On the imbalance of international communications: An analysis, a review, and some solutions

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INTERNATIONAL communication today is typified by the southern flow of information, from the northern hemisphere to the southern hemisphere, dominated by the developed nations in information gathering and dissemination, and intensified by technological advances in communication in the last two decades. The incessant cries of "cultural imperialism," "cultural domination," and "cultural invasion" echoing from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America have precipitated a rigid control of communication in many developing countries. The imbalance of communication flow, castigated, and denounced by every developing country, is considered to be the source of all evils, ranging from the failure of politico-economical policies and erosion of social norms and values to street crimes and prostitution; nevertheless, the verdict is still not yet in. This study attempts to illustrate the fundamental problems, to explore the consequences of communication imbalance, and to examine communication dysfunctions in order to provide a set of solutions specifically addressed to the elimination or the reduction of the detrimental effects of communication dysfunctions. In the meantime, evidence is provided to substantiate the contention that communication imbalance can be eventually corrected, not by control but by allowing the free flow of all types of communications. Japan is a typical example: she absorbed the best and discarded the disharmonious features of Chinese and Western civilizations. Further attempts are also made to examine the inherent, natural immunity of cultures against alien concepts and practices. The conclusion is aimed at the battle cries of "cultural imperialism": much ado about nothing.

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A. Introduction: problems, problems and problems

The world is undergoing a fundamental change, much more profound than the changes

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brought about by the industrial revolution, as it is rapidly entering the information age.

Technological innovation leads to an increase in manpower productivity, lower prices, and wage increases which in turn produce large markets and greater employment ... The modern era of electronics has ushered in a second industrial revolution ... We are entering a period of deep transition which may last from 30 to 50 years before leading to a completely different type of world society with much greater numbers, changed values, new political and administrative structures, entirely novel forms of institutional behavior and a technological basis very different from what we are familiar with today which will influence life styles fundamentally in all nations and all cultures (King, 1982:1-20)

Technological advances have reduced the world to a global village, and consequently, industrial, trade, and communication developments have made every nation, rich or poor, interdependent. Communication today transcends geographical confines, time, and culture. A new form of communication, total and pervasive, whether it is called the information revolution, the fourth or fifth communication revolution, is irrelevant, is taking shape. "Total" refers to all modes of communication, audiovisual, print, voice, data, and video. "Pervasive" means the reach of communication to every cranny and corner in the world instantaneously. The integration of the computer and new communication devices — computers interfaced with digitalized audiovisual devices linking with satellite communication and fibre optic systems —, accelerates the transformation from the post-industrial era to the information age. Soon indices for modernization will include a host of acronyms for databases, computer systems, videotex devices, satellite, microwave transmission systems, and fibre optic networks.

A transformation as fundamental as that of the information age will invariably reorient our economy, restructure our social activities, and remodel our behavior. But "all technical progress exacts a price, ... raises more problems than it solves.... The negative effects of technological innovations are inseparable from the positive,... and all technological innovations

have unforeseeable effects" (Ellul, 1962). There arise many problems, inherent in or coincidental with, modernization and communication.

The first problem, the imbalance or inequality in the flow of international communication, is further aggravated by technological innovations in communication.

The second problem, the revolution of rising frustration, has been in the mind of communication students for a long time. Mass communication heightens expectations (Lerner, 1973-74) but is not equipped to gratify such an aspiration.

The third problem is ethnocentrism. Cultural infusion into newly independent nations invariably resurrects the spectre of colonialism or imperialism. Many developing nations have been protesting the one-way communication from the West as cultural imperialism, cultural invasion, or cultural dominance.

The fourth problem is the incompatibility between freedom of communication and developmental efforts. All developing societies are committed to the acceleration of industrialization and modernization, but they do not have the luxury or patience of tolerating divergent ideas (Nam & Oh, 1973). The underlying assumption that the price the developing societies must pay for modernization is the curtailment of communication freedom.

The fifth problem lies in the adoption of the Western communication models and systems: some developing societies adopted them in full and some adopted them with revision and modification, but not too many paid much attention to their applicability and consequences.

The sixth problem is the failure to recognize communication dysfunctions concurrent to modernization. Communication in general is purposive and deterministic; it has inherent functions and dysfunctions. Complicating the matter even further, functions and dysfunctions are relative, comparative, and not mutually exclusive.

Communication dysfunctions of various kinds are the basis of the Third World nations' charges of cultural imperialism and invasion; nevertheless, communication dysfunctions observe no national or cultural boundaries. Overall, developed nations confront more severe and serious dysfunctions than developing nations, because mass media in developed

countries are well developed. Instead of accusing the West in general and the United States in particular of cultural domination that "constitutes a menace to world peace and hence to all humanity" (Unesco, 1980), a developing nation must adopt, amid many alternatives, communication immunization.

Hence this paper has two major objectives: first, to explore general problem areas of communications in developing nations in conjunction with the examination of communication dysfunctions; and second, to debate about and argue for communication immunization and possible counter-measures vis-à-vis' the imbalance of commuication flow and technology, the instruments used in the alleged "cultural imperialism."

I. The imbalance of international communication

Of all the international communication problems the most prominent one is the imbalance of communication, as the phenomenon in international communication is characterized by the overwhelming amount of one-way information flow: from the developed countries to the developing countries, and from the stronger countries to the weaker countries. The imbalance is now further aggravated by the quantum advances in new tech: microchips, fibre optic networks, microwave, and satellite transmission.

a. Cultural Imperialism

The manifest uneven flow of communication is labeled as "cultural colonization" (Lyle, 1978), particularly by the United States of America, where a great deal of entertainment programs, various information, and techno-scientific innovations originated. As Tunstall (1977) says, "America innovates; the world follows." "Information is the basis of culture. The greater the foreign information, the greater the threat to a native or domestic culture ... the television show "Dallas" does represent the pervasiveness internationally of U.S. television" (McPhail, 1981:244). Some called the phenomenon "cultural invasion" in which the communication flow is not a free form of exchange, but dictated by the political, military and economic power of the advanced nations. Cultural invasion as alleged takes two forms:

(a) the popularization of Western entertainment programs, and (b) the control of communication and advertising industries. Even though the diffusion of popular mass culture may bring about "instant globalism," it precipitates an identity crisis and accelerates the rising frustration of the poor masses" (Halad, 1978). "For Latin American countries, it is U.S. dominance of both advertising and programs" (Beltrans, 1976; Beltrans & Decardona, 1977). McCombs (1977) presents an even bleaker scene: it is "cultural imperialism," in which potential power and influence lie not in the physical domination of a people but rather in their intellectual domination. Even a modern nation like Canada is not immune from American cultural imperialism. "But as a nation, we cannot accept, in these powerful and persuasive media, the natural and complete flow of another nation's culture without danger to our national identity, art and culture — a Canadian nationhood," the Fowler Royal Commission reported (Canada, 1957:8-9). Charges are not limited to programming, advertising, and the one-way flow, but include "all alien premises, objects and methods, stemming chiefly from the United States of America" (Beltrans, 1976).

The concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institution to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structure of the dominating center of the system (Schiller, 1976:9). Such a rationale invariably gives rise to its logical conclusion: both Disney products and tourism are forms of cultural imperialism as Schiller (1976:10-14) contended. Likewise, all movies made in the United States and other Western nations.

These charges, real or imaginary, conjure up a frightening picture: the advanced nations which have failed to maintain their dominance with military might as they did in the last century intend to conquer the Third World nations through communications. Anti-cultural-imperialism may be demonstrated by the seven charges made by Masmoudi, Secretary of State for Information and first President of the International Governmental Coordinating

Council for Information of the Non-aligned Countries:

1. A flagrant quantitative imbalance between north and south,

2. An inequality in information resources,

3. A de facto hegemony and a will to dominate by the advanced nations,

4. a lack of information on developing countries,

5. The survival of the colonial era,

6. An alienating influence in the economic, social, and cultural spheres, and

7. Messages ill-suited to the areas in which they are disseminated (Masmoudi, 1979).

As innocuous as tourism is, it is seen as "providing relatively inexpensive diversion to the middle and lower middle classes of the industrialized core nations, as a source of profit to the monopolistic enterprises, and as enlisting further a small and active, though entrepreneural segment of the target country, all for the benefits of the dominant nations" (Schiller, 1976:14). Although no tourist from North America or Western Europe can see herself or himself as an imperialist agent, the culprit may very well be the technical advances which have indeed turned the free flow of communications into a one-way street. In Schiller's (1974) opinion, cultural autonomy of many nations is increasingly subordinated to the communication outputs and perspectives of a few powerful, market-dominated economies; therefore, ways must be devised to keep native cultures from being homogenized.

b. The Benefits of Imbalance

Almost all commentators on "cultural imperialism" treat a recipient culture as if it is static, all absorbing and all passive. Western media and influences are seen as the cultural invading forces, like an army moving into an open city, while the indigenous cultures are helplessly being homogenized. However, every culture, regardless of how primitive it is, is a dynamic, viable entity, sufficiently flexible and dexterous in coping with exogenous influences.

Of all these charges the only one that can be readily substantiated is the quantitative imbalance. The disparity in communication resources and lopsided command of both technological and professional leads are the basis of cultural imperialism (Richstad & Sathre,

1977). Based on Rada's (1980) distinction of three disparities — disparity in the information infrastructure, disparity in the distribution of scientific and technological capability, and disparity related to industrial capability — the cards are, indeed, stacked against the Third World nations. The sentiments in developing nations against North American or European dominance are understandable. For example, both AP and UPI accounted for 72 percent of Latin American newspaper stories and their journalistic practices were very much a copy of the North American model (Matta, 1979). While the developing countries complained about cultural dominance by the Westerner, the North Americans at home likewise grieved at the oligopolistic nature of television (Russo, 1969-70). Three dominant television networks and one-newspaper towns, the common features of nearly all North American cities, except large metropolitan areas, have similarly elicited serious charges as well.

Cultural colonization, cultural invasion, cultural domination, or cultural imperialism revives fears in the developing countries where the memory of colonialism is still vivid and bitter, but such fears might be entirely divorced from realities. For an Iranian or a Latin American revolutionary, "cultural imperialism" is a fitting battle cry; however, he or she would fail to realize that cultures flourish only when cross-pollinated and cross-fertilized. No indigenous culture has ever blossomed to its fullest potential without cross-pollination. Even the Chinese culture, commonly acknowledged as independently evolved, has had continuous cultural intercourses for its nourishment and enrichment. China under Marxism is still very much Chinese: Marxism might have changed her political systems but not her cultural heritage. Likewise, the Indian and Egyptian cultures, though dominated by the English culture for more than a century, are still very much Indian and Egyptian.

Communication as much as cultural exchanges obeys the kinetic law of nature (Hsia, 1969). Communication or cultural intercourse flows to the direction where little or no resistance is encountered, just as water seeks a lower place in accordance with the law of gravity. When and if examined objectively, cultural colonization, despite the unsavory term and im-

plications, generally enriches the indigenous recipient culture in the long run. Japan has been "invaded" by the Chinese ever since the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.), but Japan adopted, refined, and integrated the Chinese culture, as seen in her tea ceremony, gardening, flower arrangements, poetry, painting, calligraphy, language, social norms, and behavioral patterns.

Indeed, one should have no fear of cultural invasion but fear of no cross-fertilization. Without invasions ever since the Roman conquest, England would have stagnated. Instead, England not only survived but flourished in arts and sciences. Without the Norman conquest, it is doubtful if Shakespeare or the Industrial Revolution would ever have emerged in England. Ever since her independence, the United States has been gladly "suffering" cultural invasions almost everyday in science, literature, arts, and even cuisine. In fact, every nook and cranny in the United States is manifest with signs of alien invasion and cultural infiltration. The French may think of "le drugstore" and "le weekend" as a rape of French civilization; however, the North Americans deliberately set out to taste, acquire, assimilate, and integrate bits and pieces of any alien culture. Instead of being "raped," "corrupted," or "exploited," cultural independence or cultural autonomy in the United States is strengthened, enhanced, and embellished.

Now North American culture is as distinctive as the melting pot represented by all hyphenated American cultures: French-American, Chinese-American, and so on. One may grumble that American pizza is not exactly Italian pizza, American chop suey is unknown in China, American hamburger is really German, and Kentucky chicken goes back hundreds of years. All these complaints are, on the other side of the coin, compliments — things, better things, may be originated elsewhere but are integrated into American culture, and so refined that they are unmistakably and uniquely North American. North American culture, borrowing everything from every known culture, is the sum total contributed by continuous "cultural invasions". In this sense, North American culture can be said to be a synergistic culture, greater if not better than any indigenous culture.

No North American is ashamed to taste French wine, German sausage or moo goo gai pan. No Japanese feels humiliated for wearing the kimono, the T'ang dynasty Chinese dress. Even the quite ethnocentric Chinese have no qualm in wearing trousers, a barbarian attire the Chinese adopted in the third century B.C. Throughout history every society borrowed from others in meeting its needs for survival, whether the borrowing was voluntary or involuntary.

Every developing nation today must industrialize in order to provide the people with a better life; that is possible only through industrialization. Industrialization is in a great measure the adoption of Western technology, and in no small measure the adoption of many aspects of Western culture as well. China has been going through many phases of modernization in this century, vacillating between total acceptance and total rejection of Western culture, a culture worshipping technology and consumption. But China is still the eternal China, almost irrespective of the extent of her adoption of Western culture and technology.

