values

Inkelese and Smith (1974) in Becoming Modern provide the most comprehensive analysis of industrial and non-industrial values. I propose to very briefly review the main features of their work.

Inkelese and Smith define modern as personal qualities of the individual inculcated by participation in large-scale modern productive enterprise, or more precisely, the qualities needed to efficiently operate a modern factory.

They collected information with a questionnaire in selected countries throughout the world. The procedure is elaborate; it includes an analytical, topical and behavioral perspectives. Both workers and firms are broken down into sub-categories. The analysis yields an overall scale of modernity. The writers conclude that education and mass media are crucial in bringing about modernism. The conclusions reached about values are generally in line with existing studies of modernism.

Becoming Modern is conceived from a western point of view. The methods used in the research, the conceptualization of modernism predispose to reaching the conclusions found in the research. The book has been seen as ethnocentric. Nevertheless, it is the most comprehensive study of its kind and deserves serious study.

III. Values Changes[1]

Thinking about change has been simplistic to say the least. American preoccupation with change and with novelty has saddled researchers and practitioners with a one dimensional view of change, which essentially assumes that by change is meant either the acquisition or the abandonment of a value. This simple dimension can be expanded to number among six others. Actually it is difficult to discover a value which has been entirely acquired or abandoned in American history. The invention of adolescence a hundred years or so ago might be an example. Different kinds of appearances and disappearances of religious and ideological groups might be another. Other dimensions of value change seem more important than the simple one of acquisition or abandonment.

Value redistribution refers to the spread to different groups of a given value, or the retrenchment of a value. The spread of equality and of tolerance is an example. These values find much wider distribution today than before, but they have always been present in American society.

Changing events bring about an emphasis or a de-emphasis of value. Pollution and employment (or unemployment) serve as examples. The

1. Rescher, N. "What is Value Change? A Framework for Research," in K. Baier and N. Rescher (eds.) Values and the Future. New York: The Free Press, 1969.

dimension refers to the topicality of an issue rather than to any shift in its optativeness.

A fourth kind of change does refer to a rescaling or reranking of a given value. Thus issues of itlentity or matters of self worth have been scaled upwards within recent years in American society.

Redeployment of values refer to the application of a value in a new domain. Values of quantification have recently been introduced into the field of education, after being developed in technology and industry.

A sixth dimension refers to restandardization of values. Implementation of safety, of standards of living and of public welfare have received striking standardizations of increasing precision.

The final dimension of value changes has been called retargeting. Action groups make strategic judgments about their plans, delaying some changes until more immediate goals have been reached. Thus female suffrage preceeded negro suffrage.

These different dimensions of value change cast an entirely different lifht on problems of innovation and of development. The analysis conducted by Rescher is a refreshing view of the old and stale subject of one dimensional change.

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LEADING CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

Michael H. Prosser

Several definitions of culture are possible. A chief contribution of such definitions can lead us to Clifford Geertz's important statement that without humans, no culture, but more significantly, without culture, no humans. We can identify four theoretical orientations which provide current theories of culture: cultural evolutionism, cultural functionalism, cultural history, and cultural econogy. Cultural evolutionism refers to the cumulative, collective experience of humanity, Culture Writ Large. Cultural functionalism emphasizes the society or culture as a working system, which indicates that if all aspects of the system are not at work, the system itself will disintegrate. Cultural history ethnographically studies the contemporary history of a culture as seen through time and space. That is, all cultural history is a study of contemporary history whenever it took place. Cultural ecology stresses our interaction with our cultural environment. As an aspect of cultural ecology, we can briefly explore the role of cognitive or subjective culture which is defended by cognitive anthropologists as getting into the minds and hearts of members of the culture to know it more fully. Two fundamental aspects in cultural ecology have been seen to be environment and adaptation.

These theoretical orientations towards culture allow us to begin to distinguish cultural units. Among these are cultural maximizers, the quantum of culture, cultural universals, the cultural placenta, the cultural

quantum of communication, and the cultural bias toward communication. In any culture, cultural maximizers assure the culture's survival and the passing down of traditions and values, two key values for every culture. The quantum of culture is the accumulation of the culture's customs, traditons, norms, and values. As an aspect of Culture Writ Large, we can isolate the important role which cultural universals play and can note criticism of the concept. Since we are chiefly interested in social discourse, we can suggest that the cultural placenta provides the interaction for such discourse. Finally, we can identify the cultural quantum of communication as the direct interaction between communication and culture. This concept, linked with the notion of a cultural bias of communication as seen by different cultures, ties directly into the early issues which we raised, and emphasizes the importance of these linkages between communication and culture which we wish to make.

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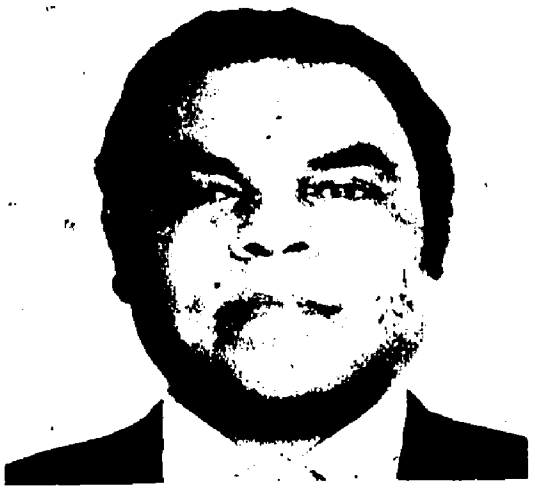
CONTRAST-AMERICAN MODEL AND ITS APPLICATION IN TRAINING PROGRAMS

Cajetan DeMello



Born near Bombay, India, Cajetan DeMello completed his diploma in dramatic arts in Bombay, his B.A. in drama from Howard University, and his M.A. in drama from The Catholic University of America. He has been a professional actor both in India and in the United States. With Edward Stewart, he helped to develop the contrast-American model and has been active in their ongoing program for intercultural communication for the Business Council for International Understanding at American University; government agencies such as HUMRRO; Washington International Center, the World Bank, E.I. DuPont de Nemours and Co., and Maryknoll Seminary. He has also served as a consultant in intercultural communication for such above named agencies, companies, and organizations. He is fluent in Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindi in addition to English.

There are three documents which together form basic materials for understanding the Contrast-American model--the development of the notion of Contrast-American, assimilation, and an application of the same in training programs. They explain the basic research undertaken to develop a new training model in the area of crosscultural communication which gave birth to the concept of the Contrast-American model. These are listed below with an explanation of what they are and where they can be obtained.

A Caution

While it is not difficult to describe the concept of the Contrast-American model and its utilization in training programs, a reader who is not familiar with the model, invariable perceives it differently, in its

depth and scope from its live and dramatic usability in training. Without a firsthand experience of this model and the method, a trainer may find the Contrast-American model artificial and unreal, and the encounter contrived.

Its impact and effectiveness is best learned and felt when seen or experienced in a live classroom training situation. It is desirable that those who wish or plan to use Contrast-American model should have witnessed it demonstrated at least once to really understand and appreciate the experiencial learning it provides, an intense, personal and an emotional involvement which it creates, and the discussion it generates of values, assumptions, role/event-oriented attitudes, social behavior, and thought processes that underlie a spoken word or a manifest action.

The Documents

The Contrast-American model was conceptualized and created by Edward C. Stewart. It is designed for cultural self-awareness. It uses a technique of role-play based on scenarios with specific problems which need to be resolved. The role-play takes place between a participating American and a Contrast-American (a trained cultural specialist) as his counterpart in a country abroad.

The research was conducted at Human Resources Research Organization (HUMRRO), 300 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Virginia, 22314. Various organizations using the Contrast-American model in training programs have adapted the original scenarios to meet their own needs.

Others have written altogether new scenarios to suit their goals and objectives.

The research appears in a document called Technical Report 69 (May 1969) entitled Simulating Intercultural Communication Through Role-Playing. It explains conceptualization process of the Contrast-American model, writing of the scenarios, techniques of role-playing and pre- and post-measurement instruments to gauge the effectiveness of this system of training. The report is out of print but a xeroxed copy is available for a fee of $4.50 from National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia, 22161. Please quote document number AD 688698 when ordering a copy.

The character of the Contrast-American is drawn by Stewart based on his own work American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective which discusses two levels of cultural patterns and perspectives: American and its opposite, variant or contrasting phenomena. The Contrast-American model therefore is a composite abstraction but a very real personification in a sense that it derives its form and substance from various cultures of the world outside of the United States. Stewart's book is available for $3.50 from the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR), Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

In my master's dissertation (January 1975) entitled A Cultural Experience: And the Art of Acting as a Technique for Simulating Cross-Cultural Interaction Through Role-Playing in Communication, I explain

the training and the creative processes; first, understanding the Contrast-American character, second, assimilating the role of the Contrast-American character, and third, re-creating the same before an audience in a live, realistic simulated encounter with an American trainee/participant-role-player. The dissertation can be obtained through the Inter-library Loan System from The Catholic University of America, Fourth and Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20017; and the library catalog number of the dissertation is PN 1621/.C32/1975/D35.

The Technique

An intercultural communication specialist or a culture expert (who also moderates the role-playing sessions) presents to the participants a general cultural overview--culture similarities and differences, the hidden power and influence of a culture that belie human activity and motivate individual and group behaviors and so forth. On one side of the cultural continuum, a speaker displays American predispositions and on the other, a variant norm or an opposite value. Further, patterns of thinking, value systems, assumptions, and traditions are discussed to show how each affect interpersonal relations and interactions. Other aspects that affect communication are explored such as language, analytical as opposed to descriptive thinking, perception and the world view, man in relation to his social and physical environment, logic versus nonlogic, movement of thought from abstract to concrete and vice versa. In short, a whole spectrum of culture and communication are presented as an interface.

The next step is to have a participant volunteer to role-play as Mr. Smith (American) making certain that he places himself into the given situation of the scenario rather then assuming a role of some other American or an imaginary third person. The role of the Contrast-American named Mr. Khan is played by a trained staff member who tries to elicit from Mr. Smith a culture-laden behavior and contrasts the same in a very realistic and spontaneous manner, differing values and attitudes. Such two-person simulated encounters last about 15 to 20 minutes.

After that, Mr. Khan leaves the classroom and the moderator with the help of the participants debriefs Mr. Smith so as to surface hidden dimensions of perceptions, misperceptions, and undercurrents of communication. This done, the debriefing takes place with Mr. Khan to unravel his view of Mr. Smith and the interaction.

In the final step, a culture specialist will summarize the whole process highlighting culture, similarities and differences of roles and behaviors, and pin-pointing the lack of communication which may result because of misunderstanding when people of different cultural background and different value-orientation try to communicate.

The presentation of the cultural overview together with the first introductory scene takes about three hours. Each subsequent scene may take from 45 minutes to one hour including the discussion.

AGENCY VIEWS TOWARD CROSSCULTURAL RESEARCH

Richard L. Cohen

Richard Cohen is currently Executive Assistant to the Director of USIA, John Reinhardt. He received his B.A. in Government and History from the University of Texas, graduating with highest honors to become a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and Rhodes Scholar; he then spent two years in graduate study at Oxford University in Politics.

Cohen has worked as a foreign affairs reporter in Washington D.C. for the Congressional Quarterly and The National Journal, and spent six years as a partner in a communications consulting firm in Dallas, specializing in political campaign work. In 1976 he became Staff Director of the Public Agenda Foundation, a New York-based public research organization founded by Cyrus Vance and Daniel Yankelovich. He joined the Agency in his current capacity in May of 1977.

Our first question is: What does the Agency mean by research? From the point of view of Agency management, we should be interested not only in opinion polls, but in a whole range of valid and reliable research tools and techniques. The principal function of Agency research is to assist in answering questions--up and down the line, at various levels of Agency management--that the Agency may face. Different research methods can be employed, depending on the questions to be answered. Research clearly is not much good to the Agency unless it utilizes sound methodology, unless it is wholly reliable. Neither is it useful unless it is timely and relevant. Director Reinhardt regards good research as

crucial to Agency decision-making and operations--which should be relied on as an essential tool for objective answers. At times, the research division has been treated as something of a stepchild; but it should be a cornerstone of the entire Agency. The use of basic research should be the starting point for any viable domestic or foreign decision-making.

As an agency, we have three specific mandates: to advise the President, the Secretary of State, the National Security Council, and even the Congress at times on foreign attitudes and opinions as they relate to U.S. policy; to explain American policies overseas; to provide overseas audiences with a balanced, representative view of American life. Successful performance of each of these requires use of basic research. Examples of failure to utilize such research can be offered to demonstrate where the subjective analyses of officers overseas about opinion toward the United States are at variance with data generated by attitudinal research methods. Everything the Director and the Deputy Director have said about improving our focus, our accountability, our contacts between Washington and the field and our mission must be tied to research. "Research continues to be one of the weakest and least-funded elements of the Agency. The Agency seems not to know why it ought to do what it does." This statement is not recent but was made in a report about the Agency nine years ago. To the extent that it applies today, changes must occur in a positive direction.

We do not have the budget to tie into the esoteric research of social scientists which has no specific applicability to Agency needs. However, we should learn how to harness the most useful social science research to our needs. In the coming months, it should become obvious to those who are concerned how important solid research will become to the Agency's management decisions. We hope to become a model for the effective use of reliable and valid social science research.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES OF THE AGENCY

Kenneth P. Adler

Kenneth Adler, Deputy Chief of the Attitude and Audience Research Division of USIA's Office of Research, was born in Germany. He received his B.A. in Journalism from Syracuse University and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

Before joining the Agency in 1962 as a social science analyst, Adler taught communication at the University of Chicago and worked as a senior research officer at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He has since served as Chief of the Media Research and Technical Division of the Office of Research, as Deputy Chief of Research, and as Program Research Officer in Manila. He has also taught classes in journalism at the University of Maryland and at American University.

To communicate effectively, we have to know the Agency's audiences and where they are located. We have to be aware of what they already know, understand and believe about the United States and its policies, and what their present attitudes are on relevant issues; and we have to get some feedback to learn how well our messages are perceived and accepted, and how well they seem to promote our objectives.

To help increase the effectiveness of the Agency's communications and in support of the Agency's advisory role to the executive branch on foreign public opinion, we use the tools of social science research for at least eight different purposes:

1. To measure basic values and attitudes of people in key countries.

The Agency hasn't done much of this in the past, but a good current example

is a study of youth attitudes in West Germany. It seeks to discover, among many other things, the extent to which the political orientations of university students and other young people are maintained or moderated as individuals grow older and assume adult roles. This is a long term research project.

2. To measure trends in public opinion in countries of major interest to the U.S. government on issues relevant to Agency and Post objectives. We used to do more of this kind of research in the past than in recent years, but interest in trend studies seems to be reviving.

3. To measure reactions to U.S. foreign policy in general, or to specific U.S. foreign policy initiatives. These studies usually result in briefing papers for the top people in the State Department, the National Security Council, and the White House and currently receive highest priority. They are typically planned to assess public opinion prior to some major event or conference. For example, the Office of Research did multi-country surveys this year prior to the London Economic Summit meetings and the Belgrade Conference.

4. To measure target group perceptions of the American Society and of U.S. domestic policies. As a major policy objective of the Agency is to portray American society accurately, it is important for program officers to know which elements are viewed positively or negatively, and

to identify areas of ignorance. Coupled with measures of audience interests, such studies help to define topics on which USIS should communicate. Analysis of perception data can show which opinions are most related to a generally positive or negative evaluation of the U.S. For example, do those who perceive the U.S. as "racist" have a more or less negative overall image of the U.S. than those who see American society as "ruthless," as lacking in concern for the poor, the ill, or the aged? In recent years, we have done such studies in the major European countries and Japan.

5. To analyze the influence structure in foreign countries, and to aid in the identification of influentials for Post audience lists. This can be done by synthesis of relevant academic research, by sponsorship of appropriate field studies, or by providing a competent specialist as consultant. We have not done nearly enough in this field, in part because such studies can be politically quite sensitive.

6. To show which information sources are most used and trusted by USIS priority audiences. This information helps posts select appropriate communication channels. With the Agency's increased reliance on personal media such as seminars and less concern with placement in local mass media, this kind of study is now rare.

7. To identify friendly or especially hostile audience segments, and to analyze apparent bases for goodwill or antipathy. This kind of

information is especially important in communicating with new generations whose perceptions may have been shaped more by Vietnam and Watergate than by World War II and post-war U.S. economic aid.

8. To help evaluate, justify of improve Agency media products (VOA, films, TV, publications, cultural centers, exhibits) by analyzing audience interests, pretesting pilot programs, comparing content with objectives, describing the size and composition of audiences reached, measuring comprehension, reactions, effects, and recommending possible changes in content, format, or distribution practices. A great deal is done in this area, especially for major Washington-based multi-country media.

One of several other ways in which research could be, but has not been, used, is to test Agency and Post basic operating assumptions. For example, are USIS cultural centers more or less effective than Binational Centers? Is the general public more likely to be informed (and influenced) by focusing on strictly defined target groups or by using a mass media approach? Is "explication" more effective than persuasion in achieving program objectives? Are student leaders or followers more likely to be influenced by USIS programs? And so on.

Response to Questions:

A. We are limited by resources and staff to a small number of opinion/attitude surveys per year. Political conditions and the availability of

of research contractors also impose limitations. Surveys measuring reaction to US foreign policies are most often conducted in four or five West European countries, and perhaps in Japan. We cannot do surveys in Eastern Europe, China, or the USSR, and there are few reliable research institutes in Northern or Central Africa.

B. The decision on what surveys to undertake is based on a variety of inputs. The Office of Research may initiate a study in response to some major political development. Or requests are received from Public Affairs Officers, area directors, the Office of Policy and Plans, or Agency management. Before we can do any studies which involve interviewing in the field, we must obtain approvals from the area director, the Agency director, the State Department, and the Public Affairs Officer and Ambassador in the survey country.

PRODUCT AND EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH FOR THE AGENCY

W. Peter Janicki

Peter Janicki, currently the Deputy Chief of the Media Research Division of IOR, was born in Poland and educated in England and the United States. He received his Ph.D. in Social Psychology from Princeton University in 1961, where he worked under sociologist Hadley Cantril conducting surveys worldwide to assess levels of personal and national satisfactions. He also taught social psychology at Dartmouth College.

Janicki joined the Agency in 1964, specializing in research in the Near East and South Asia until 1970. He then began work on media and product research, and initiated the current cyclic research programs on major Agency media.

USIA is an incredibly large and complex source of international communication, as we all know. To the researcher whose task is to assess the effectiveness of its products and programs the volume and variety of USIA output pose a serious challenge. He has to consider some thirty-seven language broadcasts of VOA, five or six major publications with many local variants, the rapidly changing film, TV and VTR output, and the many cultural and informational activities carried out by USIS posts.

Yet the development of an adequate research program depends very much on the orientation of top Agency management and its understanding of what research can do. In the past, when interest was low, research projects tended to be less well focused and sporadic. Even when interest was high, often it reflected idiosyncracies of individual managers.

For the past five years, however, Agency management has been increasingly aware of the uses of research. The demand from Congress and OMB for hard information on programming has also increased markedly. Research programs were being instituted to meet this demand.

Currently, added impetus of ZBB and the present actions of the Director and his staff already indicate that program oriented research will become even more central during his tenure.

The main change occurred around 1972. In that year strong management of the Office of Research and support from top Agency management led to the creation of the concept of multi-year, integrated cycle of research projects designed to be a part of a research program to answer specific questions and to add to the cumulative body of knowledge about Agency products, activities and audiences. The conceptual framework was based on research priorities intended to reflect Agency program priorities and costs. We obtained long-term commitments for a series of mutually related projects and began to develop standard research designs, questionnaires and indices of effectiveness to permit aggregate analyses from which to make wider generalizations. But the program was also kept flexible to respond to special requests.

The first of these programs was the VOA-Continuing Audience Analysis Program (VOA-CAAP), which has now seen the completion of over 40 separate surveys, reflecting VOA's major budget position in USIA.

The chart shown below perhaps best illustrates how we went about developing that program. The VOA-CAAP consists of four concurrent phases: in Phase I--which received early emphasis--we measure VOA audiences and assess its competitive situation vis-a-vis other broadcasters. In Phase II we measure audience program preferences and other listening habits. In Phase III (which is the only part of the program not relying on probability sampling and strictly representative listeners) we delve more deeply into listeners' needs and try to sense emerging issues. In Phase IV, still experimental, we assess the impact of locally placed VOA programming.

VOA CONTINUING AUDIENCE ANALYSIS PROGRAM (VOA-CAAP)
CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

PURPOSE	METHOD	OUTCOME
Evaluation (Phase I)	Quantitative Representative (Sample Surveys)	Measurement of reach --in adult populations --in selected groups --trends in the above --by time of day --by language --by program
Evaluation Guidance (Phase II)	Quantitative Representative (Sample Surveys)	Audience reactions Audience preferences Station credibility measures Other measures requiring projections
Guidance (Phase III)	Qualitative Non-representative (Listener panels by mail) (Personal discussion groups)	Identification of new issues Clarification of past findings Reactions to real/planned changes Identification of motivations and sensitivities
Evaluation (Phase IV)	Quantitative Representative (Surveys of radio stations) (Analysis of ratings)	Measurement of added reach through programs placed on local radio

We have similarly conceptualized parallel research programs for publications, film/TV and field programming, although only the publications program so far has been nearly as developed as the VOA-CAAP. Our reports on indivisual studies and aggregate analyses are distributed to all relevant Agency elements, but are also available on request to anyone in the Agency. It may be of interest that our research data and reports are also made available to persons outside USIA and are routinely sent to various academic centers.

To get back to VOA research, the VOA-CAAP program has been very useful in helping us develop estimates of VOA audiences worldwide. Most recently, for instance, we estimate that VOA may have up to 74 million regular (i.e., weekly or better) listeners. We have also shown that it is one of the two most widely listened to international broadcasters. VOA audiences comprise typically 1-2 percent in many countries, but in some areas, notably in East Europe and parts of Africa may reach as many as 20-25 percent of the potential listeners. Listeners typically are "informationally oriented."

Our research on periodicals, as some of you may know, has pointed up some important generalizations. We find that our readers' interests lie mainly in areas of economic, political affairs, societal issues or science rather than in cultural or "popular culture" topics. They are sophisticated and well educated members of an "international informational

elite," requiring top quality products. These findings have been used by IPS in their publications policies in recent years. We find that our publications are widely read and appreciated; but reaching all intended recipients has been a problem since losses in the distribution system have been noted. Our reports on individual publications provide much more detail.

Our product oriented research now accounts for about two thirds of the IOR staff and contract funds. We conduct research both in the developed and in the developing world, and have done studies in all geographic areas except in the Communist world. In many parts of the developing world research is difficult because many contractors there lack sophistication in social science methods. In many cases we send our own officers to supervise and control the fieldwork. Despite our efforts to produce timely results we are often subjected to delays in reporting due to these factors. But we feel that the validity and reliability of our information must be of a high quality to make it useful for proper management decisions and ultimately for longer range program planning.

CONTRASTING EASTERN AND WESTERN VALUE SYSTEMS

K.S. Sitaram

K.S. Sitaram is currently Professor and Chairman of the Communication Department of Utah State University. Born in India, where he attended the University of Mysore and received his Bachelor of Science, he has lived and worked in the United States since 1964, receiving his Ph.D. in Speech, Radio, and Television from the University of Oregon.

Sitaram specializes in the area of interpersonal and intercultural communication and the social effects of mass media; he has taught courses in these areas at Governor's State University and the University of Hawaii as well as at Utah State University. He is co-author, with Roy T. Cogdell, of Foundations of Intercultural Communication, published by Charles Merrill in 1976, and has contributed several articles to anthologies and journals of intercultural communication, including: "What is Intercultural Communication?" in Samovar and Porter, eds., Intercultural Communication: A Reader; Intercultural Communication: An Overview in Biosciences Communication, to be published in 1978; "Modern Man and the Media" in Journal of Communication Association of the Pacific; and "Values in Communication" in Asante and Marks, eds., Readings in Intercultural Communication, to be published by Sage in 1978.

Communicative behaviors of any people are shaped mostly by their cultural value system. Different systems give rise to different types of communicative behaviors. Thus values become the guidelines for a person's behavior. Values "tell" people which way they should go when they are at the cross-roads.

A study of the values of most cultures of the world indicates that there are at least twenty-eight values. These may be classified as primary and secondary values. Even among the primary values only two seem to be

most important. They are : individuality and responsibility. Individuality is basic to Western cultures while responsibility is basic to Eastern cultures. All other values seem to be related to either one of the two.

If we would like to prepare ourselves to interact in a particular culture, we must know the primary and secondary values of that culture. Because the values shape communicative behaviors, it is necessary to know which value shapes what type of behavior. Such an understanding should enable us to adapt our communicative techniques to the culture of our audience.

CONTRASTING EASTERN AND WESTERN BASES FOR COMMUNICATION

K.S. Sitaram

The main purpose of this session is to discuss the theories of perception of ancient Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, and Greeks and compare them with the modern theories. The ancients defined perception as the acquiring of valid knowledge: the way each people explain the process of perception reflects their values, beliefs and expectations. Buddhists explained the process as the method of acquiring knowledge that occurs as a result of mind-object contact, which can take place only when the individual has developed his/her powers of intuition. Hindus did not think that object of contact is important; it is the soul that is inside the person which decides whether knowledge is valid or not, and by deep mediation one can know the validity. Muslims, on the other hand, rejected both theories and

laid emphasis on the individual's ability to reason. Greeks laid emphasis on the individual's own ability to experiment. In the final analyses, Easterners emphasized the authority of an external source and the individual's responsibility to that authority. Greeks, the "Westerners," emphasized the individual's own ability.

A thorough understanding of the theories of perception and the underlying values of a people is nessary if a person intends to interact with that people.

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Hamid Mowlana

Hamid Mowlana is currently Professor of International Relations and Director of the Program in International Communication at the American University. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Northwestern University in Communication and Political Science, and has considerable journalistic experience in both the U.S. and Iran. He has been on the faculty of several universities and has taught in England, Argentina, and Iran. He has consulted for many institutions and agencies, including the USIA, whom he assisted in the planning of the early International Communication Seminars. A pioneer in the field of international communications, he has published many monographs, articles and books including International Communications: A Selected Bibliography; and Watergate: The Anglo-French Press Attitude.

This paper is written to describe our notion of public opinion. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary that we know what constitutes a public and an opinion. On this basis, a definition or perhaps more precisely, a description of the notion of public opinion may be formulated.

Publics, the first component of public opinion, are large groups. These groups may be characteristically political, social, or cultural. A public is not a formal organization or association, rather it tends to be a relatively loose (free) association of individuals who subscribe to a similar point of view with regard to an issue or lifestyle. The members of such groups (collectivities) have a sense of belonging similar to the sense of esprit de corps which members of a society or nation posess.

It is important to note that there is no such thing as "the" public, rather there are as many publics as there are issues.

Opinions, the second component of public opinion, may be regarded as what an individual "thinks" is true. Opinions are attitudes, perceptual interpretations of facts or events, personal impressions which are colored by biases.

Therefore, a working definition of public opinion may be formulated as follows: Public opinion is "a verbalization of an attitude." It refers to people's attitudes on an issue when they are members of the same social group. Or public opinion may be termed the complex of beliefs expressed by a significant number of people on an issue of public importance. It represents a concensus of attitudes.

Generally, when pollsters are attempting to measure, articulate, or describe the public opinion, several factors are taken into consideration:

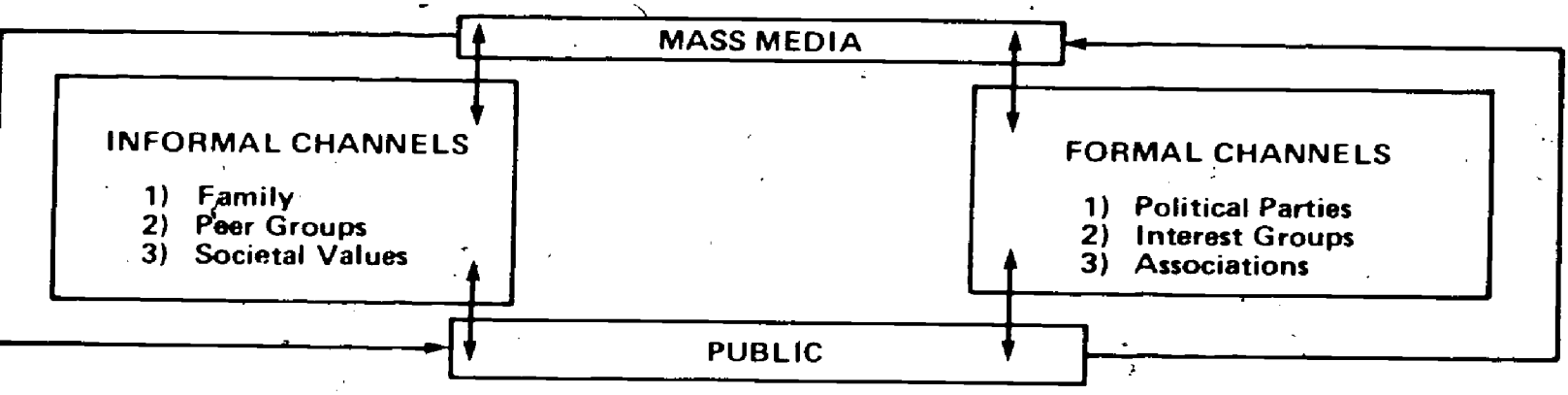
1) The direction (positive or negative),
2) The intensity of attitudinal predispositions,
3) The stability of public attitudes,
4) The informational context from which opinions are formulated (informed public or uninformed public),
5) Organization,
6) The internal consistency (reliability of public sampled),
7) The policy component (verbal expression and action).

In view of these factors, pollsters generally develop questions which fall into four main categories:

1) Personal habits and preferences,
2) Predictions,
3) Judgements and evaluations,
4) Straw votes on public issues.

Prior to engaging techniques for sampling publics to determine and/or to assess their opinions, pollsters have already recognized that there are several channels available for the articulation of public sentiment. These channels of opinion aggregation and articulation may be divided into two classifications or categories--formal and informal channels. Formal channels include the mass media, political parties, interest groups, associations, and other institutional entities. The family, peer groups, societal values, and to some extent, the mass media comprise the informal channels.

Channels of Opinion Aggregation and Articulation



Individuals develop their opinions over a relatively considerable period of time. From infancy, society, via parental values, impacts the formulation of individual attitudes and preferences. One's partisan or political orientation is partly the result of factors such as parental influence, reference group preferences and lifestyle, level of political awareness, and personal or group interests. Numerous studies have concluded that an individual and his acquired attitudes are the product of environmental factors which exert varying degrees of influence on one's behavior or attitudes.

Pollsters' interest in the public opinion is intimately related to political representation. Representation implies an understanding of the attitudes of those represented on the part of the representative. In order to appreciate the attitudes and preferences of the constituency, the representative should:

1) Establish an effective means of measuring public sentiment,
2) Employ standardized and periodic opinion measurement techniques,
3) Utilize straw polls as necessary,
4) And remain abreast of current survey research methods and emerging scientific methods for measuring and interpreting public opinion.

Whenever an elected representative or pollster is attempting to determine or define the public opinion, there are basically five factors taken into consideration:

1) Presence of an issue,
2) The nature of publics involved,
3) The complex of beliefs embraced by the public,
4) The manner in which an opinion is expressed,
5) And the number of persons involved.

A thorough understanding of these factors individually and collectively provide a basis upon which to render a decision or to take action.

In a democracy, there are certain sociological and institutional factors prerequisite to the formation of opinions:

1) Homogeneity of values and interest,
2) Freedom of communication,
3) Time for deliberation,
4) And continuing, non-partisan administrative procedures.

The formulation of public opinion and ultimately, foreign policy in modern democracies is much influenced by the fundamental importance of the "group." Modern democracies are characterized by the following problems with regard to the formulation of public policy:

1) The group struggle in the formulation of public policy,
2) The majority-minority problem,
3) The problem of direct representation, and
4) The involvement of governmental agencies in the opinion-policy process.

Some observers of public opinion polls and processes such as Lippman argue that mass opinion has handicapped the American executive's conduct of foreign relations.

V.O. Key, suggests that such a view underestimates the capacity of leaders to influence and direct mass opinion which is generally vague and lacks specificity in its instructions.

One reason for disagreement is that the literature of public opinion and public policy in general, and of public opinion and foreign policy in particular, largely evades the question of the relationship between opinion and policy.

It is a misnomer to assert that public opinion is easily influenced with regard to world events. Virtually nothing can be done to shift the images of 40% of the populations in most countries. What is required is mutual reinforcement of cumulative events. The stability factor is reinforced not by various psychological processes favoring stability, but may be attributed to relative ignorance of foreign affairs by 75% of the population.

In summary, public opinion is essentially a measurable group attitude or complex of beliefs. It may be influenced by societal values, political factors, economic considerations, and charismatic leadership. Public opinion is only one factor taken into consideration by the leadership with regard to the formulation of domestic and foreign policy. After surveying and measuring public opinion, policy makers weigh public sentiment and determine or evaluate its relevance to a policy decision before rendering a judgement.

Culture is the whole pattern of learned social values, myths, and traditions, along with the physical products of man's labor. It is the whole man-made environment of human life. Because of this:

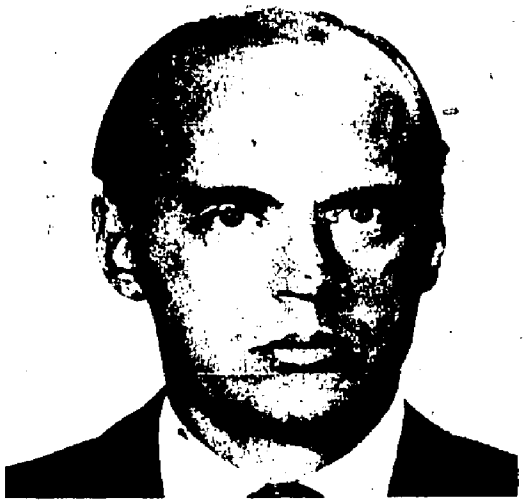
1) Culture is learned,
2) Culture is pervasive. We cannot completely know ourselves--non-involvement is impossible,
3) Culture is patterned.

There are constant tensions in every culture between the factors making for change and the influences for the maintenance of the status quo. Thus, public opinion research should take the following factors into account:

1) Increasing diversity within cultures,
2) Decreasing diversity among cultures,
3) Culture as a limiting and influencing factor in the formation of opinion,
4) And political culture as a factor in opinion formation and change.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY

David Nalle



Mr. Nalle served overseas most recently as Counselor for Press and Cultural Affairs at the American Embassy in Moscow. He completed his three-year tour there in the summer of 1975 and has since been serving as Assistant Director of USIA in charge of the Agency's programs in the North Africa, Near East and South Asia area.

The greater part of Mr. Nalle's career with USIA has been spent working in or with the Near East. In addition to various assignments in the area headquarters office and a stint in charge of Voice of America radio broadcasts in Greek, Turkish, and Persian, he has tours in Kabul, Meshed, Damascus, Tehran, and Amman. In Tehran, from 1960 to 1963, he was Executive Director of the Iran America Society. In Amman, he was Public Affairs Officer from 1963 to 1965.

Mr. Nalle graduated with honors from Princeton University. He speaks French, Persian, and Russian.

Is there public opinion in the areas in which I am involved--the Near East and South Asia--and does it make any difference to foreign policy? Yes and no.

In Israel, for example, there is a very sensitive relationship between public opinion and policy makers. There are polls in Israel, as in the U.S., which measure public opinion and make it one factor in the decision-making process. There is now a rising curve of support in opinion polls for Prime Minister Begin and his position on the West Bank.

In Egypt, there is an active and influential public opinion, but there are no public opinion polls taken there to measure it. President Sadat's turn from the USSR to the US was based at least in part on a sensitive reading of basic pro-American, anti-Soviet attitudes among the public. When President Sadat raised Egypt's food prices last spring, however, public attitudes had been mis-read, and there was a series of riots. He backed down quickly. P.M. Begin has said that he will begin to believe Sadat's foreign policy overtures when he says the same things to his people as he says to visiting officials. The fact is that Sadat has begun to talk more fully to his people, recognizing, one assumes, that he needs the people along with him as he comes to each new policy decision or step (in the Middle East peace effort).

Other Arab states are more rigid than Egypt, but Syria, for example, has a very real public opinion. President Assad must have people behind him to a certain extent. Public opinion is starting to question the level of corruption in the Syrian government; this public reservation must be considered by Assad when he makes his policies. In Saudi Arabia, a traditional society where an unarticulated consensus has long played a role analagous to that of public opinion elsewhere, the authorities have recently made recognizable moves to inform public opinion through the media and "bring it along," after the fact, with regard to foreign affairs initiatives.

Where does USIA fit in? The Voice of America is an important factor in public opinion formulation on certain subjects, in Egypt and the confrontation states of the M.E. A politically alert person in Jordan, Syra, Egypt, and the surrounding countries may listen to three or four radio broadcasts daily, BBC, VOA, Voice of Palestine, Radio Cairo, or Radio Israel. Sometimes he doesn't recall where he heard a particular bit of information, but he synthesizes the facts, non-facts and ideas that he is exposed to in order to become "informed." The major problem in this area is the context of non-communication between those in confrontation. USIA is attempting in some ways to ease this situation. For example, recently a VTR of PM Begin on an American TV talk show was shown to a selected audience in a confrontation Arab country. In Cairo, we provided specific target audiences with a VTR made in Israel showing an American academic talking to Israeli colleagues about the Middle East. Another VTR shown on both sides of the confrontation lines, using an Arab and an Israeli who were in the U.S., demonstated that people with very different orientations toward the situation there could sit down together and carry on a rational discussion about highly sensitive issues. In this and other cases we are simply presenting models of reason and communication, and primarily for elite audiences.

To shift to South Asia: when we speak of India, we are considering a legacy left by the British with an active democracy and a thriving newspaper and radio network. In India, there are some 790 newspapers published

daily, more than in all of Africa and Latin America combined. Reading, listening to news, and political discussions are all the food of life in India. Some of the communication lines were cut during the Indira Gandhi government.

Both India and Pakistan are very interested in nuclear technology. Public opinion in each country is very apprehensive about the motivations and intentions of the other. Nuclear technology is a complex subject. Thus, every move the U.S. makes impinging upon the peaceful nuclear capability of one or the other country feeds a public opinion that is steeped in fear and antagonism, and short on actual understanding of the issues. This presents an obvious challenge to the explanatory talents of USIA in these two countries.

