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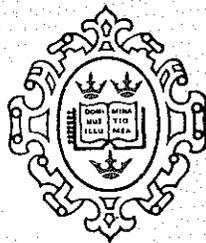
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machine guns." The Soviet press, accordingly, was to be controlled by the Communist party, and the theoretical groundwork was laid for the operation of the press in the Soviet Union and Soviet-inspired regimes. This type of control over the press goes beyond authoritarianism, in the sense that it both suppresses information inimical to the power elite and indoctrinates the population to internalize a specific worldview. In the Soviet Union the Central Committee Propaganda Department and the censorship board (Glavlit) work in tandem. Glavlit alone employs an estimated seventy thousand censors. The actual operation of Glavlit is highly bureaucratized, subjecting the content of every article to a successive number of reviews before it finally receives the stamp of approval. This aspect of censorship is crucial in guaranteeing effective control over information and encouraging conformity. It not only exhausts writers, who have to obtain the approval of numerous functionaries, but also circumscribes their creativity. It remains to be seen whether the policy of openness introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will have long-term effects on the Soviet press.

Insight into the operation of censorship as a tool to promote IDEOLOGY is provided by the Black Book of Polish Censorship, the 1976 censorship code of Poland. The book instructs the censor: "Information on the licenses that Poland has bought from capitalist countries [e.g., Leyland engines, Fiat automobiles] should be eliminated from the mass media." Another censorial device eliminates specific types of information from the popular press (such as information about epidemic cattle diseases) but permits popular articles that discuss the existence of the diseases though not their occurrence in Poland. The code's section on CULTURE reveals the subtle indoctrination achieved through censorship. A person of literary or scientific reputation who becomes persona non grata is never to be mentioned in a positive manner. However, the existence of such persons, the subject of their work, and criticism of that work are permitted. Censorship codes are kept secret, and newspapers may not indicate that the contents were subjected to censorship. The purpose of the system—to shape public opinion rather than merely to prevent criticism—is evident from the fact that a special unit in the censorship apparatus is in charge of transmitting to the government those items that were censored. Thus the authorities have access to information unavailable to the public—a sophisticated device to maintain control over the society. The system creates a privileged class of persons who are better informed and who frequently enjoy higher social status.

It is the close link between PROPAGANDA and repression that clearly distinguishes the authoritarian model from the bureaucratic-ideological model. In the former censorship is used mainly to prevent

expression of dissent. In the latter it is a sophisticated mechanism to shape ideology. However, such attempts cannot be entirely successful. Censorship itself becomes a haven for those in society who wish to know. In addition, the existence of the samizdats (underground publications) and a black market in forbidden literature attest to the fact that even under optimal conditions censorship cannot be entirely effective.

Government censorship implies political, military, or moral insecurity. When feeling vulnerable, those in power will censor the information they consider subversive. But, to succeed, such censorship depends on an efficient bureaucratic structure. Once such a structure is erected it becomes resistant to peaceful change. According to the noted press scholar Fred S. Siebert, it took eighty years to build up the system of censorship in England but more than two hundred years to tear it down.

Both the purposes and the achievements of government censorship have for centuries been attacked by writers and politicians, often in memorable terms (see MILTON, JOHN). But the desire to control and suppress has been equally persistent, and systems of government censorship of one sort or another continue to exist worldwide.

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PNINA LAHAV

3. NONGOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP

Official or government censorship makes up only a small part of the actual censoring activity in any society. All established systems of knowledge and social order are secured by social controls that pro-

vide methods for identifying and censoring deviance. In some societies these methods are sanctioned by legal codes and enforced by formal administrative bodies, police, censorship boards, judiciaries, and so on. However, all social structures back up and supplement their formal systems of control with social pressures, rites, conventions, and institutional practices that deter deviance. Censorship is therefore always pervasive, intractable, and sociologically significant.

Liberal and sociological approaches to censorship.

Since the Enlightenment Western liberals have conceived of censorship as a regressive or unenlightened practice that inhibits the development of democracy and hampers the advancement of knowledge. Liberals acknowledge that censorship has existed in all previous societies and that censorship continues to operate in nonliberal and liberal societies alike, but they maintain that reforms can bring an end to the cycle of repression. Western liberal conceptions of censorship and free speech continue to exercise significant influence over the ways issues of freedom and control are conceived and debated throughout the world.

Sociological models of science, knowledge, and social order, on the other hand, support the view that knowledge, order, and deviance are social constructions—processes and products of human communications and communities. Proponents of social constructivist models such as ERVING GOFFMAN and David Rothman in sociology, Mary Douglas in anthropology, Michael Polanyi and Thomas S. Kuhn in the philosophy of science, and MICHEL FOUCAULT in epistemology have reasoned that if communication and community are integral, then examination of the ways a particular social structure defines and polices deviance can explain how its members create and sustain both social and cognitive order. Social constructivist perspectives therefore treat censorship as a crucial category for analysis.