On a long-term basis, a civilization can only be corrupted or subverted within but not without. When subject to external influences, a culture usually transforms itself within. One may bemoan all the vanishing cultures, but the demise of any culture never was traceable to cultural domination but to military slaughter. The Jews were dominated culturally everywhere for two thousand years before the nation of Israel was born. Because but not in spite of its adaptation to many dominant cultures, the Jewish culture not only survived but blossomed as manifest in arts, sciences, and commerce in today's Israel as well as elsewhere.

Charges of "cultural imperialism," however, should never be lightly dismissed but gravely answered.

1. The charge of a de facto hegemony and a will to dominate by the advanced nations is debatable in the light of the dwindling influence of the "dominating" powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Western European nations. A simple tally of U.S. "wins" and "losses" in the United Nations over the last 40 years would clearly show the erosion of U.S. influence.

2. The charge of a lack of information about

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developing countries is a misunderstanding of the fundamental principles of communication, particularly as related to mass media. Media coverage is dictated by what is perceived to be the interest of the readers or audience — at least this is the case in the West. Nor is this particular charge justified if we may ask who is lacking information in developing nations. The people? What information should they have? Do the Libyans know anything about the U.S.A.? Apparently not. Even Col. Muammar Gaddafi knows very little about the U.S.A.

3. The charge of the survivial of a colonial era may contain a grain of truth per se. For example, the Indians and Nigerians still use English as their official language. The reason why English is still retained in India and Nigeria is because English has the heuristic, utilitarian value in unifying their communications of diverse tongues.

4. The charges of an alienating influence in the economic, social, and cultural spheres is more or less a value judgment. All socioeconomical ills as shown in the condemnation of blue jeans and go-go music in Moscow or Beijing (Peking); the accusation against the capitalist roaders of leading a corrupt life, and the economic disruption brought to every developing nation by Western technology are all results of subjective interpretations. A case demonstrating the opposite is South Korea, where the "alienating" influence, despite all the claimed ill consequences, has built it into one of the prosperous nations in Asia.

5. The charge of messages ill-suited to the areas in which they are disseminated may be true everywhere, including the United States. "They also love Lucy and get high on Gunsmoke in Mexico, Belgrade and Kuala Lumpur" (Varis, 1974). Queen Elizabeth II loves Kojak, probably because the streetwise detective is such a contrast to the regal manner and royal behavior at the Court of St. James. The Chinese in Taiwan adore "Charlie's Angels," probably because of their ample, vital endowments. All these are sometimes denounced as "homogenization" (Schiller, 1974), but homogenization is an inexorable process in mass culture, to satisfy the average taste and to appeal to the massive audience (Van de Haag, 1975). Whether homogenization is detrimental or beneficial is as disputable as the conse-

quences and ramifications of the rise of the Roman Empire in the West and the Ch'in dynasty in the East — the two greatest cultural and socio-econo-political homogenizations occurred at almost the same time in history.

Another source of irritation for the Third World is that U.S. coverage of the Third World tends to be crisis-oriented (Larson, 1979), concentrating on the sensational, the negative or the catastrophic, but disregarding the gains in education, socio-economic or humanitarian development. Unless there is a catastrophe or disaster, no Third World nation would get covered in the North American press or television, and violence usually gets prominent front page attention (Charles, Shire & Todd, 1979). It is, however, convenient to forget the coverage of the Vietnam war, the Watergate affairs, the Three-Mile-Island incident, and all the violent murders by the North American and European press about their own world. Communication researchers and students in the Third World must realize: Normality is never news; therefore, not covered. For the coverage of the Third World, the US. media have practiced no discrimination because they treat the U.S. just as other countries, as far as crimes, violence, sex, and disasters are concerned.

II. Cultural mongrelization and ethnocentrism

An impressive array of communication technologies, programs, and systems is available, but none originated in any of the developing countries. Interactive videotex, satellite, microwave transmission, fibre optics, and digitalized TV are all ready to be adopted by the Third World. More like a defensive reflex than a counter-attack, developing nations are compelled to denounce Western technology and programs. It is not radically different from the case that India and China ever since the early 19th century have proudly adhered to their "spiritual civilization" and detested the "material civilization" of the Western world. Western technology and influence are denounced as degrading the peoples and mongrelizing the developing societies. Against such an array of cultural invading forces, the most likely strategy for China and India to adopt is to revert to cultural ethno-

centrism — spiritual civilization is after all far superior to material civilization.

a. Cultural Mongrelization

Mongrelization, a process of interbreeding of plants or animals, is a disparaging term. Cultural mongrelization may be exemplified as: "all citizens of a developing country would come to want the life-style associated with a refrigerator which has hitherto been virtually unknown there" (Richstad & Sathre, 1977), when they saw frequent depiction of refrigerators in popular foreign films. Cultural mongrelization in fact is no more than the rising expectation or heightened desire as the result of exposure to new or innovative products or ideas. Innumerable cases can be cited to superficially substantiate cultural mongrelization.

After the normalization of Sino-American relations, the floodgates of communication into China was opened and American technological and scientific information is pouring into China. Numerous articles have been published in China, depicting a futuristic China far more advanced than Disney could have dreamed of. The result is a typical example of rising expectation as Lerner cautioned, warned, and exhorted in almost every article and book he wrote or edited. Communication has indeed fermented, if not caused, the revolution of rising frustration because of the rising but unfulfillable expectations. Thus, Richstad and Sathre (1977) argue against the fact that cultural mongrelization might lead to:

1. Economic disruption and domination because a developing nation can't afford to make its own refrigerators and has to distort economic priorities to acquire them.

2. Political disharmony because not everyone in the developing country can have a refrigerator and the have-nots want remedial action.

3. National disintegration because the disharmony reaches the point of prolonged system-wide violence between haves and have-nots.

But Richstad and Sathre further contend "however vivid and possible this scenario may be in the minds of many, it has badly wanted empirical support. If there is to be the presumption of negative effects, then research should be able to identify such effects and their extent and the conditions under which they occur

No empirical report except unsubstantiated generalization and inference has indicted communication as the diabolical tool the Western nations have been using to wreak havoc in the developing nations. Out of clsoe to 100 monoraphs in mass communication, in addition to an assortment of conference reports published by the Unesco in the last decade, none have documented a single case of political disharmony or national disintegration as the result of the free flow of communication.

On the contrary, cultural "mongrelization," if it does exist, may lead to a constructive channel, as demonstrated in Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore (the four tigers of Asia). Instead of economic disruption, they have produced more and become richer as cultural "mongrelization" stimulated and motivated their peoples. Instead of economic domination by the Western powers, they have achieved economic independence and enjoyed an unprecedented economic boom and an extremely favorable trade balance with the Western nations. Instead of political disharmony, they have coalesced diverse political interests. Instead of national disintegration, they have strengthened their national unity. But how?

