

THE FOURTH INGREDIENT

By

HERRIN F. CULVER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE NO.
COMMUNICATIONS - AS A PRINCIPAL ELEMENT FOR MEASURING AND FORECASTING THE RATE OF TRANSITION OF THE NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	1 - 15
DEFINING COMMUNICATIONS	16 - 29
THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	30 - 41
COMMUNICATIONS IN TWO CONTRASTING SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES	42 - 69
A MEASUREMENT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH	70 - 82
A METHOD OF MEASURING THE POLITICS OF NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	83 - 98
THE CASE FOR COMMUNICATIONS	99 - 101

THE FOURTH INGREDIENT

Communications - as a Principal Element for Measuring
and Forecasting the Rate of Transition of the
Newly Developing Countries

Herrin F. Culver
Communications Media Officer
United States Operations Mission
to
Bangkok, Thailand

In many parts of the world new nations are emerging from cocoons of colonial domination. All are in various stages of "trying their wings" for the flight ahead to their national destinies. Most of these new nations have requested substantial assistance from the United States, administered in turn by the Agency for International Development. As a result, A. I. D. Field Missions are guiding and helping these new governments to establish a firm foundation for their pre-conditioning for take-off as self-sufficient responsible nations.

Since the original Marshall Plan and the Point 4 program, both of which were rather limited in scope, the present day demands on the U. S. Agency for International Development for assistance from all over the world have changed from "bush fire" emergency operations to longer-ranged, carefully programmed activities. Both the

Marshall Plan and the Point 4 program were new concepts. As such, there was no prior experience for their operation. In addition, the very nature of the emergency factors that established them made it necessary that many of their programs be developed on a day-to-day basis -- a "play-it-by-ear" technique. Today's requests for socio-economic assistance are both multiplied and different, for the most part, from those prevalent during the time of the Marshall Plan and the Point 4.

Today, foreign aid has reached new dimensions. Socio-economic and technical assistance to the newly developing countries of the world is an important part of our foreign policy. Large numbers of men and women have gained experience, developed techniques in training and teaching for incorporation and adaptation of modern methods of public administration, agriculture, and industry, to name a few.

These activities all aim at speeding up the process of social, cultural, and economic development. Time and experience have sharpened our own methods of administration, direction, programming, and program implementation -- now following longer range and more carefully projected objectives. With the rapid emergence of so many new nations in the past ten years, our experiences have multiplied. New methodology has been compounded to meet the needs and requirements of many nations with racial creed and geographic

differences -- and each at a different stage of transition.

The demands of today have greatly changed our approach to socio-economic and technical assistance in every country where there is a program. The increasing critical evaluation by the U. S. Congress and the American taxpayer of the costs involved and the result obtained no longer make it expedient to "play it by ear". The world situation and the demand for a wider range of assistance programs from larger numbers of nations require closer vigilance of our country programming and evaluation activities. It is no longer good enough to "think" we know the stage of development of country "X", or how its people will act or react during the period of transition. We must be able to analyze and evaluate their state of growth -- their needs for continued economic, social and political development -- their own resources available for mobilization and effective use -- and the amount of extra ingredients to provide a mixture that will do the job.

What are the ingredients required for programs that will establish sound development; how do they relate to each other? Some method of comparative analysis -- some method of measurement -- is required if this process of evaluation and projection is to be efficient and dependable.

For some time economic and political historians and social

scientists have been able to establish a comparative analysis of countries -- particularly in their own fields of endeavor. However, in recent years, emphasized by the rapid emergence of many new nations, it has been apparent that comparative analysis was not enough. Methods of measurement for determining the stage of development for forecasting future trends and direction are also required.

The year 1960 saw two books by outstanding American authorities make their appearance on present methods of both evaluation and measurement of the stages of development of the economic, social, and political elements of newly developing countries.

The first of these publications is a collection of lectures given at Cambridge University by Walt W. Rostow, formerly Professor of Economic History at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and currently Counselor and Chairman of the Policy Planning Commission, Department of State. This publication is entitled "The Stages of Economic Growth (A Non-Communist Manifesto)". In this book Professor Rostow describes the methods (or formulae) by which he (and we) can measure and identify the stage of economic growth of a country. He terms his "five-stages-of-growth" as (1) The Traditional Society; (2) The Precondition for Take-off;

(3) The Take-off; (4) The Drive to Maturity; and (5) The Age of High Mass-Consumption.

The second publication of equal importance is "The Politics of the Developing Areas". This book, edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, is the combined efforts of the Princeton Center of International Studies and members of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council. As the authors indicate in the foreward, this book "sets out to do two things". The first is to construct a theoretical framework that will make possible for the first time "a comparative method of analysis for political systems of all kinds". The second proposes to offer a "comparative analysis of the political systems of those areas of the world in which dramatic social and political changes are taking place -- Asia, Africa, and Latin America". Thus, it is possible with scientifically substantiated methods of measurement to determine the stages of economic, social, and political growth of a newly developing nation and a comparative analysis of the country in question with others in stages of transition.

But there are four ingredients in the mixture we need to identify if we are to gain an accurate understanding and be able to measure the stage of development of a newly emerging nation. These are economic, social, political, and communications. The Fourth

Ingredient is Communications -- possibly the most necessary of the four.

Communications is used here in its broadest form. It not only relates to the movement of knowledge to people in such frameworks that they will act upon that knowledge, but to roads and transportation facilities as well. The interchange of ideas and customs -- of knowing each other through the use of a common language -- of establishing a national unity -- is greatly accelerated by adequate air, sea, and rail transportation. Arterial highways and market roads also help to stimulate and develop mobility -- and empathy in the people of emerging countries.

As mentioned earlier, for a number of years the economists and the economic historians, the social scientists and the anthropologists, the political scientists and the political historians have probed, made comparative analyses, and evaluated people, their environments, and development. However, for the most part these studies have been conducted within the framework of the individual's or the group's professional objectives. While communications has been indicated as an important supporting factor in many of these studies, with few exceptions has it been indicated as a prime factor aiding in the transition of a society.

One recent exception to this (1958) was compiled in the

publication "The Passing of Traditional Society".^{1/} This book is a report and analysis of field studies conducted by staff members of The Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University who jointly sponsored its publication with The Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. These studies concentrated on mass communications in the Middle East (radio, newspapers, and motion pictures). The author, Daniel Lerner, who compiled the book in collaboration with Lucille W. Pevsner, says in the preface that: "Nearly a decade of effort has gone into the studies from which this book was made. The decade has reshaped our conceptions of modernization in the underdeveloped areas -- of what happens with the passing of traditional society -- and the Middle East has become a very different place from what it was ten years ago. . . . How to interpret such variant responses to the common challenge of modernization is a problem of global scope, India and Indonesia, China and Chile -- all of the vast underdeveloped world poses the same questions. "

It cannot be stressed too strongly that wise programming of socio-economic and technical assistance activities in the newly developing countries will develop along patterns of acceptability and

^{1/} Daniel Lerner: "The Passing of Traditional Society", The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.

and possibility in the environment and stage of development of the country. While there are many barriers that make this difficult -- many springing from the hyper-nationalistic ambitions of the former revolutionary leaders who are guiding the transition -- wise guidance and project implementation can only come from a thorough understanding of the social, political, and economic posture of the country.

It is also of equal importance to understand the role of communications and the part it plays in the motivation of the social, political, and economic change within the society of the newly developing country.

It was from analysis of these and related studies, coupled with the observations and experiences gained from five years of close association and participation with economic and technical assistance projects and program planning activities in Indonesia, that developed the working hypothesis for this paper, as follows:

that the economic, social, and political development of a society only progresses in ratio to the speed of the development of communications -- that communications is actually the primary ingredient -- paving the way and providing the momentum for the economic, social, and political growth of a society; that communications can be measured equally as well and

be used as a medium of analysis; and that an evaluation of the stage of development of communications in a country can be used to forecast on a basis of strength and weakness the direction, possible rate of progress, and the level of application required to implement successful activities of socio-economic assistance.

Although later we will discuss the "four ingredients" as they relate to Indonesia and Thailand. However, at this point Indonesia was chosen because in this new Republic all of the problems associated with newly developing areas are emphasized to a greater extent than in many. Here about ninety million people of many ethnic groups live on 3,000 islands that stretch over 3,000 miles in one direction, and about 1,000 miles in depth. A nation speaking over a 100 different languages and dialects, some of them written, offers problems enough. However, when several traditional societies, a minimum of roads, rail, air, and steamship facilities -- multiple religious and political ideologies are added -- the knowledge required to plan socio-economic assistance activities that will conform to the needs and adapt to the environment, is compounded many times. