THE FUTURE OF WORLD COMMUNICATION: QUALITY AND STYLE OF LIFE
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1777 East-West Road
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THE FUTURE OF WORLD COMMUNICATION:
QUALITY AND STYLE OF LIFE

EWCI Lecture in International Communication

by

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ABSTRACT

Dr. Lasswell discusses some of the implications of mass communication and technological development for the quality of life and proposes the "continuing seminar" and the "social planetarium" as among the institutional innovations that can provide means for perpetual reexamination of the environment of man, and for testing the impact of various functions and structures on the quality and style of life.

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A NOTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION LECTURE SERIES

This series, established in 1972 by Dr. Michio Nagai during his year as Director of the Communication Institute, consists of public lectures by outstanding figures in international communication. Each lecture is supplemented by a three- to seven-day period of interaction between the Lecturer and Communication Institute grantees, Fellows, and staff members through discussions, panels, and informal encounters. Lecturers in the series are persons who have demonstrated in their life-work an outstanding commitment to the deeper understanding of international relations, and who can enhance international communication as a field of study and research in response to the challenge of living and working together in today's smaller world.

Other lecturers and topics in the series include KIYOSHI EBATA, Chairman of the Editorial Board, Asahi Shimbun, "Newspapers and the Formulation of Public Opinion"; SEYMOUR LIPSET, Professor of Government and Sociology, Harvard University, "Rebellion in the University"; HAROLD ISAACS, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "National Images in International Communication"; TAKEO KUWABARA, Emeritus Professor in Literature, Kyoto University, "Language Problems in International Communication"; NATHAN GLAZER, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University, "Minority Groups in International Relations"; and MICHIO NAGAI, an educational sociologist, editorial writer for Asahi Shimbun, and critic of higher education, "Cultural Interchange for What?"

Copies of individual lectures are being published in limited numbers.
THE FUTURE OF WORLD COMMUNICATION: QUALITY AND STYLE OF LIFE

INTRODUCTION

When historians and critics reach for a phrase to name the chief traits of our time they almost invariably say something about the age of science and technology, or about communication, anxiety and war. These phenomena are interconnected. It is appropriate to link them together by considering the revolution in communications technology that accelerated the pace and possibly affected the direction of world history. Until recently, I suggest, the communications revolution transformed the mass media in ways that contributed to the operational and even the ideological ascendancy of Big Science and Big Technology. More recently there are portents of change. The primacy of wealth and political power may be less taken for granted in the high consumption economies or in the bodies politic that put themselves in an ex-colonial or developing category. The new direction is occasionally indicated by the direct and indirect messages purveyed through the mass media to reach the focus of listening, viewing, or reading attention. Will the future carry the movement further toward endorsing a selective technology that serves as a chosen instrument of a more pluralistic and diversified quality and style of life than in the past century or so?

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN COMMUNICATION

It is barely necessary to remind one another of the spectacular innovations that have taken place during the last hundred years in the technology of communication, notably of mass communication. The rotary
printing press made the mass circulation newspaper possible. Film, radio, and television broadcasting, if managed in conjunction with space satellites, telegraph and telephone cables, are not far from achieving instantaneous communication on a global scale. ¹

I suggest that we have reached the upper limit of speedy transmission. The mass media revolution is over unless it introduces new qualitative dimensions into human experience. Are there, in fact, any conceivable innovations of the kind? I can think of two speculative, though by no means implausible, possibilities. The first is parapsychic; the second is extraterrestrial. A sufficiently persuasive case has recently been made to induce the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for example, to admit an affiliated organization whose members are serious researchers in parapsychology. In spite of the possible imminence of discoveries in this field, there is little evidence of forethought in reference to the policy problems that would arise. Consider hypothetical contingencies.

Suppose that Broadcaster A can directly describe the subjective events of B. Is it in accord with public policy to allow B's privacy to be invaded, even if B is willing? If B is a plaintiff, a defendant, a witness, a juror or judge, would it be in the public interest for an extra-sensitive A to broadcast B's stream of consciousness?