When sufficient motivation is mediated and generated through communication, a society can accelerate its modernization processes. Cultural mongrelization, despite its connotation, is symbiotically the germination of a new culture, a new value system blended with the existing culture, and probably a new mentality oriented to a new economic order.

b. Ethnocentrism and Communication

Seen through the eyes of the Third World, the spectre of imperialism and colonialism lurks behind all episodes of TV programs or movies, and hides in every imported communication device. Satellite, videotex, and fibre optic systems are all as menacing as the MX or SS20. Many of the new tech communication devices are impossible to control. With their technological and professional knowhow at the level where it is difficult if not impossible to produce quality movies or TV programs, the Third World countries import "I Love Lucy," "Dallas," or "Charlie's Angels". They are popular in many lands. However, apart from their entertainment values, were these programs chosen because they are showing the ineptness of the American

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housewife, the bouncing American girls, and the diabolical schemes of the American businessman? Anyway, they can laugh at Lucy, enjoy the Angels, and despise J.R. so as to derive from these shows a sense of superiority.

Withdrawing to the cocoon of ethnocentrism is a time-honored defensive mechanism for a recipient culture. But students of international communication hold conflicting views about the consequences of ethnocentrism in relation to communication. In one view, the resurgence of ethnocentrism is not necessarily a barricade against the free flow of information and freedom of communication but a guideline for the selection of information best suited for nation-building. Nationalism enhances group survival, administrative efficacy and homogeneity; provides greater vigor and persistence in problem-solving; and eases striving against outsiders (Rosenblatt, 1964). In another view, ethnocentrism is "at odds with the free flow of communication," may result "in misperception, heightened differences and hostilities" (Burk, 1976), and close "one's personality" (Lerner, 1967). Another fundamental problem is involved, too.

The gap between the communication-rich and the communication-poor nations is reaching critical proportions. It is wrenching efforts to improve the flow of information throughout the world. Since demands for free flow are seen as ploys to increase the dominant economic position of the nations rich in communication resources while efforts to balance the flow in the interests of nations with insufficient resources are seen as control and censorship, the moves to produce a better global communication system, however that may be variously defined in different parts of the world, have therefore become bogged down in political and ideological confrontation (Fisher, 1982:7).

Whether ethnocentrism or nationalism impedes the flow of communication will remain a question for further extensive research. From a historical perspective, communication does wear thin the almost impenetrable ethnocentrism of the Chinese and Japanese. An optimal amount of ethnocentrism seems necessary to prevent the collapse of the endogenous culture and to maintain its cultural identity in order to assimilate exogenous influence, but in the meantime, to allow the free flow and exchange of information. The problem in this respect is concerned with what the optimum is. A nation with a deep-rooted culture which is usually high in ethnocentrism is capable of absorbing alien concepts and practices without endangering its own culture, whereas a new nation with a shallow-rooted culture which is generally low in ethnocentrism may be incapable of protecting its cultural survival. Nevertheless, nations seem to possess the homeostatic capability in the absorption of exogenous influences, for example, under the hodge-podge of Chinese and British influences, the Singaporeans and Hong-kongnites have developed a culture of neither Chinese nor British but entirely of their own.

III. The Western Models and the Dilemma

To build their communication infrastructure, developing nations tend to adopt a communication system based upon the Western models, not because they fit the cultural or socio-economical needs, but because they are there, i.e., Western communication technology, TV programs, movies, newswire services, and Western trained professionals. Whether the Western models are applicable to local conditions is usually relegated to the secondary priority. Each developing society is anxious to acquire color TV, and to install its own newswire service and satellite, partly for their prestige and partly for their utilitarian values. Compounding the problem of prestige for which economic resources must be diverted is that the adoption of Western models implies the reliance on the concept of the freedom of communication which in many instances may be at variance with nation-building.

A. Applicability of Western Communication Models

Many models relating communication to modernization have been proposed and expounded for the last thirty years. In the modernization process, the developing nations are inclined to adopt the Western models. For Schramm, where change impends, wherever change occurs in human society, there communciation flows (Schramm, 1967). This implies the causality between change and com-

munication. However, stability and maintenance of the status quo requires communication as well. Lerner relates media growth to literacy, mobility, empathy, and urbanization. Only after a country reaches about 10 percent urbanization, is there any significant increase in literacy (Lerner, 1958). However, even though China has had 15 percent urbanization for more than a millennium, modernization is still a distant mirage. Lerner further states that the closest relationship to media growth is the increase in literacy; however, it is not a universal case as Schramm points out (Schramm, 1967).

Whether the Western models adopted by the developing countries remotely resemble any Western models is another question. Each adopted model is invariably a local and regional version, except its technical parts. Admittedly, communication systems found in Latin America closely resemble those in the United States, and media structures in Africa are not radically different from those in France or Great Britain. Underlying all these is the implicit assumption that only by following the Western models — diffusion, urbanization, mobility, empathy, and literacy — can a society become modernized. Golding (1974) argues that this is a result of the unwillingness of the Western scholars to concede a complex history to "underdeveloped countries" but to subscribe to the theories of exogenously induced change; that is, static societies must rely on outside influence, tools, and know-how to step into modern times. This has never been the case in reality because the West can hardly dictate the adoption, nor can it induce any change such as the case with Iran, or any other country in Latin America, Africa, or Asia.

Communication grows, regardless of seemingly insurmountable obstacles and constraints. Popularization of radio and to a certain extent TV precipitates and facilitates all forms and kinds of communication, and establishes the most important link in diffusion, adoption, and hence, modernization. Illiteracy and traditional attitudes are no longer impenetrable barriers. Even without radio, the illiterates can have access to communication through friends or relatives via conversation or other means of communications (Brown, 1970). As each developing society is moving toward modernization, there is no escape that Western communication technology and models will have to be adopted.

One of the fundamental concerns to communications students is whether Western models are adequate for a multitude of communication problems in developing countries. The adequacy problem may be illustrated by the birth control campaigns carried out in China and India. China has successfully brought down its birth rate, ostensibly through massive, continuous propaganda campaigns; however, India has not yet made any dent in its high birth rate, despite its massive propaganda efforts. China's success can be traced to her implementation of the old-age pension system, popular medical and health care programs, and liberation of women, albeit the draconian measures embodied in the one-child-per-family policy. All these measures have obviated the large family in concept and in practice, and contributed to the drastic success in birth control. No such measures as pension, medical care, and woman liberation for all have been taken in India; hence, despite government efforts, India is still a long way from controlling its population growth. This illustrates the fact that communication alone is not adequate to result in any change, desirable or undesirable.

Unequivocally, this also supports Feltstehausen's (1971) contention: The most serious theoretical problem results from the assumption that communication plays an independent role in affecting social change and behavior without an adequate test of such an assumption in developing countries or elsewhere. No one familiar with communication processes could be so oblivious as to regard communication alone being capable of initiating and sustaining the development processes.