There are also strictly bilateral challenges in communicating with India, which represents the most expensive USIA program overseas. An important and double-edged public affairs consideration is the nature of Indian perceptions of the U.S. (its policies and its society) and of Indian perceptions of U.S. attitudes towards India. Technology transfer in general is an area of great concern to Indian public opinion about the U.S.: "Do they want to keep technology from us, keep us backward?" Or, "If we let them impose their technology upon us, will it destroy our tradition and our culture?" Currently, USIA is cooperating in the preparation of a major exhibit, "Technology, the American Experience," which will tour six Indian

cities during the course of 1978. Indian authorities (under the joint Indo-U.S. Commission) chose the theme. The exhibit strives not to sell American technology but rather to describe its growth and its relation to American culture and traditions. It is being designed by a museum, Philadelphia's Franklin Institute, rather than a commercial exhibit firm, and it is co-sponsored by India's Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. It is aimed not at specialists or the elite, but at the broad mass of educated public opinion which is ultimately important to decision-making in democratic India.

Thus, very different techniques may be appropriate to cross-cultural communication in different parts of what USIA designates as one area of the world, the Near East and South Asia.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Gregory Guroff

Gregory Guroff, currently on a two-year leave of absence from Grinnell College, is Senior Soviet Affairs Analyst for the Office of Research at the U.S. Information Agency. Born in Chicago, Illinois, he holds a doctoral degree in history from Princeton University. As a professor of history at Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa, Guroff has taught courses in Russian and European history. In 1973-1974 he was selected for the IREX Senior Scholar Exchange with the USSR and received a Fulbright-Hays Senior Research Fellowship, affiliated with the Academy of Sciences, Institute of Economics, Moscow, U.S.S.R., and the Economics Faculty, Moscow State University.

His several publications relating to Russian studies include: with Randell Magee, "Non-Party Specialists and the Coming of the NEP--An Excerpt from Valentinov," The Russian Review, April 1971, pp. 154-163; with S.F. Starr, "A Note on Urban Literacy in Russia, 1890-1914, Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas, December 1971, pp. 520-530; "The Legacy of Russian Economic Education: The St. Petersburg Polytech," The Russian Review, July 1972, pp. 272-281; "Lenin and Russian Economic Thought: The Problem of Central Planning," Lenin and Leninism, ed. B. Eisenstate, D.C. Heath; 1972, pp. 183-215; and articles for The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History, Academic International Press: Bezobrazov, V.P.; Bliokh, I.S.; Bogolepov, M.I.; Chuprov, A.A.; Chuprov, A.I.; Dzerzhinsky, F.E.

It is impossible in the brief time allotted to discuss with any comprehensiveness the nature of public opinion in a large and complex society, and the case of the Soviet Union poses some significant additional problems. For such a closed society it is difficult to produce a definition of public opinion which would have much comparability with the term as applied to Western societies. For example, in the Soviet Union there is no formal independent mass media network; it is all directed by the government. We might ask

rather does public opinion exist at all in the Soviet Union? And the response would be yes and no, and that this public opinion functions in a way quite distinct from that which we know in the West.

The Soviet system puts a high premium on public participation by its citizenry in all sorts of domestic and foreign policy issues. Soviet citizens are called on to participate in meetings, cast ballots, and sign petitions and declarations as part of their civic responsibility. Thus the government often orchestrates the expression of public opinion through the directives which it sends out through the hierarchically arranged organizations which permeate the society. The public campaign organized to support the Allende regime in Chile or to create international support for the Free Angela Davis movement, were carefully organized from the top. Soviet citizens thus are forced to make public statements which may or may not have anything to do with their own private feelings. In addition, the government recognizes the need for the expression of dissatisfaction and identifies areas for which criticism is encouraged--these are areas in which the system is not functioning well, never the system itself. For example, petty corruption by local officials or the lack of courtesy by service personnel are frequent targets. Criticism of the system or of the Party is considered tantamount to treason.

For the student of the Soviet Union, then, there are inherent problems in trying to determine what Soviet citizens believe and then to ascertain whether

or not these views have any practical consequences. There are also many levels at which each Soviet citizen must operate, which produces a very complex picture for the analyst. For example, Soviet film critics are under considerable constraint to evaluate negatively American films and to encourage a public view that these films depict, if anything, the decadence of American society. Yet, at meetings of colleagues, it is clear that Soviet critics are fascinated by American films, as are Soviet audiences, and that these same critics give very high marks to American films. What they might say in the privacy of their own homes may be quite different from what they would say even in meetings among peers. The issues are complicated by ideological and economic considerations. While there seems to be an acknowledgment that if American films were widely shown in the Soviet Union there would be considerable public enthusiasm, the reasons for not following this course are not simply found. There is considerable ideological resistance to extensive showing of American films, but another factor is also important; that is that these films have to be purchased for scarce hard currency reserves. Is it then a matter of national pride, ideology or economics? Is the necessity being made a virtue? On other issues there are also complex elements. Not long ago the Soviet Union was proclaiming its eternal friendship with India and the regime of Indira Gandhi and public expressions of support were carefully put together. While there may have been little opposition to the foreign policy goals, observers found expressions of discontent, for many loyal Soviet

citizens began to suggest privately that foreign friends were expensive. This is a particularly acute issue in a relatively poor society where the level of foreign expenditures is quickly and visibly reflected in the domestic economy. Thus the analyst is left with the impression that while Soviet citizens may support the international pretensions of the government, they are becoming increasingly aware of the implications of these pretensions for the domestic economy.

The study of public opinion in the Soviet Union is further complicated by the aura of secrecy which surrounds the discussion of most problems within the society. In Western societies we assume that the promulgation of a law is the result of the awareness of a particular problem and considerable discussion of it. This may very well be the case in the Soviet Union but it is hidden from view. Not long ago, a new law on hooliganism was promulgated, but on that issue no serious public discussion had occurred, leading the observer to assume that the law was preventative in nature. After the promulgation of the law it became clear that the problem was serious and long-term, but discussion of it would have proved embarrassing to a regime which publically denied the existence of hooliganism. The law then can be understood as a statement that the problem had become so significant that it could no longer be ignored or covered up. Along the same line, many issues cannot be openly debated but nonetheless find expression. For example, given the overarching ideological explanation for Soviet development, the debate about changing policies often comes in unexpected forums. Thus to the uninitiated, the extensive debates in historical journals concerning Lenin's vi[redacted] the

economy in 1917 would appear to be no more than an interesting historical argument, when in fact within the context of Soviet society it foreshadowed and made legitimate a debate on the need to modify economic policy and move toward greater economic decentralization. The observer must therefore be sensitive to the difficulty of raising dissenting voices in the USSR and thus the variety of means by which even the most muted voices of change are raised.

If we are successful in determining the nature of public attitudes in the Soviet Union and distinguishing among public statements, professional statements, and private views, then the problem of evaluating the significance of these positions presents its own difficulties. First, one has to determine what relationships exist among public attitudes, the government-controlled media, and the government itself. The information flow in the Soviet Union is extremely convoluted. Secrecy appears to be the slogan of the government. It is extremely difficult even for those government officials who wish to know what public attitudes are on a particular subject to find out. The government has long assumed that it knew what was happening, and thus the development of empirical methods of the social sciences have long been suffocated. Even where breakthroughs have been made the results have not been impressive either in the studies themselves or in their apparent utilization. Not long ago, a number of Soviet studies were undertaken by sociologists concerning radio (foreign and domestic) listenership. These studies were considered highly classified and only the meagerest results have ever been released.

Given the way the government operates it is doubtful that the results circulated very widely even among official circles.

We know little about how the higher echelons of the government function even sixty years after the Revolution. We do not even know how the Politburo makes decisions--do they vote? Are decisions arrived at by consensus? And the regime has done little to improve the outsider's knowledge. When Izvestiaya writes "kak khorosho izvestno" (as is well known) it usually means that what follows is brand new, but that now it is time to guide the development of public opinion on a certain issue.

How do two societies such as ours and the Soviets communicate? There are fundamental differences which need to be understood and overcome. One such difference is the language--not just differences between Russian and English, but the whole thought-patterning of the two societies. There are simply problems about which the two societies have difficulty communicating. One anecdote that suggests this difficulty concerns a conversation between myself and my Russian grandmother in Moscow. I explained to her how I had given up my job in Washington, left my apartment, decided on my own to enter graduate school, and rented an apartment in a different city, all without the permission of the government or the police. She smiled with grandmotherly affection, insisted that she believed and understood me, and then asked but who did give you permission? Despite lengthy explanations and her desire to understand, she would end each conversation

with a question about who gave me permission. The system is basically different from ours, and that we must understand if we are to learn more about it.

In addition, the Soviets have been reasonably successful in setting the agenda for debates. Think about how often we use the terms non-Communist or anti-Communist in our own discussions of international issues as if Communism were the center by which all others are defined. Soviet citizens are bombarded with the official line and despite some outside sources, the Soviet campaign is not without its effect. For example, the Soviets contend that our view of the human rights struggle is self-serving and wrong-headed. Human rights are in reality, they argue, economic rights (jobs, pensions, etc.), not so-called political rights. Internally, they have been quite successful and it is hard to estimate to what extent the Soviet citizenry conceive the issue in these terms.

At the same time, Soviet society is not monolithic. Soviet citizens in large numbers do listen to foreign radio particularly VOA and BBC and privately they may agree with positions articulated in these broadcasts, but publically they are under severe constraints to voice the official line. Interest groups are emerging, but their role and influence is as of now nearly impossible to measure. The Kremlinologists in the West perhaps more than the social science researchers are still our major source of

information about how the Soviet system operates. And the social scientist in the Soviet Union is still quite restricted in providing greater insight to the Soviet leadership not only for reasons of government restriction, but also because by and large social scientists have a stake in the success of the society and have accepted many of the ruling regime's assumptions. They are inclined to see problems within the society as isolated malfunctionings rather than as systemic.

I have intended these remarks to raise a number of questions rather than to provide any answers. I hope that we will have time in the discussion period to follow up on any issues which you all find intriguing.

THE ROLE OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN CROSS CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Maureen O'Sullivan

Maureen O'Sullivan is a clinical psychologist and Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of San Francisco. She attended Fordham University, and received her Ph.D. in psychological measurement from the University of Southern California. She has co-authored several articles, including: with A. Veno, I.R. Tuller, and H.V.S. Peeke, "The Effect of Prison on Present and Future Violence," in Quaderni di Criminologia Clinica, Vol. 16, 1974; with Virginia Patterson, "Three Perspectives on Brief Psychotherapy," in American Journal of Psychotherapy, No. 28, 1974; and with J.P. Guilford, "Six Factors of Behavioral Cognition," in Journal of Education Measurement, winter, 1976. She has also co-authored, with J.P. Guilford, A Manual for Four Social Intelligence Tests, published by Sheridan Psychological Services in 1976.

Introduction

Although most educated people tend to believe that the majority of their communication occurs on the verbal level, in actuality research reported by investigators such as Birdwhistle indicates that much of the communication which occurs between human beings around the world is in fact non-verbal. Included in the term "non-verbal" are facial expressions of emotions; facial signals which regulate or illustrate conversation, such as various kinds of eyebrow movements and eye gazes; body postures--whether you hold your body alert or let it slump; hand gestures; how you utilize the space around you--whether you need a lot of distance when you're talking to others or just a little; what kind of clothing you wear; and what may be called the paralinguistic qualities of your speech--whether you

speak in a loud voice or a soft voice, etc.

The Face. Although, as indicated above, there are many channels for non-verbal communication, one of the more important ones is the face. We identify ourselves and other people by our faces. When we talk to someone we look, if not directly in their face, at least in the general vicinity of the face, glancing there occasionally to see how what we are saying is being received. The face is a multi-signal system. It can let us know the emotional state, the state of health, the age, and perhaps even tell us something about the long-enduring quality of life of the person with whom we are speaking. The face, in addition to giving information about emotion, is also used to regulate conversational flow.

Over a hundred years ago, Charles Darwin suggested that human facial expressions of emotion are genetically based in humans, much as similar facial expressions have evolved and are genetically determined in other animals. This view was largely ignored during the early part of this century by social scientists, particularly anthropologists who were more impressed by cultural variability in facial expressions of emotion. For example, it was reported that Chinese laugh when they are very sad. This is obviously not the way in which Americans express sadness or grief. What is the current standing on this particular issue? One theory has been proposed by Ekman and Friesen (Unmasking the Face, 1975). In their writings, they propose a "neuro-cultural" theory of emotion. Essentially,

they agree with Darwin that there are at least some elements of facial expressions of emotion which are "wired in" and, therefore, universal across cultures.

For certain of the "basic" emotions, such as happiness, sadness, fear, anger, surprise, and disgust there is a number of different threads of evidence to support the universality of expression and recognition of these emotions. For example, Ekman and Friesen showed series of photographs to different cultural groups and asked them to identify them by choosing one of several affect labels. There was high agreement between various Western cultures as to the meanings of such facial expressions. In another study, they asked New Guinea tribesmen who have little contact with Western civilization to identify the facial expressions of American college students. The New Guinea tribesmen were able to do this at an above chance level. Then Ekman and Friesen asked the New Guineans to pose similar emotions. They would say, for example, "Please show me how you would look if your child just died." They would then photograph the expression. Expressions gathered in this way were easily identified by American college students. So, from this study, it would seem that there are at least some facial expressions of emotion which are recognized across cultures.

Why then does it appear on the surface as if cultures vary enormously in their expression of emotional states? For example, if we contrast American and Japanese cultures, by American standards the Japanese are

"inscrutable." Ekman and Friesen's theory suggests that the reasons for this are "display rules." Although facial expressions of emotion are genetically determined, they can be voluntarily controlled and the culture in which a person lives will teach him how and in what circumstances to express what emotions. In our own culture, for example, men are not permitted to display sadness or fear. Women, on the other hand, are not permitted, except in mothering roles, to display anger.

To test their theory, Ekman and Friesen designed an ingenious study. They had predicted that Japanese college students and American college students, when alone, would show very similar facial behavior. When they were in a public situation, however, the more stringent restrictions of the Japanese cultural display rules would result in the Japanese showing less negative emotion on their faces. In their study, Ekman and Friesen videotaped young Japanese and American men as they observed a highly stressful film. The facial behavior shown by both the Japanese and American students when they thought they were alone were essentially identical. In the second part of the experiement, an experiementer from the same culture as the subject entered the room and asked the subject how they were enjoying the film. At this point, marked differences appeared. The Japanese students covered their emotions, smiled and explained how pleasant and enjoyable the film was. The American students, however, showed much more of the negative emotion being aroused by the stress film they were watching.

(Videotaped demonstration of the elements of universal facial expressions with commentary.) (Facial exercises will be illustrated at this point. Students will be instructed in moving their own facial muscles to achieve some of the elements of the universal facial expressions.)

Another recent development in the study of the face is the question of blends of emotions on a single face. It will frequently happen that an individual will not wish to show on his face what he is really feeling because the situation is inappropriate, because of job requirements, or for other reasons of the moment. Under such circumstances, you may find the person "leaking" certain elements of facial affect. This issue will be discussed in the light of the previous facial exercises and in the light of some of the videotaped materials presented earlier.

A particular issue of interest is what happens to the face during deception. A series of deception experiments will be described and some of the major findings from that research highlighted. Of particular interest will be the finding that the face, rather than being a good source of information for the untrained person, will actually mislead them because the face looks more honest in deception.

The Hands. The hands have been studied by a number of different investigators, and again I would like to use the classification scheme or at least a part of the classification scheme proposed by Ekman and Friesen. They identify four different classes of hand movements. One type of hand

movements is emblems. This term was coined by Efron who used it in his study of Italian and Jewish immigrants in New York City. A brief description of Efron's work will be given. Emblems are hand gestures which are culturally circumscribed and are used to stand for a particular word. It is used when speech is not possible. Examples of emblems will be given.

Another class of hand gestures are illustrators. These hand movements accompany spoken speech and there are a number of different kinds of illustrators. These will be described (slides of illustrating hand movements in various cultures with commentary.)

A third category of hand gestures are body manipulators which occur when an individual touches or strokes his own body, as for example in wringing the hands, rubbing the knees or arms, picking at one's face, scratching one's head, and so forth. There is some evidence that the incidence of such body manipulators increase when a person is anxious or depressed. Descriptions of studies of psychopathology in which this occurred will be discussed.

Space Utilization. The concept of personal space is one which has been adapted from the work of ethologists who have noted that animals have varying degrees of territoriality which they defend in various ways depending on their species. In recent years, social scientists have been interested in studying the use of space by humans and the relationship

between such space utilization by individuals and the concept of social crowding and how people deal with this. Research into this question will be reviewed and cross-cultural differences in the utilization of space will be discussed.

The Voice. A brief review of some of the highlights of current research on qualities of the voice in speech will be reviewed. The finding of high interrater reliability about the meaningfulness of certain voice qualities will be noted along with the relatively low actual validity of such judgments.

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THEORIES OF LANGUAGE

Michael H. Prosser

A primary way to understand the linkages between language and culture is through language universals. These are linguistic characteristics which may be found in most or all cultures as an aspect of culture itself. The logical structure of such universals and their substantive content give important clues both to their nature and their importance. While logical structure suggests the need for consistent characteristics throughout various languages, the substantive content of the universals includes such aspects as phonology, grammar, semantics, and symbols. We note that language universals are very closely connected to the concept of generative grammar, which suggests that beneath the surface, all natural languages share certain similarities. In contrast to the theory of generative grammar, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis holds that every language is unique in its capacity to shape its culture and the individual thought-patterns of the culture, and that language has an even more pervasive influence than culture itself.

In this discussion, we have noted several linguistic aspects of communicative codes as components of communication. We have stressed that culture makes codes of human interaction possible.

We have seen that verbal linguistic codes provide the key link for cultural communication and for the passing on of cultural traditions.

This is possible because of our ability to encode and decode a virtually limitless number of messages. Speech becomes the basic coding procedure, while written language is a secondary coding procedure. Language, whether spoken or written, serves to symbolize and catalog our perceived reality.

Both theories, the generative grammar theory and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, have come under attack, though the generative grammar theory appears to have the most adherents today. Both theories would appear to have distinct merits. Both are so important to the study of language and culture that they cannot be ignored. Neither is absolutely provable.

In this discussion, we have also stressed that the focus of language contact is the bilingual or polylingual individual. Africa offers a prime example of the need for bilingualism. Unfortunately, for many persons, bilingualism seems to suggest a linguistic handicap. However, we have attempted to demonstrate that when bilingualism is encouraged and positively reinforced in the bicultural community, it becomes an asset rather than a liability. The important distinction between interest and competence in the second language is marginal for the truly bilingual. The pseudo-bilingual may have interest but not competence.

The Canadian decision to become officially bilingual and bicultural had many effects on language planning and an ecological linguistic basic in Canada. It serves as a useful example of the opportunities and problems which arise interculturally and crossculturally in such a setting.

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THE THOUGHT-PATTERNS OF CULTURE

Edmond Clay

From Hungarian and French family background, Professor Clay attended universities in Paris and Philadelphia. He worked at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, and completed his Ph.D. in Biology.

Through the sixties Clay had been involved with space program contracts and international technological cooperation. This led to his current interest in formulating requirements for communication between and across specialities, nationalities, and different mind sets, teaching at Fairfield University, and serving as a lecturer for USIA.

Recognizing basic patterns

In introducing a theory of cultural patterns, it must be based, as any theory, on scholarly or judgmental generalizations rather than on stereotypes. Understanding the difference between a generalization and a stereotype is , in fact, clarified by the theory itself, as will appear later.

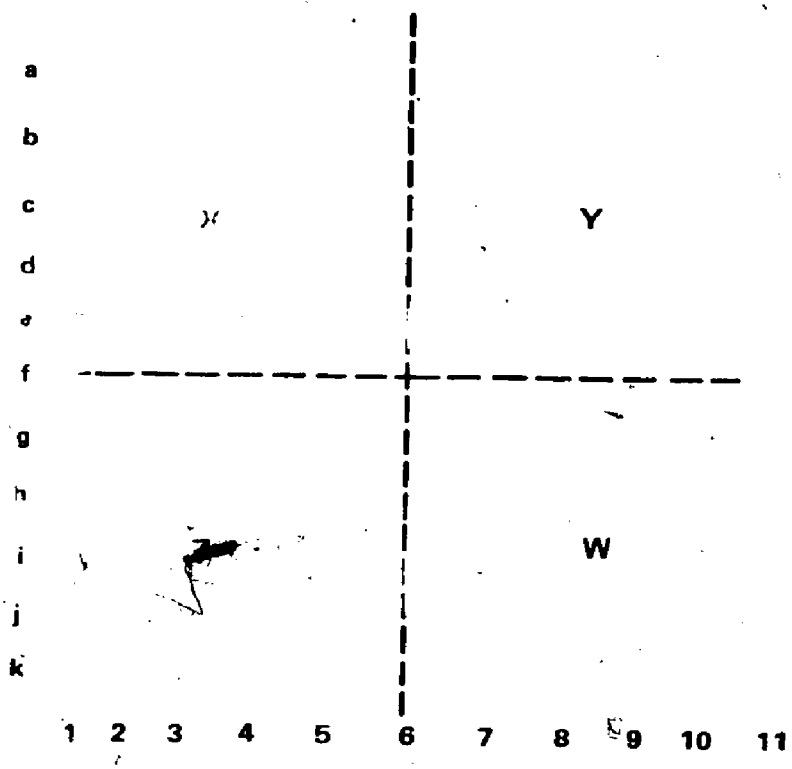
Suffice it to say, stereotypes are based mostly on impressions, often also on heresay. Stereotyped notions are usually inflexible, often unchanged by evidence contradicting them. They tend to be simplistic, with few, if any, bold features. In contrast, generalizations are based on study rather than impression. They are formulated after much evidence has been sifted through. When generalizing about a culture or a nation or an ethnic group,

one refers to the history of the people that have composed it over the passage of time, to their life-styles, and to the values exemplified in their behavior. Also, one refers to the productions of a culture, namely the literature, religion, arts, sciences, techniques; and this includes architecture, music, the layout of cities, the institutions, the way politics function, the legal system (if any), the schooling system, and more basically the very nature of the spoken and written language itself. Languages have grammars of varying complexity, vocabularies which emphasize more concrete or abstract, static or mobile, personal or impersonal words.

We begin our generalization by noting the three possible directions of human behavior: towards action, "hard-nosed" and assertive; towards feeling, "dependent" and sensitive; or towards thought, "withdrawn" and compulsive. This triangular scheme could well be used to classify cultures, but it is a little lopsided, as both "action" and "thought" are structured, sequential from anything objective), more unruly, and fanciful. It seems more symmetrical to contrast the two types of structured behavior with two kinds of fanciful behavior, one capricious and frantic, the other more sentimental and ritualistic.

This can be represented on a square map (see diagram below), where we find these two types (frantic and "sentimental") respectively in areas X and Y, and the more structured types of behavior (action-oriented versus

thought-oriented) respectively in areas Z and W. The growth along the lettered scale (a through k) represents increasing structuration; along the numbered scale (1 through 11) it is a growth in scope; specific actions, or capricious whims are always more narrowly defined than sentimental feelings or conceptual thoughts. Both actions and thoughts are less subjective, less purely personal than either X or Y.



The Glen Model

In terms of culture, there are no cultures mainly based on X, although naturally there are stronger or weaker streaks of X in most cultures. A possible illustration might be the tribe of the Ik of central Africa; anthropologists ought to call it a non-tribe, really, as individuals fend for themselves from an early age and there is no collective life at all, no cooperation in any

form, and little or no communication.

Cultures where the "Y" predominates are frequent. They are the tribal cultures in which tradition and ritual are paramount; personal feelings and recognition are most important; thoughts, facts, and actions less so.

In other cultures, the "W" sets the tone; principles are asserted and known to all; rules and regulations count more than personal wishes or emotions, or personal interactions. It is a situation where law is paramount and personal belief unimportant; such a mental attitude is conducive to legal, scientific, and philosophical activities as much as the "Y" attitude is conducive to magic, soothsaying, poetry, music, the arts, and hunches (whereas a feature of W is logical reasoning).

Cultures in which "Z" is the main factor value action, achievement and concreteness are above all else; here, then, the attitude implied is a pragmatic one, rather unconcerned with either personal emotions or with deep or general thoughts. "Getting things done" becomes more important than thinking in carefully reasoned logic or than arriving at nice feelings. "Hard facts" are deemed more convincing than either gut feelings or well-knit arguments of logic. (The latter appears too remote.) The culture shared by most people in the United States, and to some extent in the English-speaking world, is of this type. Scandinavian culture, while different, is not too far from this "Z" type either.

No culture is pure. Every nation or ethnic group, past or present, has had streaks of X, Y, W and Z. But the relative intensity or importance of

these four ingredients can vary enormously. In a given culture at a given time, there is a consistent and ongoing predominance of one or another.

The corollary is that in a given culture there is a lack of understanding or empathy for the elements which are weak within it.

Thus:

people in Y-cultures see little difference between Z and W; both of these cultures, being somewhat impersonal and structured, appear to them stuffy and cold, rigid and sterile; they perceive the world of Z and W as a realm lacking presence and color, where there is no "fun," and no soul.

people from W-cultures, such as many Europeans and some Asians, tend to mix or mix-up Z and Y which appear to them petty, concerned with little details, such as passing feelings or short-lived actions and one-shot affairs. It appears to them that there is one world of Y and Z which lacks thoughtfulness and logic, and lacks scope. ("Ponctuel" is a derogatory word in French, meaning the quality of being narrow and precise as a mere point, as opposed to a line or a whole field.)

people from Z-cultures, finally, confuse Y and W; both attitudes appear to them fuzzy and unrealistic; to them, it seems that those in the Y-W world, instead of focusing on the actual facts of life, introduce all sorts of superstitious or pedantic considerations which can only confuse issues. They are impatient with magic and ritual, and consider the arts as mere decoration or relaxation rather than honorable pursuits. Extremists of

the Z-culture are close to Utilitarians, except for the fact that true Utilitarians, having a firmly stated outlook about what human values ought to be, are of course, examples of the W-attitude. People from Z-cultures are also impatient with philosophy and even with pure science; they are more inclined to technology and engineering, with practical applications rather than elaborate, mathematical, or legal and lofty principles.

It might be noted in passing that in this framework there is a natural category "science-and-philosophy" (both abstract and formulating laws and principles). In this framework, it makes very little sense to use the well-known phrase "science-and-technology." For technology belongs to another category altogether.

Thus the problem in communication, among other facets, comprises this confusion of categories; if, for instance, someone from a Z-culture seeks to be accepted, personal friendship and display of feeling, or respect for tradition, will go a long way with a member of a Y-culture, but will leave cold someone who is "W". Conversely, an appeal to logic and great ease in quoting elaborate principles or highly valued and status-ranked authorities will sway the "W" person, but leave someone from a Y-culture quite unimpressed. It is therefore rather devastating to mistake one for the other; devastating not to recognize under the cheerful manner of a Russian a great need of, and respect for, principles and conceptual notions, or not to recognize under the formal rhetoric of a civil servant from a Mediterranean or African country a great need for, and respect of, personal contacts, emotional

displays, and a more flowery language.

Generally, historical evolution is from Y to W (in an area shown on the map at coordinates 10-h), then later to a more fact-oriented attitude of the national culture (possibly 9-i). Later still, some cultures have moved into the Z area, around coordinates 4-i. The United States may even have reached 2-j in the 1950's, but since then has moved "upward" and is now probably somewhere in the vicinity of 3-h or 4-i. (Thanks to the tumultuous sixties and the attitude changes they wrought.)

In many Third World countries, recent changes have moved at least the educated individuals from d-8 or e-9 to places such as g-10 or h-9. This, to them, is a tremendous change, and an advance. Looking at it from a Z country attitude it is not always easy to realize this, and many mistakes in communication can be made.

Some exceptions involve, in particular, Britain, which moved historically from Y to Z very quickly without lingering in W. Hence the retention in England of many old "quaint" habits or institutions, and of outmoded pageantry, and less involvement in formulated regulations and principles than on the European continent. (And hence the pragmatic, mercantile values there in recent centuries, though less nowadays.)

For those interested in the cyclic theory of history, societies may be said to enter periodically into an "X" stage of break-up and confusion, of leaving the old W-values, then going on to a Y stage where new ideas are first asserted intuitively and without much structure. Later the new basic

notions underlying the new state of affairs are articulated (W stage), and later still they are put into practice and completely actualized (Z stage). When there is no further development possible, and X period follows, and so on, and so forth. The individual cycle of learning is similar: confusion or ignorance, challenge, study and understanding, practice, then boredom or at least indifference, and later new challenges, and so on.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Rachel Roxanne Birtha

Rachel Roxanne Birtha is currently a writer/editor and reporter with the Near East and South Asia branch of the U.S. Information Agency. She received her M.A. in Intercultural Speech Communication from the University of Minnesota in 1972 with South Asian Studies as her supporting field, and completed her Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota in December 1977 from the department of Speech Communication. Her thesis, focusing on the reaction of White, Black, and Native American Indian audiences to black films was completed December, 1977.

As a graduate student at Minnesota, she studied face-to-face and small group intercultural communication, international broadcasting, sociolinguistics, and South Asian languages. She has been involved in international student activities since her undergraduate days as a Spanish major at the University of Pittsburgh where she was Phi Beta Kappa.

Rachel Birtha first worked for the USIA as a summer college intern in 1969 in the Latin American division of the library service in Washington, D.C. She later joined USIA in 1975 following graduate studies at the University of Minnesota which included two years as an instructor on the junior staff of the Speech Communication Department. She has served as facilitator for cross-cultural communication workshops in Minneapolis focusing on ethnic pluralism in the U.S. and orientation problems of foreign students. She was also on the staff of a special transracial international communication workshop that took place in Cayman Islands, British West Indies under University of Minnesota auspices in 1974.

She has lived overseas as an exchange student at Osmania University in Hyderabad, A.P. India, where she did research on multilingualism among Indian college students, 1970-71. Her current research interests include interpersonal accomodation patterns in transracial and intercultural situations and the role of third world films in promoting national development and international understanding.

I. Theoretical Concepts

The field of sociolinguistics was presented in terms of two main areas. Macroproblems are research questions which focus on the relationship of linguistic behavior to social structure. Microproblems are research questions which focus on linguistic interaction in small groups. Looking first at macroproblems, two main types of orientation were identified in terms of whether they fostered research which tended to be nuclear or marginal to sociological considerations.

Essentially sociological projects were discussed first. The concept of creating sociolinguistic profiles for specific linguistic communities correlating social variables like the presence or absence or "r" in post-vocallic position was discussed using Labov's field research in New York City department stores as an illustration. Another approach to social dialect studies that was mentioned entails mapping speech communities geographically and chronologically according to their use of phonological variables. Statistical indices are one goal of both kinds of studies.

An added branch of sociological investigation focuses on the dynamics of linguistic performances. Researchers attempt to define the domains of use for a given language by an individual or social group, and explore attitudes towards languages used. The relationship of factors such as function and setting to the selection of a linguistic code in a bilingual situation was discussed with reference to the work of Rubin in Paraguay and Herman in the Philippines. Stereotyping and prestige were shown to be

significant factors in language attitude studies. Fishman's work with ethnic language loyalty in the United States, Lambert's Anglo-French dialect studies in Canada and Labov's work with attitudes toward urban dialects were cited.

Pidgins, creoles, classical languages, and baby talk, as well as vernaculars, standard languages and lingua francas were cited as having attracted the attention of sociolinguists. Issues such as multilingual confrontation and the classical vs. colloquial diglossia of Arabic speaking nations were shown to be intimately linked to social, educational and political problems of national development.

The nature of language acquisition has been a prominent line of investigation as far as macroproblems marginal to sociological contexts are concerned. More psycholinguistic than sociolinguistic, such studies deal primarily with internal processes associated with language development in the individual and are readily seen to be an exploration of the kind of thinking associated with Chomsky's transformational grammar. Using the work of Ervin-Tripp, rules governing word order, and the generation of grammatical sentences were shown to have behavioral correlates in the language acquisition patterns of children. Research by Ervin-Tripp with adult Japanese immigrants served to illustrate how psychological techniques such as word association tests and syntactical substitution exercises have been used to explore problems associated with the intercultural dimensions of semantic categories and the relationship of acculturation to language fluency

in non-native speakers. A resurgence of interest in linguistic relativism, and the generation of new theories about language change account for two other current approaches to research which are somewhat peripheral to the social context of language usage.

Currently, microproblems are receiving increasing attention from sociolinguistic researchers. In discussing these kinds of questions it was brought out that the same kinds of rules that govern the choice of phonological or syntactic variables also govern other kinds of social communication. The ordering of units (syntagmatic choices) and the selection of units (paradigmatic choices) were discussed in terms of Sacks' work with the rules for telephone conversations.

Terminology and concepts associated with the ethnographic study of speech usage, essentially the contribution of Dell Hymes were introduced. Attention was called to a number of aspects of language usage in a given community such as variations in linguistic codes, in ways of signalling topic changes, in the popularity of verbal and non-verbal channels, and in the ramifications of particular settings and social categories of interlocutors. The idea that at the microlevel, different cultural communities have different ideals regarding speech behavior was introduced along with the speculation that on a macrolevel broader culture areas such as continents may be characterized by broad communicative orientations worthy of future investigations.

II. Practical Applications

A specific examination of speech behavior in the Black community was accomplished through the use of illustrations taken from the speaker's University of Minnesota doctoral thesis, "Pluralistic Perspectives on the Black-Directed, Black-Oriented Feature Film." The dissertation explores what happens when filmmakers who are members of an ethnic community choose to represent that community in feature film in an ethnographically accurate way. The empirical part of the thesis focused on the reactions of a multicultural audience of Blacks, Whites, and Native American Indians to the film Black Girl (1972), a story of a ghetto teenager attempting to come to terms with her aspirations, in the face of intense family conflict. The film is directed by Ossie Davis; it is based on a screenplay by the Black woman playwright J.E. Franklin, who also wrote the original stage drama.

The reactions of a set of eighty-four low [illegible] racket adolescent viewers were evaluated using a written questionnaire. Four areas were discussed: the overall appeal of the film, the ability to comprehend the dialogue and story, the tendency to identify with the characters, and the perception of authenticity. Chi-squares analyses comparing the responses of viewers from the three ethnic groups were significantly different in many cases and all answers indicated culturally mediated trends. The groups agreed that the film was realistic, however.

Viewers showed culturally correlated differences regarding their impressions of the cultural identity of the filmmaker, of the apparent target audience of the film, and of the ideal target audience for it. Blacks, and Indians, to a slightly lesser extent, were very enthusiastic about the film, and viewed it as entertainment. Whites were much less impressed by the film and tended to see it as more educational than entertaining. There were also differences in the way Whites, Blacks, and Indians interpreted the characters and their actions in the film. Blacks displayed the greatest affinity for the settings, characters, and communication patterns.

As a follow-up to this presentation, the film Black Girl was shown. (The film is available from Swank film distributors in St. Louis.)

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INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS: CULTURAL AND COMMUNICATION MODEL APPROACH

Marshall R. Singer

Marshall Singer is currently Professor of Intercultural and International Affairs at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, where he teaches courses in communication theory and practice and transnational interactions, as well as the politics of development, the mobilization and management of power, and problems of foreign policy-making in newly independent nations. He has also taught at the University of Malaya, Brooklyn College, Fordham University, New York University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Singer received his Ph.D. in International Relations from MIT in 1962, specializing in political communication and economic and political development, and working on a study of elites in Ceylon. He is the author of two books, Weak States in a World of Powers: The Dynamics of International Relationships, published by Free Press in 1972, and The Emerging Elite: A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon, published by MIT in 1974. He has also published several articles, chapters and monographs, including: "Foreign Policy of Small Developing States," in Rosenau, et. al. (eds.) World Politics, published by Free Press in 1976; "Culture: A Perceptual Approach," Vidya, No. 3, 1969; and "Group Perception and Social Change in Ceylon," The International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2, March 1976.

The purpose of the morning session was to demonstrate graphically:

1. that humans behave not on the basis of some external "reality," but rather on the basis of their perceptions of that reality;
2. that no two humans can or do perceive identically;
3. that perceptions of reality are learned from the groups to which people belong;
4. that since each group has its own values, attitudes and definitions of

expected and accepted behavior, each group can be said to have--and teach--its own culture. Groups also teach who "we" are (and what we think of ourselves) and who "they" are (and what we think of them).

5. that identity groups can be anything from family, race, religion, nationality, etc., to role groups like being parents, spouses, or children, or even the organization for which a person works. Any number of people who share some degree of similarity of perception--and communicate the fact that they share that perception--become an identity group;
6. that every individual personally rank orders the importance of each of these groups to himself, and that ranking affects his behavior;
7. that the more group identities--individuals share--thus the more similarly they perceive reality--the easier is communication between them likely to be. The fewer groups identities people share--hence the fewer similarities of perceptions they share--the more difficult communication between them is likely to be.

THE LEVITT BOX EXERCISE

This exercise, involves the communication (by one of the participants, to the others) of a series of rectangles arranged on a page. The participant who volunteers, tries to describe to the others, as accurately as he possible can, how the rectangles are to be drawn. The other participants actually do the drawing, following his instructions. The exercise is done first without

feedback (by placing the volunteer in a different room with a one way intercom system), and then done again with the volunteer in the same room as the participants, answering any and all of the questions the participants need to ask, until they feel that they have done the drawing correctly. All the drawings of those who say they got it correct are then taped on one side of the blackboard, while the drawings of those who said they did not get it correct are taped on the other. This is done both sets of drawings--those done without feedback and those done with feedback.

The exercise is used to demonstrate:

1. how very difficult it is to communicate even something as non-threatening and culturally common as rectangles;
2. how much longer it takes, and how much more difficult it is to communicate with feedback but;
3. how much more accurate communication becomes with the use of feedback; and
4. how different each persons' perception of reality actually is.

Invariably there is a wide diversity among the drawings of those who say that they got it correct as well as among those who said they had not been able to draw it correctly. Indeed, even more impressive to the participants is the fact that some of the drawings of those who said they got it incorrect, are more accurate than the drawings of some of the people who said that they had gotten it correct. The point was then made that one cannot draw

pictures of most messages which we attempt to communicate. And thus, it probably often happens that we communicate much less well than we think we have. What is more, the more abstract the message, or the more culturally alien the message, the more inaccurate the communication is likely to be.

THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE MEDIA

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

Walter J. Ong, S.J., Professor of English and Professor of Humanities in Psychiatry at Saint Louis University, is known as a scholar in both the Renaissance field and the field of contemporary culture. His recent book, Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology, treats interactions between expressions and culture over the past six centuries into the present day. It complements an earlier book of his, The Presence of the Word thorough historical study of the development of verbal communication from oral cultures through writing and print to electronic cultures as seen in psychological, literary, religious, and anthropological terms. His newest book, Interfaces of the Word, was published by Cornell University Press in October, 1977.

