A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ON

COMMUNICATIONS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Prepared by

Jean Grossholts
and
Richard Hendrickson

for the
Social Science Research Council,
Committee on Comparative Politics

Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
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I. Role of the Mass Media in Political Development


The major problem of consensus formation in developing countries is to expand the world view of participant individuals to include the national scene. Creation of a "nationalistic fervor" by reference to an outside threat leads to instability and may hinder development.


A poll of a group of marginal Americans in Boston's Italian north end furnishes a clue to the motivation and behavior of the recent immigrant short wave listener.


The effectiveness of techniques for getting out the vote varies with other considerations such as the type of campaign, personalities involved, etc. Personal contact seems the most effective technique for getting out the vote.


Political involvement depends on relatedness to the political process. Sensitivity to politics is related to individual's perception of the role of citizen and his perception of the efficacy of political action.

Hadsel, Fred L. "Propaganda in the Funnies." Current History, I (December 1941), pp 365-68.

More people are reached by the comics than by any other part of the newspaper. Comics analyzed as to content and function.
I. Role of the Mass Media in Political Development, continued.


External and internal problems of post war German development. Good documentation of German political development and role of the mass media in this process.


Summary of findings of mass media and mass communications research and discussion of some generalizations about effects.


Question of real function of the mass media in Western society analyzed. People seek in the media confirmation for their already existing opinions and philosophies.


The British method of holding open hearings with thorough press coverage, although destructive to some individuals without cause, did tend to rally public support for proceedings and led to a return of public confidence in the public administration. The mass media served as a means of insuring maintenance of the society's values.


Also in Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research, pp 205-10.

Television had no discernable effect on total participation or party division of the vote. Mass media had reached a saturation point so that the addition of television makes no substantial difference in terms of evoking high interest in a political campaign.
I. **Role of the Mass Media in Political Development**, continued


The newspapers pioneered in directing popular attention to graft and corruption, pointing out land speculation deals, etc. Faults tended to be associated with individuals rather than with abstract principles or institutions. Emphasis on the corruption of the "ins" did much to foster the growth of an opposition party.


Kinds of factors involved in functional analysis of the role of the media and the formulation of hypotheses are discussed in terms of the problems involved in developing theory.
II. Communication Patterns


Discusses effect of the amazing growth of readership and influence of newspapers outside the national capital on local and provincial politics. They bring their readers into participation in local events and carry comment and criticism of national officials and policies. At the same time they bring local political events to a wider audience and even to national attention.


Legislators wait for public opinion to shape itself before dealing formally with policy questions. Events play a more important role than Congress or the President in shaping public opinion. Public opinion seldom proposes a course of action and it always needs leadership.


The influence of the social structure on the quality and quantity of the communications which are assimilated in seven villages at different distances and with differing contacts with urban center. Structural constraints whether natural or imposed render certain ideas and knowledge dysfunctional and lead to change.


Research must look deeper into the effects of communication on the arousal of human needs and how they are satisfied. In one sense the audience bargains with the message and vice versa.


Analysis of the diffusion process involved in dissemination of three big news stories and the role of the 'opinion leader' in relaying additional information. This relay function is supplemental to the media and the reinforcement function.
II. **Communications Patterns**


Considers the atomistic character of "public" and the influence of environmental factors and sub-publics on the articulation and aggregation problem.


An inquiry into the change caused by television on the lives of women and children.


The English language papers will maintain their prestige largely because the vernacular press has only a regional standing and the national language has not spread to dimensions necessary for a truly national press. English language speakers constitute only 8% of the population but they are spread all over India and the English papers have national coverage.


Discusses the problem of education for life in the colonies versus the emphasis on examinations and English education.


Discusses character of opinion leader and source of his influence. Function of inter-personal relations.


Qualities of informal leaders and degree of influence relative to formal leaders noted. Finds citizen's political opinions relatively independent of those attributed to leader.
II. Communication Patterns


The process of modernization in Turkey discussed in terms of Karl Deutsch's model in *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Concentrates on problem of language diversity and national assimilation. The building of national unity among the Turks had no relation to the assimilation of linguistic minorities by a linguistic majority that Deutsch assumed.