Therefore, the question that should be asked is not whether Western models are adequate but whether social conditions are conducive for the adoption of any communication model. Clearly, the adequacy of any communication or modernization model is not simply dependent upon communication flow or the intrinsic virtue of the model, but contingent upon other conditions for the successful adoption and implementation of the model.

Communication is part of the social process, part of governing, part of modernization, part of

nation-building, and part of mental activities. It is a creative force and an agent of change (Fisher, 1982:32). But developing countries and the industrialized nations have different approaches to development (Rogers, 1976). Arguing that communication models and systems adopted from the West are being increasingly untenable and unsuitable to the development of the Third World, Feltstehausen (1971) has contended that communication theory is pulled further and further away from the reality confronting the major population groups in the Third World.

Whatever effects communication might have is beyond the control of communication: that of course does not necessarily negate the studies of developmental communication diffusion. Therefore, functions and dysfunctions of communication in nation building must be examined so as to provide guidelines for communication development for two reasons:

1. More communication dysfunctions may be present in developing nations than developed nations; however, developing nations invariably base their charge of "cultural invasion" or "cultural imperialism" on communication dysfunctions which apparently have no respect for national or cultural boundaries.

2. Developing nations can and should select and refine the suitable and beneficial features and eliminate the negative aspects of Western models — no model is as sacred as the Indian cow — in contrast to the haphazard development of communication in the West.

B. The Dilemma between Communication Freedom and Nation-building

To build a nation, communication must be controlled, but to control communication is to restrict freedom of speech, to impinge upon individual rights, to interfere with democracy, and to retard nation-building. Communication freedom and nation-building, it seems, cannot co-exist. The dilemma of such incompatibility is summarized by Nam and Oh (1973).

When development is apotheosized, there can be little room for freedom of the press which is the antithesis to the planned nature of the development effort. In fact, developmental politics seems to be the antithesis of democracy, of deliberation and the long-winded decision-making process.... How-

ever, danger is inherent in allowing only one voice, the uniform press limited to aiding instead of hindering the development efforts of the government. The voice must be maintained under coercion. This may lead to alienation of the populace, especially on the part of intellectuals who have been taught the ideals of liberal democracy. The alienation may bring about frustration which may lead to uprisings to overthrow the government. The result, if successful, may bring about more repression. Therein lies the tragedy to the developing countries.

Before communication freedom can be explored, what communication freedom is must be defined. Sommerlad (1977) raises some philosophical questions concerning freedom of communication:

1. Is freedom of communication essentially an individual right or state right?

2. Does it apply to all types of information or should it be reserved for "correct" information ("correct" apparently in the eyes of the state)?

3. Is freedom of information "indivisible" so that it cannot be limited without being destroyed?

4. Is it not better to rely on the responsibility of the communicators and run the risk of some erroneous information slipping through than to give some authority a power which may result in suppression of information of great public significance?

Freedom of information or communication is a topic every developing nation pays lip service to, but seldom adheres to. In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly said in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (Richstad & Sathre, 1977). National governments have been clearly unwilling to tolerate an essentially unrestricted flow of international communication or to surrender what they regard as ther prerogative to determine the controls that will be placed on such flow (Richstad & Sathre, 1977).

Freedom of information is not a state right, but an individual right, as repeatedly declared by the United Nations. It must apply to all types

of information and must be indivisible. However, no nation can be expected to relinquish the authorities of control over communication. A certain degree of control, for instance, over pornography, obscenity, and violence is justifiable and probably beneficial to the society. Nevertheless, leaving the control entirely to the people might be an even better alternative.

IV. Communication Functions and Dysfunctions

Apart from structural analysis, communication has been studied in terms of functional approaches and analyses for the last 50 years. There is a wealth of studies based upon functional analyses, more than any other approaches and methods. Functional analysis has also been addressed to a variety of communications effects upon entities such as the government, society, individual, group and organization, and upon fields such as economics, culture, biology, psychology, and others. A host of functions, many of which are overlapping and redundant, have been identified, tested, studied, experimented, or speculated upon.

Not all functions of communication are positive or beneficial, as there are many dysfunctions as well. Dysfunctions refer to the undesirable, negative effects of communication upon the society or individuals. But to compound the complexity of functional studies, communication functions and dysfunctions are relative and comparative. A function that is benevolent for one person, one place or one society might be disastrous for another person, another place or another society. Likewise, a dysfunction that is undesirable for one person, one place or one society might be beneficial to another person, another time or another society. Frequently the same function can be both beneficial and baneful in the same setting at different time periods. Communication dysfunctions on which most charges of cultural imperialism are based may be briefly explored.

A. Dysfunctions of Mass Communications

The dysfunctions of mass communication can be identified as follows:

Anxiety-leader: leading to heightened anxieties.

Apathy-increaser: increasing political apathy by the magnitude, diversity, and complexity of issues.

Bewilderment-producer: producing bewilderment for the individual.

Canalizer: canalizing or railroading public's basic attitude.

Conformity-enforcer: Enforcing social conformity.

Desensitizer: desensitizing the people to the level of indifference.

Dictator: Dictating public imagination, political action, and even fashions.

Distortor: distorting realities.

Distrust-disseminator: disseminating political distrust.

Escape-provider: providing a means of escape.

Excitement-supplier: supplying excitement, e.g., investigative reporting, sex, and violence.

Fabricator: fabricating news.

Frustration-raiser: raising frustration as a result of unfulfilled aspirations.

Gate-keeper: subjective control of news dissemination.

Market-orientor: orienting the people to consumption and the market place.

Minimizer: minimizing political interest caused by entertainment and recreational contents.

Modelizer: modeling children's and adults' aggressive behavior.

Mongrelizer: Mongrelizing national and economic priorities.

Monopolizer: monopolizing information and propaganda.

Narcotizer: narcotizing the populace.

Panic-creator: creating panics by uninterpreted warnings.

Politicizer-socializer: politicizing and socializing the people.

Privatization-leader: leading to privatization and overwhelming the individual with data and information.

Pseudo-event creator: creating non-existing pseudo-events.

Omittor: omitting significant events.

Reallocator: reallocating time and resources.

Status-conferrer: conferring social status.

Threatener: threatening the structure of the society with uncensored and unchecked news.

Underminer: undermining authority.

Violence-teacher: teaching violence and other undesirable behavior.

Never, however, has too much attention been paid to communication dysfunctions, particularly the twain of rising expectations and

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rising frustration. Many communication dysfunctions have been identified, but not extensively treated. For all these dysfunctions, each and every one is ambivalent and ambiguous, in both developed and developing countries, even though more of them could be identified in the developing countries. Each dysfunction, it must be noted, is related to some aspect of positive functions, as no dysfunction or function is completely independent of the other. For example, anxiety-leading and apathy-arousing might be stimulating for some people or in another setting. Bewilderment-producing could be a motivating factor in seeking more information for problem-solving. Some positive functions can be cited for every dysfunction, and of course, the reverse is also true. But as far as the Third World nations are concerned, their primary concern should be: to maximize the positive functions and to minimize the dysfunctions.