Well known as a lecturer across the United States and Canada, Father Ong has lectured widely in Europe as well as in the Middle East, Central and West Africa, North Africa, and Latin America. Father Ong was born in Kansas City, Missouri, and finished his undergraduate studies there at Rockhurst College before entering the Society of Jesus in 1935. He did his studies in philosophy and theology (S.T.L.) at Saint Louis University, and graduate studies in English at Saint Louis University (M.A.) and Harvard (Ph.D.).

When a culture moves from oral communication to writing, then to print, and then to electronic communication, it does not merely improve ways of dispersing or spreading information but also alters its thought processes. New technologies--writing, print, electronics--make possible thought processes previously inconceivable and thereby give the mind access to parts or "pitches" of actuality previously inaccessible to it. With the new technologies, the mind generates, remembers, recalls, and shares new materials.

But it does not relinquish the old. New technologies for managing knowledge--new "media"--do not eliminate the old. Quite the contrary, a new "medium" always both reinforces an older medium and transforms it. Literate persons still talk, but their speech moves differently from that of oral persons: writing encourages writing, but in ways different from those of pretypographical literate cultures; in our present-day technological cultures we still speak and write and print, but we do all these things differently from the way earlier human beings did.

In the West cultures have moved from the oral stage through the chirographic and typographic stages to the electronic over a period of about 600 years, and have done so largely unconsciously. Only recently have we even become aware that there are such things as "oral cultures." In many parts of the world, cultures are moving from the oral to the electronic stage much more rapidly than the West did and, unlike the West, are doing so very self-consciously. Many scholars in Subsaharan Africa, for example, completely at home in the international university world, have grown up in an oral village. They have first-hand knowledge of both ends of the evolutionary pattern. Interactions between technologies for managing knowledge are among the determinants, as well as the effects, of the varied stages in the evolution of consciousness and of personality structures around the globe today.

AFRICAN TALKING DRUMS: IMPLICATIONS FOR TODAY

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

African talking drums or slit-gongs manifest and magnify the typical strategies by which primary (pre-script) oral cultures generate, formulate, remember, recall, and share knowledge. These strategies include (1) use of stereotyped expression, (2) standardization of themes, (3) epithetic identification, (4) generation of "heavy" or ceremonial characters, (5) formulary, ceremonial appropriation of history, (6) cultivation of praise and blame, (7) copiousness.

Like other media, the drums do not merely communicate but also help determine what can be known and communicated.

Today the place of talking drums in African cultures and their relationship to evolving noetic patterns are changing rapidly. Study of the noetic economy of drum talk against the present-day background throws light on all communications processes, from primary oral communication on to television, and the evolution of these processes today.

COMMUNICATION AND CHANGE IN THE PHILIPPINES: AN EXAMINATION OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND ISSUES OF THE SEVENTIES

Nobleza C. Asuncion-Lande

Nobleza Asuncion-Lande is currently Associate Professor of Speech Communication and Human Relations at the University of Kansas. She has also taught intercultural, interpersonal, ethnic, and developmental communication and sociolinguistics at several universities in the United States, Australia, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines.

Lande obtained her M.A. and Ph.D. in Speech Communication and Linguistics at Michigan State University. She has directed and conducted workshops on bilingual and bicultural education, and on the re-entry and transition of foreign students in various universities in the U.S. and abroad. She also organized and chaired a binational Philippines-U.S. conference on intercultural communication, and organized and coordinated the national leadership training workshop on re-entry and transition for USAID, both in 1976.

She is currently working on a book on communication in identity and assimilation, and her current research interests include the social implications of bilingualism and interethnic communication.

Overview

Vast changes have occurred in development communication during the past ten years. The changes include a new orientation towards the role of communication in development and a different strategy for mobilizing human, social, and economic resources. These changes are in part a reflection of the change on the view of development which began in the early 1970s and continues today. (See E. Rogers: "The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm-Reflections on Diffusion Research" in Schramm and

Lerner Communication and Change The Last Ten Years - And the Next, 1976, pp. 49-52.)

The dominant paradigm of development in the 1950s and 1960s described growth in terms of four major factors: 1) Economic growth through industrialization and accompanying urbanization approximately equivalent to the European experience during the Industrial Revolution. 2) Capital intensive technology mainly imported from more developed nations. 3) Centralized planning, mainly by economists and bankers designed to guide and accelerate the process of development. 4) The causes of underdevelopment lay mainly within the developing nation rather than in their external relationships with other countries.

The development paradigm implied that the tasks of communication were to transfer technological innovations from development agencies to their clients and to create an appetite for change through the raising of a "climate for modernization" among members of the public.

Developments during the past ten years suggest that the old model has not produced the desired results, especially in the non-western societies. According to Eisenstadt (in Schramm and Lerner, 1976, pp. 31-44), the old paradigm is more of a description of what has happened in western countries than a predictor of change in non-western countries.

In a conference on communication and development convened at the East-West Center in 1975, the main purpose of which was to assess what

has been learned in ten years concerning the use of communication in development, the changing needs of developing countries for communication support, and new priorities for communication expertise, communication research and modern communication technology, one of the major conclusions was that a new development paradigm was emerging. This new model is rural based. Its emphasis is not only on changing technology but also on changing institutions and values. The implications of this emerging model for the role of communication in development are: 1) The main target audience for development-efforts are the villagers in less developed societies; and 2) The flow of communication is multi-directional, as much upward as downward.

In this perspective, the Philippine development strategy of the 1970s will be examined. Specifically, the focus of the discussion will be on the role of communication in development change under the martial law regime of President Marcos.

Communication and Development in the Philippines

In September 1972, martial law was declared in the Philippines. President Marcos' rationale for this declaration was "to stop a threatened revolution from an alliance of the extreme left and the extreme right to overthrow legitimate authority." (In R. Marcos Notes on the New Society of the Philippines, 1976, p. 8.) With the establishment of his "crisis government," Marcos' basic task was "to alleviate the conditions of

existence of the masses, i.e., to eradicate mass poverty and unemployment, and to create a strong impulse for development through industrialization.

Development plans were geared to the rural sector of the country. It was believed that economic development could be promoted only if the country had the readiness to develop and apply modern technology to the processes of production both in agriculture and industry. The economic aspect of the planning indicated the need for massive inputs of capital. Thus, the largest share of the country's available resources were committed to the socio-economic development of the country-side, and industry, jobs, investments, credit, incomes, and education shifted to the rural population.

Official documents explicitly recognize the role of communication in the development of the country. Philippine development strategy emphasizes attitudinal change, motivation, and participation. Communication has been regarded as a mobilization mechanism. The Philippine government has utilized traditional channels and idioms to inform the people of new developments. It has also extensively used group communication on the interpersonal face-to-face communication level to mobilize the people to participate in development activities and to change their attitudes towards new practices and ways of doing things.

Interpersonal channels embodied in village-level organizations called "barangays" have been formed to facilitate the flow of communication

especially on a vertical plane, from bottom to top and vice versa. The barangay functions as a message relay station from the village to the various agencies of the government. It also serves as a sounding board for the people's thinking on current issues and on government activities. The government encourages the barangays to have free, full, constructive discussions on public issues. The barangays have at their disposal resource persons from the government and from the private sector of industry to help explain and clarify issues and developments. The barangays provide the channels through which local government leaders can be in contact with their constituents. The local leaders in turn act as the message bearers from their barangays to the "Sanguniang Bayan," a super body composed of barangay captains and sectoral representatives. The Sanguniang Bayan may suggest to the President to call a referendum or a plebiscite on a question or an issue put forth by the barangays.

Another interpersonal channel which was created exclusively for development communication is the government manager. His/her function is to act as a discussion leader, conduct seminars, help organize open forums and complements the mass media as a disseminator of development information. The government manager works under the office of the Department of Local Government Community Development.

The mass media plays an important role in the development strategy of President Marcos. However, although there is no formal censorship, there is in effect self censorship by the various media. They can

disseminate development information freely and criticize lower-level officials but they cannot be critical of the ruling establishment of the martial law regime, i.e. of the President, the First Lady, their relatives and cronies, or of the military.

To date the overall results of the development strategy of the martial law regime have included some successes as well as some failures. The skillful use of technological and traditional media have contributed to the successes. The importance of interpersonal face-to-face small group communication, as demonstrated in the use of the Barangay system as a relayer of messages from the bottom up as well as the downward direction has been fully recognized by a regime highly skilled in the manipulation of public opinion and well practiced in the utilization of a wide variety of media.

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COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

William J. Starosta

William Starosta is Assistant Professor of Speech Communication at the University of Virginia, where he teaches courses in intercultural communication, communication and social change, and communication and development.

Starosta received his Ph.D. from Indiana University in 1973. He has done sponsored research on three occasions in South Asia; most recently, as a senior fellow of the American Institute of Indian Studies, he focused on the impact of the family planning communication effort in India, and tried to place this effort in the context of the development of a more efficient agricultural communication strategy. Starosta has published essays or edited over a dozen items during the last five years concerning intercultural communication.

This paper has four aspects. First, a generalized description is offered of the effort by agricultural communication specialists in India to usher in the so-called "green revolution." The focus is on the theoretical rationale for communicating by the means chosen. Much of the basis of this description comes from doctoral theses of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, the leading Indian agricultural organization. These details are supplemented by means of official reports and interview data gathered during the first half of 1976 in Dehli and Punjab states.

Second, the paper traces the application of these principles to the area of public health, and particularly to their application in family planning campaigns of the Gandhi government. These details are derived primarily from official

reports and interview data from some thirty agencies of the Indian government.

Third, the appropriateness of the models for agricultural development communication for problems of health and family planning will come under examination. This will be the chief focus of the paper. The appropriateness of the policy of family planning communication will be tested by the examination of the impact of the family planning information campaign in a single region of the state of Himachal Pradesh. The author will present selected impressions based upon his surveys of those from H.P. province.

Fourth, the author will speculate about whether a new communication policy might be successfully introduced in India which theoretically would be more sound that the policy that it replaced. Questions from those present are solicited in order to test these theoretical considerations against field experience.

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COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Njoku E. Awa

Njoku Awa, currently Assistant Professor of Communication at Cornell University, received his B.A. and M.A. in Communication from Michigan State University, and his Ph.D. in Education from Cornell.

Awa's publications include: "The Role of Communication and Adult Education in National Development," International Congress of Adult Education Journal, Vol. XI, No. 3, (November 1972); "Communicating with the Rural Poor," Journal of Extension, Vol. XII, No. 4, (Winter, 1974); and "Some Problems in Cross-Cultural Research," in Asante and Newmark, eds., Handbook of Intercultural Communication, to be published next year by Sage. He is currently involved in a research project designed to discover the factors that inhibit communication with dairy farmers of the North country region of New York State; the theoretical framework for this study is embodied in the "Two Communities Theory," which attempts to explain the non-utilization of research knowledge in terms of gaps in the knowledge production system, the linkage system, and the user system.

COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

A Historical Perspective

During the development decade of the 60s, African planners, in agreement with the leading theoreticians of the period, relied heavily on media's role in stimulating economic and social change. There seemed to be considerable evidence supporting the optimistic position that mass communication could be a potent and direct force for social change. Daniel Lerner's (1958) study of modernization trends in the Middle East seemed to confirm the dominant role assigned to the mass media in catalyzing both macro- (social system) level and micro- (individual) level changes. Such a position was

also consistent with the diffusion paradigm that dominated research thinking throughout the decade. Furthermore, findings from numerous researches seemed to establish positive correlations between media exposure and significant indices of modernization.

As a result of the evidence on the connection between the mass media and modernization, considerable development effort was directed towards building a communication infrastructure. The rush to establish and utilize modern communication networks was hampered by significant flaws. For example, no attempt was made to build a feedback mechanism into the networks, nor was significant attention paid to message content and treatment. The unidirectional and undifferentiated communication systems that resulted appealed not to the rural poor but to the progressive (rich and better educated) clientele. In addition, extension agents, university educated subject-matter specialists, were (and still are) poorly versed in development communication methods, as well as socially and psychologically distant from their clients. In general, these agents tend to concentrate their efforts on elite clients, the progressive minority that is already responsive to the media campaign. As a result, inequalities have multiplied over the years.

Critical Assessment of the Role of Communication in African Development

What role should each of the communication channels we know play in Africa's development campaign? To find an answer to this question, it is necessary to take a critical look at each of the channels and to assess their capacity to fulfill their development potential.

Oral Communication:

Because of its feedback potential and its prevalence in Africa, the oral tradition is probably the most suitable channel for promoting change. Many studies, among them Berry (1965), Wober (1974), and Biesheuvel (1974), have demonstrated the predominance of the oral tradition in Africa, that is, the prowess of the African in the verbal and auditory spheres, as opposed to the visual realm.

Face-to-Face Contact:

The efficacy of the oral tradition, especially face-to-face contact in dyadic and triadic situations, has long been recognized. This was the predominant mode of diffusion during Colonial days. Through the informal networks of dispersed kin, age groups, and other fraternal organizations, news and other happenings "could often be transmitted great distances in the space of a few hours" by word-of-mouth in Africa (Barnett and Njama, 1968: 18). With the notable exception of President Nyerere of Tanzania, however, most contemporary African leaders have proven surprisingly committed to "making the alien communication model work," their knowledge of the power of the oral tradition notwithstanding.

Radio:

To the majority of rural Africans, radio is just an extension of the oral tradition, often re-enacting the African experience through a programming arrangement that is sensitive to African social life and rituals. Radio has also overcome such barriers as physical distance, illiteracy, and the heterophily

gap between elite change agents and their rural clients. Radio is the "only medium with a clear developmental purpose" in most of Africa: "It is diffuse in structure (located in urban and rural environments) and multilingual in its message presentation policy" (Awa, 1976). However, in part due to the entertainment bias of radio programming, insufficient use has been made of the developmental potential of this medium.

Radio Forums:

Radio forums have been used successfully in Nigeria, Ghana, and Malawi and elsewhere in Africa. Not only do they multiply development messages (each participant serves as a relay source for others in his area), but they also offer an excellent opportunity for feedback utilization as well as a decision making environment similar to that in which collective decisions are traditionally taken in African communities. The example of Ujamaa in Tanzania is typical of African models. Although this system, like any other, is not perfect, it is more culturally compatible than the Western model and tends to lend itself to local discussions and decision-making. Perhaps as time goes on such an approach can be adapted to other media. We must caution, however, that unless such forums are well designed and carefully adapted to the needs and values of the participants, they can degenerate into idle, uninspired discussion arenas.

Television:

Ever since its introduction into sub-Saharan Africa television has been rationalized as an educational tool, yet has been programmed as a commercial medium. It has been an entertainment medium, a mirror through which Western

consumption patterns are viewed by African urbanities. The literature shows that television's role in Africa has been negative. Its promotion of consumerism has been counter-productive to true growth and has ignored television's potential as an educational tool.

Newspapers:

While Africa has less than 0.3 percent of the daily newspapers in the world, her newspaper audiences are not altogether "starved." As of December 1969, all countries of Africa had at least one newspaper, except for such media-poor areas as Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana. However, African newspapers are characterized by a high degree of scholarly, sometimes elegant language and thus have an exclusive appeal to the elite. It is ironical that African newspapers, most of which were established as mass-appeal, anti-colonial organs, have now turned away from the very masses that helped them to achieve political goals. There is no expectation that the elitist African newspapers will ever evolve a "language" or policy for widespread propagation of development objectives, and it cannot but be concluded that such newspapers have no significant development role to play. Perhaps newsletters, pamphlets, posters, and other types of non-institutionalized printed materials may do the job.

Other Development Barriers:

The problems of communication in African development must be understood within its context of political, structural, economic, and social barriers. Typical among these are a lack of an agricultural infrastructure designed to enhance production and marketing opportunities for rural cultivators, political

instability which diverts energy from developmental programs, and highly centralized development policies which frustrate the development "dreams" of regional governments. The fate of African communications is integrally linked to the removal of such barriers.

Finally, there is a barrier of a distinct character--communication between foreign technical experts and their counterparts in a host country. Some technical experts have an inflated image of themselves; they see themselves as "advisers" and their counterparts as "advisees." This has tended to impede the flow of technical information and the development of interpersonal trust.

Conclusion

We may conclude, then, that communication is a potentially powerful tool for promoting change and accerlerating it. Face-to-face communication in dyadic or group situations is quite effective in inducing compliance with practices advocated by change agents, especially where the agents are relatively homophilous with their clients. Equally effective is the radio forum approach, which offers a decision-making environment that is akin to that used by African villagers.

As for the mass media, one of the costly errors we have made has been our inability to generate print media in the vernaculars. Newspaper and magazines can be extremely useful in disseminating complex or detailed information, but they must be accessible to those for whom their messages are intended. Radio has proven to be extremely effective when used well; however the capsulization of information common to the radio format must be modified to fit

development demands. Television, which is available mainly in urban centers, has promoted consumerism as it has sought, through advertising, to "initiate" Africans into the Western consumption culture.

In sum, the wholesale adoption of Western media, including the "change agent model," has proven inadequate. The sensitive adaptation of such models to the circumstances of African countries should be the central priority in a new strategy of developmental communication.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE APPLICATIONS IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Hamid Mowlana

Technology is not politically neutral. This paper is written on the premise that in contemporary society, technology plays a political role intimately related to the distribution of power and the exercise of political, social, and economic controls. Thus, technological development is essentially a political process.

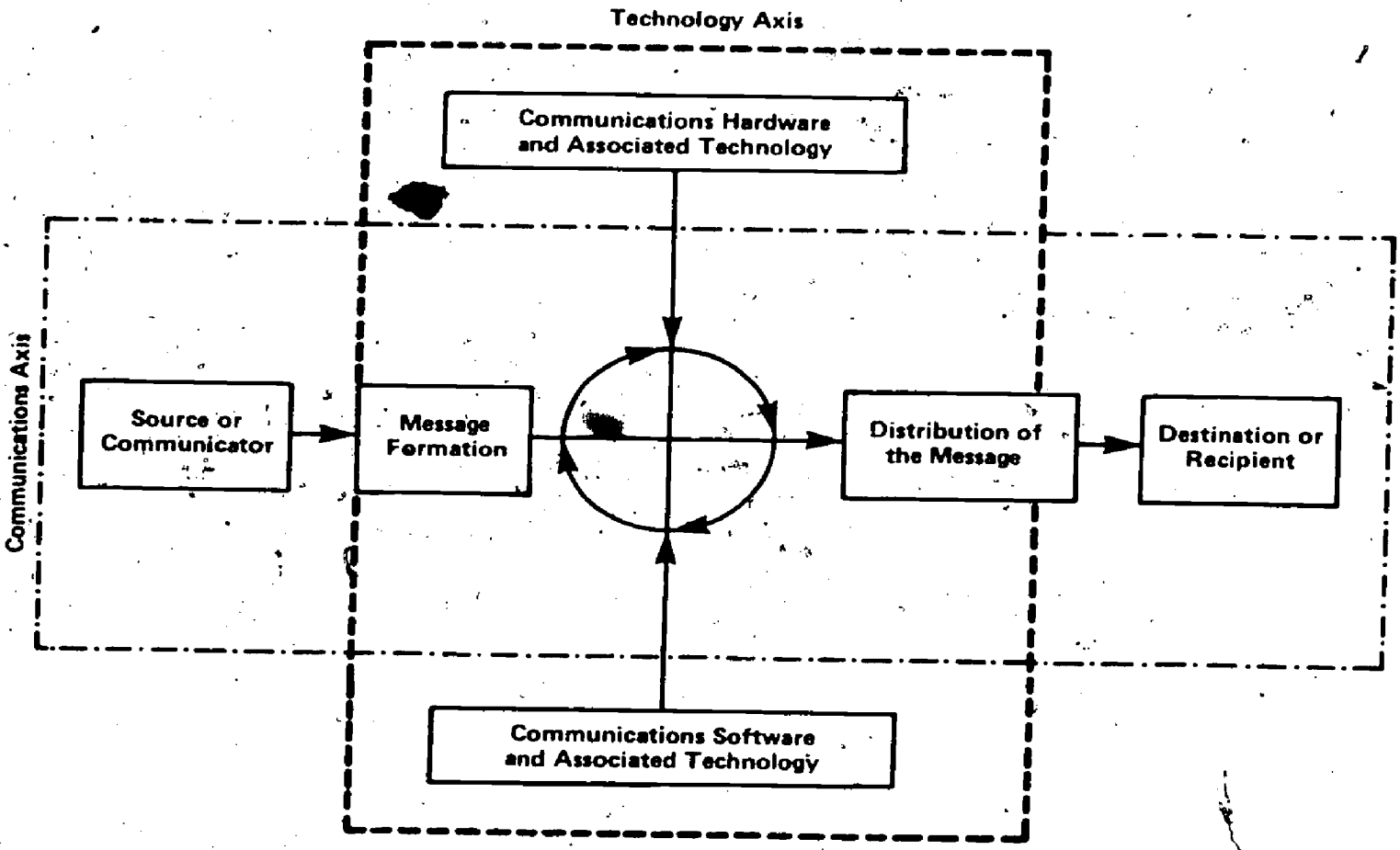
This paper seeks to assess some political and social implications of communications satellite applications. First, it is assumed that politics can be defined as a particular type of informational exchange and that information is a resource convertible to political power. This process establishes a direct linkage between information and politics. Second, the current technical revolution in information exchange and communication are inciting profound changes in the international and national systems. In fact, these technical innovations appear to be creating conditions which may lead to a "perceptual" revolution from which political and social institutions will not be immune.

Communications Technology Cycle

There is a need for a shift of emphasis in the analysis of communications systems, especially, mass communications systems, from an exclusive concern with the source and content of messages to analysis of the message distribution process. Control of the distribution process is the

most important index of the way power is distributed in a communications system regardless of unit size or scope.

The growth of communications technology, the expanding national and international market, and the creation of institutional policies and regulations all have made the distribution stage the most important sequence in the communications system chain. Emphasis upon the distribution stage affords the immediate advantage of analyzing the message-sending activities of national actors. The addition of the technology axis (vertical axis) to the communications axis (horizontal axis) further demonstrates the political significance of communications technology.



Hardware and software, the two components of communications technology draw attention to a distinction often ignored in the analysis of the distribution process. Ownership of the actual physical components of the system is insufficient to confer control over it. Absolute sovereignty in the formulation and distribution of messages is assured only when a nation controls both the hardware channels via which the messages are sent and the necessary know-how to program its messages for effective distribution. Less than absolute sovereignty over the means of distribution and commensurate know-how for implementation often results in what has been termed, "cultural dependency;" a well-known consequence of which is cultural imperialism--i.e., the "Americanization of the developing countries." The transfer of technology from developed to developing countries has witnessed a transfer of the knowledge and skills necessary for the operation and maintenance of new communications equipment, but what has infrequently been shared is either the necessary hardware or software required for the formation of messages--the means, in terms of both knowledge and technological know-how to utilize the communications system to one's own ends. Hence cultural dependency.

Cultural Identity

The proponents of cultural identity and the advocates of the "free flow of information" are presently engaged in a controversy regarding information

distribution via direct broadcast satellites. The "free flow" advocates argue that although direct broadcast satellites will not become operative in the near future, governments possess or will possess the ground station capability to censor the flow of information into their countries. Conversely, the proponents of cultural identity, assert that direct satellite broadcasting presents the danger of cultural intrusion, i.e., radio, television, and mail pollution. They anticipate the introduction (intrusion) of undesired values and behaviors into their cultures via direct satellite communication. Consequently, they argue that until such time as all nations possess the technological capability to control the production and reception of international communications, the free flow of information shall be regarded as unacceptable.

Essentially, the free flow advocates do not subscribe to the view that the dissemination of information across national boundaries and the preservation of cultural integrity are mutually exclusive. On the other hand, the cultural identity proponents feel threatened by the indiscriminate introduction of foreign values, concepts, and behavior into their cultures as a function of direct satellite communication.

National Integration

National integration refers to the use of satellites for enhancing communications within national borders and between a nation and its

peripheries. This is regarded as a means of strengthening the national character and to a lesser degree, the nation's image vis a vis the world community.

The rising interest in national communications policies in recent years is largely due to the increased importance of communication as a factor in social struggles. It tends to counteract the disintegrating forces of cultural, social, economic, and geographic disparities. This characteristic is true to an even greater extent following the advent of sophisticated communications technology.

National Sovereignty

Recent discussions of international communication flow and cultural dependency illustrate the growing realization of one of the profound consequences of the revolution in communications technology--a transformation in the concept of national sovereignty. The direct satellite broadcast controversy is only one aspect of the overall challenge to national sovereignty. Nations have been forced to reconsider their notions of sovereignty in an era characterized by problems, issues, and processes which transcend national and regional boundaries. The world is fast becoming a global village as the remote earth sensing devices developed by the United States and the Soviet Union attest.

Application of such technology as direct broadcast communications satellites will undoubtedly play a primary role in transforming perceptions

of the nature of sovereignty.

Individual and Human Rights

Satellite communications accessing information about resources and human data regarded as private have far reaching implications for individual and human rights. Such activity presents a dilemma, not only for the notion of sovereignty, but has implications for international agreements and other transnational cooperative activities.

Moreover, it is important to note that spontaneous international communications possess the dual capability of promoting political stability or fomenting rebellion. These ends may be achieved either through the presentation of facts or the dissemination of propaganda across national boundaries.

Communications satellite technology has very important implications for the decision making process. As access to information across national boundaries increases, it is plausible to argue that governments will be forced to assume a less parochial view in formulating domestic and foreign policy. Again, we are faced with the concern of control vs. access to communications technology distribution processes.

Finally, in light of global problems such as over-population and illiteracy, it is possible to view communications technology in a positive light. Perhaps, with the advent of instrumentalities for international communications, we will witness a cooperative trend in the sharing of

human, natural, material, and technological resources for the mutual benefit of the peoples of different nations. Satellites may serve as the vehicle for unparalleled collaboration between nations.

Conclusions

Some key political and social implications of communications satellite applications have been outlined in this paper. It has been shown that communications satellite technology plays a direct role in national and international political systems--a role intimately related to the distribution of power and the exercise of social control.

The implications of new communications technology in terms of international relations is immense. Problems of dependency, cultural identity, national integration, political and sociological propaganda, human rights, individual privacy, national sovereignty, the decision making process, and social policy are among the matters of broad international concern.

The next decade will be an extraordinarily active political period for satellite communications. Political problems relating to international signals crossing national boundaries, the rewriting of copyright conventions to make them applicable to an entirely new technology, the drafting of international conventions that can guarantee equal access to the new facilities, a centralized or regional authority with responsibility for policy planning and coordination, and the establishment of an international or global center for developmental television for educational purposes, are among the areas urgently requiring international cooperation and solution.

WORLD COMMUNICATION AS SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Gertrude J. Robinson

Gertrude Joch Robinson is an Associate Professor of Sociology at McGill University in Montreal, where she teaches courses in mass communication, media theory and international communication. Her current research interests include studies of the Canadian media as well as work on journalism as a profession. Her recent book, Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communication in Yugoslavia (1977) elucidates the structure and organization of that country's information system.

Professor Robinson received her B.A. "magna cum laude" from Swarthmore College in political science and philosophy, and her M.A. from the University of Chicago specializing in the philosophy of language under Dr. R. Carnap. Her Ph.D. was awarded by the University of Illinois for work in mass communications and sociology.

Honors and awards include Phi Beta Kappa and Kappa Tau Alpha, as well as three major grants, one from the Yugoslav government for doctoral research in Belgrade during 1964 and the others from the American Association of University Women and the Quebec Ministry of Communication for a newsflow study.

Factors Affecting World Communication

A variety of Scandinavian researchers, where the greatest number of international information flow studies have been undertaken, point out that there are four groups of variables affecting global information flow:

1) Technical-economic

2) Political-historical

3) Editorial

4) Market place or audience factors

The first two can be viewed as boundary factors limiting the availability of information about foreign countries, the second two influence meaning creation and explain differences in interpretation in different countries.

1) Technical-economic factors include:

a) Availability of transmission facilities:

An unequal distribution of technological facilities for news collection and dissemination. In the age of satellites Unesco found that as many as 33% of world's population still lack the most elementary means of informing themselves.

b) Ideocyncracies of the international news production system:

A scarcity of world coverage reinforced by international news production and dissemination system which is three-tiered and expensive. Five international information wholesalers set priorities of coverage and attention on the basis of political and economic criteria (AP, UPI, Reuters, Agence France Press, TASS).

c) Costs of maintaining foreign correspondents in field:

World coverage is expensive both in terms of people power and transmission costs. Approximately $50,000 a year per foreign correspondent! Studies of the deployment of the U.S. correspondent corps indicate that the approximately 675 AP correspondents are disproportionately located (51% Western Europe, 23% in Asia, with the final 26% providing token coverage of South America and Africa).

2) Political-historical and cultural factors:

Affect the flow of international news in still another fashion.

--Studies of TASS gatekeeping show that this agency drastically reduces the flow of western produced international news into communist media systems. (Kruglak: Two Faces of TASS)

--Less well known is the effect of colonial ties on international news flow.

--Position of power on international scene: elite vs. non-elite nation status affects coverage.

--Historical ties of friendship and/or enmity, affect international information gathering.

--Cultural factors, e.g., same language, same ideological outlooks, same religions practices tend also to increase the coverage of one country in the media of another.

3) Editorial weighting factors and market place considerations:

While technological, economic and political factors set the boundary conditions for the way in which "wholesale" becomes "retail" news, they cannot explain the editorial selection process. According to Rosengren, this process has two additional phases:

a) Quantitative gatekeeping--which pinpoints interpretative activities which tend to give more play to events high on news factors.

b) Qualitative gatekeeping--how attention scores are applied or the news agenda is ordered in different countries. In specifying these factors further, one of the first writers in the field Einar Ostgaard observed that

world reporting tends to stress:

1) Governmental over human information,

2) Higher ranking over lower ranking countries,

3) Personified over process oriented descriptions, and

4) Conflict over cooperation.

John Galtung and Marie Ruge systematized some of these findings and suggested that there are 12 news factors which make certain events more newsworthy. Much still needs to be done to adequately assess the impact of editorial and market place factors in shaping world reporting. But some trends seem to emerge.

a) In an information system where "news" is defined as that which is perishable after 24 hours, the reporting orientation will be short-term and event-oriented.

b) To attract attention, it tends to explain world events in terms of the personal actions of leaders, rather than the outcome of slow moving economic or political processes.

c) To attract attention, negativism is played up. Therefore greater selection of disasters, accidents, and sports events. Negativism is also more prevalent in the reporting of less important countries, e.g., the reportage of Canada.

THE MEDIA AND NATIONAL UNITY: STRUCTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING MASS MEDIA SYSTEMS

Gertrude J. Robinson

Though the mass media are often described in isolation, it is a platitude to point out that they are conditioned by the social setting in which they originate and grow. A country's press and radio must thus be explained in terms of historical, economic, political, and ideological factors. For Canada presently engaged in a constitutional crisis, some of these factors work for and some against the media's mandate to foster a sense of national unity. Unfortunately the divisive aspects of Canada's setting seem to outnumber those supporting broadcasting's "unity" mandate. Among these are:

1) Geographical size and uneven population distribution. These have retarded the development of a viable public CBC system able to compete with the private network.

2) Regionalism within the provinces arising from different economic needs and political heritages have inhibited the formation of a national newspaper. Consequently there is no common public discussion agenda within the country on which political decisions can be based. CP is the source for all Canadian provincial and national news, but studies show that the selections made from their daily agenda vary widely from province to province. (Siegel)

3) Presence of two official language groups has bifurcated the media system into a French and an English component. There is very little overlap in

the selection and interpretation of events by these two networks. The French press takes its lead from Montreal's le Devoir whereas English Canadian papers have no common focus. Only CBC plans consciously to encourage a national perspective.

4. Another divisive factor is cable technology which has vastly increased the capacity to import U.S. produced broadcast messages into Canada. (Stewart in Singer, Communications in Canadian Society, 1973). Before 1970 imported messages and their popularity as entertainment threatened to overwhelm Canadian voices.

5. Finally there is the "free press" ideology which is interpreted to mean the right to "free choice" on the part of the Canadian audience. Private broadcasters, who are most likely to benefit from this philosophy have used it to further their own partisan goals. (Twenty-seven U.S. transmitters arrayed along the border can be heard by one-third of total population without cable hook-ups. The resulting fragmentation of the market has made the financial viability of the Canadian broadcast system very shaky.

Only two factors, in contrast, are supportive of the media's mandate to foster national unity.

1. The consciously planned public broadcasting system of the CBC which since 1932 has had the task of beaming messages to diversified audiences in all parts of the country. However, parliament has been unwilling to

finance this system adequately, so it is now a David to the private system's Goliath. (CBC: 45 out of 395 broadcasting and 18 out of 77 TV stations).

2. The regulatory agency: Canadian Radio-Television Commission created by the Broadcasting Act of 1968. It has introduced Canadian content regulations (50% Canadian content in prime time TV; music on radio 30% Canadian content--has led to the creation of an indigenous record industry, cable and must provide a public and an educational channel for citizen access).

Prognosis for the role of the media in fostering a federal outlook in the Quebec secession crisis is not very optimistic. Canada, like other multi-national countries (e.g. Yugoslavia) will have to bolster the potential unifying role of its media, with political and social control mechanisms. President Tito in the 1971 Croatian secession crisis, re-centralized the role of the League of Communists and introduced public watch-dog committees to supervise media responsibility. In Canada the CRTC has also fostered communicative integration by monitoring the CBC French and English coverage of national events as a prelude to "responsible" referendum coverage. (CRTC Committee of Inquiry into the National Broadcasting Service, Ottawa: July 20, 1977.) Furthermore, a lack of cultural and communicative integration in a country can be counterbalanced by normative and functional integration strategies. (Robinson, Tito's Maverick Media, 1977, Chapter 9). The latter include the redistribution of federal funds

to respond to special needs in the provinces (social programs, housing, and transport subsidies and educational support) and attempts to redefine the constitution to respond to changing needs. Both of these are avenues followed by the Trudeau government at present.

PREPARING THE FOREIGN TRAINEE TO RETURN HOME: TRAINING AND RE-ENTRY CONSIDERATIONS

Robert C. Morris

Robert Morris, the resident director of the Michigan State University USAID Management/Communication Workshops, received his B.S. in Animal Science and master's in International Agricultural Development (specialization in economics) from the University of California at Davis. He taught two years for the Agricultural University at Lyallpur, Pakistan; was associate director of the Peace Corps in that country for another two years; served as consultant to the Swedish government for six months on volunteer organization and training; became Director of Overseas Operations for the Peace Corps's School Partnership Program (projects in 35 countries); and was seconded for two years to the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service as Director of Information Services. Before directing the MSU workshops, he came from the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) located in Cali, Colombia where he spent two years with the training and communication section evaluating previous training programs and assisting with implementation of new training programs. He has also served as consultant to a training firm in Central America; has published a book, Overseas Volunteer Programs: Their Evolution and the Role of Government in Their Support; and co-authored another on domestic volunteer programs in Latin America to be published shortly.

Training abroad of persons from developing countries has long been considered by both developing and industrialized nations to be a primary channel for the transfer of technical knowledge needed to meet development objectives. Since World War II, under the impetus of a greater recognition of interdependency among nations and global responsibilities in development and the emergence of so many new independent nations with strong ambitions for economic progress, the flow of such trainees to the more developed

nations has been from a trickle to a flood.

In the early 1970s about 13,000 AID participants were being trained annually in the United States. Recently this figure has been about 6 to 8 thousand.

"Human Resources Development" has become one of the primary objectives of US development assistance. Emphasis has been given to training leaders, often to work within projects related to institution building.

Fifty percent of the AID participants are in academic training programs. Most of these are in graduate programs as "lesser developed countries" increasingly have developed their own undergraduate institutions. Other thrusts include "specialized" and "on-the-job" training and "observational" training.

Just as a reappraisal of the period which the United Nations designated as the First Decade for Development (1960-70) has generated some question as to the efficacy of many development efforts, the degree to which training objectives are being met is also being scrutinized. In both cases, there is general agreement that the dumping of technology and procedures developed in one culture and circumstance into another without adaptation and consideration of the local situation has been highly wasteful and injurious to development goals.

Three approaches to improving the effectiveness of training of such individuals in the United States include: 1) greater care in the

selection and relevance of the type of training needed, 2) effort to give greater consideration within courses and activities to the relevance of content to the situation and conditions the participant must deal with at home, and 3) some attention to preparing the trainee to effectively re-enter his society and apply his new skills.

Anyone somewhat acquainted with the present training of foreign personnel within the United States and needs abroad is well aware that we still have important shortcomings in implementing these approaches.

The balance of this paper will deal with activities that are being undertaken regarding the last mentioned approach, that is, preparation for re-entry and implementation of training. Ideally, such preparation has begun in the participant's home country before he leaves it and continues through his program until after he is back home. All too commonly, re-entry is not well thought out before he leaves, if considered at all. The participant also usually receives little contact from home relevant to this matter while abroad and almost no consideration of re-entry and attendent problems while in the country of training.

There are three major channels through which USAID has to varying degrees approached the re-entry problem. These are the Modern Management Seminar, the MSU/AID Communication Workshop, and the support of efforts of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs to conduct short re-entry programs on the campuses of their member institutions. In addition there has been AID support to some efforts only held once or

twice. The only major continuing private program of this nature is the "Beyond Cornell" program.

These are all short term programs, ranging from a few hours to two weeks in duration and given at, or towards the end of the participants' training period. Together, these AID supported programs reach only a fraction of the total number of trainees completing training under AID sponsorship and returning home. This, of course, means they reach an even more minute proportion of the total numbers of foreign students completing their training in this country each year.

The Modern Management Seminar was primarily aimed at helping departing participants to consider how in general terms they might better manage the projects and organizations they will be involved in upon return home. The objective was not specified as "re-entry training" but getting these participants together to focus on and discuss problems which lay ahead certainly has an important element of this in it. This program was ended in 1977 and its functions combined into the Management-Communication Workshops which are now the programs in effect at Michigan State University.

A second channel, as noted, has been through the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs. The foreign student advisors of the majority of the institutions of higher learning in the United States belong to this organization. Although long active in support of improving the training and experience of foreign students while in this country, NAFSA has only in recent years mounted a formal national effort to encourage the provision

of programs of re-entry preparation, though individuals at individual campuses have, on occasion, put on such meetings over the years.

In the past three years NAFSA has secured financial support from AID to send twelve foreign student advisors each year from universities around the country to participate in the Management-Communication Workshop at Michigan State University. Here they went through the program as co-participants with the foreign participants and discussed the possible use of some of the exercises and case studies in one- or two-day re-entry sessions which they were obligated to initiate on return to their campuses.

The third and most extensive AID involvement in re-entry preparation of foreign trainees is through its support of the Management-Communication Workshop at Michigan State University. The evolution and present content of this program is in the following description.

Description/Background

For more than twenty years Michigan State University has cooperated with the Agency for International Development to conduct workshops for foreign participants studying in the U.S. The program is designed to provide participants with an experiential setting in which they can develop appropriate techniques to help them as managers and communicators to plan, make decisions, motivate, lead, persuade, supervise, control, and evaluate more effectively. This is very much a workshop--the participants are major contributors as well as receivers. The positive experience of close interaction with the mixture of nationalities represented in these workshops

(often eight to ten nations are represented in a group of 25 participants) is almost universally acclaimed by those attending. The workshop has a strong human relations bias.

The growing attention to management reflects the role of the middle-level administrator characterizing a large and growing proportion of our participants. It also indicates the growing awareness internationally of the role of management skills in the introduction of change and the predominant role of communication skills for the effective manager/administrator. In this program participants are encouraged to think not about organizations and projects as objects of detached scientific study but of themselves-in-organizations and projects and of themselves-as-managers, administrators and change agents.

Each major division is given about one day in the five-day workshop to emphasize such core concepts as: 1) Management as a people, informational, project and organization-relating task, 2) Organizations as collections of people, 3) The effective manager-communicator, 4) Organizational group dynamics and the manager, and 5) Change as a management and communication function and the manager as change agent. The divisions are expanded to varying degrees in the ten-day format depending on the needs and interests of the participants. Films, exercises, and case studies are available for use in each major topic area.

THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF PERSONNEL FOR OVERSEAS POSTINGS

Daniel J. Kealey

Daniel Kealey is presently the Coordinator of Research and Evaluation at the Briefing Center of the Canadian International Development Agency in Ottawa, Canada. In this position he has been primarily responsible for the planning, implementation and follow-up of research done in cross-cultural communication, with specific attention to training professionals and their families overseas.

Professionally trained in clinical psychology to the doctoral level, Kealey's interests have also led him to acquire formal education in philosophy, theology, and management. Prior to his current research position, he had been Programme Coordinator at C.I.D.A., where he directed the planning, implementation, and evaluation of regular monthly training programs. He has also worked as Program Manager, Psychologist, Assistant Research Director, Dean of Students, and Lecturer, for a number of organizations in government, industry, and universities.

The adequate assessment and training of personnel for effective cross-cultural adaptation is becoming an increasing concern for a variety of organizations involved in international programs. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is one such organization with this concern, and the purpose of this session will be to review some of the activities that the CIDA Briefing Centre has carried out in its effort to prepare people for cross-cultural postings.

The session will be divided into two parts: (1) Cross-Cultural Training: the CIDA Program; and (2) Predicting adaptability and effectiveness in overseas postings--a research project.

Part One: CIDA's Cross-Cultural Training Program

This part will involve a briefing review of the history of CIDA's cross-cultural training program, its present content and methodology, as well as some discussion of the new directions CIDA is considering to improve the effectiveness of personnel in the field.

In the development of CIDA's cross-cultural training program, the issue which constantly reared itself was whether or not you can indeed train people for cross-cultural adaptation. Some time will be devoted to a discussion of this issue and how it has been presently "resolved" within the organization.

Part Two: Predicting adaptability and effectiveness in overseas postings: a research project

This part will focus on a review of a specific research project undertaken by CIDA. The purpose of the research project was to determine whether particular communication behaviors are important to the successful cross-cultural adaptation and performance of technical advisers and their families assigned the possibility of a predictive relationshop between particular communication-behavior skills and the likelihood that one would adjust well and/or

function effectively in a cross-cultural context. A documented relationship of this sort would have rather substantial implications for the design and implementation of cross-cultural training, as well as for selection and selection counselling of personnel for cross-cultural positions.

Results of the research indicate that the following communication behavior skills are all related, in varying degrees, to successful cross-cultural adaptation:

1. Display of Respect

   People like to know that others respect them and what they have to say. If one is able through gestures, eye gaze, words of encouragement, to indicate to others that you are sincerely interested in them, they are likely to regard you and what you have to say in a positive manner.

2. Openness

   The ability to respond to others in a descriptive, non-evaluating, non-judgmental way.

3. Personalizing Knowledge and Perceptions

   The ability to recognize that people interpret and give meaning to reality in different ways and that one's own views do not represent the right way or the truth.

4. Empathy

   The ability to "put oneself in another's shoes," to understand things from "their point of view."

5. Role Flexibility

The capacity to be aware of and operate in different ways to get the same job done, or even to be able to adopt new behaviors and attitudes when the nature of the job itself is changed.

6. Tolerance for Ambiguity

The ability to react to new and/or ambiguous situations with little visible discomfort.

7. Turn Taking

The ability to take turns in discussion, as well as assist others in a group to be able to contribute to conversation and overall group effort.

LIFELONG ADULT EDUCATION: THE HIDDEN AGENDA

John Ohliger

John Ohliger has been involved in adult education for over twenty-five years as a professor, administrator, trainer, author, researcher, and volunteer in such aspects of the field as management training, labor education, discussion group leadership, political education, community colleges, university extension, liberal arts, and mass media.

He is the author or editor of over 60 publications in the field. Recent ones include: Media and Adult Learning (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1975), "Prospects for a Learning Society" (Adult Leadership, September, 1975), "Is Lifelong Adult Education a Guarantee of Permanent Inadequacy?" (Convergence, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1974), Lifelong Learning or Lifelong Schooling? A Tentative View of the Ideas of Ivan Illich (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 1971).

His work with the federal government includes consulting, training, research, and writing for the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Education, and the U.S. Peace Corps. In addition he has been professor of adult education at Ohio State University and the University of Wisconsin-Extension, and an administrator with Selkirk College, Castlegar, British Columbia; University Extension, University of California at Los Angeles; The Pacifica Foundation, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; The Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Berkeley; the Great Books Foundation; The American Foundation for Continuing Education; and The Michigan CIO Council.

Ohliger received his doctorate in education from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1966. His dissertation on the history of listening groups in thirty countries was subsequently published as Listening Groups: Mass Media in Adult Education by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults at Boston University and reprinted in the U.S. Office of Education's Research in Education.

At present Ohliger lives and works in Madison, Wisconsin, where he is a founding member and vice president of Basic Choices, Inc., A Midwest Center for Clarifying Political and Social Options.

Radical ideas in adult education are a series of tentatively formulated propositions, statements, assumptions, assertions, beliefs, or contentions drawn from the writings or actions of adult educators who claim to be radical in the senses of:

1) Trying to get to the root, the essence of issues, and;

2) Calling for a basic change in the social structure.

Few or none of these ideas can be proven or disproven through scientific experiment or research. But, it is important to note, neither can ideas opposed to these be so proven or disproven.

I. Ideas about people

a. All people want to learn.

b. All people are roughly equal in "intelligence."

c. All needs are real, as are all wants.

d. "Common people" are capable of running their own affairs without the control of experts.

e. The people with more or equally difficult "problems" in this country are not the so-called "disadvantaged" or "underprivileged" but the so-called "advantaged" or "privileged."

II. Ideas about society

a. The present political-economic reality is that this country is run by a small portion of its people.

b. Radical structural change in the economic-political system is necessary.

c. We can live in a world where no one has power over anyone else.

d. Radical structural change is possible so that all people will be able to foster that part of their being which wants to help more than hinder, love more than hate, cooperate more than compete, be integrally whole more than be alienated.

e. Necessary and possible radical change will be oppressive if not imbued with a healthy spiritual dimension.

f. The trend toward increased technocratic control must be reversed.

III. Ideas about adult education

a. Education-learning is a fragile, delicate, subtle activity linked to social life.

b. Knowledge-learning is more the experience itself and less the classification of information, the acquisition of facts, techniques, or skills.

c. The path to truth-knowledge-learning is more personal exploration of mutual political dialogue and less scientific experimentation or didactic-instruction.

d. Education is never neutral, politically or otherwise.

e. Standard brand adult education is the most conservative and reactionary of the different levels of institutionalized education.

f. Adult education is best seen, not as a field, discipline, or a profession, but simply as those activities of the chronologically mature in which learning is involved.

IV. What can be done?

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SELECTED PILOT FIELD STUDIES BY COURSE PARTICIPANTS

The major assignment for the course participants was to complete a pilot field team research project which would have implications for the Agency's work or its interest in intercultural or crosscultural communication. Sessions were held in which members of the research consultant team, Barry Fulton, Edward C. Stewart, and I provided a philosophical grounding and methodological basis for conducting the studies. We met separately with the teams several times to assist them in their progress. Alan Kotok provided the teams with assistance in computer programming and analysis. At the end of the course, each team had an hour to present its findings orally. Fulton and Stewart provided oral critiques of the projects, and subsequently, when the final written reports were submitted, written critiques were also offered and given to the course participants for whom they were intended.

The reports selected for inclusion in the Proceedings are illustrative of the efforts made by the teams working cooperatively. All of the reports should be seen as tentative efforts; most of the course participants had never completed field studies before; and time problems and computer breakdowns were challenges they had to overcome. No pretense is made that even those selected for inclusion in the Proceedings are finished scholarly reports ready for submission to academic journals. Still, all six projects

were thoughtful efforts and were as carefully done as our brief time frame allowed. All of the teams properly drew cautious conclusions from their studies.

The six studies completed as part of the course were:

Roger B. Cooper and Nicholas Dima, "Explaining American Policies: A Study of Attitudes and Beliefs at the U.S. Information Agency."

*Jane Daniel, Gary Edquist, and George Mishler, "Lines of Communication in the U.S. Information Agency."

Stuart Gorin, Ray Komai, and Dennis Shaw, "Visual Perceptions in Intercultural Communication: A Pilot Study."

*M.R. Jones, Eugene Harter, and Dian McDonald, "Looking at Leisure: The Foreign Service in Black Africa and Western Europe."

Lois Knoll, Le Lai, and Noel Pinault, "Vietnamese Perceptions of US First Amendment Freedoms."

*Cooki Lutkefedder, Linda McKeever, and Thavanh Svengsouk, "VOA English Broadcasts: Who's Listening."

(Interested persons may write to the first listed author for a copy of the pilot projects not included herein at USIA.)

*Selected for inclusion in The Proceedings

LINES OF COMMUNICATION IN THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY: A PILOT STUDY

Prepared by
Jane Daniel, Gary Edquist, and George Mishler

Introduction

It is our contention that there is little diffusion of information within the United States Information Agency, and therefore, employees have virtually no knowledge of innovations or programs which may affect either the Agency or the employee. This hypothesis grew out of personal observations by the members of our team, who realized that none had either a specific or even very general knowledge of elements of USIA other than the one in which he/she worked. It seemed reasonable to assume, for the purposes of the hypothesis at least, that many other USIA employees were in a similar position, and that they, too, had only a superficial knowledge of the many components of the Agency. We theorized, therefore, that while an IPS employee, to cite an example, would understand the basic organization and output of his element, he would have a very limited understanding of the operation of the Voice of America, or ICS, to name two other Agency elements.

Hypothesis

What we hypothesized, then, was a fundamental lack of communication within the Agency. If the hypothesis were correct, it would probably be reasonable to assume that an economics editor at the Voice of America,

for example, might research, write and produce a program that was virtually identical to a project undertaken by IPS. The hypothesis would also imply that an employee, for whatever reason, might never know of a potentially important training or personnel announcement, or policy decision. What we were trying to find out with our study was how well informed a person might be, and how information was diffused throughout the Agency.

A basic problem we faced was how to define "information." There seem to be at least two approaches to the problem. On the one hand, we took information to mean any official Agency announcement, be it from IOR, IPT, or the Director's Office, which would be transmitted to the various elements of USIA for the consideration of all employees. The channels of the communication would probably differ from example to example, and so in the case of an announcement from IPT or personnel, the information would most likely be passed along in the form of a memo sent to each office, which the office head would then post. When the Director of the Agency makes an announcement, it might appear both in the news media and as an official memo sent throughout the Agency. The point here is that while the channels may vary from announcement to announcement, nevertheless there are officially established lines of communication to keep an employee abreast of important developments.

We were also interested in considering information as a measure of being well-informed. We were curious to know whether Agency employees

knew what their fellow workers in other sections were doing. We began with the assumption that the employee knew that he or she worked for the United States Information Agency (and not just the Voice of America or ICS), and second, we assumed that the employee realized that there were other elements within USIA, involved in everything from personal diplomatic contact, to producing radio and television programs, magazines and books. We made the assumption, then, that a well-informed employee would be knowledgeable about the work done by elements other than his or her own.

Review of the Literature

In looking for literature relevant to our hypothesis, we examined several works in which the Agency's internal organization is discussed. For two reasons, however, these references were of limited use. First, the main concern of all these works is, quite naturally, the Agency's overseas programs, with only brief sections devoted to domestic structure. Second, those brief sections concerned with the Washington component of USIA are descriptive, rather than analytical, and tend to give summaries of what an element does, without much attention to linkages or information flow between elements, except for questions of policy guidance. This is true even of the 1970 Arthur D. Little study of USIA management systems in which information control for management purposes is touched upon. In other words, the concerns of these authors have been primarily vertical

linkages between an element and the management level of USIA, rather than the horizontal linkages between elements. We tried in our survey to study information flow in both directions.

Methodology

We have included a copy of our survey questionnaire to show the types of questions we asked. We divided the survey into two parts, a demographic section and a general knowledge portion. The demographic questions, listed on page two of the survey, include inquiries about sex, age, grade, and whether the person was FS or GS. We did not think it necessary to ask our respondents to identify themselves, and indeed thought people would respond more naturally and feel less pressure if the survey were anonymous. We included a question about overseas duty to see whether we could determine any effect an extended (more than six months) foreign assignment had on the person's knowledge of the Agency. We did not ask the respondent to list his or her specific grade, because we thought some might consider the question too personal; in addition, it was felt that a broad outline of grade categories would be sufficient to test our notion that those people in the lower grades (FS 6-8 and GS 7-9) would know less about the Agency than those in the higher grades. We also postulated that supervisors (generally FS 1-5 and GS 13 and above) would have a greater breadth of knowledge than non-supervisory personnel. Similarly, we assumed that those who had worked longer for USIA would know more about the Agency.

In addition, we color-coded the questionnaires to identify the three elements of USIA which we surveyed; thus, in our color scheme, green questionnaires were handed out at VOA, blue ones at ICS, and yellow-colored surveys were distributed at IEA and ILA. We found the color coding to be an easy and effective way to differentiate results obtained at the three elements.

We restricted our survey to only three groups from USIA becuase of time limitations. VOA was selected because it is the largest single element of the Agency (more than 1,300 employees in the U.S., compared with a total of 1,700 domestic employees for the remainder of USIA). We chose a second media element, ICS, for the second group, and created a third population category composed of people from two area offices, IEA and ILA.

A factor we were quite interested in, but unfortunately were not able to consider, was the relationship of time to the dissemination of information. If the Director or another element of the Agency made an announcement that would have widespread effects, how long would it take all employees to become aware of it? While this would have been a fascinating study, it was beyond the scope of our limited pilot study. Perhaps in the future someone could explore this topic.

The second part of our survey was the test of general knowledge. As the term implies, these questions were designed to be as general as possible. We felt that the employees surveyed should be able to answer

at least 60% of the questions to be considered knowledgeable. It was not expected that all questions would be answered correctly, and it was not our intention to "stump" people by asking vague or obscure questions. The questions we selected were factual and multiple choice, with only one correct answer to each question. In preparing our list, we examined official Agency announcements and publications (e.g., USIA's 44th Report to the Congress), and designed questions which we felt described some basic feature or announcement, such as what was the most requested VTR program, or what did Director Reinhardt say would be one of the basic goals of the Agency? We tried as best as possible to exclude questions which only a few people would know; consequently, while we asked for the name of the IPS quarterly publication on economics (Economic Impact), we did not ask the name of the USIA publication produced in Japan (Trends). What we were testing was a general knowledge of USIA and its elements and not an in-depth understanding of each component.

One of the problems we faced was defining our sample of people to question. The limits of time and endurance prevented us from going to all the elements of the Agency; and since this was designed to be a pilot study, we felt justified in severely limiting the scope of our inquiry. We determined that with the time available, the three members of the group could each survey about fifteen people, giving us a total of forty-five persons surveyed. When compared with the more than 3,000 domestic

USIA employees, our sample was indeed tiny; nevertheless, it could, we felt, signal trends and give us an indication of the results a larger sampling might produce. Since we were questioning so few, we had to determine which employees would receive the survey. We felt it would have been impossible in a survey this small to be completely "random." We rather arbitrarily said, therefore, that a team member would go to an assigned Agency element, speak with the chief of the branch and ask permission to conduct the survey. A request would also be made that four of the fifteen respondents (which works out to be about twenty-five percent) should be supervisory personnel. It was felt that this method would cause less confusion within an office, be less time consuming, and could produce a meaningful cross-sampling of people.

Discussion

When we tabulated the results of our survey, we found that the level of knowledge of personnel and Agency matters was, in most cases, satisfactory. This is illustrated in the accompanying graph. In referring to the graph, one can note a rough equivalency in the knowledge of personnel matters, ranging from 67% of the answers correct (VOA), 72% (IEA/ILA), to 73% (ICS). For knowledge of Agency matters, the situation is similar; and all the scores lie within a 9-point spread, from 60% (ICS and VOA) to 69% (IEA/ILA) of the answers correct.

Using the demographic data, we also found that supervisors knew more about Agency and personnel matters than non-supervisors (this was

true across all three elements). Similarly, FS employees tested better than their GS counterparts. Also, length of service seemed to have a direct bearing on how much one knew about Agency and personnel matters. In this last sub-division, we found that those who had been with USIA for longer than 10 years generally knew more than either of the other groups (0 to 5 years and 5 to 10 years experience). We found a problem with this breakdown, because while we could see some tendencies, they became meaningless given the small sample in some instances, such as finding only one person, among 15 surveyed, who has served less than five years. Consequently, it would have been better to use a two-part division, such as 0 to 10 years and 10 years or more. We also considered the effect of overseas duty, but found that the results so closely parallel the results from the GS-FS breakdown that it was really a useless distinction. We also rejected one of our demographic questions after the results began coming in; that was the first question on male/female. It did not seem that we were getting any useful results upon which to base any conclusion; moreover, it seemed an artificial distinction.

This discussion points out that we had too many demographic questions, and many were the type which neither confirmed nor refuted the hypothesis. Because of so many demographic questions, we had too much data to work with. It seems that some questions were too highly refined for the purposes of this questionnaire, and only by eliminating some from consideration

were we able to reduce the data to a manageable amount.

There were other problems we faced, one dealing with the questions we asked, another with the sample we surveyed. Were we to redesign the questionnaire, we would include more area questions; in other words, while we had only three questions on the survey related to VOA and IMV (it should be noted that one question, number 12, did double duty by asking about both elements), in any future questionnaire, the number of questions devoted to each area should be increased significantly (perhaps four or five questions per area). In a similar way, we asked only one question on IOP, number 9, and drawing any meaningful conclusion from that lone question would be quite risky. This pilot study has shown us that we must rethink some of the questions (for example, is question 18, the most requested VTR series, too specialized?), generate new questions, and refocus many others.

There were also difficulties with the sample we surveyed. For instance, in the case of the IEA/ILA group and ICS employees, it was a major effort to find 15 employees in each element to question. Ultimately, the fifteen per group were surveyed, except at VOA where twenty were tested. We also had more supervisors in our sample than we originally intended, again that was because it was difficult to pick and choose from so few people. There was also an interesting example of misperception about the distinction between supervisors and non-supervisors. Of the 15 people questioned at ICS, 11 said they were supervisors. In one instance, a branch chief indicated that two of his people filling out the questionnaire

were non-supervisors, but on the form these two employees indicated they were supervisors.

One other consideration is question 17-B, the only one in the questionnaire which asked the employee how he or she learned about a recent development in the Agency, in this case that Daniel Yankelovich has been chosen to make a study of USIA. In that question, we offered six choices, plus a seventh category of "other" channel of communication. When we obtained the results of the three elements, 54% were able to answer 17-A correctly by identifying Yankelovich. Of these 27 correct answers, 23 people said they learned of the appointment through a newspaper, while the other listed official Agency announcement, colleague or supervisor, and USIA World as the source of the information. (To our knowledge the information has not yet appeared in the World.) The fact that so many depended on a newspaper suggests to us that in certain instances, newspapers are a more effective channel of information than internal sources. In those cases where a newspaper prints a story related to USIA, it acts as a filtering agent, highlighting or eliminating certain aspects of the story. The question should be asked, why are newspapers, at least in this example, so much more effective at informing Agency personnel than the existing internal channels of information.

Throughout our survey, we had worked with the assumption that there was little diffusion of information within the Agency, and that employees had little knowledge of important innovations or programs. Based on our findings, we would now have to say that, in a limited sense, our hypothesis was not proved. From our previous discussion, we discovered that Agency personnel knew much more than we expected about personnel matters or events which affect USIA. Looked at in a different perspective, however, our findings indicate a profound lack of knowledge or understanding in any given element, especially media "functional" elements (as opposed to the geographic areas), about other elements of the Agency. Referring to the graph once again, it is evident that each element knew about its particular area, and in the case of IEA/ILA, there was a general fund of knowledge of most other elements. Consider now what ICS knew about VOA (23% of the responses were correct), IMV (20%), or IOP (again, 20%). Or take the example of the knowledge of VOA employees about ICS (40%), or IPS (36% correct). According to the results, we believe we are justified in concluding that Agency personnel have an appalling non-familiarity with the work of counterparts, or, in other words, no one really knows what another element is doing.

We feel that this last point is probably more significant than the results obtained on the test of personnel and Agency knowledge, for these last figures appear to verify something that many have heard in the Agency:

that there is a sense of isolation. Earlier we mentioned that we began with the assumption that an employee worked for USIA and not just the particular element. Based on this pilot survey, it appears the assumption is not as warranted as we thought. Employees tend to identify with the element in which they work, and seem indifferent to the other components of USIA. The chief of one of the major branches of the Agency said he has worked for USIA for more than 20 years and has no idea where VOA is located and has no interest in what it broadcasts. Another person remarked as she handed in her questionnaire that the survey "shows how parochial we are."

The survey, as limited and imperfect as it is, describes what we believe is a serious problem within USIA, namely that while we are all professional communicators, we apparently have failed to keep open the inter-agency channels of communication. We are not blaming anyone, or saying this lack of communication is anyone's fault, because what is important is how to open the channels for an active dialogue among the Agency elements.

Recommendations

At a very basic level, we suggest that there could be a greater exchange of information among the elements. Samples of books and magazines produced by ICS and IPS could be circulated among the employees of VOA and IMV. IMV could perhaps resume screenings of its VTRs and movies. The Exhibits Division could describe a new exhibit, where it would be and

for how long, so that the writers and announcers at VOA could alert audiences when it would be in their countries. The special programs and features produced by the more than 30 languages of the Voice could be selectively promoted in IPS magazines. Theme programs, developed jointly by ICS and VOA, for example, might be a possibility. Some of these ideas have been tried in the past, and some might prove to be impractical, but what is important is attempting to break down the old barriers that impede effective communication.

We can see at least two benefits arising from such cooperation: greater familiarity among the elements, and a reinforcement of USIA activities. As employees become more familiar with the work done throughout the Agency, there should be greater realization that all are trying, in individual ways, to project American society, whether it is by radio, films, exhibits, or books. However naive it may sound, such cooperation can bridge many of the differences by showing how similar all our tasks are. By opening the channels of communication, there can be only a positive reinforcement of the Agency's efforts. The point that must be stressed is how potentially beneficial it could be to the Agency to have greater communication among the various elements.

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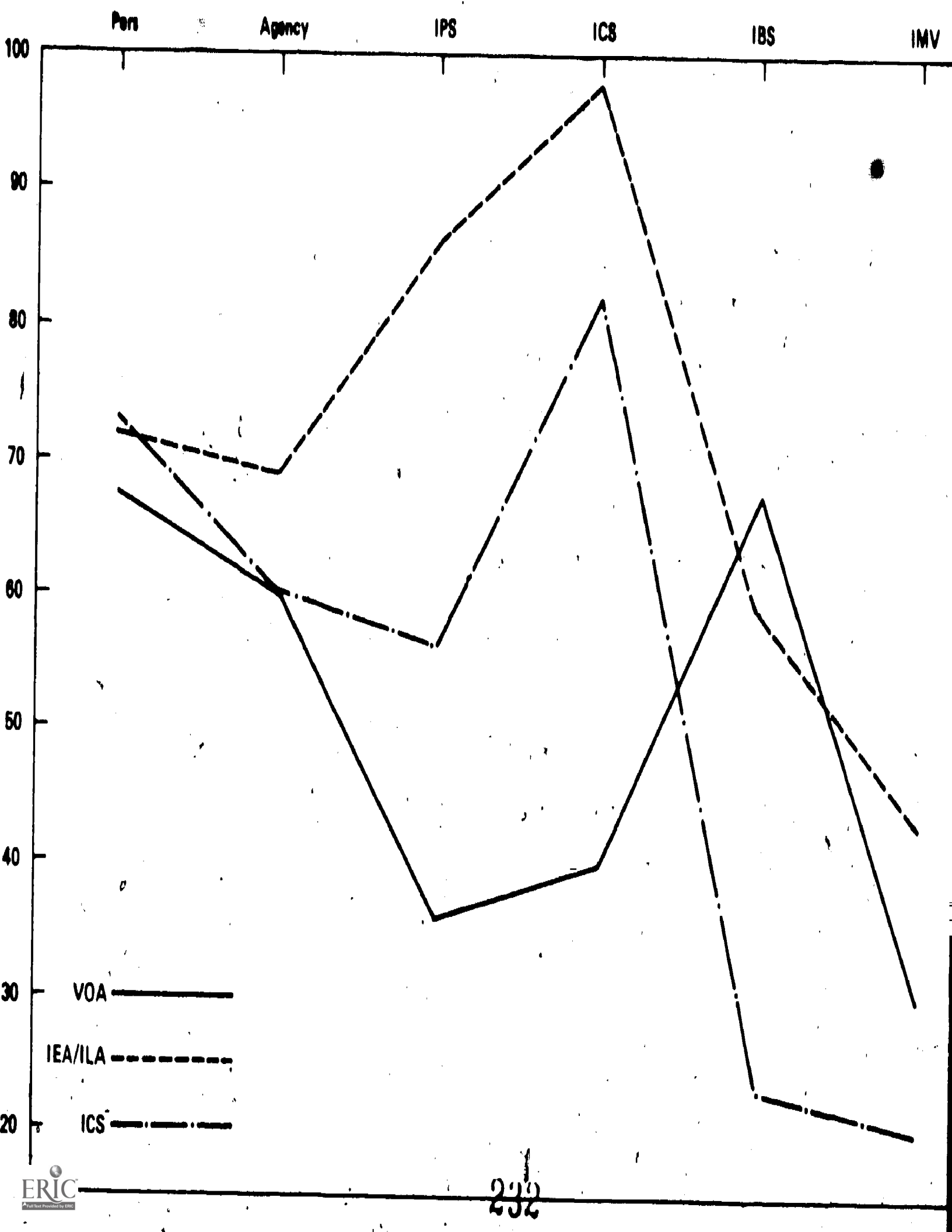
Pers
Agency
IPS
ICS
IBS
IMV
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
VOA
IEA/ILA
ICS

THIS SURVEY IS DESIGNED TO DETERMINE THE ADEQUACY OF USIA LINES OF COMMUNICATION. IT IS A SURVEY BEING UNDERTAKEN AS A CLASS PROJECT FOR USIA'S INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE.

Survey respondents remain anonymous, so you need not sign your name, but we would appreciate the following general information:

1. ____ Male

   ____ Female

2. I am a ____ Foreign Service (FS) employee.

   ____ General Services (GS) employee.

3. I have been with the Agency:

   ____ Less than 5 years.

   ____ 5 - 10 years.

   ____ 10 years or more.

4. I served overseas with USIA for a total of 6 months or more.

   ____ Yes

   ____ No

5. My grade level is:

   GS employees:

   ____ Grades 1-7

   ____ Grades 8-12

   ____ Grades 13 and above

   Foreign Service employees:

   ____ Grades 6-8

   ____ Grades 3-5

   ____ Grades 1 and 2

6. My present position is:

   ____ a supervisory position.

   ____ a non-supervisory position.

Please circle the number adjacent to the correct response for each question listed below. If you do not know an answer, please do not circle any answer for that question; just go onto the next question.

1. Under present regulations and practices, Foreign Service Limited Reserve Employees (FSLRs) may convert to Foreign Service Reserve Unlimited (FSRU) after a minimum of how many years of service?

    1. 2 years
    2. 3 years
    3. 5 years
    4. never

2. Director Reinhart has defined one of the basic goals of USIA as:

    1. winning the hearts and minds of men.
    2. projecting American society.
    3. influencing the actions of others.
    4. promoting American business.

3. Personnel and career counseling services are available to:

    1. FS employees only
    2. GS employees only
    3. Wage Board only
    4. All employees

4. The "Core Concept" refers to:

    1. Conference of Radio Engineers
    2. weekly VTR programs
    3. magazine publications
    4. films

5. VOA English-language programs written from a vocabulary limited to 2,000 words are called:

    1. Learning English
    2. English for Beginners
    3. Easy English
    4. Special English

6. Volunteer Speaker programs are handled in Washington by which element of the Agency:

    1. ICS
    2. IOP
    3. IPS
    4. IBS

7. "Economic Impact" is a:

   1. radio program.
   2. film feature.
   3. magazine title.
   4. book series.

8. The "Wireless File" is a:

   1. Sunday feature of VOA.
   2. press message sent to Washington by the USIS posts.
   3. VOA's main source of news.
   4. news service for embassies and posts.

9. The Foreign Press Centers are under the jurisdiction of:

   1. IOP
   2. IPS
   3. IBS
   4. ICS

10. "Dialogue" is a:

   1. radio program.
   2. magazine.
   3. motion picture series.
   4. television program.

11. Teaching English as a foreign language is a function of:

   1. IOP
   2. IPS
   3. ICS
   4. IBS

12. One program is offered by both VOA and IMV. This is:

   1. Reflections
   2. Press Conference, U.S.A.
   3. Issues in the News
   4. Horizions, U. S. A.

13. The Bicentennial program, "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," is a:

   1. magazine.
   2. an exhibit.
   3. radio program.
   4. television show.

14. In the East European countries, the element of the Embassy which handles USIS programs is known as the:

1. Information Programs Division
2. Press and Cultural Section
3. Public Affairs Division
4. Program Placement Section

15. The total USIS budget for FY-1976 was approximately:

1. $ 75 million
2. $125 million
3. $250 million
4. $500 million

16. The officially-elected union to represent USIA employees is:

1. AFSA (American Foreign Service Association)
2. AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees)
3. ASGE (American Society of Government Employees)
4. NFFE (National Federation of Federal Employees)

17. Which of the following has been chosen to undertake a major evaluative study of the effectiveness of USIA in informing the President of foreign attitudes toward the United States?

(A)
1. Paul Roper
2. Charles Bray
3. Kenneth Adler
4. Daniel Yankelovich

(B) How did you learn about this appointment?

1. newspaper
2. USIA World
3. official Agency announcement
4. supervisor
5. colleague
6. union newsletter
7. other (Please specify:_____)

18. The strongest post response to any VTR series yet produced by the Motion Picture and Television Service (IMV) is:

1. "Visions"
2. "Science Report"
3. "Election, 1976"
4. "Reflections"

19. IPT just offered a 2-day workshop for USIA employees. The course was entitled:

1. Effective Writing Workshop
2. Public Diplomacy Workshop
3. Career Development and Life Planning Workshop
4. Public Speaking Workshop

LOOKING AT LEISURE: THE FOREIGN SERVICE IN BLACK AFRICA AND WESTERN EUROPE
A Pilot Study

Prepared by
M. Roberta Jones, Eugene Harter, and Dian McDonald

Introduction

The hypothesis is initially proposed: "Substantive American officers (Foreign Service Officers and Foreign Service Information Officers) in Africa spend a negligible amount of leisure time with host country nationals." This hypothesis was suggested by the obvious differences between the cultures of black Africa and the United States and the presumed challenges these differences pose to American Foreign Service officers, serving in black Africa, who wish to know the people of their country. The foundation for this hypothesis was laid along two major points: first, that personal contact is the most effective mode of intercultural communication; and second, that Foreign Service officers in black Africa face especially challenging cultural obstacles in developing personal relationships. The former point needs little elaboration. The Foreign Service assesses its candidates according to their "personableness" and "cultural sensitivity." It earmarks funds for "representation" (that is, entertainment of host-country nationals). Finally, Foreign Service officers are evaluated annually as to their "relations with foreigners."

Cultural differences between the United States and black Africa are quickly summed up in various cultural models such as the Kluckhohn or Fisher-Kohls culture models. While a glance at the opposite poles or quadrants of these models tells the essence of the story, the complexities confronting the Foreign Service officer in Africa stem from a number of interesting factors. Officers in black Africa use in most instances the second language of the urban African, that is either French or English. Thus when an American tries to join a group of Africans in conversation, the Africans in order to accommodate his intrusion may have to change from their language (such as Twi, Fang, Hausa, etc.) to English or French. In African capitals the newly arrived officer faces not only the strangeness inherent in being at the political crossroads of a multi-tribal nation, but the added complication of communities of third-country nationals which may, in many instances, represent dominant political, cultural, and economic influences. The American in black Africa may discover that these third-country nationals (often the former colonial rulers) are gate-keepers who determine his access to various elite nationals. For the gate-keeper, intrusions of new foreign influences are often unwelcome, threatening his position.

As for the African nations, they are often fragile at best, grappling somewhat desperately with a host of political and cultural insecurities. To them foreign domination is more than a memory: "neocolonialism"

and "cultural imperialism" are palpable. Thus for sound historical reasons the American Foreign Service officer can be to the black African both suspect and savior. Most Foreign Service officers have from eighteen months to two years to try to understand this complex milieu before their tour of duty at a "hardship post" ends. Spouses may or may not have been given language and area training. Children may be at school in Europe or the United States. Stresses and strains find entirely new sources from which to emanate in the set of circumstances sketched here. On the other hand, the strangeness, the foment, and the very sense of political and cultural frontiers make Africa a preferred posting for a number of officers who welcome the challenge of a very different culture and people.

Refining the hypothesis

The initial hypothesis was based on the assumption that difficulties in establishing sound personal relationships in Africa plus varying motivation of Foreign Service officers (some welcome the challenge of Africa while others count days until they can leave a people "not worth knowing" or "impossible to know") would be reflected in the way Foreign Service officers spend their "leisure time." If one considers leisure time to be essentially "discretionary time," who one spends it with should reveal in some degree the quality of relationships with host-country nationals and others. It may, of course, simply reveal who happened to be the best and most congenial practitioner of a preferred sport. The determination with

which a Foreign Service officer tries to spend every free moment on the tennis court or at the bridge table may be an exclusionary factor of considerable interest in itself, depending, of course, on whether black Africans engage in these pastimes.

The original hypothesis as stated above was altered as follows: "Substantive Foreign Service officers (FSOs and FSIOs) in Black Africa spend less leisure time with host-country nationals in comparison with Foreign Service officers in Western Europe." The comparison between leisure-time use in Africa and Europe was introduced so that a valid statement could be made. Africa became "Black Africa" and Europe "Western Europe" so that the contrast would be sharper and more uniform. The most troublesome element in stating the hypothesis was the notion of "leisure time." The group found that, given the simplicity of the hypothesis, efforts at defining leisure in the Foreign Service would open a Pandora's box which, in this study, was better left shut.

The notion of leisure time at Foreign Service posts is ambiguous both as to quality and quantity. Regarding the former, the issue of representation funds blurs the line. Basically the hypothesis was concerned with whom Foreign Service officers are with when they can do what they want. If host-country nationals are involved, this may or may not be considered "representational," with accompanying overtones of being "on duty." Posts determine representational responsibilities according to

funds available, the rank of the officers, the position descriptions, and the whim of the boss. The group left the leisure issue undefined, while bearing in mind that discretionary use was the key factor in considering what in the Foreign Service could bear this leisure-time label. As for quantity of leisure time, a question as to amount had been included on an initial questionnaire which was subsequently discarded as being overly complicated. Members of the group expected that some Foreign Service officers would simply indicate that they had none. In fact, only three questionnaires indicated any uncertainty or made any effort to delineate the concept, and this was usually done by raising the issue of representation.

Composing the questionnaire

The group rejected the first questionnaire as too elaborate, and devised in its place a brief two-page questionnaire which confined itself with a few minor exceptions to questions relating directly to the hypothesis. More questions were included about the respondant's status (grade, age, marital status) than actually required by the hypothesis which touched only upon area of service. (See appendix A) The final, simplified questionnaire was then color-coded (white, yellow, blue, and green) so that the group could differentiate between Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Information officers (or reserve officers serving in positions designated for FSOs and FSIOs) and between their area of service, either Africa or

Western Europe. Given the constraints of time, only officers now in Washington could be surveyed, hence the reduction from 100 to 60. After considering various survey techniques, including the personal interview, the group decided that the anonymity of the mailed questionnaire best suited its purposes. The respondants were being asked not for attitudes or opinions but for reports of actual behavior. Moreover it is behavior which could reflect not merely difficult circumstances at their last posts (some officers queried had served in Ethiopia from which USIS was expelled while others were in countries where even the most innocuous invitation to a host-country national requires a diplomatic note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) but also actual competence and effectiveness as an officer for, as mentioned earlier, officers are rated annually on their "relations with foreigners."

The two-page questionnaire was sent with a covering letter signed by the course academic coordinator. Self-addressed envelopes were enclosed so that the questionnaire could be returned anonymously to the Office of Training.

Stating the purpose

The group hoped that the testing of this relatively straight-forward hypothesis would offer some indication of the use of leisure or discretionary time by Foreign Service officers in two areas which exhibit sharp cultural contrasts. The hypothesis would, it was thought, suggest certain avenues

he might want to follow in examining actual attitudes toward "leisure time," contact with host-country nationals, and the value of personal relationships in communicating across culture. The group was looking for indications rather than answers. Tentative as these indications may be, the group found the exploration promising.

Survey of the literature

In The Diplomatist,[1] J. Cambon wrote: "The best instrument of a Government wishing to persuade another Government will always remain in the spoken words of a decent man." Since the word "leisure" in our study seems to defy definition, it would be, perhaps, fruitful to follow up on the spinoffs that pop up when surveying the literature of face-to-face diplomacy.

The survey seems to indicate that American diplomats are willing to give up a considerable portion of their limited private hours to mingle socially with host country nationals both in Europe and in black Africa. With the knowledge that we are merely participating here in a pilot study, and in keeping with our limited time of preparation, the most profitable course is to point out some of the highlights of research previously attempted in the area under study.