Social constructivist conceptions of censorship are supported by studies in cognitive psychology (*see* COGNITION) and LINGUISTICS that suggest that the mind's capacity to process information is limited by its vulnerability to overload as well as by the range of the linguistic categories, GRAMMAR, and semantic resources available to it (*see* SEMANTICS). These studies indicate that in order to process information at all humans must simplify it. Moreover, they suggest that these simplifications are culturally patterned or programmed and that, as a result, PERCEPTION itself is "languageed" (*see* LANGUAGE). In sum, these linguistically informed studies in cognitive psychology provide empirical support for LUDWIG WITTGENSTEIN's dictum, "The limits of my language are the limits of my world."

The social constructivist rethinking of censorship

conceives of censoring and sense making as two loops in the dialectical knot that binds power and knowledge. This conception appears to be consistent with both the etymology of the term and the social history of the practice. The word *censor* derives from the Latin root *cense*, from the Latin *cenure*, "to estimate, rate, assess, judge, reckon." Historically censorship has played an important part in all attempts to assemble and codify learning. Censorship has drawn the lines that establish and mark the boundaries between good and evil, truth and falsity, the rational and the irrational. It has defined the limits of knowledge and provided mechanisms for policing epistemological outlaws.

Encyclicals have been issued and encyclopedias have been written to secure correct views and discredit ignorance or misinformation. Heretics have been persecuted to encourage virtue and discourage departures from dogma. Sense is made by censoring nonsense. The Enlightenment did not eliminate this paradox. Negation continues to secure affirmation even in a scientific age. Thus, for example, textbooks on scientific methods are written to identify the principles and procedures of good science and to censure the breaches of bad science. The constructivist perspective revises and inverts the liberal equation by acknowledging that while censorship is frequently an obstacle to knowledge, it is also a constituent of knowledge.

Censorship and criticism. Censorship is an exercise of the critical faculty and carries the sanction of some form of authority. Censorial authority may be secured by social customs; by the practices of political, economic, religious, educational, or cultural institutions; by established semantic conventions; or by prevailing rules of reason. The temptation to proscribe fallacious or dangerous views is the underside of the desire to proclaim and propagate factual or felicitous views. Consequently those who care most fervently about ideas are frequently tempted to suppress opposing ideas. In ancient Greece, for example, the primary advocates of censorship were philosophers, not kings. PLATO advocated banishing poets from the ideal republic because he believed that fictive symbols misrepresent reality and inhibit the development of civic virtues. He also believed that rhetoricians and natural scientists should be outlawed because their views are deceptive and erroneous.

No modern society outlaws POETRY, RHETORIC, or science, although some treat these disciplines as especially worthy of surveillance. However, in modern republics poets, rhetoricians, and scientists play an active role in the surveillance process. They help draw the boundaries, articulate the canons, set the agendas, and craft the paradigms that codify correct views and censor incorrect views (*see* AGENDA-

SETTING). They define and enforce the prescriptions and proscriptions that regulate their disciplines. Because communication, community, and CULTURE cohere, disciplinary self-censorship is not free of contamination by external powers, nor is its influence contained within the disciplines.

When churches, colleges, corporations, and cultural institutions can effectively propagate right thinking and police the erroneous, governments do not need to maintain censorship offices. Editors will do the censors' work. Furthermore, poets, rhetoricians, and scientists who want to publish will try not to transgress the boundaries established by the canons, conventions, paradigms, and professional standards of their disciplines. Until the collective voice of the discipline or communication community is ready to redraw the boundaries, the inner voices of most members of that community will not permit them to realize the motto of the Enlightenment: "Dare to know." Some questions will not be asked for fear of censure; others will not be asked because the cognitive categories and semantic resources available to the community render them inconceivable.

Organizational self-censorship. These pragmatic economic, psychological, sociological, and linguistic pressures create what Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann has termed a "spiral of silence." They conserve established opinion and discourage dissent. However, in heterogeneous societies informal controls are usually too ambiguous fully or effectively to contain potentially dangerous ideas. Moreover, modern scientific, cultural, and industrial organizations need to provide means for encouraging the development of new ideas, technologies, and commodities without undermining their own power bases. They also need to develop mechanisms for protecting themselves from as well as responding to government and pressure groups that find their messages objectionable (*see* PRESSURE GROUP). As a result of these conflicting demands, media organizations frequently find it necessary to identify and formally articulate the rules of proscription and prescription under which their members operate. Editorial policies, broadcast standards and practices manuals, and film industry production codes are responses to these demands (*see* HOLLYWOOD).

Such articulations of organizational rules sometimes consist of general statements of principles that can be enforced or ignored at the discretion of management. In other cases they may entail detailed "do" and "don't" checklists that guide the production process. In liberal societies newspaper editorial policies typically embrace tenets of press freedom, but they also articulate those tenets in ways that usually attract like-minded editors and reporters (e.g., a reporter with socialist sympathies is not likely to seek or find a career opportunity on a newspaper that caters to a business market). In all societies film and

broadcast media have been much more subject to rigid external controls and self-censorship than print media because of the heterogeneity of their audiences and because of the amount of capital involved in production. Thus, for example, the production code of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of America, which operated as an effective agent of self-censorship in the U.S. film industry for three decades, proscribed material dealing with first-night scenes, miscegenation, branding, surgical operations, white slavery, sexual hygiene, and much more. In addition, it offered detailed instructions for presentation of the flag, the marital bed, national feelings, sin, and other sensitive topics.