B. Immunization as a feasible solution

From the vantage point of any Third World nation, communication problems confronting them are monumental. Not only communication contents but almost all communication processes are to a certain extent under alien control or influenced by Western nations, i.e. control of news gathering/dissemination, movies, TV production/broadcast, and even ownership of media in many Third World nations. The extraordinary speed of technological advances in communication compounds all the problems the Third World faces. The increasing reliance upon industrial nations for technology and communication seems to have proportionately increased the hostility of many Third World intellectuals. The West, particularly the United States, has been under attack in almost all Unesco conferences on communication and from all quarters for its "monopolization" in media, technology and communication. Not every accusation thrown at the United States is entirely without merits, for example, its sensationalized, or distorted reports on Third World nations, and its dominance of the means of dissemination.

What can the Third World do? Very little at present. However, it is far from being completely hopeless.

Every culture, like every living being, has its built-in immunity: It rejects foreign elements, similar to the immunological system of a living organism and just as mysterious. But in contrast to living beings, it also assimilates. Exactly how medical immunological systems work is not precisely known, and how immunological systems work in cross-cultural communication is still beyond our understanding. However, this much is known: communication exposure introduces and fortifies communication innoculation.

Immunization can be differentiated into two kinds: natural and planned. Natural communication immunization may be defined as providing education and enlightenment to the people with diversified information, often controversial and conflicting in nature over a long period of time, whereas planned communication immunization can be the deliberate administration of specific inoculation against communication dysfunctions. Generally, planned immunization aims at the reduction, prevention, or even elimination of the effects of communication dysfunctions (Hsia, 1969).

Natural immunization can be exemplified by a newborn baby. A newborn has no immunity of its own, but fortunately inherits from its mother her antibodies to provide sufficient immunity against most of the household germs. Likewise, a culture does inherit sufficient antibodies from its tradition to protect it from cultural invasions or infiltrations — trying to convert a Chinese to eat blue cheese or to entice an American to taste the Vietnamese fish sauce can be a case in point. A newborn, on the other hand, acquires immunity gradually and naturally without being conscious of its acquiring immunity. When it is about six months old with its inherited antibodies gradually wearing off, it has accumulated immunity of its own, to enable its survival in a germ-infested environment. When infused with an alien culture, an endogenous culture with its built-in cultural immunity is not entirely at the mercy of the invading culture. As has been expounded previously, India still retains its culture, Egypt still keeps its own, and so on. Each culture, regardless of how weak it is when confronting an alien culture, never succumbs to the alien culture because a culture is generally more dynamic and healthy than communication scholars ever give it credit for. Japan still is Japanese, in spite of Sinocization and West-

ernization. In fact, an endogenous culture absorbs what is compatible and discards what is incompatible from an alien culture, as much as the human body accepts or rejects a transplanted organ. Even the unchanging China has been invaded numerous times in the last three thousand years, but China is eternal China as far as Chinese culture is concerned.

Natural immunization does not preclude a baby from getting necessry vaccinations and inoculations against a host of diseases. Likewise, an invaded culture may gradually acquire immunity against cultural invasions of all sorts. Thus, planned immunization in communication perhaps should be administrated in assuring the health and survival of an endogenous culture. The survival of a native culture in its encounter with an alien culture lies in adaptation rather than adoption or rejection. No alien culture, regardless of the impetus of a native culture to modernization, has ever been assimilated without modification. Thus, optimal control must be exercised, not to impede the flow of communication or to infringe on the freedom of communication, but to neutralize communication dysfunctions. To exercise control, optimal expectation must be determined first.

I. Determination of an optimum "Dosage of Expectation"

Too much expectation may lead to frustration which in turn may lead to aggression or regression as Lerner repeatedly exhorted. Too little expectation may be insufficient to motivate the upward mobilization necessary for modernization. In view of the revolution of rising frustrations resulting from the unfulfilled expectation, Lerner asked the question: Can we determine an optimum "dosage of expectation" for a sick society, even though growing is painful? The optimum dosage of expectation may be the right prescription. A balanced diet and proper exercise are prerequisites for a growing and healthy baby; an optimum input of information in addition to proper control is essentially the formula for communication development. The appropriate communication policy, as Lerner put it, is to monitor any course it sets in such ways as to maximize benefits and minimize losses (Lerner, 1977). But no one has yet explored "such ways." In order to accomplish both maximization of benefits and minimization of losses

(or frustrations), the only feasible way is to undergo a rigorous selection of both media and contents.

a. Selection of media

Right after World War II, every nation, newly independent or war-devastated, built, or tried to build, steel plants, oblivious to their applicability and viability. Other international fads were to fly a national airline and to join the exclusive nuclear club, irrespective of the costs and consequences. For international prestige and honor, no nation, it seems, could exist without an international airline. Likewise, television, particularly color television, is seen as a sign of progress and modernization. A nation must have a color television network, generally a cause for the costly importation of TV program, transmission equipment, and TV sets, and also for the often heard complaints of "cultural invasions."

Media in advanced nations have reached the saturation point where no one is denied access to any medium. However, in the Third World nations, illiteracy is still a formidable barrier for print media; thus, education must be popularized before print media can be instrumental in modernization. The cost to popularize television, particularly color television, is prohibitive for many Third World nations. Before a nation is to implement any national communication policy, a few factors such as literacy, cost, technology, professionalism, and their media to be selected must be ascertained. If Ecuador and India are used as an example, radio seems to be a tailor-made medium for the Third World nations because radio is accessible to a far larger proportion of people than newspaper and television, especially among women (Simmons, Kent, & Mishra, 1968). Radio may be chosen and emphasized for two additional reasons: No literacy is necessary and no prohibitive cost is involved.

Newspapers, magazines, and television may be developed in phase with industrial and economic development so as not to burden the economy with glamorous, investment-heavy projects. Admittedly, colour television is preferred to black/white television, which in turn is preferred to radio. But radio fits Lerner's scheme to promote an international policy to promote the worldwide distribution of low-cost communication technologies to countries that

want them but cannot pay the present high costs for them to participate in international flows and to construct indigenous program alternatives where existing international flows do not meet their needs (Lerner, 1977). Lerner did not specify what low-cost communication technologies were and who would underwrite the low cost. Obviously radio seems to be the only low-cost device that the people of a Third World nations could afford: It is inexpensive, reliable, rugged, and in need of no sophisticated operating personnel (Pool, 1977). A battery-powered pocket radio receiver is not beyond the means of the majority of the Third World peoples, and a radio transmission station is affordable for the Third World governments or private enterprises. Other viable alternatives are the wall papers as popularized in Beijing. Whatever mass media are available might be used to feed the information to the interpersonal communication network, relatives, friends, and co-workers who have access to media and other information sources to relay important information to the people. This would be a make-shift answer for the initial stage of communication development.