Professionals in the U.S. Information Agency have long held the belief (perhaps intuitively) that face to face communications overseas were the most effective way of getting policy and "image" issues across. Journalist John Martin,[2] who was associated with the Agency for several years,

states that the changing target of USIA's and the State Department's message overseas is the foreign government official, rather than the diplomatic counterpart, as in the old days. Martin says: "The channel or medium is the interpersonal relationship or the cocktail party." Martin has come up with a useful, descriptive term for the bulk of the work of the Agency, calling it "facilitative communication." He means that all the cocktail parties, picnics, news stories, speakers, exhibits and the other time-honored activities of the information agency serve mainly as unfocused diversions in the hope of marking time to create a friendly open atmosphere with no other conscious objective. His estimate is that this facilitative communication consumes 95-99% of the agency's time, keeping the lines open for those rare occasions when the U.S. really wishes to influence and persuade. Martin states that familiarity breeds a positive, favorable attitude toward the foreign service officer in his face-to-face contacts, or as Marshall McLuhan would say: "The medium is the message;" and the "message" is to keep in contact in the most pleasant way possible.

In constructing this productive social atmosphere at the posts some care should be exercised in selecting the foreign service officer who can socialize easily, and with a minimum of hangups. Jack Sawyer[3] gives a hint as to the ideal officer, in the light of the reality that the average diplomat is constantly shifted from one country to another making it rather difficult to develop easy acquaintanships, when he states that American students who are trained for social service positions such as YMCA work

are generally more cooperatively oriented while business students are the most individualistic. "Students from the social sciences differentiate the most between friends and antagonists. Since most persons entering the State Department are from the social sciences, if the above findings can be generalized we might expect the average officer to make more of a distinction between friendly and antagonistic nations than the average person would." If the researcher visualizes the foreign service setting as a friendly/antagonistic social mixture it would pay to study Sawyer's findings as a guide to formulating personnel hiring policies.

Raymond A. Bauer[4] points out research results that show that a challenge should be made to the commonly held stereotype of the audience as helpless, or at least passive, where influence is attempted via the mass media of communication. Research results, however, which find their expression in the model of communication as a transactional process, show that the audience can be influenced only when it is an active participant. Bauer singles out W. Philips Davison's statement, including it in his newspaper:

> "the communicator's audience is not a passive recipient--it cannot be regarded as a lump of clay to be molded by the master propagandist. Rather, the audience is made up of individuals who demand something from the communications to which they are exposed, and who select those that are likely to be useful to them. In other words, they must get something from the manipulator if he is to get something from them. A bargain is involved. Sometimes, it is true, the manipulator is able to lead his audience into a bad bargain by emphasizing one need at the expense of another or by representing a change in the significant environment as greater than it actually has been.

But audiences, too, can drive a bargain. Many communicators who have been widely disregarded or misunderstood know that to their cost."[5]

A large amount of literature exists on the experience of diplomats, much of it in face-to-face settings such as cocktail parties and other less formal gatherings; but behavioral scientists have only begun to look into this segment of foreign relations as a cross-cultural study. Our only clues come from the likes of Ambassador Ellis O Briggs, who has written clearly about diplomatic life overseas. But he, like others in the foreign service, serves up more anecdote than analyses. An exception is Glen H. Fisher, who is both a behavioral scientist and a foreign service officer.[6] Another would be Ithiel de Sola Pool[7] whose research follows extensive experience in the foreign service.

If the informal foreign service setting is a useful area for behavioral science study, the more or less universally approved drug alcohol should come in for special attention. Thousands of gallons of it are administered in an exchange of diplomatic niceties. What is the effect? No literature on this diplomatic reality is believed to exist in behavioral science circles.

In Pathos of Power psychologist Kenneth B. Clark discusses man's capacity for kindness and empathy, a not insubstantial ingredient in face-to-face communications.[8] "Kindness" may never find acceptance as a jargon term in the social sciences, but Clark may be on to something. On this note we end this survey portion of the research.

The principal method of tabulating the survey responses involved an averaging of the percentages given in response to question one of the questionnaire--i.e., the estimated percentage amounts of leisure time spent with (a) family, (b) other Americans, (c) third country nationals, (d) host country nationals, and (e) alone.

In most instances, the respondents gave a total of more than 100% for the five categories combined. This was expected because of the problems inherent in quantifying "leisure" time coupled with the difficulty in recalling how such time was spent in the past.

Graph D in Chart 1 reflects the summary of data most critical to the hypothesis. The graph shows that officers in Africa reported that they spent an average of 30% of their leisure time with host country nationals while officers in Europe reported an average of 23% for the same category.

Therefore, the findings of the survey did not confirm the hypothesis that "substantive Foreign Service Officers (FSOs and FSIOs) in black Africa spend less leisure time with host country nationals in comparison with Foreign Service Officers in Western Europe."

This conclusion was further supported by median calculations for the same question which reflected 30% for officers in Africa and 25% for officers in Europe. The largest amount of time in this category reported by an officer in Europe was 40% while two single officers in Africa reported 70% and 90%.

While the survey findings did not support the hypothesis, further analysis of the data shows trends which might indicate that the amount of leisure time spent with host country nationals can be related to factors other than country of assignment.

Charts 2 and 3, for example, show that FSIOs--both in Africa and Europe--spent greater average amounts of leisure time with host country nationals than did FSOs. Compared with FSOs, the FSIOs also reported smaller amounts of leisure time spent with other Americans and third country nationals. It should be noted that the FSIO sample representing both Africa and Europe was twice as large as the FSO sample.

Further tabulation of the data revealed that single officers, on the average, spent 40% of their leisure time with host country nationals while married officers spent only 22%. This result is based on responses from 30 married officers and 6 single officers.

Additional computations of the data revealed that the average percentage of leisure time spent with host country nationals by officers 22-35 years of age was 25%; 36-45, 24%; and 46 and older, 27%. Responses to the same question from officers in Foreign Service grades 1-2 averaged 23%; grades 3-5, 26%; and grades 6-8, 28%.

Time limitations and computer malfunction precluded more detailed comparative summaires for all of the categories covered in the questionnaire.

Conclusions

The survey findings are based on 36 responses which represent 60% of the total number of questionnaires distributed. Six questionnaires were returned too late to be tabulated in the final results.

The following table gives a profile of the respondents. Most were male, married, and grades 3-5. Seventeen had last served in Western Europe, and nineteen in black Africa. There were fewer senior officers and more mid-grade and young officers in Africa than Europe.

		No. of Respondents	% of total (36)	Europe (total 17)	Africa (total 19)
	Male	32	89	15	17
	Female	4	11	2	2
	Married	30	83	15	15
	Single	6	17	2	4
Age:	22-35	11	31	3	8
	36-45	10	28	6	4
	46-	15	41	8	7
Grade:	1-2	11	31	9	2
	3-5	22	61	7	15
	6-8	3	8	1	2
	FSO	12	33	5	7
	FSIO	24	66	12	12

Recommendations

The extent to which the conclusions of the project can be generalized are not discussed in this report because the survey findings did not confirm the hypothesis. Members of the group agreed, however, that the conclusions indicated certain trends which would warrant futher research. It is emphasized that these are not interpreted as "generalized" trends in the way Foreign Service officers spend their leisure time--rather that they provide, as Barry Fulton suggested, "hunches" regarding areas worthy of additional study.

A future research project might appropriately treat larger samples of both FSOs and FSIOs and include responses from more single officers. It might also encompass three or more world regions of service--e.g., the Far East or Arab World in addition to Black Africa and Western Europe.

NOTES

1. J. Cambon, The Diplomatist, p. 112.

2. John Martin, "Effectiveness in International Propaganda" in Fischer and Merrill ed. International and Intercultural Communication.

3. Jack Sawyer, "The Altruism Scale: A Measure of Co-operative, Individualistic and Competitive Interpersonal Orientation," American Journal of Sociology 71 (1966) p. 407-416.

4. Raymond A. Bauer, "The Obstinate Audience" in Contemporary Research in Social Psychology, Henry Lindgren, ed. p. 399.

5. W. P. Davison, "On the Effects of Communication," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1959, p. 343-360.

6. His work is summed up in his Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences.

7. Ithiel de Sola Pool was a Public Affairs Officer for USIA.

8. Kenneth B. Clark, Pathos of Power, p. 37, 38.

APPENDIX A

This is an effort to find out how "leisure" time was spent at a variety of Foreign Service Posts.

1. With whom did you spend your leisure time at your most recent post?

Please circle estimated percentage of leisure time for each category. Total for the five does not have to be 100%.

a. Family	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
b. Other Americans	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
c. Third Country Nationals	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
d. Host Country Nationals	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
e. Alone	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%

Following are a few questions to help us tabulate the survey results:

2. Male ___

   Female ___

3. Married ___

   Single (including divorced, widowed, separated) ___

4. Age

   22-35 ___

   36-45 ___

   46 - ___

5. Foreign Service Grade

   1-2 ___

   3-5 ___

   6-8 ___

Thank you for your cooperation. Please return to IPT/T, Room 1120, USIA, 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

AVERAGE PERCENT OF LEISURE TIME

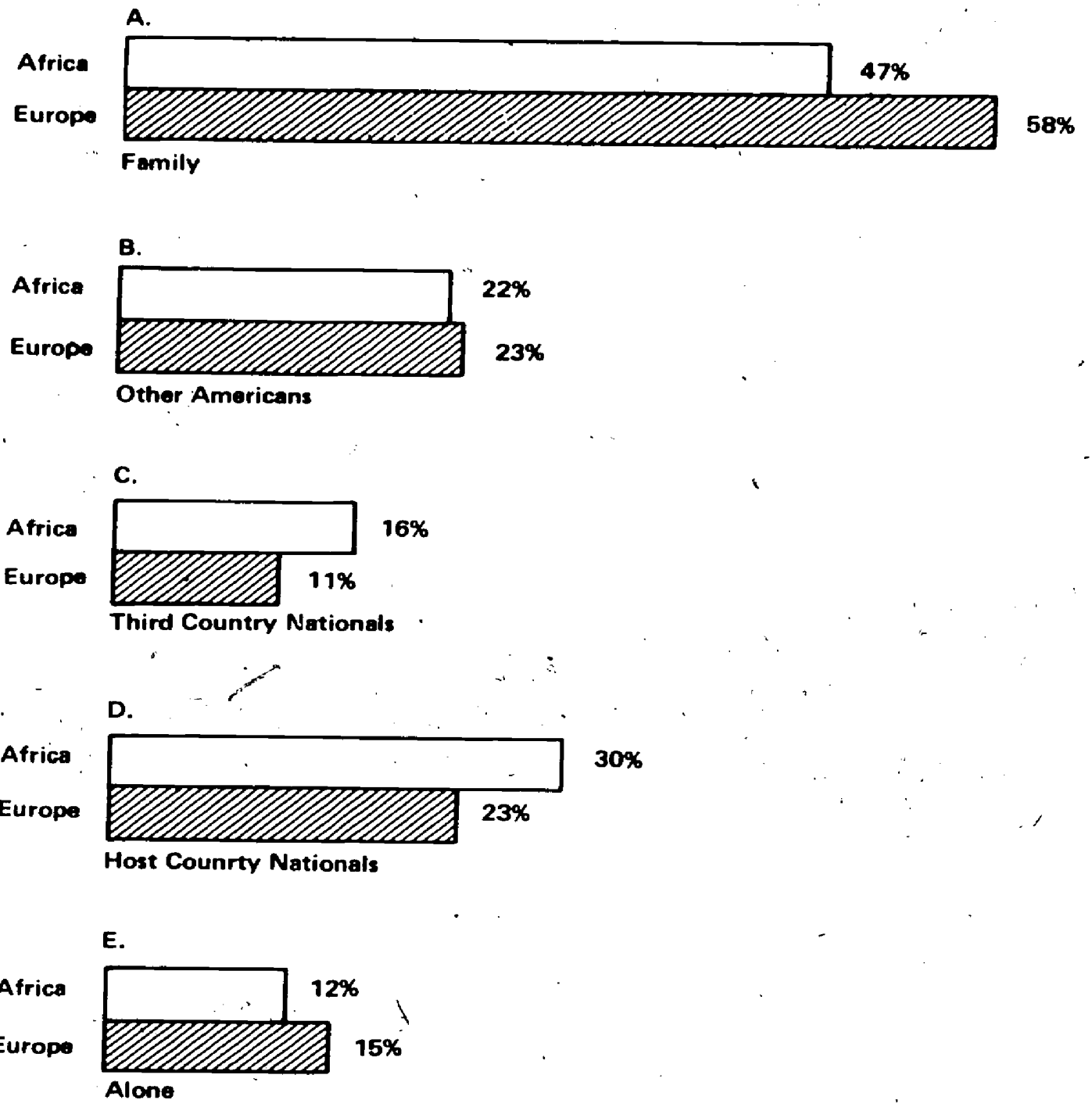

Chart 1

AVERAGE PERCENT OF LEISURE TIME: AFRICA

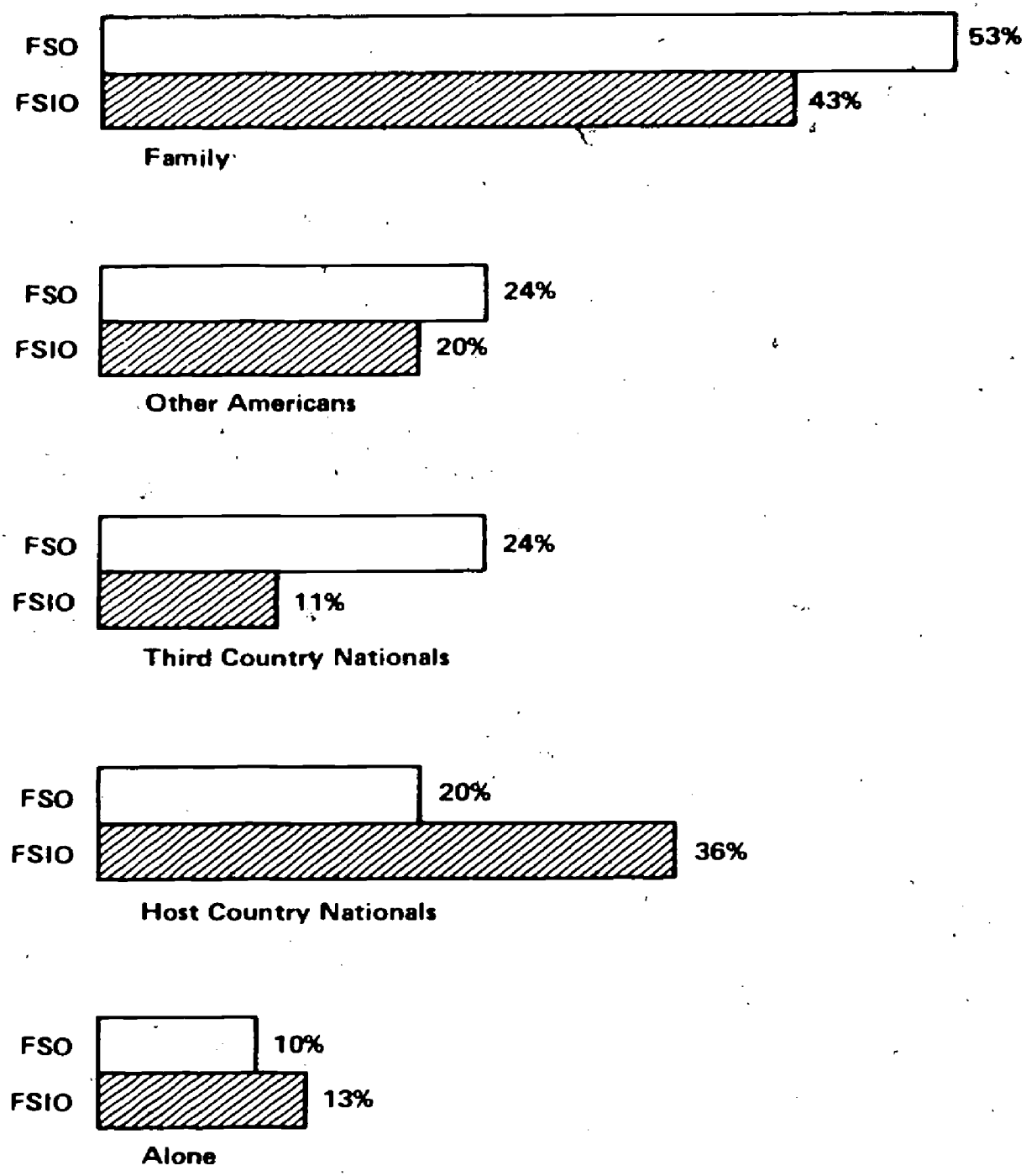

Chart 2

AVERAGE PERCENT OF LEISURE TIME: EUROPE

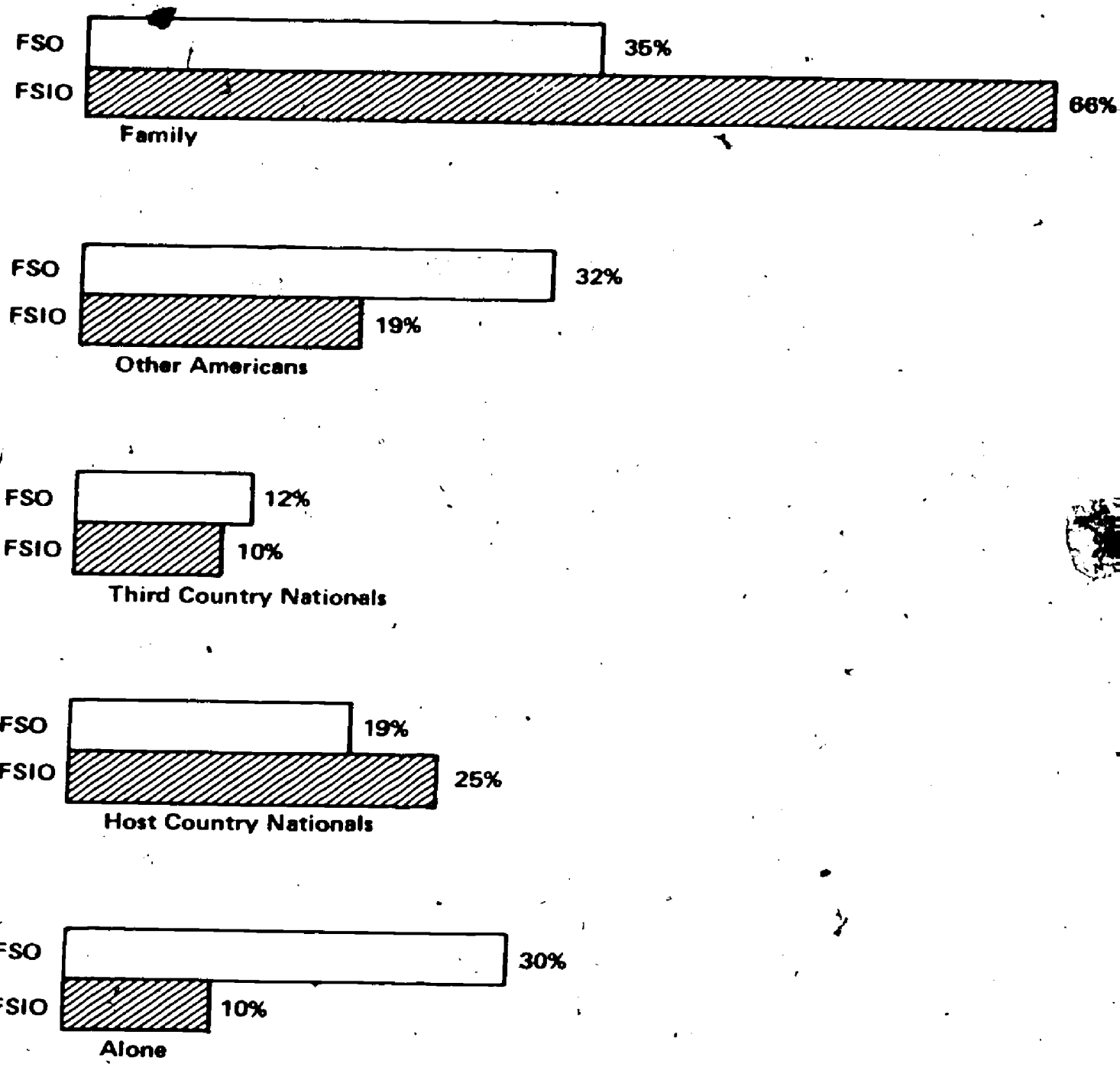

Chart 3

VOA ENGLISH BROADCASTS: WHO'S LISTENING? A PILOT STUDY

Prepared by
Louise Lutkefedder, Linda McKeever, and Thavanh Svengsouk

"...International broadcasting, unlike all the other media of communication, books, works of art, newspapers and magazines, and even word-of-mouth, cannot be stopped at frontiers. It comes into the listener's home always as an invited guest, admitted or rejected by the turn of a dial...."

--David M. Abshire

Statement of the Problem

In any analysis of mass-communication systems, effectiveness of the product, the messages sent, cannot be successfully measured without adequate feedback. This is especially true of international broadcasting, and it is certainly true at the Voice of America, where the morale of many communicators appears to suffer in the absence of any real feedback.

Some information is available concerning the international audience and their [illegible]ts, but this information, based primarily on audience mail, field repo[illegible] and scattered listner panel surveys, tends to be of limited usefulness and reliability. Moreover, the analytical material that is available tends to be shaped and targeted for high level administrators of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and Voice of America (VOA), with very little meaningful data filtering down to the men and women who actually prepare and present broadcasts.

In the English Division of the VOA in particular, employees often

express the notion of "broadcasting to a vast, unknown audience," or "broadcasting in a vacuum." It has been suggested that these "international communicators" have been broadcasting only to each other, or worse, to themselves (intrapersonally). Nevertheless, each broadcaster does have some perception of his audience (whether consciously or unconsciously), which he has developed over time, and which he refers to every time he makes some judgement concerning program content or presentation.

Our research team set out to study the perceptions of VOA English broadcasters concerning their audience, and to compare these perceptions to the audience profile constructed from data that has actually been collected and compiled by the Agency's Office of Research, IOR. From the outset, we assumed that IOR did not have a great abundance of information concerning the VOA English audience worldwide, because of the difficulties inherent in conducting such research, and we recognized the danger of putting too much faith in the validity of such studies, based as they are on "selected audience" responses obtained months or even years earlier. Nevertheless, we had no place else to turn.

Hypothesis

There is a significant disparity between VOA English language broadcasters' perceptions of their audience and the characteristics of that audience surmised from demographic data obtained by the USIA/IOR's field surveys around the world.

Survey of the Literature

Much has been written about the Voice of America since it began operations in 1942, but most of the early discussion and even more recent debate relates to the question of mission: What is or should be the purpose of the organization? Should it attempt to influence "the hearts and minds of men," or simply issue information willy-nilly, broadcasting news, explaining U.S. policy, and attempting to present a balanced picture of American society? Should VOA broadcasters aim at an elite, "target" audience of opinion leaders, hoping the information contained in their messages will "trickle down" to the general population in a two-step flow theory of communication, or should effort be concentrated on attracting and holding a mass audience worldwide? Writers about such matters have pursued the now-classic paradigm stated by Harold Lasswell in 1948: "Who Says What In Which Channel To Whom With What Effect?"

Since the 1950s, however, some writers have addressed themselves specifically to the receivers, rather than the senders of VOA messages, underscoring the need for ascertaining the motivation and interests of the VOA audience--whoever they might be. Such writers have taken their cue from the research done by Raymond Bauer, Claire Zimmerman, Wilbur Schramm, and other specialists in mass media communication, assuming the functional and, later, transactional models of communication process.

It is in considering these latter theories that the importance of audience feedback becomes clear. Former VOA Director John Chancellor

(1965-1967), speaking of VOA goals, stated: "...although we have a Voice of America that speaks on behalf of a free, democratic nation, we have a parallel responsibility to listen. We must be also an Ear of America. For unless we listen well and faithfully, we will not speak with relevance."[1]

Although the audience is the focus of mass systems of communication, its role has all too often been viewed very passively. By and large, the nature and composition of the audience have been treated indifferently, with priority given primarily to acquiring numbers and general groupings of people.

The consensus of opinion of mass-media experts today is that the audience, fully as active as the communicator, selectively attends to and perceives messages sent, through whatever channel, and unless there is continuing interaction between the sender and receiver, no real communication, no sharing of information can take place. Completion of the transaction requires actions on the part of both sender and receiver in the curvilinear process model. In other words, unless there is a continuing flow of information about the VOA audience and the effect of the medium (assuming the medium is the message) on that audience, relevant programs (messages) cannot be developed. Schramm clarifies this issue by stating:

> ...the appropriateness of information directed to the audiences of the mass media depends on appropriate information from and about the audience of the mass media. The quality of information from and about the audience is of the essence. If it is to be useful, it must be based on facts rather than hunches; it must be adequate to allow for differences among

parts of the audience, and for changes with time. This is why it is important that, so far as possible, the clear light of research be turned on the informational needs of the audience.[2]

Clearly, the basic tool for providing the necessary VOA feedback is research. It is only through research that we can hope to determine the needs, values, attitudes, and aspirations of the audience. Yet one of the difficulties in initiating research is identifying the audience, so that surveys can be conducted. On this matter, we have limited and general information, much of it based on radio or print media sample surveys, audience mail, scattered public opinion polls, agency personnel intuition, and limited foreign service observation. In its May 1977 report to Congress, the United States Advisory Commission on Information stated, "...USIA's record of testing foreign opinion on the major indicators of the U.S. has been quite uneven."[3] We need to know the composition of a mass audience, the very nature of which "...defies careful analysis..."[4] Merrill and Lowenstein suggest that "...members of mass audiences are scattered, fluid, anonymous, uneven, and heterogeneous..."[5] Colin Cherry adds to this by saying:

> ...it is a fact that no broadcasting authority in the world knows with precision just how many foreign people listen to their broadcasts, particularly in less developed areas or in countries with whom they have few formal relations. They know even less about the effects of their programs. Sample surveys are difficult enough to carry out in one's own country, but in other people's the difficulties are greatly magnified. Not only may the terrain and the low literacy rate be great barriers, but, what is more important, in many areas the peasants may very naturally misunderstand the motives of the questioners (even though

they are local nationals); they may be suspicious or frightened.[6]

Results of audience surveys conducted in various parts of the world aid the Agency primarily in measuring the cost effectiveness of the radio broadcast against some other form of media communication. The information that has been gathered to date is helpful to the extent that it does "...tell VOA something about audience size, certain audience characteristics, general program preferences..."[7] Audience mail, however, had not proved to be a reliable indicator, linked as it is to special VOA offers, specific programs, and highly personal requests for music, information, brochures, pen pals, and gifts. Our own foreign service personnel's observation of VOA's effectiveness in the field is inherently biased because "...they tend to view VOA as an instrument of foreign policy. As a result, VOA's usefulness is likely to be measured at an overseas post against the foreign policy yardstick. How is it helping to achieve country objectives? Especially when considered against such a formidable goal, everyday subjects of current interest to ordinary citizens hardly seem suitable for diplomatic traffic."[8] In a comprehensive study of USIA, published in 1968, former Deputy Director Thomas Sorenson observed:

> "...If one is skeptical of the accuracy of Neilsen and other measurements of domestic radio and TV audiences (and I am), then one must also be skeptical of measurements of foreign audiences that are based largely on guesswork. And when USIA itself is doing the guessing, it is unlikely that its figures err on the low side.[9]

It is important to note here that since the early 1970s, the Agency's Office of Research, has made definite strides in obtaining data on audience characteristics; one result being the VOA-Continuing Audience Analysis Reports. While these reports certainly have produced some insight towards audience makeup, the need for more definitive data can not be denied.

Several broad problems in developing feedback in international broadcasting have been touched upon in this paper. These problems are not new, as a survey of the literature readily reveals. Yearly, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information makes recommendations. In the 1977 report, the Commission recommends, among other things, that "...one way of reducing the difficulties entailed...is to employ as many journalists as possible in VOA who have had extensive diplomatic or foreign-reporting experience, and who have been exposed first-hand to foreign audiences."[10]

The ultimate goal, of course, is that communication between VOA and its audience be transactional: a process "...in which the communicator and the audience play equally active roles..."[11] However, one thing must be clear is that not only must the Agency receive the necessary feedback, but this information must then in turn be given to the "last line" communicator, the broadcaster.

The most promising and encouraging information we have come across relating to the whole aspect of the importance of feedback was stated in a USIA news release, dated September 20, 1977. Ambassador Reinhardt

explained that if there is to be better foreign understanding of the U.S. and its policies,

> ...the planning for public diplomacy, the content of our messages to people abroad, our style of delivery and our media utilization must be based on the most objective insight possible into the very real people to whom our efforts are directed--and that includes understanding of their aspirations, their concerns, their prejudices and their perceptions of mutual self-interest. It is to this end that we propose to seek to tap the resources of social research.[12]

Background

The Communicators

In any consideration of the mass media, it is obviously far easier to describe the source of messages sent than the target audience, which tends to account for the inordinate amount of attention generally given to the communicator, especially in the medium of international radio broadcasting.

At the Voice of America, which is the official broadcasting arm of the U.S. Government, employees of the Worldwide English Division play a unique and important role. Theirs is only one of some 35 languages broadcasted regularly by the VOA, but since it is the national language as well as one of the major world languages, broadcasts in English seem to enjoy a somewhat wider credibility, yet attract a more critical following (by management as well as audience) than those of any other element.

The VOA/Worldwide English Division broadcasts approximately 20½ hours of regular English programming* (12-13 lines a minute, unlimited vocabulary) daily, on a rotating schedule, to countries in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, East Asia, and South Asia, although no concerted effort is made to specifically tailor broadcasts to regional audiences.

The Worldwide English Division currently lists 83 full-time employees, about 55 of whom are directly involved with regular VOA Englsih programming* of news, commentaries, reports, interviews and other kinds of informational features, as well as music. These employees include a variety of writers, editors, announcers, producers, production assistants, and interns together with their supervisors--many of whom serve in multiple capacities. It is a diverse group in terms of age, education, and experience.

Like all employees of the Voice of America, those in the Worldwide English Division are familiar with the principles governing VOA broadcasts, expressed in the VOA "Charter," which was signed into law in 1966:

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*This discussion of "regular" English broadcasts (like the overall study) excludes consideration of "Special English" which involves broadcasts in a limited, basic vocabulary (2,000 words) at a reduced rate of speed (nine lines a minute).

1. VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoratative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.

2. VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.

3. VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively and VOA will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

While most international communicators would tend to agree that they have a responsibility to be objective in that role, they seldom are nor can they be. Operating within certain formal and informal guidelines, such as those outlined above, VOA English communicators, like their counterparts in other mass media, tend to project their own diverse cultural and personal values, assumptions, attitudes, tastes and preferences.

IOR and VOA

IOR, the research arm of the U.S. Information Agency, provides VOA with information about its audience and, as such, IOR constitutes one of the most important sources of feedback information on which VOA appears to depend when important decisions are made on operations. In the USIA 1976 44th Annual Report to the United States Congress, IOR's role vis-a-vis the VOA is described as follows:

> Not only do IOR reports furnish the VOA with estimates of audience size, they also supply information useful in making decisions regarding program content, allocation of transmitters and language priorities.

In the past three years or so, IOR has issued several reports on VOA audiences around the world. The reports are the results of studies and field surveys conducted by IOR as part of the VOA Continuing Audience Analysis Program (VOA-CAAP). IOR also conducted a series of interviews with selected VOA listeners in several countries (Malaysia, Colombia, Kuwait, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast). These interviews were conducted in the past two years under the heading "Radio Panel Personal Interview." However, to date the interviews have not been published for general distribution.

On July 15, 1977, in the draft of a memorandum entitled "Agency Audiences: Profile and Interests," IOR has this to say about the VOA audience:

> VOA has one of the largest audiences, worldwide, among all international broadcasters. Although VOA audiences are self-selected, they are not cross-sections of the populations from which they are drawn. While they vary from country to country, for languages other than English, about 50 percent of VOA listners have at least some secondary education, and in most countries 10 to 15 percent have attended university. The education profile of VOA English listners is even higher: about 75 percent have at least some secondary schooling and a third have university education. These proportions are well above the norms found in developing countries' populations. A sizeable majority of VOA listeners are men, and in many countries young adults comprise a disproportionately high percentage of the audience. In most cases VOA listeners are concentrated in major urban areas. In media-saturated, advanced, open societies,

VOA listening rates tend to be smaller, and audience profiles tend to be more similar to the populations.

VOA listeners tend to be strongly interested in international affairs, as indicated by their heavy use of other news media--particularly those media which cover the world scene--and by their reports that news and information programming is the primary reason for listening to VOA. In closed societies, like Eastern Europe, listerners use the Voice to counter bias in the domestic media, while in less developed societies VOA provides a supplement to the less complete and sometimes controlled coverage by local media of international affairs. Next to world news, listerners express a strong interest in news of their region; news of the U.S. per se being of only moderate interest.

Interest in listening to music is also fairly widespread among VOA listeners but is secondary to news among reasons for listening.

Listeners are sophisticated in the way they evaluate the news and news-related content carried by all international broadcasters. They are keen judges of the news "perspective" of each station.

Methodology

To test the hypothesis, our team decided on a survey approach, developing a questionnaire to be completed by those employees of the VOA's Worldwide English Division directly concerned with regular English programming. The first part of the questionnaire was devoted to questions concerning employees' specific roles and areas of responsibility,

length of employment, overseas experience, familiarity with audience mail and field reports, exposure to actual short-wave broadcasts (or facsimiles), and contact with VOA English listeners. We developed this set of questions with a view to comparing perceptions of the audience by supervisors with those of non-supervisory personnel (producers, editors, writers, announcers, etc.). We also wanted to relate knowledge of audience to time spent in the field--our second major variable. Other considerations were of lesser importance but of special interest to the research team.

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to establish what perceptions VOA English broadcasters actually have concerning their audience. Multiple-choice questions were derived from information contained in actual studies and memoranda prepared by IOR. Some of the questions (Nos. 12 through 16, and 18) had one "right" answer, based on IOR findings. Other questions (Nos. 17, and 19 through 24) had no "right" answer that could be established from IOR studies, but were designed to elicit further information as to broadcasters' perceptions about audience characteristics and interests. A third set of questions (Nos. 11, 25, 26, and 27) were included in this section of the questionnaire to determine the respondents' attitudes about knowledge of audience and its possible influence on their approach to their broadcasts--in terms of content and presentation. These items employed a five point semantic differential scale to permit

respondents to make value judgements about their own perceptions (with "5" signifying most positive response). A final, open-ended "question" was added to the questionnaire to enable respondents to jot down the kinds of information they would most like to have about the audience.

The questionnaire was distributed to about 50 employees of the Worldwide English Division, along with a general cover letter explaining the proper procedure for completing the form. Most of the questionnaires were personally delivered and collected a few hours later, although some were left behind for completion by overnight and weekend personnel (and later pickup).

The questionnaire prompted a number of questions about the nature of the study and specific items included in it. Many respondents expressed their personal frustration in the absence of adequate knowledge about the audience with some admitting to guesswork in filling out the questionnaire. There were many positive comments about the study itself, and there were numerous requests for results of the study, upon conclusion.

Results and Interpretation of the Study

The tabulation of responses to items in the questionnaire resulted in a number of significant findings. For one thing, the survey (involving a sampling of about 82 percent of the target group) resulted indirectly in a tentative sort of profile of the "typical VOA English broadcaster" as one who has been employed at VOA a little more than ten years (42 percent

said they had 11-20 years of service), having spent at least some time overseas, either travelling or working. The sampling resulted in a breakdown of 18 supervisors and 27 employees in non-supervisory positions. Two-thirds of the supervisors have served VOA from 11-20 years. On the other hand, a little more than half of the non-supervisory employees have been at VOA for five years of less.

The study showed that most (68.9 percent of the sample) VOA English broadcasters make frequent decisions concerning either program content or presentation, with 83.3 percent of the supervisors indicating that they frequently make such decisions. Most respondents directly indicated a limited familiarity with the VOA English audience and its interests (See Question 1), with an average self-rating of 3.3 on a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 signifying the greatest amount of familiarity. Indeed, among respondents, 58.8 percent of the supervisors and 77.8 percent of the non-supervisors say they infrequently see or read audience mail commenting on VOA English programs (See Figure 2), and most say they have met a limited number ("some") of VOA English listeners. Questioned about their familiarity with the reception problems surrounding shortwave radio broadcasts, all respondents said they had listened to actual shortwave broadcasts or tapes of such broadcasts recorded in the field.

As for actual knowledge of the audience, most of the respondents gave the correct answers to the questions for which answers were known,

based on IOR field studies. However, one significant thing stands out when responses of supervisors are compared with those of non-supervisors: the rate of accuracy for supervisors is invariably more convincing than that of non-supervisors. For example, in answering question No. 12 on location of most listeners, 82.4 percent of supervisors gave the correct answer (developing countries), whereas only 57.7 percent of the non-supervisors had the correct answer. (As explained earlier, some non-supervisory respondents admitted to guessing. See Figure 3.)

Length of field experience apparently is also closely related to better knowledge of audience. For example, 72.7 percent of those respondents who have spent more than six months overseas indicated that world news is of primary interest to listeners, compared to other kinds of news programming (See Figure 4,) On the other hand, only 47.8 percent of those who spent less than six months overseas gave the same, correct answer (See Question 18), based on IOR studies.

On questions where no definite answers could be surmised, based on IOR field studies, results revealed no clear-cut trends with regard to either the supervisor/non-supervisory variable or that of length of time in field. For example, questions on age range of listeners and on feature and music preference of audience resulted in a wide range of responses (See Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8).

An analysis of four key attitudinal questions (Nos. 11, and 25 through 27) indicates that broadcasters in the sample believe they have a limited

knowledge (3.3 on a scale of 1 to 5) of their audience. They feel that VOA English broadcasts are "adequately" relevant (3.6 on a scale of 1 to 5) to the audience they have in mind; and, finally, they believe that their approach to their broadcasts--in terms of both content (4.0 on a scale of 1 to 5) and presentation (4.1 on a scale of 1 to 5)--would be substantially influenced if they had more information about the audience.

With regard to the level of language competence that broadcasters think is required on the part of the audience (See Question 17), an overwhelming majority of the sample (84.4 percent) believe that listeners need an education equivalent with American high school education. This raises the question as to whether it is realistic to make such an ssumption for a foreign audience whose native language is not English.

Many respondents took advantage of the final, open-ended question to state what kinds of information they would like to have about their audience. Most asked for more details on audience characteristics, including information on age, education, employment (government or private), socio-economic level, hobbies, cultural interests, comprehension of English, and knowledge of America. They also said they want to have the kind of information on audience preferences that would make broadcasts more relevant, such as which types of features listeners most like to hear, what kind of news is of greatest interest, what aspects of American culture they would like to know more about, and what kind of music they prefer. The respondents

also show a concern for the technical aspects of the broadcasts, in terms of the audience, such as bias toward medium or short-wave broadcasts, peak listening hours, preferred style of delivery, length of average listening session per week and per day, what kinds of signals finally reach the audience and whether they are willing to cope with the uncertainties of short-wave reception. Two respondents want to know which countries contain the largest audience and why.