Communications "spin a web of custom and mutual expectation which binds together diverse social units." Two forms of organization involved, the familial and the communal.


Paternalistic government, political apathy and other influences have shaped newspapers which are colorful but lack accuracy and responsibility. Trend toward more bluntness, more factual accounts, less carefree ways but problem of underdevelopment in media resources is major.


Traditional patterns of communication, changes wrought by urbanization and westernization and special problems of political communication inherent in character and culture of non-Western society.


Outlines main characteristics of these societies with emphasis on audience characteristics.
II. Communication Patterns


Investigates question: To what extent does 'opinion leader' hypothesis fit the communication pattern of a relatively underdeveloped area? Finds that in an area with low literacy, low access to media, the importance of the opinion leader is enhanced and to some extent formalized. Also points to "the information controllers" who because they own radios or newspapers can control the flow of news.


An examination of press conditions in the Congo Republic, Guinea, Somali, and Malagasy.
III. Attitude Change, Socialization and Personality Structure


Typical history of a public passes through stages characterized by mass behavior, public controversy between organized factions, and institutionalized decision making. In each stage primary groups perform generative and relay functions within larger structures.


Analyzes mass media as an independent variable in normative integration in terms of publishing or not publishing material which may injure popular faith in the society or important parts of it. Power and class as structural strata are protected by media and the media do not reveal flaws in working of institutions or deviance from norms.


Defines community and people in terms of communications. Lists possible specific uniform ties in nation-building including the growth of basic communication grids. Concept of self-interest and the experience of self-awareness as part of the problem of social integration.


Compares communication system of underdeveloped countries with more urban-modern systems. Draws hypothesis as to how development takes place.


Study of communication process of new immigrants in Israel. Investigates characteristics of "low communicants" and conditions which give rise to this. Finds that individuals need organization in a system and this organization determines his communication receptivity.


Summarizes all writings on empathy; its nature, meaning and role in personality development. Draws some hypothesis about meaning in terms of communication.
III. Attitude Change, Socialization and Personality Structure, continued


Interviews with refugees on parent-child relations vis-a-vis Soviets and religion. Conflict of values weakens family as unit of opposition.


Reading literacy correlates with industrialization at .87 and at .84 with per capita income.


Review of findings on children's social development and report on New Haven study showing continuing sex differences in direction and degree of political attention and participation. Differences appear as early as 9-10 years.

"Children's Images of Political Authority." *American Political Science Review*, LIV (December 1960), pp 934

New Haven study indicates grade 4 to 8 children have some perceptions of political leaders and their roles and importance. Absence of political cynicism or skepticism at this age.


Changes which have taken place as a result of contact with the West. What has changed: occupational roles, economics, religion, kinship structure, social behavior, localism.


Survey of cross-section of Israeli population on attitude toward government civil servants. Amount of contact was not related to direction of intergroup attitude but was related to the intensity of that attitude.


Reasons for holding or changing attitudes are found in the functions they perform for the individual, specifically the functions of adjustment, ego defense, value expression and knowledge. Motivational impact of other groups of variables considered.
III. Attitude Change, Socialization and Personality Structure, continued


Distinguishes between formal role structure and social typing. The later specifies much of the informal structure and special situations that develop for which no formal role exists. In a changing society social typing defines emerging roles and thus plays a role in the development of social structure. They give informal status, contribute to identity problems solutions in transitional societies.


Dysfunction and communication problems.

Meir, L. P. "Independent Religious Movements in Three Continents." Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1 (January 1959), pp 113-

Reaction to opposition to established religious institutions appear similar: greater autonomy in achieving benefits or reinterpretation of the dogma and goals. Suggests political party or labor union organization may be similar.

Patai, Raphael. "The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East." Middle East Journal, 9 (Winter 1955), pp 1-

What prevailed, means used by West, why some practices accepted easier than others, etc. Sees change as the development of mental attitudes in the direction of rational thinking.