Generally, an indigenous problem needs an indigenous answer. To achieve the goal of adequate information dissemination is not as difficult as it has been imagined. Grapevine communication has existed for thousands of years. Even with limited resource, a developing society should have no problem in disseminating necessary information. Thus, the objective in communication policy is not the quantity but the quality of information. To assure the quality of information, a selection mechanism for dissemination must be devised.

b. Selection of programs and news contents

Content selection is not the denial or abridgement of communication freedom but an imperative task, as much as selecting food for a new born baby who is given a certain kind of food but denied some other kind. Hence, in addition to Parker's (1977) four dimensions of information choices — to strike a balance between information versus capital investment, infrastructure versus project, national versus regional development, and urban versus rural development programming perhaps should be included.

"Bonanza," "Gunsmoke," and "I Love Lucy" are among other exhibits the Third World nations presented in their charges against monopolization and cultural dominance to the world court of public opinion. Such programs, it is argued, may not be appropriate for the nation whose people have not yet been adequately sheltered, fed, and clothed, as they bring about narcotization or escapism. But they also provide catharsis for the people who have to cope with tension and pressure. The Japanese movie industry even produced Japanese Westerns for the Japanese Western aficionados. On the other hand, who among the Third World peoples would not feel superior to the inept, accident-prone Lucy?

Each country, irrespective of its development stage, does have adequate mechanisms to screen television, movies, and other information. Not only do governmental agencies monitor program contents and exercise control, directly and indirectly, over selected television and movie but all media and TV/movie distributors do screen contents and programming. Control, of course, is a form of censorship, an infringement upon the freedom of information; however, the government, as well as the media industry, does have the right to exercise, selective control and to protect the endogenous culture, particularly when the program content is contrary to the best national interest. That "Deep Throat" can only be shown in a few places in the United States is a case in point. Whether its banning is in violation of the first amendment of the U.S. constitution is a debatable question, but selection as a form of control must be implemented in such a way as not to infringe upon the free flow of information.

c. Control

No Third World government is willing to tolerate any unrestricted flow of international communication or to surrender what they regard as their prerogative to determine the controls that will be placed on such flow. Far from being a unique phenomenon in the Third World, Western countries likewise exercise varying degrees of control over broadcasting media, too. The U.S. government, probably the least authoritarian of all governments, indirectly controls broadcast media in licensing and license renewal. Control, enforced with enlightenment, can be beneficial, even though government

control of mass media in the Western Nations is regarded as one of the anathemas. However, control might be inoperative for developing nations. Control by government is based upon several disputable assumptions: (1) Control, albeit hated by almost all journalists, is said to extend protection to the indigenous culture and tradition that might, otherwise, become the endangered species. Whenever a weak culture comes into contact with a dominant culture, invariably the weak culture becomes the victim or is assimilated and totally absorbed. (2) Government control, usually rationalized on both political and eocnmic grounds (Mowlana, 1977), regulates the optimal flow of information, and thus administers an optimal dosage of expectation sufficient to propel upward motivation but not enough to general widespread frustration caused by unfulfilled expectations (3) Privately-owned media and trade associations cannot be trusted with the tasks of regulating the flow, and keeping the contents and programs harmonious to the national aspiration and the goals of industrialization. None of these assumptions have been substantiated; but, of course, none of the reverses have been validated, either.

No society today has ever lost its identity, dignity, or unity through cultural contacts with an alien culture, English is still used in India, Pakistan, Nigeria, and almost all former British colonies; likewise, French is still used in almost all her former colonies. English has enhanced Indian and Nigerian cultures and unified their languages and dialects. One may hasten to add: it was true even in the old times! The Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese certainly had not lost their identities as the result of cultural infusion from China: the Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese cultures are distinctively their own, in spite of the Chinese influence. Even the American Indians and Eskimos who have been losing ground continuously for the last three hundred years have managed a comeback. China deliberately and systematically had attempted to rid herself of any foreign influence from time to time; a recent manifestation was the attempts made during the Great Cultural Revolution. The pendulum has now swayed the other way: China begins again, like a sponge, as one trade journal described it, absorbing foreign ideas, technology, and inventions.

Control, however, must be differentiated from exclusion. Exclusion, no matter how rigidly it is enforced, is futile. Otherwise, disco music would not have been heard in Moscow. Exclusion is also counter-productive. Wherever exclusion is enforced, not only are human rights and human dignity eroded but industrial and economic development retarded. Again the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution in which all foreign influences were to be eliminated and all foreign contacts to be broken is a good example: the whole educational system was disintegrated, science and technology regressed and a whole generation wasted. No nation or society has ever succeeded over a long period of time in setting up barricades to fend off communication.

As has been repeatedly mentioned, a culture can flourish only when cross-pollinated and cross-fertilized. The North American culture has enriched itself unceasingly from alien cultures. Should any country complain about "cultural invasions," "cultural imperialism," or "cultural dominance," the United States should be the one.

Governmental control to regulate the flow of information and hence expectations is tantamount to regulate desire. The Soviet Union, one of the tightest controlled countries, has not found a way of reducing the expectation of the people for a better life. Can any country succeed where the Soviet Union has failed?

The only feasible communication control that still allows free flow of information is the self-control imposed by the media professionals, without interference from the government or the party in power.

II. Professionalism

Because most of the communication technology and systems must be imported from Western nations, developing countries, as a rule, lack the essential infrastructure and professionals to run new tech communications successfully. More often than not they depend upon Western nations for technological and professional support in order to maintain their communication systems. The dependency on Western program, managerial expertise, and engineering knowhow increases as technology

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advances. However, a developing nation must recruit, train, and develop its own professionals.

The necessity of developing its own human resources and professionals can be seen from the recommendations made by the Council of Higher Education of the American Republics (1970):

1. The universities should regard journalism and mass communication as a profession no less important to the health of a society than medicine, law, and engineering....

2. The mass media should strive to make the communication of news and comment a professional career with a level of education and pay that matches the importance of the tasks that today's journalists are expected to perform.

3. In this new decade, the International Center for Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America should shift its emphasis from promotion of more schools of journalism to the training of better qualified teachers.

It is, however, essential to add: Not only universities but governments also should consider communication as a profession at the level of medicine, law, and engineering. Furthermore, journalism and communication schools might have to look at communication and journalism from the vantage point of the society and economic progress as a whole instead of that of the information disseminator. Journalists, broadcasters, and other practitioners in communication should be concerned with not only newsgathering, objective analysis, and impartial presentations, but the effects of their communication efforts upon the society; therefore, they must evaluate their task and labor in terms of functions and dysfunctions. Only by initiating and maintaining such a practice can the threat of government control and interferences be minimized and free flow of information and freedom of the press assured. However, some argue that the traditional concept of free flow of information needs to be complemented by that of a more balanced and objective flow, both within and between regions — for all countries to participate in the flow of information on a free and equal footing, as suggested by the General Conference of Unesco in its medium term plan for 1977-1982.