What if A is not only able to view and report B's thoughts and feelings, but to influence them? Can influence go beyond the "hypnotic" effects of which we are occasionally aware on TV, in the theatre or the lecture hall? Can direct empathy provide a person-to-person means of penetrating all barriers of language, culture, class, interest, and personality? Or of subjecting them to new forms of control?

I need scarcely warn you that these perils and opportunities are not as yet upon us, and that there is no way of anticipating their appearance in detail. We must also remind ourselves that protective, as well as penetrative, techniques will probably evolve at the same time in interaction with one another. Perhaps we will be able to insulate our inner lives from unwelcome outside observation. Possibly our mechanisms of suppression, repression, and resistance will overmatch any intruder upon our deepest loyalties, beliefs, and faiths. In this connection I remind you of attempts that have been made to use hypnosis as a therapy for deeply troubled persons. The therapist often discovers that his seemingly compliant patient—who has apparently "come clean" about his most intimate thoughts and feelings, and who has given up his initial symptoms—suddenly abandons his compliant attitude and returns to a deeper level of ego de-
fense than ever. What is known of special subjective states, whether they are induced by hypnosis or drugs, tends to confirm the remarkably varied means of ego-defense that lie at the disposal of the human personality.

I mentioned a second exception to the view that communication technology has reached an upper limit. As men move off the Earth, the chances increase that we will be able to communicate with advanced forms of life in other celestial environments.

MASS COMMUNICATION AND THE ACCELERATION OF WORLD HISTORY

I have suggested that the technological revolution as it affects mass media has reached a limit that is subject only to innovations that would substantially modify our basic perspectives of one another and of man's place in the cosmos. The moment is opportune to look back at the part that has been played by the mass media revolution in history.

My most fundamental proposition is this: the mass media revolution accelerated the tempo and direction of world history.

What is meant by asserting that human history has accelerated? The inference is that what would have happened later has happened sooner; and that changes in timing may have modified substantive development.

During the last century or two the significance of the mass media can be summarized in terms of internal and external effects: first, the spread of science-based technology among countries of European civilization; second, the expansion of the technology of the West beyond the boundaries of Europe's civilization. These statements refer to acceleration. We postpone the second part of the analysis, which refers to the direction of change.

So far as the events inside Europe are concerned we are on familiar ground. Western Europeans seized the new media in the hope of influencing one another. Let us remind ourselves of the dynamics of change by employing our model of the social process as a checklist of the value-institution sectors of society. (The model has eight principal categories.) Governments and political parties established press services and newspapers (the power sector). Scientific societies adapted their publication programs to appeal to differentiated audiences and also to the general public (the enlightenment sector). Local commercial and industrial establishments seized on advertising to stimulate translocal demand for goods and services, and to encourage investment and job seeking in factories, offices, stores, and infra-structure facilities (the wealth sector). Public and private health
services turned to the press as a means of promoting the acceptance of "scientific" as against "folk" medicine (the well-being sector). The expansion of public and private schooling produced a deluge of textbooks and teaching materials devoted to the transmission of occupational, professional, and artistic skills (the skill sector). All the sentiments and assumptions that cluster around family, friendship, and other intimate relationships (the affection sector) become targets of exploitation by economic interests concerned with housing, furnishing, food, and clothing. Families also provided clients and audiences for new professional specialists on child development. The new media were often captured on behalf of the "respect revolution" (the respect sector). They disseminated the demands of groups who saw themselves as traditional targets of discriminatory denials of opportunity (that is, of realistic choice). Some spoke for lower social ranks, classes, and races; some for women and children. In addition, churchmen and other protagonists of religious and ethical prescription (the rectitude sector) saw the significance of the new technology and published the Bible and other Holy Books and commentaries in huge editions.

This stupendous flood of messages could not fail to speed up the pace of history in Western Europe and eventually in Asia, Africa, South America, and Oceania. The media of communication were employed in ways that exploited the marginal advantage of a "sign." By definition, an instrument of communication is specialized to the use of signs, and signs mediate between the subjective events (the "symbols") of communicators. The signs are parsimonious of physical resources, rendering it feasible to cover vast distances by means of sound, sight, or electromagnetic waves. The media rapidly reach the attention of distant persons and cue them to act more quickly than they otherwise would be able to do. We can summarize world trends by noting that the world attention zones outran other zones, notably of travel, trade, and technology; and of opinion, sentiment, and organization. Without physical resources it is impossible to reach mass attention. Yet the parsimonious signs disseminated in a communications network spread an apron of curiosity-arousing experience beyond the mines, ships, factories, and shops, as well as beyond the more established modes of social interaction.

UNIVERSALIZING THE DEMAND FOR SCIENCE-BASED TECHNOLOGY

I have implied that a principal consequence of accelerated change was the universalization of science-based technology from its center of 4
origin in the West. The effect of mass media was to spread on a world scale the demand for technology, the expectation that technological growth would continue indefinitely, and identification on the part of all "progressive minds" with the culture of technology.

These perspectives were disseminated as a direct and indirect result of the use of mass media in each sector of society inside and outside the confines of Europe. In the power sector governments gave currency to the assumption that to an overwhelming degree national security depended on improving the technology of weapons. Scientists (in the enlightenment sector) emphasized the importance of their own technology (e.g., laboratories, research vessels, observatories, zoological and botanical collections). In the wealth sector business introduced and spread thousands of new products, machines, and procedures. Public and private health services (the well-being sector) promoted distinctive buildings and facilities. Education (the skill sector) also implied special buildings and facilities (e.g., desks, audiovisual and playground equipment). The industrial revolution eventually reached the family kitchen (the affection sector), introducing refrigeration, infra-red flame, and many other kinds of apparatus. Social groups and individuals who were in search of respect took every occasion to magnify whatever buildings were under their control, and to update the streets, highways, and parkways of the cities with which they were identified. The newer religions turned to modern technology in the hope of equalizing or excelling the edifices that were the legacy of traditional faiths (the rectitude sector).

In the early years of universalizing technology the mass media partially reflected the resistance of traditional groups. It is not surprising that the first engines and assembly lines were stoutly resisted by artisans, peasants, and feudal landlords. The new communication media suffered from the "snobbery of the manuscript." There were successive snorts of contempt for the crudities of erratic type, flickering film, radio static, and blurred television. These limitations paralleled the grime and danger of mines and factories; the cinders, smoke, and jolt of the first railway carriages; the fits and starts and smells of the first automobiles.

Initial discomforts came to be perceived as temporary costs. The "long run" perspective began to provide a plausible ideological horizon. Editors, reporters, and readers became so absorbed by the ideology of "progress," "science," and "technology" that they were inattentive to the policy implications of external costs. All of this is in harmony with the working of any "myth" that succeeds in establishing itself. The myth of "modernization" and "development" inhibited any impulse to raise questions,
to challenge, to protest. Alternative expectations and demands became unthinkable. They evoked anxiety and guilt. ("Myth," by the way, is used analytically, not as a pejorative term.)

By the twentieth century it made little difference whether elites were socialized in the myths of capitalism, communism, conservatism, nationalism, or racism. Like the Leninists of 1917, practically any new elite sought to accelerate the growth of modern means of energy production and use in the territories under its control.

MASS MEDIA AND THE BEGINNING OF DISENCHANTMENT

An attentive investigator of mass media perceives some indication of disenchantment with technology. Or, to phrase the matter more accurately, the emerging target of rejection is unrestrained technological expansion. As usual, the mass instruments of communication have begun to erode the established ideology less by reporting specific incidents than by giving currency to new ways of looking at what goes on.