Charisma can be dispersed if individuals can find a way of breaking loose from habits of extended family without losing the basic organizational structure of personal life. By learning to use own capacity the individual gains in self respect but he must develop a basic structure to organize himself in relation with others, that is, develop a belief in his own charisma as well as charisma of those in authority.


How does the economic structure--especially job recruitment, placement, performance, and reward--compare with the structure of kinship-role playing, and how do these structures interact? Ways in which institutions may become and be dominant and effect of imbalance which results particularly the imbalance in value attainment.
III. Attitude Change, Socialization and Personality Structure, continued


Outlines a conceptual model for the adaptation of a system. Points out essential features of adaptation, problems raised. Society's regulatory process and how it reacts to changes. Control and conflict within the system.


Function of political power is to regulate, direct, coordinate, and control existing social relationships. To function properly it requires certain social and psychological conditions. Traditional societies differ in these conditions and change brings about crisis in political power.


American use of foreign aid to effect social reform, minimum wage act and encourage land reform. Social and political problems encountered in the process.
IV. Role of Specific Groups in Development


Description of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the SSRC: its membership, orientation, objectives, and initial hypotheses. Rationales of interest group and functional approach.


Study of U.M.T. labor movement in Morocco since independence. Example of a labor union becoming a well-organized and functionally specific interest group during the achievement of independence and then denying its union purposes in order to engage in politics and seek political influence.


Describes and classifies institutional, associational and non-associational groups in Latin American politics. Argues for the "group analysis" approach for an understanding of Latin American politics.


Role of conflict and response to same in social integration and social change. Social change is "hammered out" in the daily lives of citizens and their reference groups. The interplay and conflict over the ends of power seeking groups is the fundamental social process and the outcome of this conflict settles social policy questions.


Functional analysis of bureaucracies in pre-modern cultures. Shows that goals institutionalized by ruling elites who established centralized bureaucracies were eventually undermined by those recruited into the supporting institutions.


Political sphere of bureaucracies is strongly goal oriented with goals distinct from those of other institutions or sub-groups in the society. Description of these societies and social conditions which give rise to them.
IV. Role of Specific Groups in Development, continued


Societies organized by Chinese created a sub-society during the 19th century. Secret societies insulated Chinese from other societies and provided consensus mechanism within the relatively closed society.

Friedmann, J. "Intellectuals in Developing Societies," *Kyklos* (No. 4, 1960), pp 513-44.

Modern intellectual must be ranged alongside the innovator in affairs of business as a principal agent in promoting economic growth. He mediates new values, formulates an effective ideology, etc.


Character of the white collar worker and his recruitment on a personal, non-rational basis must be understood in terms of the development needs of underdeveloped countries.


Notes general absence of interest groups in India. But Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry is active in foreign policy particularly discusses this group with respect to Indo-Burmese and Indo-Ceylon policies.


Role of military in spread of Westernization and Western values and in pressuring politicians to behave has been of great importance in Turkey. Contacts with West have been more intense historically and through U.S. aid.


Unemployed intellectuals took over leadership of the labor movement to achieve social and political mobility otherwise denied them. Workers and leaders interests converged and were identified with nationalism. Political ambitions and personalized character of relationship converts unions into recruitment mechanism for political process and government takes over a protective role toward worker.
IV. Role of Specific Groups in Development, continued


Develops a model of policy formulation which assumes a complete separation of policy formulation and electoral activity. Voter decisions are entirely personality oriented and there is no expectation that particular policies will be realized because a particular candidate is elected. Thus elected officials are not bound by constituent demands.


Peaceful transfer of power in Ceylon prevented the development of mass movement which might have served to unify the people. Bandaranaike aroused first nationalist spirit with appeals to politically alienated using socialism and nationalism.


Peasant has become target of political appeals and as prosperity and communication increase his demands become wider and more detailed. Example of broadening base of political power.


Caste associations as an example of indigenous forms of associations providing channels of communication and bases of leadership and organization to overcome "technical political illiteracy" handicaps of traditional elements and thus allow them participation in politics.


Analyzes restoration in terms of the political agents who brought it about. Breakdown of equilibrium of three distinct political institutions and the development of a potential bargaining process as quid pro quo's fluctuated. Significant in terms of imbalances created during development and changes brought about through response to these imbalances.


Civil Servant's distrust of the politician and his ways and the strength of the civil service gives that group unnatural weight in political affairs. They are not responsive to needs and very slow to act.
IV. Role of Specific Groups in Development, continued


Finds that the intellectuals need to contact masses with their vision, and sees the press as the chief organ of instructed public opinion. General discussion of press problems in underdeveloped countries.

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Changing roles of intellectuals in the process of political development.


Development of Vietnamese political parties as instruments for dealing with foreign rulers. Seek accommodation and a wider range of participation but mostly aimed at independence.


Problem of decentralization of administration and creation of viable political and administrative units at the local level. Use of Western institutions and the results. Socio-cultural factors inhibiting and enhancing development.


Role of peasants in development. They have tended to back reactionary forces and slow down social reform.
V. Cultural Factors that Enhance or Impede Democratic Development


Analyzes the achievements and problems the nation-building elite of Israel experienced in their development of a modern state. Deals with orientations toward government, development of legitimacy, etc.


Economic development requires totalitarian regimes. Foreign aid programs therefore can not contribute to political and social change in the direction of democratic development.


Need to re-evaluate assumptions about political theory and psychology with a view to developing useful theoretical base for functional theory.


Description of events in Indonesia arising out of the 1949 decision to change the constitution from a federal to a central unitary state. Notes the biggest problem in Indonesia is the failure to grasp the fundamental principle of Western parliamentary practice: that governments succeed one another modifying each other's programs as the pendulum swings from one to another.


Problems of parliamentary system in multi-party state. Does not generate spirit of compromise or acceptance of majority rule. How find the dividing line between party politics and government.


Political democracy is most obvious where there is a necessity to act, that is, in the initial stages of setting up a new community where there is no structure of natural leadership. Implies no clear distinction between rulers and ruled in this setting.
V. Cultural Factors that Enhance or Impede Democratic Development, continued


Military take-overs in South East Asia raise the question of the suitability of Western evolved democracy for Asian environments.


A philosophical essay by each author on the requirements for democracy restricted to five highly industrialized countries.

Hauser, Philip M. "Cultural and Personal Obstacles to Economic Development in the Less Developed Areas." Human Organization, 18 (Summer 1959), pp 78 ff.

Elements of colonialism which impede economic development: truncated social orders, pluralistic societies, over-urbanization, resurgent nationalism, mass disillusionment with respect to the timing of economic development. Elements of indigenous culture which impede development: value systems which conflict with material aspirations, highly stratified societies with a relatively small but powerful elite, etc.


Two main tendencies in West Indian politics--lone wolf tradition of personality politics and over organization on paper which is ineffective in terms of political organization. Transitional societies tend to have loosely organized politics at the same time that many opportunities exist to avoid accountability. This is crucial.


Finds that working class Americans do not promote or hold to the ideal of equality. This value is promoted largely by intellectuals.


Compares "democracies" more or less democratic in terms of wealth, industrialization, education, and urbanization. Compares in terms of legitimacy and effectiveness of government. Finds development problems of new states inherent in the requirements mentioned--level of economic development and level of political effectiveness and legitimacy.
V. Cultural Factors that Enhance or Impede Democratic Development, continued:


  The measure of a people's democracy is the extent of its freedom from dependence. This is a sign of a political maturity. All modern societies embody a degree of dependence those which try to decrease the level of dependence are democratic. If citizen is dependent he can not release the aggressions and anxieties which society creates and must rely on leaders. Democracy is a complex series of human relationships and a cooperative cultural relationship.


  Lists three positive motivations to political action and three obstructions to political action. Politics gives no immediate concrete gratification and thus rouses apathy but his allows people to accept political defeat of their candidates.


  Background of the situation, the division in leadership and the problems of the martial law regime in meeting demands of public opinion. Overall view of the problem of democratic development and social reform and difficulties of finding political solutions to political problems.


  Examines traditional family values and morals on fertility in rural Sinhalese communities. Different levels of urban contact, isolation other variables point out that harsh environmental conditions are not sufficient condition for modification of value principles.


  The politics of economic development and the problem of need for capital versus the attitude toward foreign capital. Traditional ways of complete representation and unanimity not conducive to development problem solving. Mutual cooperation value places more concern on ideology than on reconstruction.
VI. Theories and Models of Political Systems


Review of U.S. and European political theory and research and a suggested strategy for consensus among researchers as to the most urgent needs of the field, the best approaches and suitable methodology.


Formulation of the political culture model and the functional analysis of interest groups used in Politics of the Developing Areas.


Sets up three main dimensions—social stratification, political groups and government—in order to produce a manipulative theory out of comparative research. Outlines main components of each dimension and purports to show how each dimension interacts with the other two.


Compares Ghana and Uganda to show how their modern existence has been and is being shaped by the nature of their traditions. Defines in terms of instrumental versus consummatory systems and the possibilities of innovation in each system.


Discussion of the prerequisites of democracy as outlined by theorists and compared to what public opinion studies have shown to be the actual case about political behavior. Suggests points where theory is too gross and needs refinement. Sets up guidelines as to requirements of "democracy."


Attempts to isolate some of the problem areas and political characteristics implicit in behavior patterns of contemporary and future political systems in developing areas. Looks at practices and behavior of party organization and the conduct of elections, parliamentary and administrative affairs.
VI. Theories and Models of Political Systems, continued


Input-output systems model of political process. Discusses the dynamic character of the process and the kinds of demands, channels, supports and outputs required to keep it operating.


Good description of the basic elements of a political system.


Nationalism answers none of the practical problems of development or independence. Its contribution is of the spirit and psychology and it may even impede development if used as a screen for domestic failures.


The process of a person fitting "guesses" about the environment to his experience in it. Need to consider such things as the succession of trials made by the subject in solving problems, information available to him prior to each trial, mechanism inside individual which might account for the specific linkages between information and trial and the control system within this process.


A preliminary review and forecast of studies in comparative politics concentrating on problems of non-Western countries: the political process, groups and media of influence, dynamic factors to be considered by students in the field.


Good review of literature on urbanization and its effects on family structure, personal choices, attitudes toward life, etc.
VI. Theories and Models of Political Systems, continued


Indian politics does not legitimize power or men who "live off" politics. Discusses reasons for and results of this phenomena.

Rustow, Dankart A. "New Horizons for Comparative Politics." World Politics, IX (July 1956), pp 530-49.

Differences between comparative politics of Western and non-Western world emphasize need for new concepts. Broad view of the situation shows similarities in experience. The constants have become variables and we need a more historical touch.


One prerequisite of a democratic system is a willingness of political groups to make political calculations (e.g. compromises and coalitions) to increase their strength. This is lacking in India and leaders are not concerned for the political consequences of their acts. Indian attitudes toward power tend to place leaders outside of formal power in their own organization.
BOOKS

I. The Communications Process


I. The Communications Process, continued


I. The Communications Process, continued


II. Attitude Change, Socialization and Personality


Daedalus, 89 (Spring 60), "Mass Culture and Mass Media."


II. **Attitude Change, Socialisation and Personality**, continued


Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII, Fall 1958, Daniel Lerner, (editor). "Attitude Research in Modernising Areas."


III. **Studies of Specific Groups and Case Studies of Development**


III. Studies of Specific Groups and Case Studies of Development, continued


III. Studies of Specific Groups and Case Studies of Development, continued


IV. Theories and Models of Political Systems


IV. Theories and Models of Political Systems, continued