A thread that seems to weave through many comments is the broadcasters' concern for the language and culture gaps between the VOA English broadcasts and their foreign audience. One respondent asked for the degree of audience exposure to English as second or third language and the level of audience understanding of American social and political institutions. As an example, this respondent wrote, "When we say the House has passed President Carter's energy legislation, are (listeners) aware of the additional steps needed for final ap[illegible]?"

Conclusions

Results of the research team's study do not confirm the hypothesis, assuming a significant information gap between VOA English language broadcasters and IOR, with regard to audience feedback; however, our analysis of the results does point to a difference between VOA English supervisors and non-supervisory broadcasters with regard to knowledge about the audience and perceptions of that audience.

If broadcasts are to be effective, knowledge of the audience is essential; therefore, information that has been obtained should be made available to all VOA English broadcasters--not just supervisors.

While this study was designed only as a pilot project, our sample was large enough to draw certain tentative and preliminary conclusions about the VOA English broadcasters and their knowledge and perceptions about the audience. Furthermore, during the course of the study, some significant questions were raised:

-- Is there a need for improvement of internal communication and discussion about audience? ...about feedback?

-- Does USIA have the feedback mechanism which can adequately respond to VOA communicators' desire for more information about their audience?

-- Can VOA Worldwide English broadcasts be effective when they appear to be messages based on the broadcasters' own cultural preferences, rather than those of the audience?

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Latin America: Venezuela (E-14-76), Brazil (E-10-74), Argentina (E-11-74), Mexico (E-18-75)

Asia: South Korea (E-13-76), Philippines (E-20-76), Thailand (E-9-76), India (M-20-76), Pakistan (E-12-76), Indonesia (M-26-76), Japan (M-26-76), Malaysia (E-4-76), Taiwan (E-5-75).

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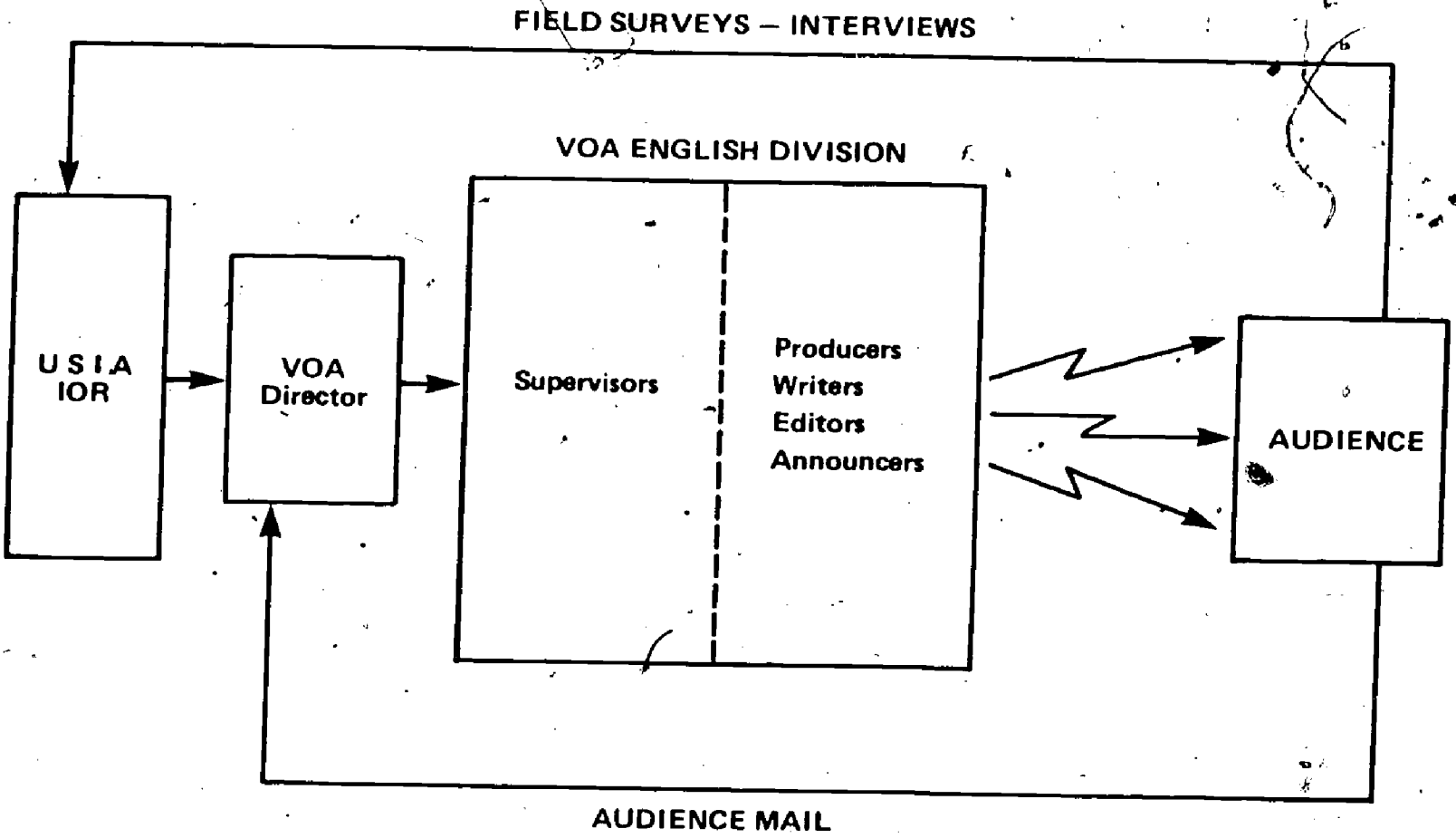


MODEL OF FEEDBACK MECHANISM FOR VOA-ENGLISH DIVISION

FIGURE 1

SET AND READ AUDIENCE REPORTS

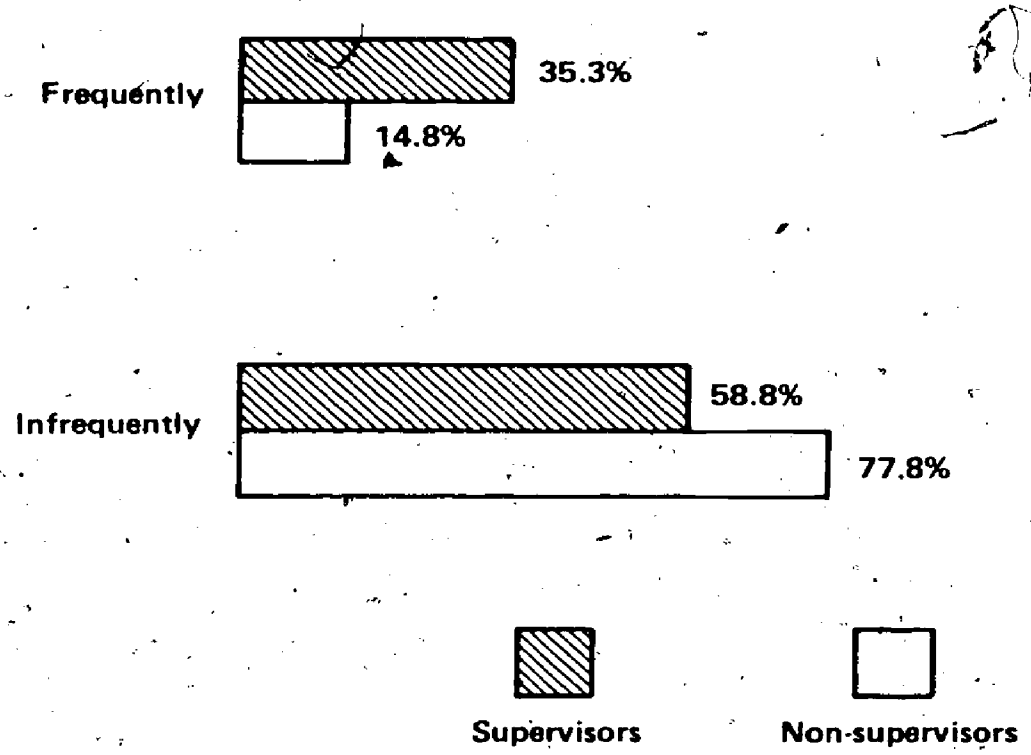


FIGURE 2

ACCESS TO AUDIENCE MAIL

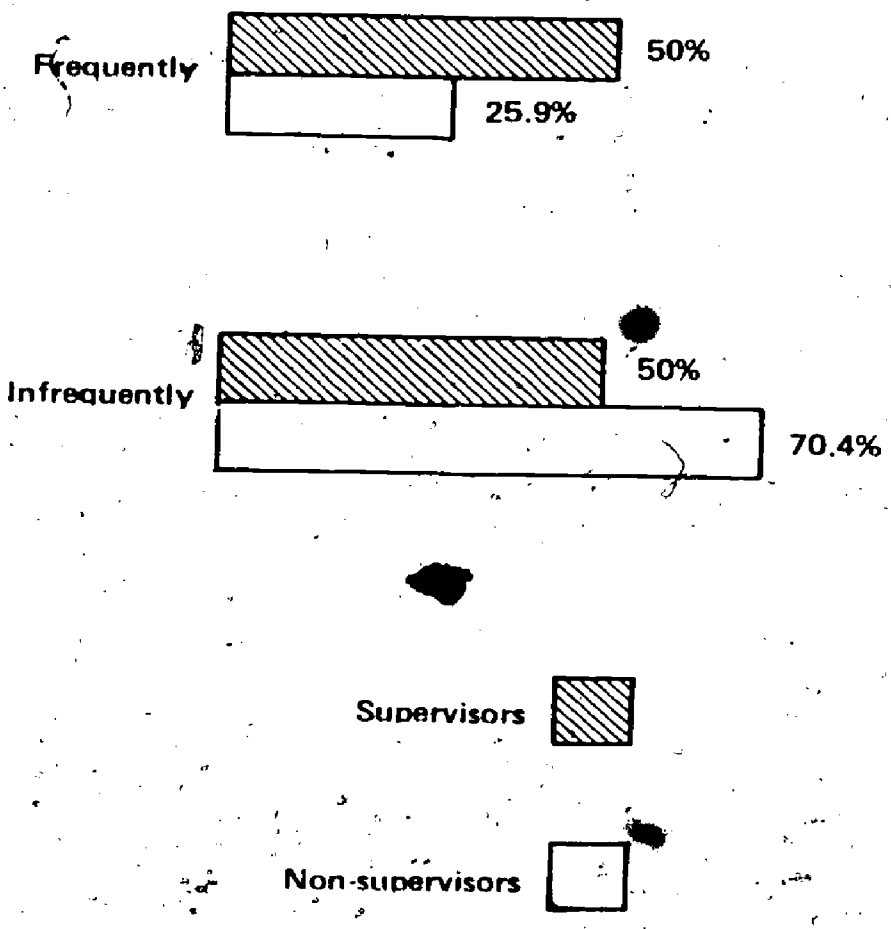


FIGURE 3

BELIEVED TO BE LOCATION OF MOST AUDIENCES

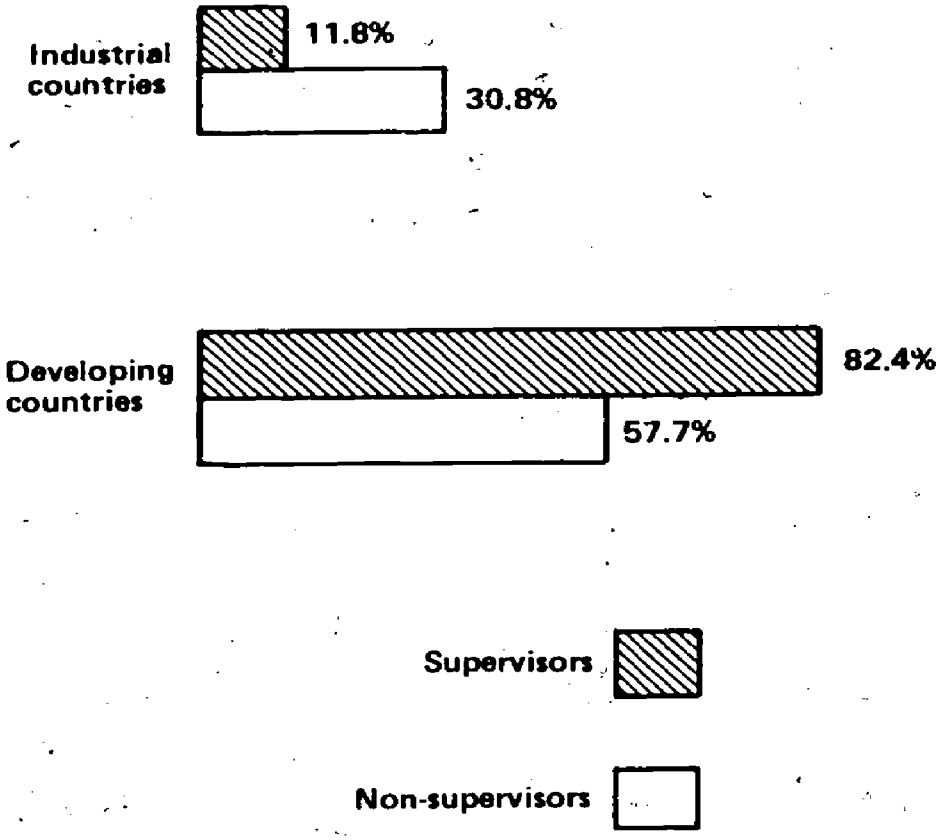


FIGURE 4

NEWS BELIEVED TO ATTRACT MOST LISTENERS

(by overseas experience variables)

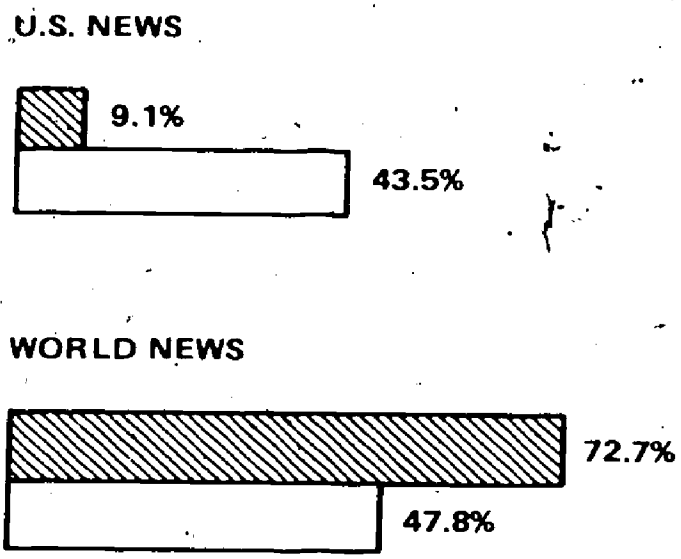


FIGURE [illegible]

BELIEVED TO BE AGE RANGE OF MOST LISTENERS

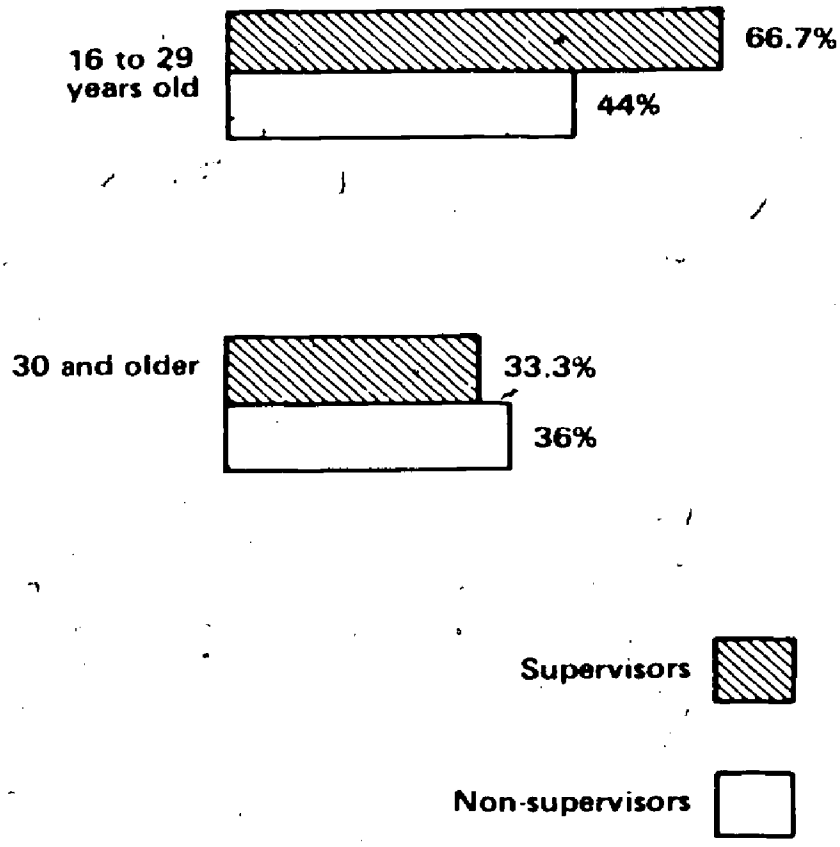


FIGURE 6

FEATURES BELIEVED TO BE MOST POPULAR

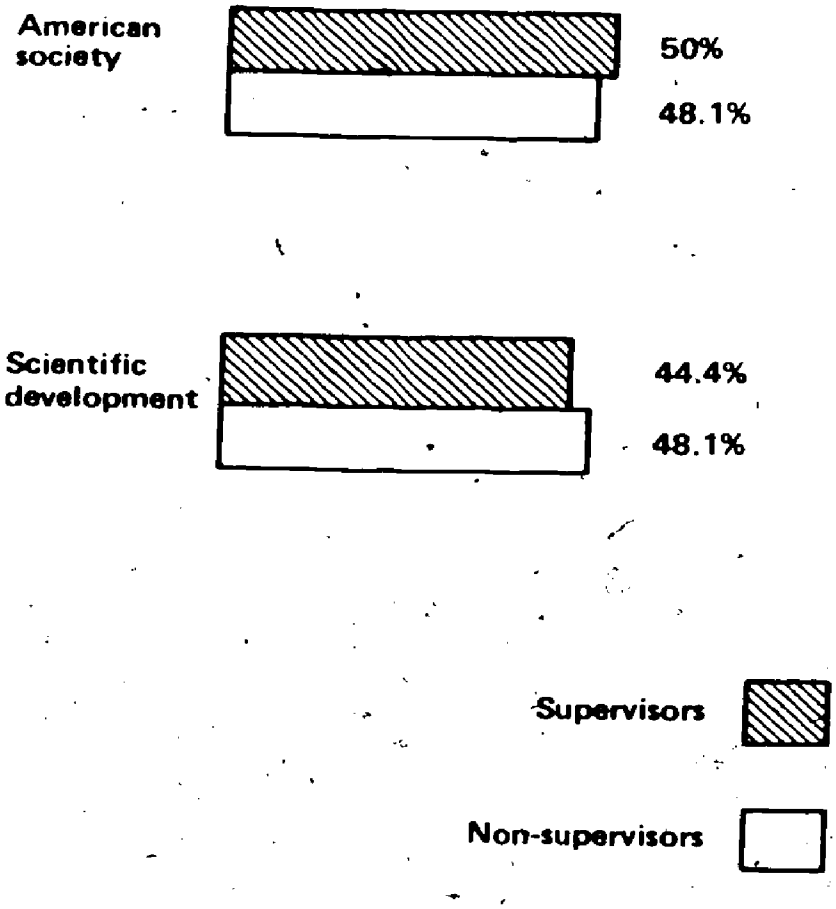


FIGURE 7

MUSIC BELIEVED MOST APPRECIATED BY AUDIENCE
(By order of preferences)

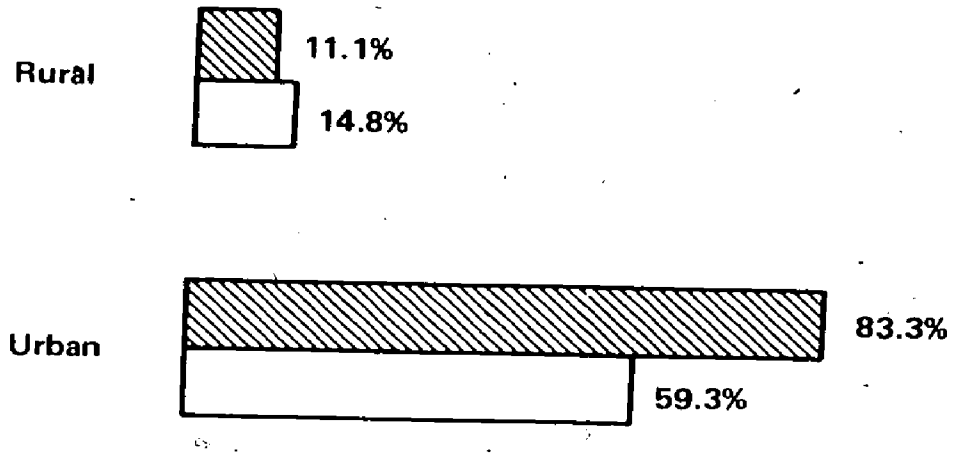
SUPERVISORS	NON-SUPERVISORS
1- Jazz	1-Jazz
2- Classical - Rock	2- Rock
3- Country & Western - Easy Listening	3- Country & Western
	4- Other popular music
	5- Easy listening
	6- Classical

FIGURE 8

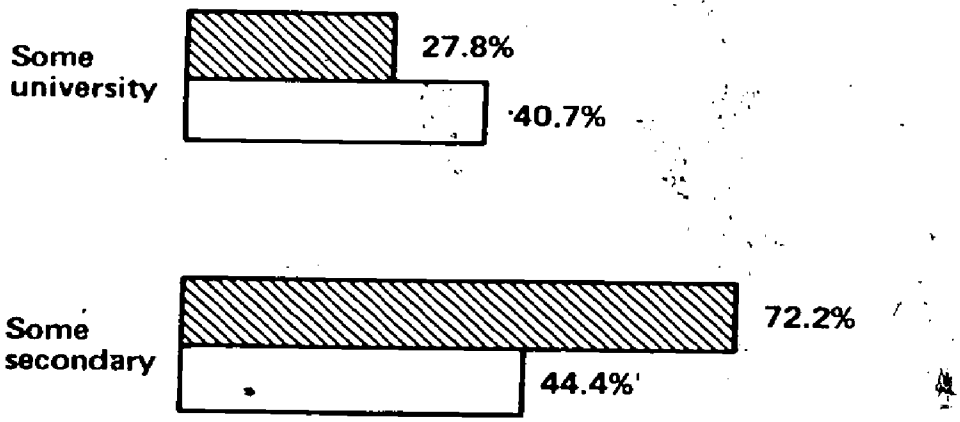
MUSIC PREFERRED BY RESPONDENTS
(By order of preferences)

SUPERVISORS	NON-SUPERVISORS
1- Classical	1- Jazz
2- Jazz	2- Popular music
3- Easy listening	3- Rock
4- Country & Western - Rock - Popular music	4- Country & Western - Classical

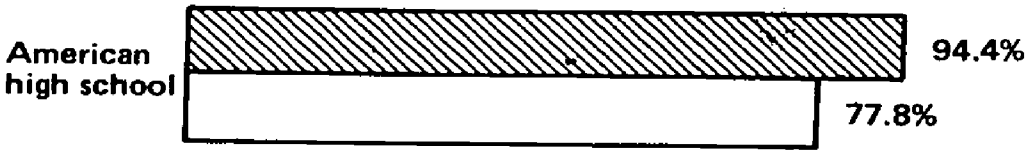
AREAS BELIEVED TO HAVE MOST LISTENERS

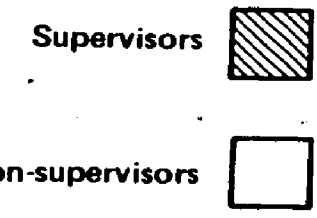


BELIEVED TO BE EDUCATION LEVEL OF MOST LISTENERS



- LEVEL OF SCHOOLING (IN TERMS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION) LISTENERS SHOULD HAVE IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND VOA ENGLISH BROADCASTS





QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOA ENGLISH EMPLOYEES

1. What is your present function in VOA? (Check one or more)

Supervisor	( )
Producer	( )
Editor	( )
Writer	( )
Announcer	( )
Other	( )

2. How many years have you been employeed at VOA?

0 - 5 yrs.	( )
6 - 10 yrs.	( )
11 - 20 yrs.	( )
over 20 yrs.	( )

3. How much time overall have you spent outside the U.S., traveling or working?

None	( )
0 - 6 mos.	( )
6 mos. - 2 yrs.	( )
more than 2 yrs.	( )

4. How often do you make program content decisions?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

5. Do you make decisions concerning program presentation (language, style...)?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

6. Do you look at or hear reports on the audience of VOA English broadcasts, such as research reports, or those from officers in the field?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

7. Do you see or read audience mail commenting on VOA English programs?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

8. Have you listened to shortwave broadcasts on shortwave radio?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

9. Have you listened to tapes of VOA broadcasts recorded in the field?

Frequently	( )
Infrequently	( )
Never	( )

10. How many VOA English listeners have you met, either in their home country or elsewhere?

A great deal	( )
Some	( )
None	( )

11. To what extent do you think you are familiar with the VOA English audience and its interests? (Please rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5.)

(very little)				(very much)
1	2	3	4	5

12. Where do you believe the majority of VOA English listeners are located?

England & Canada	( )
Other Industrial countries	( )
Communist countries	( )
Developing countries	( )
Don't know	( )

13. Do you believe the majority of listeners are men or women?

Men	( )
Women	( )
Don't know	( )

14. What do you think is the age range of most listeners?

Under 16 yrs. ( )
16 - 29 yrs. ( )
30 and older ( )
Don't know ( )

15. Where do you believe most VOA listeners live?

Rural areas ( )
Urban centers ( )
Don't know ( )

16. How much education do you believe most listeners have?

Some university education ( )
Some secondary education ( )
Some primary education ( )
Don't know ( )

17. In terms of American education, what level of schooling you you think listeners would need in order to understand and appreciate VOA English broadcasts?

6th Grade ( )
High School ( )
College ( )
Don't know ( )

18. Which elements of VOA English news broadcasts do you feel attract the most listeners?

News about the U.S. ( )
World news ( )
News about listener's region ( )
Don't know ( )

19. Which news elements do you think attract the least listeners?

News about the U.S. ( )
World news ( )
News about listener's region ( )
Don't know ( )

20. Aside from news, which of these kinds of programs do you think attract the most listeners? Features about:

American society	( )
The arts in America	( )
Scientific development	( )
Don't know	( )

21. Which of these kinds of programs do you think attract the least listeners? Features about:

American society	( )
The arts in America	( )
Scientific development	( )
Don't know	( )

22. To what degree do you think VOA music programs are helpful in attracting more listeners?

Not at all	( )
Very little	( )
Very much	( )
Don't know	( )

23. What kind of music do you think most listeners would appreciate? (Check one or more.)

Classical	( )
Jazz	( )
Rock	( )
Country and Western	( )
Easy listening	( )
Other kinds of contemporary music	( )
Don't know	( )

24. What kinds of music would you personally prefer to broadcast? (Check one or more.)

Classical	( )
Jazz	( )
Country and Western	( )
Rock	( )
Easy listening	( )
Other kinds of contemporary music	( )
Don't know	( )

25. How relevant do you feel VOA English broadcasts are to the type of listener you have described above?

(very little) (very much)
1 2 3 4 5

26. If you had more information about the VOA English audience, how much would such information influence your approach to the content of your broadcasts? (Please rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5.)

(very little) (very much)
1 2 3 4 5

27. If you had more information about the VOA English audience, how much would such information influence your approach to the presentation (language, style, etc....) of your broadcasts? (Please rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5.)

(very little) (very much)
1 2 3 4 5

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28. Please state briefly what kinds of information you would like to have about your audience:

AN ESSAY REVIEW OF BOOKS UTILIZED IN THE USIA INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE

Michael H. Prosser

Casmir, Fred, ed. International and Intercultural Communication Annual, I, II, III (Fall Church, Virginai: Speech Communication Association (1974, 1975, 1976). 160 pp, 152 pp, 190 pp.

Cassata, Mary, and Molefi Asante, eds. The Social Uses of Mass Communication (Buffalo: The State University of New York Press, 1977). 93 pp.

Condon, John C., and Fathi Yousef. Introduction to Intercultural Communication (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1975). 306 pp.

Carley, Dodd. Crossing Cultural Differences (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1977). 110 pp.

Fisher, Heinz Dietrich, and John C. Merrill, eds. International and Intercultural Communication (New York: Hastings House, 1977). 524 pp.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970). 186 pp.

Geertz, Clifford, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973). 470pp.

Hall, Edward T. Beyond Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976). 298 pp.

Jain, Nemi C., Michael H. Prosser, and Melvin M. Miller, eds. Intercultural Communication: Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association Summer Conference (Falls Church, Virginia: Speech Communication Association, 1974). 138 pp.

Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964). 428 pp.

Ong, S.J., Walter J. The Presence of the Word (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967). 360 pp.

Ong, S.J., Walter J. Why Talk? (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1969). 38 pp.

Prosser, Michael H. Cultural Dialogue: An Introduction to Intercultural Communication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978).

Prosser, Michael H., ed. Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (New York: Harper and Row, 1973). 608 pp.

Rich, Andrea. Interracial Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). 212 pp.

Samovar, Larry, and Richard Porter. Intercultural Communication: A Reader, second edition (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1976). 392 pp.

Seelye, Ned and V. Lynn Tyler. Intercultural Communicator Resources (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1977). 98 pp.

Sitaram, K.S., and Roy Cogdell. Foundations of Intercultural Communication (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1976). 246 pp.

Stewart, Edward C. American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective (Washington: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1971). 92 pp.

Wagner, Roy. The Invention of Culture (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975). 168 pp.

Weaver, Gary. Crossing Cultural Barriers (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, forthcoming, 1978).

In listing the books above, it is not suggested that the course participants read them all. Some were read in their entirity; others were read selectively; some were designated for future reading; and two are still forthcoming. These books do represent the personal library presented to each of the course participants. Within our budget, we felt that these books were most helpful for continuing usage by the participants who can be expected to further their own understanding of intercultural communication in the period to come. They should also be useful since the course

participants can be expected to serve in information diffusion within the Agency for others seriously interested in the theoretical as well as the practical dimensions of the subject.

These books include one book in the philosophy of research, one annotated bibliography, three books in cultural anthropology, one book stressing American cultural values and perceptions, eight books stressing varied aspects of intercultural communication, two books dealing with verbal and non-verbal interaction, two books emphasizing communications media, one book on revolutionary education, three volumes of an intercultural communication annual, and two proceedings of conferences on intercultural communication. Among the books made available to the participants for their library, both theoretical and practical influences are evident, in the same way that we attempted to integrate such aspects in the course itself.

Philosophy of Research

A major assignment of the course was to prepare a field team research project. It became evident that one book on the philosophy of research and research methods would be helpful to the participants as a guide for thinking about how to undertake research, especially since most members in the course had never had the responsibility of conducting such research before. A variety of such books exists, and several books were made available on a short-term basis. However, among the best books

published in this area, we felt that Abraham Kaplan's The Conduct of Inquiry continues to rank very high, despite the fact that it is now thirteen years old. Its staying power is evidenced by the fact that it has gone through seven or more printings since 1964 and is continuing to sell well both in hard and soft-back covers.

The ten sections of the book: "Methodology, Concepts, Laws, Experiment, Measurement, Statistics, Models, Theories, Explanation, and Values," offer a concise and thoughtful account of the role of the researcher in language that is generally understandable both to the expert and to the novice. Kaplan serves essentially as a philosopher of behavioral research, providing a role model for other research-oriented writers to follow, rather than as a behavioral science technician. At the same time he offers reliable ways to conduct research which are workable over a long period of time. In a sense, it is more interesting to read the philosopher than the technician, though it is important to know how to do the required functions of research as well. Without overstating the case, Aristotle's Rhetorica offered a firm philosophical foundation for the study of persuasive oral discourse in his day. The pseudo-Rhetorica ad Alexandrum is a technical how-to-give-a-speech orientation also sometimes attributed to Aristotle. The first was certainly more interesting than the pedantic item-by-item description of the second.

We could make the same analogy to Kaplan's effort in The Conduct of Inquiry. In fact, an argument can be offered that he makes the rationale for undertaking and understanding the function of research even enjoyable for the novice who would tend to shy away from such research. Then, Kaplan proceeds to lay out simply and clearly how to go about such research without making it either unnecessarily fearful or complicated. Still, the expert continues to find the book a handy reference guide for all sorts of behavioral research. The only research area not specifically developed in detail is the field study for which our participants had to look elsewhere, given the nature of our assignment. Having a philosophical and functional basis to research, however, as provided by Kaplan, then allows interested researchers to pursue other sources devoted entirely to the field study with a firmer basis for their understanding of the issues surrounding such research.

Annotated Bibliographies

Several annotated bibliographies are available for the study of international and intercultural communication, among them those by Hamid Mowlana, Fred L. Casmir, E.D. Condon, George Renwick, and my own. Among the most up-to-date and comprehensive is H. Ned Seelye and V. Lynn Tyler's Intercultural Communicator Resources. Except for Mowlana's International Communication: A Selected Bibliography (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1971), the others are also cited by Seelye and Tyler. Seelye and Tyler have missed some important sources such as Clifford Geertz's The

Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973); they were not cognizant of several important books published in 1976 when they had other sources included from that year; they had some inadequately stated annotations; and were guilty of a number of bibliographic errors. Nevertheless, as a 1977 publication with ninety-eight pages of materials referring to bibliographies, books, other print and media material, communication media, fugitive materials, and a very useful section on "other" resources, this bibliography plays an important role in identifying materials in the developing field of intercultural communication. Within the context of the course, it was used as an initial place to locate possible books for review by course participants as one of their course assignments.

Cultural Anthropology

The course was not devoted primarily to international communication, with the chief emphasis on political science and communications media, but intercultural communication, with the emphasis on the cultural and social aspects of communication. Given this bias on my part as academic coordinator, it seemed important that we acquaint the course participants with key books in the area of cultural anthropology, especially as they also demonstrated a linkage with communication. The three books chosen, Clifford Geertz' The Interpretation of Cultures, Edward T. Hall's Beyond Culture, and Roy Wagner's The Invention of Culture were all written to address key concerns in cultural anthropology. At the same time, each in a significant way, identified communication as a key component in culture

worthy of study.

In responding to Geertz' book, one course participant called it literate and eloquent, an asset sometimes lacking in social science literature. This participant felt that the notion which we had emphasized as the chief reason for studying intercultural communication, the principle of similarities and differences, was stressed better by Geertz than be perhaps any other author whom we read during the course. As we had considered various cultural orientations such as cultural ecology and cultural functionalism, this participant argued that Geertz demonstrated a broad understanding not only of such concepts abstractly, but also in a specific and a practical way by his extensive examples from his anthropological work in the Balinese culture. The participant, whose comments were echoed by other members of the course, suggested that Geertz makes the whole concept of culture a creative one in the most positive way that an author can do. I would certainly agree. The Interpretation of Cultures ought to be much better known by those seriously interested in the study of intercultural communication, as it lays the fundamental cultural basis for such study.

Hall's Beyond Culture was also found to be highly stimulating by various members of the class. Both the books by Geertz and by Hall developed enough interest among course participants that several recommendations were made to bring both scholars in as speakers for future

USIA courses. Hall's very practical applications of what he had developed in various settings, both culturally and professionally over the last several years, seemed particularly useful to the course participants who generally are very active practical professionals. Hall's role as a popularizer, with his heavy anecdotal frame of reference and sometimes not very carefully documented assumptions, is often a stumbling block for scholars, including a number of his colleagues in cultural anthropology. Course participants, however, appreciated his considerable dexterity to take very complex ideas, such as high and low context cultures and the time and space dimensions of culture, and simplify them so that persons besides cultural anthropologists can easily understand them. As I have indicated in a recent review of Beyond Culture for an academic journal, it is interesting, stimulating, and provocative and causes one to reflect on many new and important ways of perceiving culture. Like Geertz, Hall recognizes that communication is explicitly linked to the study of culture. While he stressed its linkage throughout the book, he especially emphasizes its role in covert culture as body movement, kinesics, and non-verbal codes, its importance in establishing context for culture, and its fundamental relationship to language in general and languages specifically. It is a significant contribution to the study of cultural anthropology and intercultural communication.

The last of the three books provided the course participants in cultural anthropology was Roy Wagner's The Invention of Culture. Since

Wagner was also one of our course speakers, we considered the sections of his book which we read with special interest. His concept that man himself is the culture maker, and that anthropologists tend to create culture partially in the process of defining or studying it is closely parallel to notions expressed both by Geertz and Hall. In some ways, Wagner is more theoretically abstract and a more complex stylist than both Geertz and Hall, though he also substantiates assumptions with illustrations from his own anthropological field work. In a similar way to Geertz and Hall, Wagner stresses very strongly the linkages between communication and culture, a feature which was made evident in his oral presentation for the course as well. Wagner's treatment of American society through its cultural interpretation of ideals and values in advertising, entertainment, and the media provides practical applications of the theories which he espouses. His comparison of such a technologically sophisticated society with the improvisatory invention of tribal and mature class-based societies is useful but is presented in a somewhat complex fashion. It is also a book which seriously interested persons in the study of intercultural communication should become acquainted with. While Wagner especially casts himself for the class as a sceptic in terms of values, beliefs and other cultural components, his writing is far more optimistic, for example, than Jules Henry's Culture Against Man (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1963).

American Cultural Values and Perceptions

While it would have been possible to emphasize values and perceptions adequately with the various books in cultural anthropology and intercultural communication which were presented to the participants, it also seemed helpful to offer a still fuller treatment of these important cultural components. Had we wished to offer a contrast cultural basis, John C. Condon and Mitsuko Saito's edited Intercultural Encounters with Japan: Communication-Contact and Conflict (Tokyo: Simul Press, 1974) would have been most stimulating. However, despite the fact that our course participants were already skilled practioners of intercultural communication, we felt that it might be most productive to offer them a firm grounding in the value and perception bases of Western culture from which most of them had come in order to make appropriate contrasts with other cultures. One interesting older, but still pertinent choice, would have been John Kouwenhoven's The Beer Can by the Highway: Essays on What's American About America (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961). Instead, since Edward C. Stewart was a key speaker in our course, we chose his American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective (Pittsburgh: Regional Council for International Education, 1971).

As do Condon and Yousef, Stewart takes his essential starting point from the work done by Florence Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck among five vastly different communities in the American southwest, and reported in their Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston: Row, Perterson, 1961).