There was a time in nineteenth-century Europe when protests against the "machine" were a specialty of "romantics" who began by loving poetry and prose about Nature and ended by loving Nature. In later years a somewhat snobbish dissent came from Beaux-Arts designers and enthusiasts of the "City Beautiful." The contemporary critics who carry weight in mass media circles are mainly recruited from among economists who explain "external costs" and from scientific ecologists who stress "environment."

We find some voices of disenchantment outside Europe. To a degree these opinions have been influenced by European styles of thought. Yet experience has spoken louder than hearsay. The new nations have witnessed flight from the land, urban misery, and overcrowded public facilities of every kind. Hundreds of thousands of poorly educated young people have swamped inadequate university facilities. Masses of embittered students have intermittently fallen prey to agitational dreams of instant utopia. When timorous and overburdened bureaucrats fail, political instability sets the stage for the initiative to pass for a time to ambitious colonels who take out after peace and purity with tanks and planes.

Notwithstanding the restrictions to which they have been exposed, the mass media have usually implied more than they have been able to say, or even than they have wanted to say. News and commentary contain hints that national security depends less on guns than on the consent of a popu-
lation whose members are in smooth transition from peasant villages to modestly growing industrial towns and central cities. News and commentary have begun to raise questions about the quality of life and about the harmonization of technological development with value outcomes.

TOWARD SELECTIVE TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

The emerging drift can be provisionally described as toward a selective rather than unrestrained technological development. Selective development appears to emphasize: (a) intermediate technology and (b) the cultivation of expressive patterns of culture; (a) and (b) have in common the basic characteristic that they both are parsimonious of material resources.

If the stress that is put on intermediate technology is to be seen as a positive and successful policy decision rather than a confession of failure to master "heavy" technology, it must be connected with a persuasive conception of self-determined life quality and style. There must be joy in expressive acts that separate symbolic significance from material abundance and transfer it to signs and deeds that are parsimonious of material resources. The expressive act that we are talking about is a communication that is experienced as a satisfactory "end in itself." Such an act is festive, ceremonial, religious, or convivial. Without turning against the moderate growth of a substantial material infra-structure, or rejecting manufactured goods that provide multiple choice, a program of selective development encourages the revival, revitalization, and supplementation of traditional capabilities.

A selective program is less obsessed with such values as material wealth and power, and more attracted toward a conception of life quality that encourages a plurality of values and life styles that are united in deemphasizing the material and exalting the expressive.

PLANNED OBSERVATION OF THE FUTURE

Whatever the future turns out to be, the mass media of communication will continue to exert a permeating influence on the nature and timing of development goals and strategies. At this moment of possible shift of emphasis, it is opportune for specialists on the analysis and control of
communication to plan more systematic and co-operative use of the scientific and technical facilities available for observing the future. Many groups can be adapted to the purpose. Some may be largely academic, including members who specialize on communication, and on the different value-institution sectors of society. Other groups may be composed of private owners or managers of newspapers, magazines, radio, TV, and other media; or of official managers and regulators of communication. Some continuing seminars may join academic and non-academic members.3

Continuing seminars can take advantage of the facilities of conference centers, institutes, universities, and similar institutions. Each seminar can man its own program in the light of special competence and concern, including provision for spin-offs to deal intensively with particular aspects of the central theme.

After obtaining preliminary orientation toward selected goals and available information, a seminar is able to acquire the discipline that comes from the forecasting of long range, middle range, and immediate changes in development policy, and from evaluating predictions as they mature. A group can learn to search candidly for factors that were overlooked, overestimated, or incorrectly assessed when forecasts were made. Events may call for significant revisions to be made in national and in all other models.

Besides the benefits that come from the intermittent appraisal of forecasts, a seminar may gain by introducing planned "interventions." For example, members may plan a series of articles and conferences focused on trends in development policy. Advance estimates of results can be made. In turn, the actual results are opened up for appraisal.