Media self-censorships are enforced by organizational reward systems, hiring, firing, promotions, professional prizes and awards, and so on; by work routines that socialize practitioners to pursue some subjects and ignore others; and by marketing decisions that emphasize some material and some markets and ignore others. In addition, the discipline that operates within individual media organizations may be supplemented by industrywide sanctions enforced by trade associations. In the Soviet Union membership in a writers' union is required in order to publish; expulsion is equivalent to excommunication. In liberal societies maverick media organizations might be fined or denied access to media distribution systems, and offending individuals might be subject to industrywide blacklisting. In the United States during the 1950s thousands of writers, journalists, printers, linotype operators, actors, producers, and other communications workers were denied further employment in media industries by media organizations because of government and internal questioning of their political loyalties.

Overt interventions in media operations depart from the normal routines of media self-censorship in liberal societies. Such interventions are usually responses to political, economic, or social crises in the larger society. When self-regulatory mechanisms are operating normally, control systems are almost invisible. Liberals would say this is because the controls are secured in consensus. Marxists would say it is because the controls are secured by a hegemonic system that operates automatically.

The concept of self-regulation is an ideological extension of the democratic ideal of self-government. The difference is that governance is transferred from public to private control. By definition, self-regulation is intended to operate in the interests of the regulators. Media industries are capital-intensive industries. When self-regulation is undertaken by a capital-intensive industry, profit considerations usually act as effective muzzles. As Joseph Breen, chief officer of the Production Code Administration of the Motion Picture Association of America, pointed out to a

representative of Universal Studios in 1946, "20,000,000 people have to see every picture Universal makes before you get five cents of your salary. We can't afford to offend anybody!" In media supported by ADVERTISING rather than by box-office or newsstand receipts, audiences become commodities to be sold to advertisers. Media marketing is rationalized, but media organizations become more directly responsive to advertisers than to audiences. Members of audiences, offended by media messages, may discover that the power of the box office must now be exercised in the supermarket or department store. Organized consumer resistance may express itself through boycotts of advertisers' products rather than theaters, newsstands, or programs. Some advertisers view consumer boycotts as abridgments of their freedom of expression.

The conservative bias of capital seeks safe investments. Audience segmentation of some media permits some diversity in cultural production. Minority voices are not strongly represented in mass media, but they may comprise a targeted market served by individual RADIO stations, ethnic magazines, or specialized newspapers. Local television stations may allocate some time to community groups representing minority interests (see CITIZEN ACCESS; MINORITIES IN THE MEDIA). However, media addressed to national audiences frequently avoid risks by avoiding the concerns of minorities. Formulaic plots and stereotypical characters usually provide low-risk investments. In the United States and other heterogeneous societies they also tend to reproduce the racial, ethnic, gender, religious, and ageist biases that circulate in the larger society. Those who are offended by these messages may seek to propagate more positive images of minorities in the media. They may propose media guidelines for portrayal of minorities, launch campaigns to purge language of racist or sexist usages (see SEXISM), or seek revisions of textbooks (see TEXTBOOK). These efforts may, in turn, be experienced as threats to free expression by those who support mainstream values, conventions, and prejudices. The logic of capital seeks the largest market possible. It supports the majority view and exerts strong pressures toward homogeneity. Some suggest that this logic supports a kind of market censorship.

The paradoxes of self-censorship underscore the hazards of ignoring either loop in the knot that binds power and knowledge. Power relations provide the auspices for dissent as well as consent. For this reason security measures are written into the birthrights of all compelling ideas.

See also GOVERNMENT REGULATION; MINORITY MEDIA; POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION.

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SUE CURRY JANSEN

CETI

Communication with extraterrestrial intelligence. Human interest in communicating with other forms of life has been recorded throughout history. Legends abound with tales of talking creatures, angels, and demons. Speculations about other intelligent forms of life that might reside in planetary systems around the distant stars are a popular topic of SCIENCE FICTION.

Recent discoveries in astronomy and biology indicate that the processes that produced life on Earth may have occurred in hundreds of millions of other solar systems throughout our galaxy. Advances in RADIO astronomy and communications technology have stimulated scientists and engineers to conduct experiments designed to search for evidence of extraterrestrial intelligent life. The search for extraterrestrial intelligence (SETI) has become a serious endeavor.

If we assume that extraterrestrial intelligent (ETI) civilizations are "out there," we might then wonder how they would choose to contact others across the vast distances that separate stars. EXPLORATION and ultimate contact via space travel is one option, but that choice is extremely costly. The energy and time required to transport mass across interstellar distances are enormous. In contrast, the transmission of information using massless photons (e.g., light or radio waves) requires much less energy, and the signals travel at the speed of light. The kinetic energy of an electron traveling at half light speed is 10 billion times the energy of a microwave photon. To some SETI proponents, interstellar communication is far more likely to occur than interstellar travel.

A comprehensive SETI must examine a number of basic dimensions of search space that include the