Stewart first presents a conceptualization of the problem with a cross-cultural basis and an emphasis on cross-cultural differences. The main body of the book stresses American values and assumptions, always with the underlying premise that such values and assumptions need to be compared and contrasted to other values systems. He emphasizes forms of activity in American society, its form of social relations, the American perceptions of the world, and its perception of the self and individual. The book's usefulness and staying power is suggested by the fact that it has now gone through six printings, two of which were in 1977.

Intercultural Communication

The oldest of these books given to the course participants is my edited Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples (1973). I continue to believe that the paradigm which the book establishes (theoretical perspectives, attitude formation and opinion development, the communication of leadership, communication in conflict resolution, communication as agent and index of social change, propaganda, freedom: communication rights and censorship, and the integrative aspects of intercommunication) is sound. However, we recognized during the course that the stress of the book is international communication, rather than intercultural communication as the course was developed. In other courses which I teach in intercultural communication, I often use this text as a counterweight to a book whose major emphasis is intercultural communication, thus attempting to

offer a balanced view for both international and intercultural communication. In this course, however, where we had a wealth of texts in both areas, but especially in the latter, it was found most useful in our consideration of public opinion cross-culturally and the diffusion of innovations discussions which we held, subjects which other books in intercultural communication were less likely to address.

The book which we used as our basis from which to relate all our major concepts in intercultural communication, and with which all of the other books were compared, was John C. Condon and Fathi Yousef's An Introduction to Intercultural Communication (1975). While we had assigned it for reading before the course, it was not clear to a number of participants until well into the course how crucial this book was to a large number of our disucssions. When persons interested in beginning to involve themselves in the serious study of intercultural communication ask me which books they should read to help get them started, this is among the selectively small number of books which I recommend. When the book was first published, I was enthusiastic about the book, but had some healthy scepticism about the claim by Bobbs Merrill editor Russell Windes that "So successful is the result (of the authors' efforts) that we believe this book is likely to define the field of intercultural communication for years to come." Since its publication, I have utilized this book in a variety of courses, and despite some minor faults and overemphasis in certain areas, it has been a book which has made me rethink my own assumptions about the linkages

between culture and communication several times.

In my own attempt to synthesize leading ideas which are important for the linkages between culture and communication, which I have addressed in my forthcoming Cultural Dialogue, and which found substance as well in the basic assumptions which I made for the first two-thirds of this course, I have found myself constantly forced to return to An Introduction to Intercultural Communication as my own focal point. Since this particular course was a six-graduate credit equivalent with persons whose average age was thirty-eight and who were highly skilled professionals, I was initially somewhat reluctant to make the sometimes very simply presented ideas by Condon and Yousef the springboard from which most of the other ideas and printed materials were to be compared. Fortunately, we decided to proceed as my intuitive logic guided me and several course participants emphasized how helpful the book had been for precisely the kind of function which I utilized if for. Some of the participants rated it as among the three best reading assignments in the class, together with the books by Geertz and Hall. Several urged us to consider bringing in the senior author, John Condon for future versions of the course. On reflection, the statement by Russel Windes about the book's ability to define the field for years to come becomes more believable to me as time passes.

Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter's second edition in 1976 of their popular Intercultural Communication: A Reader first published in 1972 continues to be a useful collection of essays dealing with "Approaches

to Intercultural Communication, Social-Cultural Influences, Intercultural Interaction," and "Becoming More Effective in Intercultural Communication." Some of the best essays from the earlier edition have been retained; other excellent articles have been added. Essays on intercultural research, perception, verbal and non-verbal interaction provided us a useful framework as we approached such subjects within the course itself.

The best essay perhaps in Samovar and Porter's book, and among the most interesting in the field, in my view, is Peter S. Adler's "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Cultural and Multicultural Man." If a person has the time to read only a small number of essays to become acquainted with the importance of cultural sensitivity, Adler's essay surely deserves a place. It describes the person in tension between his or her own culture and other cultures, with a movement back and forth as the individual attempts to balance his or her own values, perceptions, beliefs, and customs with those of a culture or cultures in which he or she is trying to involve himself or herself. The closest parallel that I know to Adler's effort to describe this creative tension for the multicultural man or woman is John E. Walsh's Intercultural Education in the Community of Man (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1973).

As any collection of essays is, Intercultural Communication: A Reader is marred by the inconsistency that occurs when not all the essays fit coherently into the framework in which they have been set. Also, there is the problem that the editors have developed one section in the book,

"Cultural Determinants of Experiences and Backgrounds," in which they join essays about genuine cultural differences and artificial ones without any distinction; and some of these essays make only the remotest connection to communication at all. The book, nevertheless, offers various sorts of stimulus to an improved understanding of intercultural communication and is one to which some course participants have indicated that they are returning to for further reading after the course was over.

K.S. Sitaram and Roy Cogdell's Foundations of Intercultural Communication was of special interest since K.S. Sitaram was also a course speaker. It provides some useful early distinctions between various dimensions of intercultural communication, and offers an important vantage point as a view toward the subject from the third world perspective. While most of the texts take a distinctly American approach to their subject, Sitaram's influence in the book as the senior author provides a fairly simplified but helpful understanding of perceptions, values, and approaches to communication by the ancient Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic traditions vs. the bases for modern Western thought found in the ancient Greek traditions.

The attempt, however, to incorporate principles of interracial communication made by Sitaram and Cogdell is less efficiently accomplished than by Andrea Rich in her Interracial Communication, where her whole book is devoted to the specific emphasis which she stresses. Foundations of Intercultural Communication offers an interesting paradox. Some teachers

of intercultural communication in universities and colleges have stressed that the ideas about various cultural traditions are presented in a somewhat simplistic fashion, without enough detail to develop the assumptions clearly. At the same time, the book is often cited as one which belongs in the advanced course in intercultural communication rather than in beginning courses. Obviously, if ideas are too simplistically presented, then they cannot be suitable only for more advanced courses, at least approached from the Western logical system.

Two additional books were presented to the course participants. Rich's Interracial Communication was most useful as we considered intercultural communication models and to provide us a helpful additional framework to relate racially based perceptions and language to the broader subject of intercultural communication. Carley Dodd's 1977 Crossing Cultural Differences was essentially presented for future reading. While there is overlap between the concepts which he develops and those developed in the other texts, Dodd provides a useful introductory treatment of the subject. Two books, not yet published, will subsequently be presented to the course participants. These are Gary Weaver's Crossing Cultural Barriers and my Cultural Dialogue. The latter provides the essential framework on which the first two-thirds of the course was based.

The following books, which were not presented to the course participants, would tend to complete a basic library in intercultural communication, though still more are expected to be published in the not too distant

future. These include Jon A. Blubaugh and Dorothy Pennington's Crossing Differences: Interracial Communication (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1976); L.S. Harms' Intercultural Communication (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); Richard Hoggart's On Culture and Communication (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Sharon Ruhly's Orientations to Intercultural Communication (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1976); Alfred Smith's edited Communication and Culture: Readings in the Codes of Human Interaction (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); and Arthur L. Smith's Transracial Communication (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973).

Verbal and Non-verbal Interaction

Another course speaker, Walter J. Ong, S.J. is a philosopher of verbal and non-verbal interaction. We presented two of his books to the course participants, The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History and Why Talk? The first stresses the historical context of the development of both verbal and non-verbal interaction from the preliterate society to the modern technological society. In the preliterate society, he emphasizes the impact that an oral-aural society had upon traditional media, which was later superseded by a script society where the visual aspects of culture became more dominant than sound. In turn, the technological society overtakes both earlier developments and has recently integrated the visual and oral-aural senses through

such media forms as television. Some societies pass from the first to third stage without passing through the second. Ong argues that one can almost define a culture in its entirety by knowing how the sense-ratio or sensorium is organized in the society.

The second small book, totalling only thirty-eight pages, in a sense, is an offshoot of the first. The first stresses the impact of both linguistic and nonlinguistic codes throughout as seen both from the perspective of cultural and religious history. The second is a short interview with Ong on the development and impact of language, and places it into a practical dimension.

Communications Media

Taken with my Intercommmunication Among Nations and Peoples, and assuming that the communications media were an important, but not prevalent concern for the course, we sought to provide our participants with two books which would introduce them in a theoretical and practical way to the media, especially in the international and intercultural setting. Among the many immediately recent books which we could have chosen for this purpose, we selected two, Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and John C. Merrill's edited International and Intercultural Communication, and Mary B. Cassata and Molefi K. Asante's edited The Social Uses of Mass Communication.

The Fischer and Merrill edition is a revision of their International Communication: Media, Channels, Functions (New York: Hastings House,

1970). Many new essays have been included, and a greater effort has been made to stress intercultural dimensions of communication than in the first edition. Still, as in the case of the earlier volume, Fischer and Merrill's emphasis remains predominently media. Since the editors are particularly interested in international media linkages, the book is a useful one for a reference guide for those interested in such dimensions. Several course participants are media specialists, and thus it can be expected to be of significant future use to them. The book is divided intp nine coherent sections: "Communication Systems and Concepts," "The World's Media," "Problems of Freedom and Responsibility," "National Development and Mass Media," "International News Flow and Propaganda," "Advertising and Public Relations," "Supranational Communication Efforts," "Intercultural Communication," and "Theory and Research in International Communication."

The volume edited by Cassata and Asante collects a set of eight papers from a conference on the subject of the title held at SUNY at Buffalo in 1975. Unlike the lengthy Fischer and Merrill edition which has a very broad sweep, the much shorter edition by Cassata and Asante does center on one subject area and develops its coherency from the theme of the conference. In fact, their work approximates the length of one of the larger thematic sections of Fischer and Merrill's volume, "International News Flow and Propaganda."

Revolutionary Education

While we did attempt to provide a wide range of speakers and writings representing an intercultural spectrum, most tended to be oriented toward Western and American values, assumptions, and perceptions. Thus it seemed important for officers who are as likely to be assigned to overseas posts in third world settings, or who are preparing materials for such audiences by way of Agency products or the Voice of America, to represent both among the speakers and writings for the course at least some view of revolutionary education as seen by third world educators. Many books were possible, however, we chose Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970) entirely for future reading, as the course time did not permit us to make assignments from it. Freire has developed a philosophy of education for the illiterate adult based on the theory that every human being, no matter how "ignorant" or submerged in a "culture of silence," is capable of looking critically at the world in a dialogical encounter with others, and if given a proper set of tools for such an encounter, he or she can gradually perceive his or her personal and social reality and deal critically with it. Eventually, instead of simply accepting changes dictated by others, he or she becomes his own change agent, thus affecting in an important way the structures of society which have earlier oppressed the individual.

Annuals in Intercultural Communication

The course participants were presented with the first three annuals in international and intercultural communication (1974, 1975, and 1976) prepared under the direction of the Commission for International and Intercultural Communication and edited by Fred Casmir for the Speech Communication Association. The purpose was primarily to provide them with the essay reviews of the literature in international and intercultural communication written for each of the three annuals by William J. Starosta both so that they could make a fairly efficient and quick survey of the field and so that they would have some sort of model as they considered writing their own book reviews as course assignments. Secondarily, by offering them the range of essays accepted for the Annual on a competitive basis, we hoped to encourage them to sample those essays which interested them, and perhaps also to build a lasting commitment to keep informed regularly of developments in the fields of international and intercultural communication. If these published essays encouraged them to undertake their own future publishable research, we considered this an extra bonus.

Conference Proceedings

Finally, we provided them with a copy of the proceedings of the 1974 national conference in intercultural communication under the editorship of Nemi C. Jain, myself, and Melvin M. Miller. These Proceedings captured the essence of an important conference for the development of the field of intercultural communication. The conference had both theoretical

and applied dimensions, and the Proceedings includes a number of brief theoretical statements about how intercultural communication is defined as well as statements of how it can be applied in intercultural education courses, training, and research. Additionally, as we had announced our intention to publish the USIA course proceedings, and planned to incorporate participant contributions where appropriate, the 1974 Proceedings served as something of a model for our own creative work during the course. Course participants and speakers will receive copies of the current Proceedings, and will thereby have a lasting theoretical and practical integration of the field of intercultural communication as it made its initial impact upon them during their 1977 USIA course.

SELECTED BOOK REVIEWS BY COURSE PARTICIPANTS

One assignment for each participant was to write a review of a book which could be considered pertinent to the study of intercultural communication though not limited to books directly dealing with the subject. The assignment was to do two things. First, it was intended to assist the course participants in developing the simplest kind of scholarly writing. The book review typically offers a framework from which to begin to bounce off one's ideas in the subject. Additionally, unlike other scholarly writing, in the book review, it is not the name of the reviewer which is dominant but the author and his book. Secondly, the reviewer's intention is to give a fair synthesis and analysis of the ideas contained in the book so that others who may be interested in the book may decide whether or not they wish to read it. This assignment was intended then to offer our own participants the opportunity to demonstrate in the most simple scholarly way that they had the skill to synthesize and analyze a published writer's efforts.

Paradoxically, while the book review is the simplest type of scholarly writing, it also demands some knowledge of the subject if one is to produce a reliable and valid review. Most participants had no prior experience as scholarly book reviewers, and it was sometimes hard for them to make proper analytical judgements. The linkages to the study of intercultural communication were sometimes difficult to make, and some books selected

were too dated to be of general usefulness for the likely readers of The Proceedings. Thus, the book reviews which were selected for inclusion are simply illustrative of the work accomplished by the class members in this particular assignment.

Premises for Propaganda: The United States Information Agency's Operating Assumptions in the Cold War. Edited by Leo Bogart (New York: The Free Press/MacMillan, 1976). 250 pp.*

Premises for Propaganda is an abridged version of a five volume study of the "operating assumptions" of the U.S. Information Agency, commissioned by the research office of USIA in June, 1953 and conducted by McCann-Erickson, Inc. under the direction of Leo Bogart. Following the completion of the orignial study in November, 1954, USIA classified the five volumes "Confidential" and the study was not made public. After repeated efforts by Bogart, the five volumes were recently declassified and released from USIA's files under the Federal Freedom of Information Act.

Bogart has produced a book which contains about two-fifths of the material orginially found in the McCann-Erickson study and which follows the format and sequence of that study. The material appearing in this study was abridged from the original by Agnes Bogart. The book contains a preface explaining the background of the study, fifteen chapters detailing the key issues and problems faced by USIA in 1953, and a chapter of conclusions along with an appendix and index. Aside from the introductory

preface and short introductory paragraphs at the beginning of each chapter, this book contains only material found in the original study.

Premises for Propaganda is an unusual book. On the surface it appears to be a collection of quotations drawn from interviews held over twenty years ago with employees in a small government bureaucracy. However, it does much more than provide a glimpse of the differing operating assumptions of a group of propagandists fighting the Cold War. It also manages to use the words of these employees, or "operators" as they are generally called in this study, systematically to delineate the key attitudes and beliefs held by these working propagandists. Drawing upon these statements, which were originally culled from two-hour interviews conducted with 142, mostly senior, operators, the editor provides examples of almost all the arguments which have been used by Agency employees who have, at any time, been involved in the long running debate concerning USIA's raison d'etre. This book serves to examine the issues and questions which have remained central to the operation of any U.S. Government information program, e.g. "What is the mission of UISA?" "What do we say to whom?" "How effective is our program?" "How can we measure effectiveness?"

The book also deals with some questions which have been largely resolved. The author devotes a chapter to the subject of "Attribution":

a controversial topic in 1953, and one which included the touchy issue of the use of black and grey propaganda. This issue has since been resolved and USIA no longer releases unattibuted material. Another chapter is entitled "The Fight Against Communism." While the subject remains central to much of the work of USIA, the fomer level of rhetoric, and perhaps much of the earlier crusading spirit, has been reduced during the present period of detente.

Aside from these two chapters, much of the book remains strangely, and somewhat dishearteningly, relevant to the present-day problems of USIA. The chapter dealing with "Targets" effectively lays out the arguments for and against directing USIA's message to "mass" or "elite" audiences. The question of targeting is one which is still attached to a pendulum within USIA--a pendulum which may never stop swinging. The questions dealing with the policy-articulation aspects of USIA's job are clearly brought forth in chapter four of this book. It seems to this reviewer that the age of "instantaneous" communication has not resolved, and may have aggravated, the problem of policy guidance within USIA. USIA often does not know of major foreign and domestic policy shifts in time to take effective action. Policy articulation, dissemination, and control continue to provoke disagreements within USIA, especially at the Voice of America. Along with

the problems relating to policy-articulation, there are a number of other issues which seem to be as far from resolution in 1977 as in 1953. The role of cultural programs is treated in both chapters seven and ten. Both of these chapters indicate that the operators surveyed generally believed that cultural programs were useful and necessary. However, there was disagreement concerning whether USIA should present American society "warts and all," or only emphasize the positive aspects. Chapter thirteen indicates that the battle between Washington and the "Field" is one which appears to be endemic to USIA. As could be expected, many of the questions raised in chapter fourteen, which deals with personnel and morale, have not been resolved. The last chapter is called "Evaluating the Program" and it shows that there was not general agreement within USIA, at the time of this study, concerning the effectiveness of the organization. This reviewer wonders if concensus exists today.

Following the last chapter, Bogart appends a section of conclusions which includes 113 "questions for research" and twenty-three "questions for policy review." Perhaps two-thirds of these questions remain relevant, and unanswered, today.

Leo Bogart has produced a book which should be of interest to any person who wishes to understand the type of problems which have faced, and will continue to face, any U.S. government program designed to "Tell America's Story to the World." He has also provided the reader with an excellent overview of some of the conflicts which arise when a democracy attempts to use propaganda to influence world opinion.

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*This review was judged most relevant to the interests of USIA personnel by the critics of the reviews. This review, and several which follow, are being published for USIA personnel in monthly issues of USIA World, the Agency's internal newsletter.

Women of the Shadows: The Wives and Mothers of Southern Italy. Ann Cornelisen (New York: Vintage Books, 1972). 228pp.

Ann Cornelisen's latest book on Italy is a series of evocative "case studies," the stories of half-a-dozen women from the peasant society of Southern Italy. Interspersed among the chapters are interludes in which the author's photographs give visual reality to the accompanying snatches of speculation and remembrance reported in the monologues of several peasant women. A perusal of the interlude titles is enough to suggest the bleakness of life in this region: "That's my house, if you can call it that," "Sometimes I wonder what will happen when I'm not young anymore," "Nothing's private in a one-room house," "The water is not drinkable, warns the sign," and so on.

Cornelisen writes with a purpose, with a hypothsis as the social scientist would say. She believes that the social structure of Southern Italian villages, contrary to what all previous studies have asserted, is matriarchal. She argues that there are no important decisions to be made by the men trapped in this region and in this existence. She contends that day-by-day existence is left to the women, who unconsciously take over the practical aspects of life, acquiring and maintaining power and influence over their sons and husbands. Her case studies are descriptions of women making the decisions, and of women seeing to it that the family survives from one day to the next. All the while,

the women in particular and society in general may maintain an illusion that the man commands at home, but deeper investigation and observation belies this illusion. She argues that earlier studies, concerned with methodology and statistics, have failed to penetrate into this daily reality and have consequently come up with the wrong description.

This book has a special dimension for the reader interested in cross-cultural communication. It is, obviously, an example of such communication, but it is written from a particular consciousness, that of a former idealist who participated in one of those massive developmental efforts so common today and in the past two decades, in this case, the reform and development of Italy's backward South. But the onetime idealist has come to realize that the achievements of the struggle are minute in comparison to the efforts and expenditures that went into it. Cornelisen has set herself the task of assessing why this is so, and how this shortcoming has affected her. What Cornelisen has learned from this failure is a "raging fear of social myths and the tragic, shambling chaos their manipulation can create." It is a response to the modern day social myth-makers, the "Social Scientists who have a naive reverance for methodology in itself and sometimes the humorless arrogance to treat the human being as a specimen which can be reduced to decimals and diagrams." These were the people, she contends, who established the dogma that simple Western societies, peasant societies, are patriarchal

and patrilineal.

Cornelisen's epilogue, in which she addresses these problems, is one of the most provocative sections of the book. She is too wary to assert that developmental efforts would have succeeded had they been geared to a matriarchal society. But she does assert that the social scientist may have to use less creative methodology and more common sense to rediscover man and woman.

Her study of women in Southern Italy is that rare example of "thick description" envisioned by Clifford Geertz in The Interpretation of Cultures (1973), when he wrote that we must measure the cogency of an explication not against a body of uninterpreted data or a radically thinned description, but "against the power of the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers."

Cornelisen does not hide behind pretenses of impossible objectivity, but forewarns us in her introductory note that, although she believes in the objective truth of what she writes, she also accepts that it is subjective. She is writing about women with whom she has lived and worked over the span of twenty years, women who irritate her, who earn her respect, who enrage and amuse her. She is not writing about socio-economic causes of the increase in the percentage of female-headed families with incomes below the poverty level in "x" number of provinces in Southern Italy. She is writing about what it is like to be a

woman who knows:

> We do whatever no one else has done. That's what we're taught; that's what we're supposed to do. Men work and talk about politics. We do the rest. If we have to decide, that's fair, too. Why should we do all the work and not decide? We decide, but we don't have to talk about it in the piazza. Call that power, if you want to. To us it's just killing work. That's what our lives are.

It is precisely Ann Cornelisen's concern with the human being which makes this book such a worthwhile reference for the cross-cultural communicator.

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World Population Growth and Response: 1965-1975 A Decade of Global Action. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1976. 271 pp.

As the foreword specifies, the Population Reference Bureau has pioneered population analyses, both domestic and worldwide, since 1929. The present report is a major overview of population developments, worldwide, regionally, and by individual countries. The well-documented and comprehensive study is a product of a large team of researchers and specialists headed by W. Bert Johnson as Project Director. The volume covers the 1965-1975 decade. It encompasses such diverse population topics as changes over time, policy actions, and program developments. It is basically designed as a reference source for those in need of population data.

The editors have organized the materials into four parts. The introductory section, Part One, highlights the population situation within the studied decade at a worldwide level. Part Two deals with the major geographic regions of the world and individual countries. Part Three studies the chief agencies involved in population programs. Part four is a short statistical documentation regarding the world population by continents, regions, and countries.

The introductory section discusses comprehensively population problems which are known in general. Thus, the study reveals that rapid population increase in many developing countries burdens their national economies, while obstructing a possible increase in per capita income. On the other hand, the industrial nations do not face problems connected with population explosion, but are faced with overcrowded cities, unemployment, inadequate health/education services, and crime and environmental problems. Population problems are therefore universal. Consequently, "the most major countries, developing and advanced, have initiated population/family planning programs as one means of attacking economic and social problems stemming in some degree from excessive or poorly distributed populations." (p.2)

The study acknowledges that between 1965 and 1975, for the first time in many years, the birth rates declined significantly and faster than the death rates. This decline was very uneven, however, and the attitude toward it was very different, too. While certain Asian countries such as China, India, and others, considered it a demographic success, some European countries were alarmed by it and turned to pronatalist measures. Based upon this slight decline in birth rates from 34 per thousand in 1965 to 30 per thousand in 1975, some population specialists hope to bring

them further down to about 20 per thousand within a decade. Such a trend would reduce the natural increase, an important element of the population's modernization. The study also emphasizes the belief of many scientists that an endless increase in the world's population may bring about worldwide disaster. The first section of the book mentions also, but without adequate elaboration, that programs designed to reduce population growth must be accompanied by a parallel social and economic development, important elements of modernization.

An important contribution of this section is a realistic warning: the present population momentum is such that it may take many decades before the world's population will stabilize. Consequently, the present four billion inhabitants of the world may easily increase to 8, 10, or even 15 billion, pressing upon the same environment and resources. A failure to stop the population "explosion" may erode and deteriorate the quality of life everywhere, possibly leading to calamities, epidemics, and anarchy.

Further, the report presents briefly how the topic eventually surfaced, making specialists and governments aware of its urgency. Yet, it acknowledges the sensitivity of the problem, both for those countries in the position to advise others or receive advice. The nearly disasterous agricultural failure of India in 1965 stressed the great importance

of the food-population balance and served as an important call for action. The reader finds out that, indeed, in 1966 the U.S. Agency for International Development set up a separate Population Branch; the Congress expressed support for voluntary family planning; and the Secretary of State, the AID administrator, the director of the Peace Corp, and the director of the USIA announced jointly their full support for helping to limit the excessive population growth and to increase food production.

The United Nations in its turn recognized the urgency of the problem and in 1974, organized in Bucharest the largest population conference ever held. Though the delegates representing 136 countries agreed in principle with the urgency of the current world population problems, they disagreed with regard to the problem's causes and possible solutions. Nevertheless, conference members stressed strongly that demographic and socioeconomic variables are interrelated emphasizing the complexity of the situation. The Bucharest Conference recognized, however, the family's right for planning number and spacing of their children. Though the Conference was considered a remarkable success, it formulated many principles, and recommended certain measures, but did little to implement them. The study emphasizes then, that family planning remains the prime key for controlling undesired

population growth. It acknowledges, however, the difficulty of implementing such programs due to inadequate technology and health facilities as well as great cultural differences in the world.

The following chapters in Part One present briefly such important topics as precarious food-population equations, inadequate and random urbanization, international migration, and women's rights and roles.

Though encompassing and comprehensive, the first section of World Population Growth and Response lacks a good methodological approach to the study of population. The tremendous correlations between demographic variables and "modernization" as socioeconomic variables (education, industrialization, urbanization, as a few examples) are touched upon only marginally. At the same time, the "Demographic Transition," as a generally accepted model of transition from rural-agricultural societies to urban-industrial societies and its implications is not developed at all. Such approaches and models would have been of great help in making possible comparisons among countries at different levels of economic and cultural development.

The second section of the study displays the population situation and policy of each country of the world by continents and geographic regions. It is certainly a good and quick reference source in the field, though with very little insightful analysis.

Nigeria, as an example of a developing country, is portrayed as the most populous nation of Africa, and also potentially one of the wealthiest. Given its current rate of natural increase, the present 63 million inhabitants of the country could reach over 120 million after the turn of the century. Such a growing pressure may lead to a grave imbalance with regard to resources, but the study fails to define the relative concepts of "population pressure" or "overpopulation." Surprisingly, the chapter on Nigeria does not even mention the civil war which occured during this period and its catastrophic demographic consequences.

Following the chapter on Nigeria, a small section presents the international agencies which have helped the Nigerian population programs. However, the Nigerian cultural milieu is not emphasized. Nor is it clear how the Western technology in the population field was transfered and adapted to the Nigerian cultural patterns.

The USSR, on the other hand, as a totalitarian state striving for modernization, is not completely and adequately treated. While the study acknowledges that the Soviet Union has passed through a rapid population change at present and has had a rather low-rate of natural increase, it fails in a number of respects. Thus, it does not show clearly that the Soviet Union is currently faced with a population dilemma,

having an ambiguous approach to the question of population growth, especially from a "Russian" point of view. The presentation also fails to emphasize the great cultural diversity in the Soviet Union, chiefly from nationality and religious points of view. It also fails to explain that the Soviet Russians, who actually dominate the Soviet Union, are nearly under the demographic replacement level whereas non-Russians, chiefly Moslems from the southern part of the USSR, are increasing extremely rapidly. This particular demographic trend may challenge, in the long run, the Russian domination of the Soviet Union. Finally, the chapter on the USSR overlooks an almost unsurmontable obstacle toward Soviet modernization: most of the Soviet resources and raw materials are located in the eastern part of the huge country, while most of its inhabitants reside thousands of miles away in the western part of the country.

Another interesting case is Romania, an industrializing country to a large degree typical for the whole Eastern Europe. Since about the late 1920's, Romania has passed through the demographic transition, approaching now the stage of modern demographic characteristics. The volume's section on Romania records indeed the main social, economic, and political events which occured recently in this country. It fails to explain altogether, however, the demographic tragedy which happened to the Romanian people since the Communist take-over following the

Russo-Soviet occupation in 1944. Since 1946-1947, together with an ambitious program of forced industrialization, the whole Romanian people have been subjects of ruthless repression. Thus, the peasants were deprived of their land; the private businesses and factories were nationalized; hundreds of thousands of people were thrown in prisons for opposing the new regime; families were split or destroyed; many people were resettled, dislocated or deported; and a large number left the country. The standard of living was brought to a minimum. As a means of adjustment to the new reality, parents, families, and especially women resorted to a severe family control mainly through abortions. In the course of only 10 to 15 years from a healthy, moral, peasant-type of people, the population of Romania was demographically unrecognizable. In the 1960s, for every live birth there were at least four abortions, and the country's population as a whole was decreasing. At that point, the government was very disatisfied with the population's response and attitude toward Communism which is supposed to "take good care of the people, solve all problems, and bring happiness to everybody." Since the nation's tragic demographic reality negated any ideology of general happiness, the government outlawed most abortions in 1966, providing three to five years imprisonment for everybody performing them.

Ironically, certain circles participating at the 1974 Bucharest Population Conference spread the slogan "Take care of the people and the population will take care of itself." The gloomy Marxist Romanian experience seems to be a bit different--"Suppress the people and the population will take care of itself." The Romanian "transitory" case seems generally illustrative for all the Communist countries, proving that the Communistic governments are capable indeed to solve "successfully" the current world problem of excessive population growth. Unfortunately, the present population volume of the U.S. Population Reference Bureau does not distinguish among types of governments and by doing this, it levels statistics indirectly favoring totalitarian regimes whose population policies may be out of line with world-wide or regional population needs.

Japan is the sole industrial nation whose population has undergone changes similar to those in the Western countries. The way that Japan managed to reconcile western technology with its national culture is an example worth considering. This volume, however, presents very little insightful analysis of cultural differentiations, intercultural transfers and communication, and reconciliation of values, attitudes, and beliefs as they relate to the development of population policies, growth, or decline.

The second section of the volume as a whole is a good information source, although it is long in facts and short in concepts. As a major shortcoming, it lacks a good typical case-study approach and it treats all regions and countries alike as if they were provinces of the same country.

Part Three of the volume describes the American and international agencies involved in population programs. Among them, the Agency for International Development (AID) is by far the most significant. The United Nations and its specialized organizations are also very important. Among the private agencies many worth mentioning such as the World Bank, Ford Foundation, the Office of Population Research, the Population Council, the Watch Institute, the Zero Population Growth, and many others are listed. The financial and scientific contributions of the United States are overwhelming. AID, for example, has contributed more than $730 million between 1965 and 1975. It has sponsored much population research and field studies and has assisted numerous developing countries in developing population goals and policies.

Eventually, the study underlines briefly the importance of communications in reaching different countries and people in the process of implementing family planning and population control. Such strategies would seem to deserve more attention given their importance in developing and promoting reasonable population policies. Whether the suggested

ways and methods of effectively using communication strategies as well as the entire assistance program are a success or a failure, it is too early to answer. The basic conclusion of the report is somewhat optimistic. Nevertheless, based upon materials presented in the volume, it seems not really justified. The world's population continues to increase at a rapid pace. Apparently the Malthusian ghost still haunts our future.

In summary, World Population Growth and Response: 1965-1975 is a good comprehensive reference book, recommended for specialists, researchers of the field, and specialized agencies and institutes as well as for social scientists and international-intercultural communicators. It will also be very helpful for future population comparisons in the decades to come. Perhaps, the most serious criticism is that by trying to avoid any bias toward any political system, it has treated all countries alike, therefore creating an incorrect bias toward "uniformity." Another final observation is that although at various points the study cites several well-known authors and sources, the volume does not offer a bibliography, index, or a comprehensive source of information for all of the worldwide, regional, or state illustrations it gives.

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Love and Will. Rollo May (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969). 352 pp.

> The old myths and symbols by which we oriented ourselves are gone, anxiety is rampant; we cling to each other and try to persuade ourselves that what we feel is love; we do not will because we are afraid that if we choose one thing or one person we'll lose the other, and we are too insecure to take that chance. (p. 13)

Writing from the perspective of a psychotherapist and teacher, Rollo May describes in Love and Will the multitude of problems facing Western man as he lives in a society dominated by technology. May, who has authored or co-authored nearly a dozen books, looks at Western society and examines the consequences of living in what he calls an age of "radical transformations." (p. 13) In this world of rapid and ceaseless change, May considers how Western man has used and abused love and will. Love, he writes, has become for many a commodity to be bought, sold, or traded, and thus in the West, sex has been used "to give at least a facsimile of love." (p. 14) This emphasis on sex and the way people grasp at love "are symptomatic of a culture in which the personal meaning of love has been progressively lost." (p. 15) He argues that there is a similar problem with will, and so the question is not what to do, but rather, "deciding how to decide. The very basis of will itself is thrown into question." (p. 15) Love and will, if properly understood, can become vehicles to take us safely through the transition period.

To arrive at his definitions of love and will, the author has divided the book into three sections: parts one and two deal with love and then

will; and the concluding section discusses the relationship of the two. Love, he writes, has traditionally been an answer to life's problems, but now love itself has become a problem. He spends a great deal of time discussing two related aspects of love which have been confused or warped by Western culture: eros, and what he calls the daimonic. He says eros is that which brings meaning to the act of love, and moreover is a universal force which transcends all things. The daimonic is more complex, and he defines it as "any natural function which has the power to take over the whole person," (p. 123) such as sex and eros, anger and rage, or the craving for power.

May's second focus is the will, which he says, is not decision or action, but rather involvement in human activity. He writes that in modern Western man the will is in crisis, or "Just as the individual is feeling powerless and plagued with self-doubts about his own decisions, he is, at the same time assured that he, modern man, can do anything." (p. 185) The very power about which we boast, the nuclear weapons and nuclear power, render us powerless. This realization of a contradiction moves us to apathy, and it is only a short step from apathy to violence, he concludes. What is needed to counterbalance these negative forces is a structure which gives meaning to experiences, and that he calls intentionality.

All of these complex and, at times, confusing elements of eros, the daimonic, and intentionality merge when he talks of love and will. The two both describe a person "reaching out, moving toward the other, seeking to affect him or her or it..." (p. 276). Love and will exist in a balance, and "each loses its efficacy when it is not kept in right relation to the other..." (p. 276). He uses the example of a strong willed man, a Western industrialist who is so inner-directed and -bound by the notion of personal manipulation that he loses all sense of love and cannot understand or comprehend another person.

What impresses a reader more than anything else is the importance May attaches to love. For most readers, love is a powerful word being so identified with everything from sex to soap operas, and so much that is banal in Western culture. It seems the point May is trying to get across is that love as we hear it described everyday is banal. What he argues for is a concept of love which goes beyond the mundane to include care as a necessary ingredient. Care is neither empathy, nor a feeling of sympathy, but is a source of concern and is an active process which along with love drives out apathy and allows us to become involved. Walter Ong, in Why Talk? (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, 1973. p. 35) talks of the importance of love in communication when he says, "When knowledge gives out as a bridge, we make up for it with love. That is what you have to call it--love. Not only between husband and wife, but even in the more

casual or routine kinds of social situations, love must still be present."

It seems that love, which Rollo May describes in such exhaustive detail and Walter Ong alludes to, is one of the necessary, yet still largely ignored, requirements for successful communication. This function of love seems to exist in a shadow area, with many apparently realizing its necessary importance between friends or lovers, but neglecting its possible importance in other areas of human communication. Love and Will is deeply immersed in Western culture: it uses Western psychology to examine typical Western values, and its intent is to better prepare an individual to cope with Western culture. Despite its limited focus, the book seems to be of greatest value to all people when it talks of the importance of love. The question must be asked, then, is love as important as May says it is? Can love function as a bridge in communication? What are the implications of love, if any, for intercultural communication? Can an awareness of love as described by May make one a more effective communicator? There are no easy answers to be explored in greater detail in the future.

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Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences. Glen H. Fisher (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1972) 188pp.

On constructing a workable science of public diplomacy--should diplomacy be an "art"?

One gets the feeling that if the United States Foreign Service seriously contemplates this book, some fundamental changes would occur in its method of operations. The author, Glen H. Fisher, is a cultural anthropologist and former dean of the Center for Area and Country Studies in the Foreign Service Institute in the Department of State. He is the writer of When American Live Abroad and other books in the intercultural communication field.

Fisher aims his words at his colleagues in the foreign affairs community. He is that rarest of breeds, an experienced foreign service officer with a behavioral science background--or as he states it: "I have one foot in each side of the problem." The author offers a broad, understandable outline of the field of intercultural communication and its disciplinary conglomerates, with enough unsaid to leave the reader hungering for more on the subject.

Definition of Problems:

He succeeds in making a point quite clearly: the behavioral sciences should be allowed to demonstrate their usefulness in foreign affairs; or, at the very least, the scientific approach could be utilized to help the foreign affairs specialists define their problems more clearly.

Like serveral other behavioral scientists, Fisher concentrates on the pragmatic, problem-solving value of the various disciplines grouped into intercultural communication. In this he joins a distinguished group of social scientists with this attitude, such as Gunnar Myrdal, who states: "In reality there are no economic, sociological or psychological problems, but just problems, and they are all complex," and Stuart Chase, who wrote: "In the social sciences we should try thinking about problems to be solved, rather than disciplines to be taught."

In the preface Fisher outlines the usefulness of his viewpoint: "In international relations problems at the present state of development, the genius of behavioral scientists is not necessarily found in the answers they have produced or in the research of their methodology. It is in their effective way or looking at problems which have a psychological or cross-cultural component, their way of using concepts to provide order and meaning to observations and often, their way of simply asking the right questions."

Fisher, however, could have added to the reader's knowledge by probing into the reasons why the foreign service has never seriously undertaken the use of the behavioral sciences in its operations--relying instead on miniscule research budgets and a skeleton force of behavioral scientists in an effort to get by. Perhaps, he thinks it worthy of another book in the future. Fisher offers a hint in this regard, however, when

he warns that capturing the conceptual point of view may be difficult for the shirt-sleeve foreign service, since the several academic disciplines have come up with a forbidding jungle of jargon, paradigms, models and the like. He discerns that "this state of affars is not only disconcerting to the non-specialist but also tends to place the behavioral science field outside the reasonable limits of personal intervention. If the foreign affairs specialist is to use these resources at all, he needs a digestible selection of the more fundamental, widely used and proven conceptual components." The author avoids hyperbole, and his modest claims for the sciences add a credible tone to the study, leaving it up to the reader's imagination to conjure up the problems caused by the traditional diplomatic ways.

The Example of Political Science:

The author brings up the Political Science experience as a parallel example. Political Science lifted itself by its bootstraps when its traditional concepts (like diplomacy) simply did not apply in many cases; and the usual ways of posing problems and carrying out solutions did not work. At that point it turned for help to the fields of cultural anthropology (where the political scientists availed themselves of the Culture Concepts), sociology, social psychology (using the "national character studies) and others. Fisher also offers the example of developmental economics--another field that benefited by its mingling with the sciences that study human behavior.