The question is how the flow of information can be based upon equal footing. Working towards a new world order of communication, national news services, together with the non-aligned pool of news, has been advocated to improve the amount and presentation of news from developing nations in the Western press (Ivacic, 1978). A national news service, together with non-aligned pools of news agencies, may be adequate to provide limited sources of news; however, no national news services or non-aligned newspools have the economic and professional resources to cover the world and to compete with global news wholesalers (Boydt-Barrett, 1977). Furthermore, whether Western media would subscribe to such newspools and whether Western media would publish or broadcast information supplied by national news services from the Third World countries are problems not yet contemplated, not to say solved. Improving the amount and presentation of news from developing nations in the Western media is necessary to create a better atmosphere for international communications; however, news coverage is determined by news interests; the more interest, the more news. The Third World nations must realize that news coverage is positively correlated with the significance and saliency of the news for a given society. It is questionable whether the Third World newspool could command the attention, gain the coverage, and secure subscriber-members. There is no more reason to expect every American or French to know about Nigeria or Niger than to hope every Thai or Iranian to know about the U.S.A. or France. The entire endeavor of newspooling to obtain better coverage of the Third World nations is bound to fail.

Despite accusations and charges, no possible indictment can be returned against communication media or communication industries in the Western world, but it does not mean that there is no room for drastic improvement. Many media practitioners and communications experts apparently overlooked the fact that any program or information crossing international boundaries fulfills certain information needs and are subject to the gate-keeping control of a succession of controllers: censors, editors, publishers and translators. The gatekeepers of national media may translate any AP or Reuter dispatch in a manner consistent with the national and media policy, as they most often

practice. Television networks or stations may keep out "Charlie's Angels," "Kojak", or "Three's Company," if it is to their national interest. Any impact of "alien communication" or "cultural invasion" could be and is often neutralized."

The gatekeepers (correspondents, telegraph editors, copywriters, and program directors, among others) are one of the basic problems for the Third World (McNelly, 1979). But they can and should be the buffer against cultural shocks, to reduce the penetration and magnitude of "cultural invasions" or of "harmonizing" native culture.

III. Satiation and inhibition: natural immunization at work

The most serious scenario a Third World professional worries about is that if the gatekeepers cannot keep the floodgate, would "cultural invasion" become a tidal wave to engulf or even to extinguish the endogenous culture? Such a scenario has never occurred and is unlikely to occur because any communication is usually aimed at potential recipients who can avoid, reject, or ignore the unwanted information as contrasted to the fact that no one can ignore or reject a tidal wave.

Fortunately, a usually overlooked communication phenomenon would probably reduce the magnitude of this problem. To use a hypothetical situation again: If a Third World nation exercises no control whatsoever, and as a result any violence and sex TV/movies are available to its nationals, what would then happen? Satiation!

Satiation theory is nothing new in psychology and psycholinguistics. Its theoretical essence is simple but elegant: Any stimulus tends to elicit less and less response as it is exposed more and more. It was first discovered that repitition of a familiar monosyllabic noun could lead to a decline in meaning (Basette & Warne, 1919). Continued exposure of a stimulus tends to reduce its effectiveness (Smith & Raygor, 1956; Fillenbaum, 1957) as well. Coincidental evidence also shows the existence of satiation on pornography and violence programs. For instance, the decrease in the Copenhagen sex crime rate coincided with Danish Parliament's removal of all restrictions on the distribution of erotic materials (Ben-Veniste, 1970), and the higher exposure rate for the younger people (Zetterberg, 1970). Such a satiation effect for which no causes could be pinpointed was generally found (Fuchs & Lyle, 1972). Considering the cyclical favorites of Western, disaster, horror, love, biblical and situation TV programs and movies, the existence of satiation is irrefutable. Satiation theory can be integrated into communication immunization theory as well; if one survives in a germ-infested environment, he gradually acquires immunity. In communication, a society exercises natural control over the content and volume of imported information because of satiation and immunization. Governmental control can often be obviated.

C. Conclusion

Both early work on the effects of communications indicating that communication has only reinforcing effects, and current studies on communications exploring numerous communication functions have left a great deal to be desired. Mass media may not be able to change attitudes immediately, but substantial evidence has shown the contrary: Media tend to have incremental, cumulative, continuous effects upon attitudes, perception, and behavior. Despite media and advertising professionals' proclivity to demonstrate or imply the effectiveness of media as exemplified in "the medium is the message," media never have been omnipotent.

Because media cannot exist in a vacuum and media effects are closely interwoven in the economic, social, and political fabrics of a society, no aspect of communication can be studied in isolation. Communication grows until it reaches the saturation point, subject to a host of constraints that determine the speed but not the direction of the growth. Communication growth may be retarded by political suppression and economic constraints, but can never be stopped. Exclusion, in whatever form, is counter-productive. In order to maximize positive communication functions contributory to nation-building, and to minimize its dysfunctions, some guidelines for the communication growth must be formalized.

Such guidelines must be empirically tested and then put into practice. It is imperative to examine many related problems, problems related to communication to and from developing

nations and problems associated with media and communication. Every problem seems to be, and is, a dilemma. While the Third World nations desire enormous input of information in technology, science, and entertainment from the advanced nations, they lack exportable output information, a condition that creates an imbalance in international communication. While they desire to create a momentum in motivation, a necessary force for modernization, to allow this may cause rising expectations and cultural mongrelization. The enormous disparity in communication resources and technologies induces hostility and inevitably arouses ethnocentrism that in general is counter-productive to modernization and freedom of information. As the result of the inequality between input and output, cries of cultural invasions, cultural colonization and cultural imperialism have been heard often. Consequently the Third World nations are inclined to reject Western communication models developed with no regard to their modifications to suit the needs of the developing societies. Finally, it seems that developing nations subscribe to the notion of either communication impotence or comunication omnipotence. Both viewpoints are extreme. A possible solution to all these problems can be found in the minute examination of communication functions and dysfunctions, prior to the planning of national communication strategy and policy. Whether it is based upon a Western model or not is irrelevant, but whether it could protect an indigenous culture without suppressing freedom of information is essential.

Communication functions and dysfunctions are relative and comparative. For example, cultural mongrelization may arouse sufficient motiviation for industrialization but may also bring about disastrous frustration. Too much information creates confusion as well as political anomie, and too little information causes information deprivation. Too much entertainment narcotizes the population, and too little entertainment provides no outlet for pent-up tension. The communication policy-maker must maintain a delicate balance.

The balance can be achieved neither by resorting to the exclusion of any alien communication, nor by relying upon rigid control such as censoring or government ownership of media.

It must be a judicious application of communication immunization theory. If in doubt, follow the procedure of natural immunization — by doing nothing. As much as in economy, there is an invisible hand in communication, too.

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