Part of the technique of a decision seminar is to establish an environment in which maps, charts, and other pertinent displays provide selective reminders of past discussions and display models of past, present, and future development.

A continuing seminar is an institution of attention control. It is intended to provide guidance for the explanation of context—such as the interplay of communication, development, and the remaining features of the social setting. Besides the emphasis on contextuality, it provides for deliberate exercise of the true problem solving tasks (of goal clarification, description of trends, explanation of conditioning factors, projection of futures, and invention and selection of policy alternatives). The seminar, as we have suggested and shall discuss further, employs all available methods of theory formation, data gathering, and processing.
I am not proposing that scientists and media controllers of the Pacific Region, for example, employ the East-West Center as a base of operations for a propaganda machine designed to render a particular quality of life irresistible. I commend, not propaganda, but enlightenment. To enlighten is to clarify goals and strategies; it is not to insist upon dogmatic interpretations. It is compatible with a non-propaganda policy for a newspaper, magazine, or radio-TV station to take a position on controversial matters if such a position is reported along with alternatives.

What is involved in the control of one’s own attention can be understood if we consider the sources available to supply social indicators for the use of continuing seminars concerned with the future of communication and the quality and style of change.

The indicators are tested and re-tested through time to show the inter-play between the mass media and the larger context. Here is a simplified contextual model:

![Contextual Model Diagram]

The mass media (A) are shown at the center as a means of underlining their interactions with (B) the official decision making institutions, (C) the institutions outside government, and (D) the individuals (who participate in many situations).

What social indicators are of potential use to continuing seminars on communication and development?
INDICATORS FROM SURVEY RESEARCH
(INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVES)

I begin with individual perspectives. Survey research is a tested procedure for sampling the value demands, the matter of fact expectations, and the sense of identity in any population. 4

The most obvious requirement of seminars is to obtain indicators of attitudes toward development. In reference to goal: Who favors the resource-luxuriant technology of wealth and power? The more parsimonious programs of intermediate technology and expressive patterns of culture? In regard to trend: what groups (national, class, interest) are changing or holding to their positions? In terms of possible conditioning factors: who gives what explanation of the trends? Concerning projected futures: who expects what development policies and results in what periods of time? In reference to preferred alternatives: who supports what policy objectives and strategies?

We know enough about the political process to know that it draws much of its intensity and some of its direction from sources that may have little direct relation to public policy. Nevertheless, if a continuing seminar is to understand the present and prospective involvement of any group with policies of development, it must keep an eye on indicators of what is variously called the "tension level," the "level of unrest," or the "state of satisfaction-dissatisfaction" with life in general. The formal position is that the dynamics of politics are rooted in the continuing displacement of private impulses onto public objects, rationalized in terms of common interest. 5

Actually we need indicators of the "quality of life" as experienced and judged by the population. What is involved in surveys of life quality is suggested by the following questions (which are not necessarily in a form appropriate for field use):

On the whole, do you feel relatively satisfied or dissatisfied with your life?
In recent years have you been feeling more or less satisfied?
In the near future do you expect to be more satisfied?

No experienced social scientist or media controller expects people to provide realistic explanations or grounds for their judgements and sen-
timents. Neither do they disregard purported explanations, partly because such opinions may be taken as hypotheses for further inquiry, and partly because these opinions are themselves among the realities of politics. Our chief interest is whether, at a given time, development policies or activities are referred to, or if development is not mentioned, whether the references provide clues to potential displacements to development. Among the pertinent indicators therefore to be sought in quality of life surveys are the opinions of respondents about the sources of their greatest satisfaction-dissatisfaction. For instance, how do they assess (1) family life and friends, (2) job or profession, (3) educational opportunities, (4) institutions of organized religion, (5) government and political parties, (6) health and recreational institutions, (7) mass media of communication. It is also relevant to find (8) whether the respondent believes that he is receiving the respect that he deserves.

**INDICATORS FROM MESSAGE ANALYSIS (MASS MEDIA)**

What is the relationship between what is reported in the surveys and what is presented in the mass media? Presumably the media have some degree of influence on individual perspectives on development and on perceptions of life quality and style. Continuing seminars will therefore be interested in indicators that describe the message content of the media to which particular audiences are exposed. 6 It is not to be forgotten that during any given period the media may make no mention of the symbols of greatest concern to seminar members. For instance, there may be no reference to the distinctive impact of unrestricted technology on the environment, or of the apparent progress of light industry in clusters of peasant villages. These omissions may provide clues to the outlook of media controllers or they may make it easier to discover which lines of communication (other than the mass media) account for the perspectives that prevail in a particular area.

The seminars must be willing to take responsibility for choosing the categories to be used in coding the message content of the media. The relevant categories will cover the range of ideologies, experiences and activities that relate to development. When we summed up the expansion phase of the technological revolution we mentioned or implied some of the indicators that may be utilized in describing the flow of the material resources that are specialized to each value-institution sector (facilities
for sophisticated weapons, heavy industries, etc.). Our brief review of
the growth of disenchantment points to the need of indicators that direct at-
tention to such negative consequences as urban congestion and environ-
mental damage, and to such positive emergents as stress on intermedi-
ate technology and on cultivating expressive patterns of life.

It will also be important to describe message content in ways that
help to reveal the effect of the media on perceptions of life quality and
style, and on the choice of targets for the displacement of private satisf-
factions-dissatisfactions onto symbols of collective action.

Among the significant questions to be explored is the relationship
between the "justifications" of specific development activities as pre-
sent in the media and in the survey results. Statements of justifica-
tion may be borrowed from "traditional" or "modernizing" myths, and
they may be used positively or negatively in reference to any aspect of
development, or of the context at large.

INDICATORS FROM DECISION
RESEARCH (OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES)

Clearly the continuing seminars will require indicators of the
decision process itself, especially of decisions related to the structures
and policies of development. The decisions about structures are "consti-
tutive," other decisions are "ordinary" public order decisions. The
indicators show the number and scope of official commitments made during
the chosen period. A few examples:

Constitutive decisions about development include the formation or
adjustment of intelligence (research) agencies; the establishment of a ser-
vice to promote development programs; the formation of a prescribing
authority to crystalize the norms and sanctions of a planning program; the
organization of an invoking office to hear complaints and initiate action in
specific cases; the organization of application agencies to execute plans;
the creation of a termination authority to revoke prescriptions and to deal
with permissible claims to compensation; the formation of an appraisal
branch to evaluate the degree to which policies have been successfully
carried out, and to assign responsibility for successes and failures.

The flow of ordinary decision covers the acts of the various officials.
No doubt continuing seminars will also want indicators of (a) the
effects of the media on the flow of decision and (b) the impact of decision
on the media. Obviously much of the information called for depends on in-
terviewing panels of "insiders," although in some jurisdictions verbatim
records may be available.

Sample indicators of the effects of media on decision: quotations
and other references in official arenas; informal references by officials;
specific requests for assistance (i.e., information); lobbying by the media.

Sample indicators of the impact of decision makers on media: in-
structions and threats; acknowledged conformity to official line.

Since these indicators sound voluminous, let me remind you that
seminars will establish working relations with other individuals and groups
whose specialty it is to decision research.

INDICATORS FROM SITUATION
RESEARCH (OTHER THAN
OFFICIAL ARENAS)

The ever-present challenge to connect individual perspectives and
official decisions with the relevant features of the context can be at least
partially met by using indicators appropriate to situation research. Leaving
aside the power and enlightenment sectors of our social process model,
we can provide examples of indicators from the remaining sectors: em-
ployment, investment, production, distribution (wealth); births, mortality,
morbidity (well-being); age cohorts in school, literacy (skill); family for-
mation and dissolution (affection); social discrimination (e.g., formal or
effective exclusion from opportunity) (respect); membership and attendance
in religious organizations (rectitude).

When survey data are related to situational indicators (such as size
of population unit) the results may show, for instance, that people in small
towns are especially discontented with the quality of their lives. Perhaps
they attribute their woes to development policies that allegedly favor the
peasants and the big cities. They may believe that the mass media ignore
them and their problems.

If we are to thread our way among the many possible lines of inquiry
and analysis, it will be necessary to use comprehensive maps (or models)
of national, transnational or sub-national settings. Our selective principle
is the importance of following changes in communication and development.

Today we are learning to make effective use of computer models
of "organized complexity," 9 In common with any tool, the computer de-
pends on the enlightenment and skill of those who use it. Seminars will be
wise to recognize that the appropriate starting model of a social context is qualitative, and that it employs words, diagrams and some figures in formulating a workable image. A computerizable model will presently emerge through prolonged feedback procedures. The following summarizes part of a beginning model of a Laotian village cluster "before" and "after" an irrigation project:10

**Power.** Village chiefs initially in complete control; now regularly circumvented by local people in order to deal directly with provincial and national authorities.

**Enlightenment.** Rapid increase in radio, newspaper and telephones has resulted in "information overload" and some confusion.

**Wealth.** Water control has become the principal asset required for money and power.

**Well-being.** Infant mortality reduced by new health services.

**Skill.** Irrigation system has produced new jobs of intermediate skill and stimulated more schooling.

**Affection.** Several villages cooperate smoothly in irrigation system. Formerly hostile, suspicious and often in physical conflict.

**Respect.** Newcomers pushed away from desirable sites, tending to form a "lower class."

**Rectitude.** Religious ceremonialism is increasing.

### INDICATORS FROM PROGRAMS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Although the indicators mentioned thus far can be interpreted to cover all the needs of Continuing Seminars on Communication and Development, they can be usefully supplemented by encouraging programs of community participation in the formulation, execution and appraisal of development.

In Hawaii it is unnecessary to explain in detail what is involved since this state is in the midst of a prototypical project, "Hawaii 2000."11 The role of the principal newspaper in Honolulu, if I understand the situation correctly, has demonstrated how the media can stimulate organized activity throughout the state.

I offer only one addition to such a project. Media seminars can begin early to plan a social planetarium.12 In the last century, when popular scientific education was an urgent and novel matter in Europe, the
planetarium was invented as a means of popular instruction in astronomy. It provided an artificial environment where the past, present and future of the solar system and the galaxies could be made accessible at the focus of audience attention.

The conception of a social planetarium is also contextual, since it ultimately includes the past, present and future of man. The conception differs, however, in certain respects. The original planetarium was an achievement of scientists, engineers, and educators. A social planetarium likewise involves highly qualified professionals. But this is not all. If the conception is to yield maximum benefit, it must be a joint enterprise in which citizens of many levels of skill work together. Today initiative can and should be taken at every level, beginning with clustered villages, small towns, county, provincial, state, national and transnational centers.

The aim is to achieve a coherent version of how a given community is linked with its present, past and future environment. Hopefully, the past and future are presented in alternative versions, so that dogmatic parochialism is undermined. Similarly, projections of the future (2000 and later) are given as broad alternatives.

At the level of a village cluster, for instance, the initiative can be taken by media personnel, teachers, experts, officials and civic leaders. A sketch of the local plan can serve as the take-off point for exhibits of a permanent character that cover every value-institution sector, and progressively bring into view more of the national and transnational context.

In many towns and cities the planetarium can become a joint project designed to draw on museum, zoological, botanical and archival facilities. Fairs, fiestas and their equivalents can be utilized to increase the use of permanent buildings and exhibits, and to widen the basis of support.

The slowly changing frames of reference provided by a social planetarium can be employed to overcome a serious weakness of modern instruments of rapid communication. The rapid media are fragmented and typically create a disorganized image of social reality. The exhibits in a social planetarium can be frequently reproduced to serve as "stage sets" where current happenings are almost automatically put in context. Such a mode of attention control can generate functional equivalents for the commonly shared maps of reality that were unifying experiences for the members of many primitive societies. It is often asserted, with some color of probability, that the alienation, parochialism and confusion of the modern world have been accentuated by the reporting styles of the media.
A representative mechanism of audience response is the "self-reference effect," which is operating when exposure to new ways of doing things provokes attention to turn back toward the self and heightens the demand to determine one's quality and style of life. The self-reference mechanism helps to explain why the accelerated tempo and volume of material technology has had so little apparent impact on the fundamental outlines of a world public order that was and is separated into political entities distinguished from one another by the expectation of violence, the demand for armed security, and the sense of intense identification with a fragmented system of world public order.

The continuing seminar and the social planetarium are among the institutional innovations that provide means for perpetual re-examination of the environment of man, and of testing the impact of functions and structures on the quality and style of life.

Two contrasting scenarios of the future are suggestive of the importance of continuing feedback of knowledge to those who are concerned as scientists or executives with communication:

I. The Oligarchic Model. The power centers of the world arena adhere to development policies at home and abroad that depend on high levels of investment in resource-luxuriant technologies, in this way heightening commitments to wealth and power. In a world that emphasizes the values of material wealth and power, the "revolution of rising frustrations" continues to generate pressure, "from below," and from "out there" for the wider sharing of wealth and power. Provoked by parallel challenges "from below" the oligarchic elites (governmental, industrial, political) come to expect that it is cheaper and less hazardous to evolve toward a unified transnational oligarchy (Washington, Moscow, Peking, Tokyo, for example). In striving to consolidate an oligarchic world, public order, the instruments of communication, are used to indoctrinate and distract. Chemical and biological and other coercive means are employed to test or correct failures of indoctrination.

II. The Participatory Model. The demand for selective development increases the pressure for investment in intermediate, resource-parsimonious technology that minimally disrupts the distribution of population and intensifies demand for the pluralization of values. Excessive concern with wealth and power gives way to a quality and style of life that culminates in expressive acts that are parsimonious in material requirements. Levels of frustration are held in check; oligarchies are deprived of support; the decision process is responsive to persuasive alignments of
skill and other pluralistic groups; mass media provide attention opportuni-
ties that generate and re-edit common maps of man's past, present and
future and strengthen a universal and differentiated sense of identity and
common interest. I do not predict at present whether the oligarchic or
the participatory model will most closely harmonize with future events.
In any case, the main function of models of the future is less to foretell
events than to forestall or to expedite their occurrence.

Our developmental construct of past and future has emphasized
the significance of media of communication for the accelerated acceptance
of the technological revolution, and more recently for an undertone of dis-
enchantment. The construct says to us as scientists, executives and users
of mass media that if we learn how to organize our own continuing focus
of attention more adequately, we can be more helpful to our neighbors
around the globe in progressively adapting technology to a quality and
style of life compatible with human dignity in a commonwealth in which
participation in the shaping and sharing of values is wide rather than nar-
rowly limited, and where the institutions of society are continually adjust-
ed to serve the common goal.

It is, I suggest, opportune to organize the continuing observation
of future communication and society.
NOTES


4. For an important example of survey technique used to describe political change see Daniel Lerner and Morton Gorden, Euratlantica; Changing Perspectives of European Elites (Cambridge, Mass.: The M. I. T. Press, 1969).


7. For an application of the categories to "Constitutive" processes see McDougal, Lasswell and Reisman in Falk and Black (eds.) op. cit, footnote 1.


10. Summarized from Paul Maynard's statement, SEADAG seminar on Development Administration (March, 1972).