Fisher advises against forming another separate psychological science just for diplomacy at least until the foreign service has taken full advantage of those already developed and adaptable. Without singling out which ones, he notes that some of the disciplines in the communication field are not useful, and some prejudice against their use has resulted when they have been improperly applied (he may have been alluding to the infamous Camelot affair of the mid-1960's in which the government of Chile protested the intrusion into their country by the Defense Department, with a behavioral, public opinion poll which never went beyond the planning stage. The repercussions in the U.S. were overwhelming to the Social Sciences, causing the cancellation of many large projects and the evaporation of government grant funds).

What about this new type of foreign service establishment (with its changes coming mainly in the State Department and at the USIA) that could result if Fisher's model could be put into practice? What would be the qualifications of this new foreign service officer? Would he be molded in the same sense as a paramedic, surface-trained in artificial respiration, but not in professional diagnosis? Or would he truly be a double-professional, still using the intuitive diplomatic "arts," yet fully knowledgeable in the useful elements of intercultural communication such as perception, patterns of thought, cognition, cultural diversity, linguistics, values and national character? Could one retrain the area specialists

and liberal arts majors that make up the service? The author passes over these questions, but seems to prefer a combination of the foreign affairs specialist and the academic, rather than the researcher merely transferred into a foreign sevice setting.

Glen Fisher is one of the few, but not the first to call for more professionalism in foreign relations methodology. Robert Rossow pioneered in a World Politics Magazine article (July 1962) with his suggestion that our foreign service would be better served if the educational preparation of the diplomat were focused on cultural anthropology, linguistics, comparative social analysis and comparative philosophical systems. Burton Sapin and Joseph deRivera have also made extensive probings in this area and noted that the modern foreign service specialist needs to know methods of the behavioral sciences to function properly. Hadley Cantril, in the Human Dimension: Experience in Policy Research, published in 1967, urges that the science of mankind be utilized in public diplomacy, stating: "The stakes are enormous, infinitely higher than most people realize: Continued neglect of the psychological problems involved in the formulation of particular foreign policy objectives and in effective international relations and communications means continual multiplication of the chances of failure or near failure."

If you visualize the world diplomatic structure as a culture, itself, the opponents of change might draw on the studies of Gerhard Maletzke,

and others, who have noted that in by far the great majority of instances, international communications does not take place between countries, but between communications partners who have much in common--giving as examples globetrotting economists, opera singers, and competitors in sports competition. He could also have listed diplomats--most of whom are trained to communicate (albeit carefully) with each other. This is defined as a "third culture" or "interculture." There is much to be studied in the future in this area.

Still Fisher's argument for a more precise diplomacy should be taken seriously. Both his stated and underlying assumptions must be carefully considered.

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USIA

The Media Are American by Jeremy Tunstall (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977). 353 pages.

> Who would be the American advance guard? I was afraid I knew. It would be not the men broad and humane and patient enough to share the suffering and understand the hopes of others, but the bright, urbane young mercantilists, like the Pan American Airways boys, who knew what they were after and confused America's role with their own. The smooth boys who could sip a cocktail and sign a contract with equal urbanity and ease. The shrewd young operators like the Time and Fortune boys, with their graceful manner, their gray suits and brown snap-brim hats--the knowing young men who deprecated passion, sweat, and high belief, who put quotation marks around both liberal and reactionary as if there were a special, exclusive chamber of conviction and judgment to which they alone held the key. I was afraid that was it. America would enter the world, led, not by a torch that meant freedom, but by a gold-tipped fountain pen that meant something else.
>
> Eric Sevareid, 1947

To some degree Jeremy Tunstall is writing about those gold-tipped fountain pens which were signing contracts after World War II for the purchase of American media technology and products, leading thereby to the title of his book. The book is a useful, provocative, and often baffling consideration of the impact of American media on modern national and international communication, and of how they became ascendant. Tunstall offers an abundance of information, several startling and somewhat fuzzy theses, and a generally good-natured, non-accusatory, and energetic approach as to why the media, whether in Egypt, Argentina, or South Africa, should be considered American. The author claims that "the world, by adopting American media formats, has in practice become

hooked on American-style media whether these are homemade or imported." From this notion follows neither Cassandra-wailings of impending cultural disintegration nor Pollyana promises of an inevitably brighter tomorrow. The author does suggest the possible development of a sophisticated communication tapistry woven from the powerful strands of today's "global reach" of media content and devices and the potential realization of a localized level of communication deriving from cultural, ethnic, and community concerns channeled through media technology which has yet to be exploited (e.g. videotape, cable television, etc.).

Tunstall, a professor of sociology at the City University, London, who has written five other books, has topics for at least several more lurking in the claims and ambiguities of this study. Too many notions are served up rather breathlessly and then left to drift as the author leaps toward the next horizon. The range of his ambitions may be quickly and rather alarmingly gaged by the book's four major parts:

I. New, Entertainment, Advertising... and Imperialism?

II. British Commonwealth, English Language... Anglo-American Cartel?

III. 1945: American Media Conquest

IV. The End of Empire.

The overly quick pace is apparent in the four-page table of contents which lists a page, or at most two, for such formidible headings as "Cultural imperialism versus authentic culture," and "La guerre est finie: French media reborn (1944)." With all this ground to cover, one stumbles upon

too many assertions which are not necessarily self-evident, yet the reader is swept off in a rush of ideas, plagued by a nagging desire for greater proof and firmer, more logical connections. The general reader who has no basis of personal expertise will almost surely question whether the British press in the Nineteenth Century was as heavily indebted to its American counterpart as Tunstall claims. One might take exception also to the assertion that "the world's governments, with almost no exceptions, allow international news agencies to gather news about them for foreign dissemination...(and) prefer to have the foreign agency men based in the country." This does not seem the case in a number of African states. Minor snags such as the above inhibit the full sweep of Tunstall's line of argument. Explanations are needed.

Among the book's several highlights is a vigorous refutation of Herbert Schiller's thesis of "American media imperialism." Here Tunstall pauses long enough to build his case in a convincing, unacrimonious exposition of the incidence of media importation, noting the decline from the 1960s to the 1970s, and pointing out the previous imperial patterns of the press and news agencies in the former European colonies. Media imperialism was not introduced by the United States. Descriptions of the Anglo-American media cartel; of the "decade of greatest American media dominance" from 1943 to 1953; of "value neutrality" and the injection into UNESCO of the American notion of the "free flow of information:" of the peculiar way in which Japan has become "more American than the Americans"

in its independence from the American media all generate a large portion of the book's intellectual electricity and relate directly to the circumstances in which the U.S. Information Agency operates.

While singularly good-humored and lacking in malice, Tunstall does have some wicked fun in his discussion of a number of media experts, among them Paul Lazarsfeld, Daniel Lerner, Robert T. Bower, and Wilbur Schramm. He casts a cloud on the objectivity of some of their research which was financed by "interested parties" such as the Columbia Broadcasting System, and questions the nature of their various involvements. For example,

> Daniel Lerner, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Wilbur Schramm in the 1960s became a sort of travelling circus--jetting back and forth across the world, advising first this Asian government and then that U.S. federal agency. Daniel Lerner was the intellectual leader of the circus. Ithiel de Sola Pool was the commissar of the group... The third member of the circus was Wilbur Schramm, the travelling salesman.

Were they wearing gray suits, brown snap-brim hats, and carrying gold-tipped fountain pens? Tunstall faults Schramm's Mass Media and National Development for failing to make any real policy recommendations, and for ignoring the expectations that the governing elites of newly independent countries would have of the media. In particular the author points out that UNESCO advisors like Schramm were well aware of the enormous strength

of the Anglo-Saxon media around 1960, yet their policies contained no realistic approach to the basic fact of dependence. Policy proposals by UNESCO advisors were principally triumphs of public relations skills.

Of the plethora of issues raised in this book, members of the American foreign affairs community will be especially interested in discussions of the "triumph of the 'value-free' ideology of the media;" the notion of "professionalism" among journalists and other communicators as espoused by Anglo-Americans (where the author concludes, "A journalist behaving on television as if he were equal to, and neutral towards, a U.S. Senator may be acting a charade--but it is a charade which enormously impresses journalists in other lands."); and U.S. government policy toward the media. On the latter point, Tunstall reveals a flaw which is probably a function of the ambitiousness of his task but remains disappointing nonetheless. He fails to lay allegations to rest, for example, by reporting that American embassies subsidize commercial sales of media services and products, presumably covertly, such as television programs and AP and UPI wire service subscriptions. He tells the reader that subsidized sales seem "highly probable." A good journalist or a less impatient scholar would not have been satisfied with the spectre of an unresolved probability.

Like too many publishers Columbia University Press was careless in its editing. Judging by the spellings one must assume that the intended audience is American, hence no need for quotation marks around "majoring."

Nor should Colombia (sic) with reference to the University have escaped notice. An appended collection of useful media tables, a lengthy and pertinent bibliography, a thorough index, as well as footnotes which are found at the foot of the page easily compensate for minor editorial oversights.

Godfrey Hodgson has described this book as "serious, learned, and fair-minded." (Washington Post, August 21, 1977, page G3) For the new Foreign Service Information Officer off to his first post it offers a useful history of the development of the modern media, especially the wire services; explains Visnews and Havas; and generally heightens sensitivity to the often inflamatory issue of "media imperialism." Fore-warned is fore-armed. Unlike the many turgid texts on intercultural communication and mass media, this picques the curiosity so that even the most lethargic reader is enticed by the varied offerings of the bibliography. Hodgson has proposed that the author write "a more extended history of this important topic [a more precise and more personal theory to explain it." One can only hope that he will, filling in for the often baffled reader of this volume the many missing pieces. As another reviewer, Richard Hoggart, has noted, "The book which this might have been remains to be written. That book will have solidly to marshall the facts behind the thrust of the analysis and take the argument well beyond this rather secondary level... (Then)...the way will be clearer for the West honestly to try to convince

those developing nations who are prepared to listen that they can and will cooperate, that their impulses are not wholly political or commercial." (New Society, June 23, 1977) A sequel may not have this lofty result, but assuredly this is a muddled question deserving informed examination. The Media Are American takes concerned readers another step along the way.

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USIA

The Arab Mind. Raphael Patai (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973, 1976) 376 pp.

Raphael Patai's The Arab Mind takes the reader on a fascinating and probing journey into the psyche of one of the world's oldest and most complex cultures. It is a journey that has consumed a major portion of Patai's scholarly career as a cultural anthropologist and one which is broadly reflected in the more than twenty books and other studies he has written. Among them: Society, Culture and Change in the Middle East; Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East; On Culture Contact and Its Working in Modern Palestine and Jordan, Lebanon and Syria: An Annotated Bibliography.

By Patai's own account, his specialization spans "the ancient Near East, the modern Middle East, Israel and the Jews." One of his recent works is The Jewish Mind, and he is also author of Hebrew Myths and Cultures in Conflict: An Inquiry into the Socio-Cultural Problems of Israel and Her Neighbors.

In his preface to The Arab Mind, Patai says the book is the result of a "life-long interest in the Arabs and their world." Fluent in six languages, including Hebrew and Arabic, he spent some fifteen years in Jerusalem and has traveled widely in the Middle East.

The book draws heavily on the author's personal encounters with Arabs over the years as well as the writings of Arab authors which, he notes, "enabled me ... to learn more about what Arabs think about Arabs, how they judge them, and what they consider the positive and what the negative sides of the Arab personality."

Patai tackles the troublesome question of defining who an Arab is in Chapter, I, tracing the history of the term "Arab" from its earliest historical appearance--a camel-herding desert Bedouin--in Assyrian records in 854 B.C. to its meaning with the foundation of Islam and through later developments. He finally settles on the definition: "An Arab is one whose mother tongue is Arabic." He is careful to note, however, that the linguistic identity concept does not hold 100% of the time in the Arab world and gives examples of some groups which have retained their ethnic identity despite linguistic assimilation to Arabic.

To the Arabs' linguistic bond, Patai adds the recent cultural maximizer of nationalism. He writes: "In the Arab view, fostered for at least one generation by almost all Arab leaders, the Arabs constitute one nation, the Arab nation, and the division of the one Arab fatherland into numerous separate countries is but a temporary condition that sooner or later must be, will be, overcome."

Patai devotes considerable discussion to the role of religion in shaping the Arab mind. He warns, however, of the tendency of both uneducated Arabs and Arab literati to identify "Arabism with Islam" and "Islam with Arabism" despite the fact that Islam has undergone "important extra-Arab developments."

The Arab Mind is a comprehensive treatment of many aspects of Arab culture and represents an effort to catalog typical Arab traits by studying their recurrence at various periods and levels of society. Patai thus takes on a monumental analysis which encompasses Arab child-rearing practices, Bedouin values, the realm of sex, Islamic influence on Arab personality, art, music, literature, Arab stagnation, emotion and fantasy.

In portraying Arab mentality, Patai gives throughout the book a host of attributes too numerous to list here. They include bravery, hospitality, generosity, a strong sense of male superiority, a fatalistic attitude and a lack of perseverance. He draws the following profile of the Arab male in the preface to the 1976 paperback edition of the book.

> The typical Arab male--who, of course, is even more of an abstraction than the statistically derived "average American" --remains a patient, good-natured, but also volatile and excitable, naive and yet shrewd villager of about twenty-five years of age, married, with several children, supported by a deep trust in Allah, possessed of a strong sexuality, illiterate and yet having an exquisite mastery of the Arabic language and the treasures of its oral folklore, devoted to kith and kin and yet prone to

conflict, torn between the traditions of the past with their code of honor and the increasingly intruding demands of the future, proud of being an Arab, yearning for a life of leisure but resigned to spend his relatively short span on earth working the land with the sweat of his brow.

Patai's lengthy analysis of Arabic and its hold on Arab culture stresses the extraordinary attachment that Arabs sense for their language. The author relates this discussion to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and the various influences of the Arabic language on Arab psychology and culture. A case in point is the relation between Arabic verb tenses and the inability of Arabs to concern themselves with precisely defined timing. Patai explains that Arabic has verb tenses which are semantically vague and indeterminate, and he links this to Arab society's "relatively lesser concern with time, including quantification of time, consciousness of the relative lengths and position of past events, and the importance of ordering life according to time schedules." He notes that Arabic histories "are often replete with anachronisms and confused in detail and chronology." Patai also comments on the related phenomena of overemphasis and exaggeration among Arabs which, he says, are anchored in the Arabic language itself.

Somewhat repetitious and at times tedious in documentation, The Arab Mind is nonetheless very worthwhile reading for the intercultural communicator and anyone with an interest in the contem-

porary Middle East. While Patai's conclusions may in fact inaccurately mirror the real Arab mind, they are a scholarly account of one man's perceptions of that mind.

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Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovers His Country. Bill Moyers (New York: Dell, 1971). 377 pp.

Listening to America is one man's dialogue with a nation in transition. It is the summing up of a people, the American people, who, at the end of the turbulent 1960's, have lost faith in their leaders, but steadfastly refuse to abandon their faith in the system of government that has made them what they are. Listening to America is a kind of mosaic of voices--the many different voices of men and women in all parts of the country, voicing their concerns, their hopes and their dreams. They are the senders of messages dutifully recorded by one reporter, Bill Moyers, who, in the summer of 1970, traveled 13,000 miles, in a wide circle around the nation, "to hear people speak for themselves."

Writing in the preface to his best-selling "journal," subtitled, "A Traveler Rediscovers His Country," the traveler says: "For ten years I listened to America from a distance... but I learned that it is possible to write bills and publish newspapers without knowing what this country is about or who the people are." Bill Moyers is best known today for his recent work on American television, on public and commercial networks, where he has won an enviable reputation for objective reporting and insightful interviews. Earlier on he won more tangible awards as editor of Newsday,

the largest circulation suburban daily newspaper in the United States. Before that he served as Press Secretary and Special Assistant to President Lyndon Johnson, finally leaving the White House, at his own request, to pursue more urgent challenges. His is a restless spirit that has propelled him from job to job and from place to place, in search of America and of himself. It is a search that took him from religious studies in his home state of Texas to national service as Deputy-Director of the Peace Corps, a search that led naturally to his odyssey through America, carrying a tape recorder and a notebook.

Bill Moyers is usually described as a journalist, but he prefers another term: communicator. He says that he would rather be on the asking-end of questions, but he insists on the need for two-way dialogue, with one man (or woman) speaking to another, and listening for a response. His book, then, is obsessed with communication, the messages that were and were not sent (through innumerable channels) by an American public that had a profound effect on the course of history. In a world where nations were coming closer and closer together, he learned, Americans were coming apart, no longer to be cast in a single mold. Despite the pressures of federal government, mass media and homogenous education, the great "melting pot" had utterly failed to produce a uniform citizen.

Everywhere he went, Bill Moyers, as wayfaring "stranger," was constantly amazed by the diversity of the people and their cultural values, deep-rooted in traditions that date far back in time. Especially in the smaller towns, people seemed to value most their interpersonal relationships with family, friends and associates in the wider home community, whatever that might be. For some it encompassed relatives and childhood acquaintances in a far-off land in Africa, China, Mexico, Italy, Germany, Ireland, or Japan. They had come to find freedom and left behind part of themselves. Still, the past had also come with them and seemed to be moving into sharper focus in the late 1960's. In Piqua, Ohio, "Home of Donald Gentile, World War II Air Force Ace, 1920-1951," Moyers managed to locate the great mustang pilot's 78-year-old Italian immigrant father and record one of the most moving conversations in his book. In broken, Italian-accented English, Papa Gentile explained how he left his family to come to America in 1909 and worked his way up to become superintendent in a pipe-laying company, never missing a day's work in thirty-one years. He told how he raised a fine son, Donald, who joined the U.S. Air Force, flying 182 missions before returning home to a hero's welcome. A few years later, in 1951, Donald was killed while flight-testing a new type of plane. But Papa Gentile was a proud American father: his son

had given his life for his country, and he had died a man.

"In listening to America, one must listen to the past," writes Bill Moyers. However, he found that the voices of America's past were almost drowned out by the voices of the day, clamoring to be heard. Like a good reporter, our modern-day Gulliver tied to listen to everyone's side of all the burning issues, both social and political issues. He wanted to hear what people were thinking about the Vietnam War, campus unrest, the drug culture, unemployment, minorities, labor unions, schools, crime, religion, conservation, the racial problem, and other concerns. Traveling by bus, truck, plane, and car, he made his way from Hartford, Connecticut, to Lawrence, Kansas, to Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, from Seattle, Washington, to San Francisco, California, and Houston, Texas, and from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Johnsonville, South Carolina, to Washington, D.C. In his quest for understanding, he interviewed presidents of universities, students, policemen, farmers, preachers, truckers, salesmen, veterans, taxi-drivers, waitresses, and a host of other representatives of diverse groups, with disparate goals.

The views Moyers heard were as varied as the problems they addressed, but underneath it all he detected a common thread, a general sense of confusion, of national indirection, summed up by a young man in Oregon: "Yes, what is the end of it all? Where is the country going? Where is each one of

us going?" There appeared to be a breakdown in communication at every level. A friend and occasional traveling companion of Moyers described the situation this way: "Everybody spitting at each other and ashamed of it all the time and wishing they were talking instead of spitting and not knowing how to stop the one and how to start the other." The failure to communicate apparently was either produced or heightened by the Vietnam controversy. The nation was split by the Vietnam war. Yet, "liberals and conservatives... (everywhere)...shared three basic apprehensions," Moyers writes, "They want the war stopped; they do not want to lose their children; and they want to be proud of their country."

The Moyers journal also reflects some underlying national themes, such as the problems of desegregation, the breakdown of law and order, the influx of ethnic minorities, and anti-Communist zeal. He observes that deep-seated values are slow to change, despite surrounding turmoil. But he, like most of his informants, seems to count on a basic American value to "save the day." As James Dickey points out in his review of the same book, appearing soon after publication, Moyers' conversations with his fellow Americans reveal that they obviously share a belief in the democratic process: in the interchange of ideas, in the individual's right to speak out, in the political power of the single person, and in the merits of organization for the good of the group, at local, state, and national levels. There is a prevailing assumption that voting power and

institutional process can serve to counter inequalities, labor abuses, unemployment, pollution, even violence; if only power can be acquired by the right interest groups, whether blacks, Chicanos, Chinese, students, laid-off aircraft workers or employees of textile factories being undersold by the importers of Japanese goods. Interest groups, moreover, want to be consulted before remedies are planned which affect them. Or, as one woman in San Francisco told Moyers: "People don't want you to do things to them any more or for them. They want to do these things for themselves."

Americans in Moyer's sample at the start of the 1970's also are proud of their differences. They want to be respected for what they are, whether blacks or Chicanos or members of two separate cultures, like the Chinese-American woman Moyers met in San Francisco. Nevertheless, they refuse to conform to the stereotypes, and they want to be valued as persons, no matter what their race, color, or creed. Referring to the problem of school desegregation, an elderly Black activist in Johnsonville, South Carolina, told the reporter: "I think when this gone on awhile, people will forget about this color thing and look at a person as a person. I think they stop sayin' Thurgood Marshall is a credit to his race and start sayin' he is a credit to mankind."

America, then, is not one culture, but many separate cultures, sharing the same symbols at the highest level of society, yet retaining different customs and values at the deepest level of existence, as Moyers sees it. The bottom line for the nation in the 1970's, Moyer's concludes, is better communication: interpersonal, interethnic, interracial, and intercultural communication. "People want contact," he says. "They want to affirm themselves." Traveling around the country he found that "most people not only hunger to talk, but also have a story to tell.... They are desperate to escape the stereotypes into which the pollsters and the media and the politicians have packaged them for convenient manipulation. They feel helpless to make their government hear them. They were brought up to believe that each man can make a difference, but they have yet to see the idea proven."

As Moyers perceives them, "most Americans want to be generous. They expect from their country an ethos, an honorable character and enduring beliefs," he says, "even if they resist a common set of scruples and a rigid monolithic ethic." They want leadership that is wise and just and tolerant and good, and, at the same time, they want power restored to the people, in the truest sense of the word, via feedback. Or as Moyers puts it: "Can these people I met escape their isolation if no one listens?"

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Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations edited by Akira Iriye (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975). 304 pp.

Mutual Images is a scholarly collection of essays looking into the dynamics of mutual perceptions on the part of two nations of widely divergent backgrounds in history and culture whose members have met head on and have finally settled for an interdependent relationship in their quest for political and economic expansion. The papers were originally presented by Japanese and American scholars at a binational symposium on the subject of mutual perceptions at Kauai, Hawaii in 1972. The total impression one gets after having read the volume is the classic elusion of images, even by a detailed examination of ideas, people and events over a period of more than one hundred years of American-Japanese relationship. In all twelve essays, including two contributed by the editor, the perceptions that America and Japan have for one another can be likened to a set of two mirrors reflecting their mutual images, with very little penetration behind the mirrors.

The essays use "image" to refer to sterotypes, perceptions, attitudes, opinions, propaganda creations, and public policy orientations. For example, in the essay entitled "Japan at American Fairs, 1876-1904," Neil Harris points to international fairs in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a source of image. American fair-goers were exposed to cultural events such as the Japanese pavillions and

what they saw helped confirm or modify their preconceptions about other peoples. At the same time, thanks to the tradition of reciprocating "bon voyage" gifts, Japanese visitors to the United States brought home their impressions and put them in books which were widely read in Japan. In that period of honeymoon in Japanese-American relations, Americans were forming images of the Japanese as artistic, industrious, different and modernizing. Meanwhile, the Japanese began to develop an idealistic image of America as the land of liberty and people's rights, an ideal which was credited for the liberalization movement during the second decade of the Meiji era (1878-87).

Iriye discusses the next phase of American-Japanese relations in his essay entitled "Japan as a Competitor, 1895-1915." Japanese economic and military activities during this period brought about a modification of American images of Japan. At the same time, the sharp increase of Japanese immigrants to the West coast of the United States brought a real and personal dimension to the American perception of the Japanese as vanguard of the "yellow peril." The public consternation helped trigger serious reaction in the official American circles to the extent that few moves made by Japan anywhere in the world were not looked upon suspiciously as preparations for war. Iriye noted that the American image of Japan as competitor was related to the American self-perception as a power in the Western Hemisphere, the Pacific, the Orient and the entire world. This

leads to the next essay entitled "Images of the United States as Hypothetical Enemy" by Shoichi Saeki who discusses the proliferation of cheap novels in Japanese about future wars with America. Ironically, some of the novels were translations from fiction of this genre published in the United States during the first decade of this century.

Kimitada Miwa points out in his essay "Japanese Images of War with the United States" that by the 1930s the image of the United States in Japan has changed negatively to the extent that one Japanese noted that the United States "was no longer to be looked upon as representing justice, freedom and equality; on the contrary, it was simply another imperialist country." Other Japanese, particularly journalists, portrayed the United States as "gigantic, yet feeble, a huge but fragile country beset by fatal weaknesses." The Japanese negative image of the United States turned into somewhat of a reality when the Congress passed the anti-Japanese immigration bill in 1924. Meanwhile the Japanese self-image of being leader of modern Asia was another important factor that finally brought it to the collision course with the United States which wanted to maintain the status quo in the Pacific. The Second World War is not the subject of any essay in the book. This is a logical omission because war and its distortion are not the best subjects for a study of perception.

In his essay "The Postwar Japanese Image in the American Mind," Nathan Glazer reviews public opinion polls on Japan and attitudes expressed

in the American mass media in order to determine the changes in American images of Japan between 1945 and 1973. Glazer's study indicates that American images of Japan in the postwar years were largely influenced by the hope and expectation of Japan as a major trading partner and collaborator in mutual security rather than on any increased understanding of the Japanese character. This is also the conclusion arrived at in the essay "United States Elite Images of Japan: The Postwar Period" co-authored by Priscilla A. Clapp and Morton H. Halperin. One essay which more or less stands by itself is that by Don Toshiaki Nakanishi on the problem of self-images among Japanese-Americans based on his interviews with Japanese-Americans of different generations and individual experiences. The essays provides a link with the rest of the papers in the collection by suggesting that American sometimes form an opinion about Japan through their perception of Japanese-Americans.

The editor of Mutual Images describes the volume as only an inquiry, not a conslusive work on the dynamics of intercultural relations. One cannot but agree with his suggestion that further work is needed in this field and that one way to approach the task would be "to compare the Japanese and American varieties of globalism, cosmolitanism, nationalism, particularism, and provincialism." One might add that Mutual Images provides a student of intercultural communication with detailed study cases of the classic problem of the relation between "image" and "reality,"

together with the methodology to examine this problem by posing the question that if images appear in the eye of the beholder, then who is beholding, and who is being beheld, when, where, in what circumstances, under what light, at what angle?

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EVALUATION OF THE 1977 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COURSE

Alan Kotok

Alan Kotok is the evaluation officer for the Agency's Training and Development Division, where he has developed an evaluation system, designed and implemented several evaluations of its training programs, and has designed a management information system for Agency training which automated most of its record-keeping and reporting procedures. Before joining the Training and Development Division, he served as a research analyst in the Agency's Office of Research. He is the author of articles in Journalism Quarterly and Rosenberg and White's edited Mass Culture Revisited (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971). He received his B.A. in journalism from the University of Iowa and his M.Sc. in communication research from Boston University.

Introduction

Communicating with different cultures stands at the core of USIA's (and the International Communication Agency's) mission. The Director, in his Knoxville College address (May 28, 1977), emphasized the important role of intercultural communication in establishing a dialogue between the United States and audiences overseas.

> (We) must insist upon, we must ensure a dialogue: In so doing, we strike a balance between our most fundamental beliefs and needs, and recognition of the needs, perceptions and circumstances of others. We know it works.... We should extend its realm.

The Training and Development Division offered its 10th Intercultural Communication Course, September 6 to October 14, 1977. Michael H. Prosser, Professor of Speech Communication at the University of Virginia, served as academic coordinator.

Course Objectives

The program aimed to develop in participants a critical awareness of the major relationships between communication and culture. By the end of the course participants should have been able to:

1. Recognize, identify or describe...
   a. basic principles in interpersonal communication, including communication among individuals from different cultures;

b. basic principles in collective communication, i.e. communication from one group to another;
c. opportunities and problems caused by similarities or differences in cognitive factors such as beliefs, attitudes, values, and thought-patterning among various cultural groups;
d. opportunities and problems caused by similarities or differences in language and non-verbal codes among various cultural groups.

2. Analyze and synthesize major issues published in the field of intercultural communication.
3. Generalize basic principles of intercultural communication to issues related to Agency functions or programs.
4. Apply principles and research methods used in intercultural communication to decisions on strategy, messages, media, or audiences.

Description of the Course

Because of the importance of intercultural communication to the Agency, the Division has given the course high priority. For six weeks, participants were excused from their regular work to attend lectures and discussions by leading academics, Agency officials, and practitioners from other organizations. Participants also read more than 3,000 pages from textbooks and articles; took part in exercises; games and simulations; watched films; wrote book reviews; conducted group research projects; and completed written and oral examinations. Participants, if they wished, could receive six graduate credits from the University of Virginia for satisfactorily completing the course.

Most participants found the reading assignments difficult to complete on schedule. As a result, Prosser eliminated some of the less important readings and cut the number of required book reviews from two to one. Most other aspects of the course proceeded as planned.

Participants and Costs

Seventeen USIA officers enrolled in the course. Most participants (13 of 17) were media specialists, but the course included three FSIOs and one Foreign Service Staff employee. Grade levels ranged from the equivalent of GS-9 to GS-16; with a median grade of GS-12.4.

Program costs (excluding Division salaries) totalled $18,524. With 17 participants, the per-student cost came to $1,090 or $182 per credit (or per week of training). Although Washington-area universities charge tuition of $100-150 per credit for graduate-level course, adding books and fees to this figure makes the course roughly competitive in cost.

Evaluation Method

Each course member needed to complete a number of requirements to receive credit for the course. These requirements were designed to measure achievement of a specific course objective, both from the standpoint of the individual student as well as the effectiveness of the course. A list of objectives and requirements are listed below.

Objective	Requirement
1. Recognize, identify or describe basic principles, opportunities and problems in intercultural communication.	1. Written examination consisting of multiple-choice and short-answer items. Progress measured by comparison to similar, but not identical, test given at the beginning of the course.
2. Analyze and synthesize major issues published in the field of intercultural communication.	2. Book review of publishable quality, 600-900 words in length, analyzing and synthesizing the author's ideas in the context of the course. Prosser and Division Chief, Robert Kohls judged the book reviews.
3. Generalize basic principles of intercultural communication to issues related to Agency functions or programs.	3. Two oral examinations (in the form of Socratic dialogues). In the first exam, participants discussed the major models and principles presented in the first half of the course. In the final exam, they applied the models and principles to realistic case studies. Their performance was judged by Prosser and Alan Kotok of the Division.
4. Apply principles and research methods used in intercultural communication to decisions on strategy, messages, media or audiences.	4. Field research project (in teams of two or three participants each), using standard research methods and reporting (oral and written) the purposes, hypotheses, relevant literature, methods, findings and recommendations. The groups were helped and papers judged by Prosser, Barry Fulton of USIA and Edward Stewart of the University of Southern California, Washington Center.

The evaluation will focus on participant achievement of these objectives and will examine the conduct of the course in terms of the Agency's needs. This report will also give results of mid-point and end-of-program questionnaires which measured participants' reactions to the course at these two times. The Division considers learning of new knowledge and skills more solid evidence of effectiveness than reactions of participants to the program, but the "reactions" questionnaires often provide guidance on possible areas of improvement.

Findings

Learning of Basic Principles

Results from the written examinations, given before and after the course showed increases in participants' abilities to recognize, identify, and describe basic principles and concepts in the major units of the course: interpersonal communication, collective communication, cognitive factors, and language. Overall, average test scores increased from 39 percent correct before the course to 66 percent correct at the end. They appeared to make the most progress in learning basic concepts of interpersonal communication where the average test score tripled from before to after (24% correct and 71% correct respectively). Participants made less progress in learning material on cognitive factors and language (Table 1).

Table 1.

Learning of Basic Principles in Intercultural Communication

	Average percent correct		
Course content	Before course	After course	Difference
Interpersonal communication	24%	71%	47%
Collective communication	42	71	29
Cognitive aspects	50	62	12
Language	38	56	18
Overall	39	66	27

Note: All before-after differences statistically reliable, 99 times out of 100.

Although the original "passing" grade had been set at 80 percent, only one participant managed to surpass this score in the final exam. This threshold may not have accurately reflected "successful" learning of the course material, since most participants satisfactorily handled the other course requirements which called for analysis, synthesis or application of these concepts and principles. Nonetheless, the scores do suggest that the cognitive aspects and language units may need strengthening in future courses.

Analysis and Synthesis of Major Issues

To demonstrate ability to analyze and synthesize major issues in intercultural communication, each course member reviewed a book by a leading figure in the field. Participants were asked to prepare the reviews at a level and style publishable in academic journals. The reviews should have presented a synthesis of the author's ideas and a critical analysis of the author's ideas in the contest of the course. Prosser and L. Robert Kohls, Chief of the Division, judged the reviews.

The judges rated nine of the reviews as outstanding and eight as satisfactory. Although all the reviews submitted met the minimum requirements for passing the course, the judges reported some instances of shallow analysis. Also, some of the books reviewed were out-of-date and had been eclipsed by more recent publications.

Generalize Basic Principles to Agency Practice

Prosser gave two oral examinations in the form of "Socratic dialogues" for course members to demonstrate their abilities to apply the basic principles and concepts to Agency-related issues. The first exam was held at the mid-point of the course and dealt more with analysis of readings and lecture materials than applications ot Agency programs or policies. In the second exam, given at the end of the course, they responded to case-studies of realistic problems faced by decision-makers at USIS posts and in Washington elements. In each instance, participants had to discuss several models, principles or theories accurately and at some length to receive a satisfactory score. Prosser led the discussions and served with Alan Kotok of the Division as judge.

In the mid-course exam, four participants received "outstanding" grades and one participant was rated "unsatisfactory." The remainder received "satisfactory" ratings. In the final oral exam, three participants received "unsatisfactory" grades, because their discussions dealt mainly with Agency practice and not with the course material. Each of these three

course members was asked to submit an additional paper which applied the course material to the cases. The three participants returned this extra assignment and were given "satisfactory" grades. The remainder of the class received either "outstanding" (4 students) or "satisfactory" (10) ratings.

These tests showed most of the course members able to discuss at least several aspects of intercultural communication at length, and to greater or lesser degrees, apply the concepts or principles to Agency practice. Because of their importance, the results of these tests received twice the weight of the final written examinations and book reviews in tabulating their final grades.

Field Research Projects

To demonstrate their ability to apply research methods used in the field to Agency problems, the course members split into groups of two or three and conducted small-scale studies. The groups were assisted by Prosser Barry Fulton of USIA, and Edward Stewart of the University of Southern California, all of whom judged the final oral and written presentations.

The projects consisted of surveys (interview, mail or hand-out questionnaires) mainly using Agency employees as subjects. The assignment called for a largely academic approach: review scholarly literature relevant to the studies, frame hypotheses, construct instruments to measure the variables, conduct the surveys, tabulate the results, report the findings and make recommendations for further research. The judges rated two of the six studies as "outstanding" and the other four "satisfactory."

Although all studies had met the minimum criteria for the course, the judges' comments showed that some groups used potentially unreliable measurements in their studies while others did not adequately review the literature or used superficial analyses of their data.

Participants' Reactions to the Course

The Division measured the participants' reactions to the course after three weeks and at the end of the program. The officers appeared to develop a higher opinion of the course during the last three weeks. At the end of the course, more persons rated the course favorable overall, felt the program met more of their expectations than at the half-way point, and considered the course material neither too difficult nor too easy.

At both times (after three and six weeks), participants generally rated the administration of the course in favorable terms and felt the program had about the right amount of in-class material but too many reading assignments for the time allotted. At both points, however, the majority of persons completed "all" or "most" of their reading assignments and felt the readings were "very much" or "considerably" integrated with material presented in class.

Participants also rated each class session with a five-point scale on the extent to which they provided "useful information or insights." On the average, they considered the sessions on individual perceptions, non-verbal communication and "The Media, Past and Future" most useful (scores of 4.2 to 4.6 out of 5.0).

Participants also made narrative comments with suggestions for improving the course. Most suggestions centered around the lack of time for completing all course requirements. These ideas included lengthening the course one or two weeks, rescheduling the projects and assignments so they all are not due at the end of the program, further reducing the less important readings, cutting out the book review which several persons considered less relevant, and scaling down the research project.

Other suggestions included more discussions with Agency officers or more material relating to Agency problems, better explanations of course requirements in the program announcement, and not publishing all of the participants' papers or projects in the Proceedings since they were considered to be learning experiences rather than finished products for general circulation.

Examination of the Course in Meeting the Agency's Needs

The course, as now offered, presents a solid background in the theory and process of intercultural communication. As noted earlier, this subject comprises the essence of the Agency's main function and deserves continued high priority. The course appeared generally successful in teaching the basic principles and concepts of intercultural communication, as well as providing participants with the tools for applying at least some of the course material to Agency practice.

The findings do point out some aspects of the course which may need strengthening. Participants, as a group, made only modest gains in learning material on cognitive aspects of intercultural communication as well as language. Differences in test scores, from before the course to after, were considerably higher for the other two course units.

Designers of the course recognized that to apply the theories, principles and models to Agency work, course members must first be able to analyze and synthesize the isolated bits of information into more organized and coherent forms. The first half of the course gave them little opportunity to pull together many of the diverse ideas presented in class sessions and readings. Also, the first oral examination (given at the half-way mark of the course) largely duplicated the purpose of the book review, in that both requirements called for the participants to analyze and synthesize the material presented.

The sessions, readings, and conduct of research provided most students with their first exposure to this important tool in intercultural communication and Agency practice. The research project, however, required the teams to perform several tasks which they will not likely undertake in their careers (e.g., interviewing, tabulation, data analysis). Agency officers would most likely become involved in the planning of research projects while research specialists would look after most of the technical details in the conduct of Agency surveys.

The research projects themselves (using an academic rather than applied approach) dealt mainly with attitudes and behavior of Agency employees and not those of cultural groups outside the Agency. Furthermore, the teams could not have been expected to produce a high-quality research study in so short a time. While the projects may have helped teach elementary research methods, the course members may not have developed a full appreciation of the potential of research for Agency decision-making.

Most participants, in the final oral examination, showed some ability to apply the models and concepts from intercultural communication to realistic case-studies of Agency programs and issues. However, only a few class sessions dealt specifically with intercultural communication in this context. Also, some of the "applied" content in the second half of the course had little relevance to the work of most Agency officers.

Recent job analyses of the work done by foreign service officers in the field show a large part of their activities devoted to supervising foreign nationals. Some managers in media elements likewise supervise a number of foreign nationals. However, the course had little, if any, material devoted specifically to managerial aspects of intercultural communication. Organizing, directing and motivating foreign nationals may require different approaches than those used with American employees. Moreover, few "off-the-shelf" management courses deal with this issue which has direct applicability to Agency work.

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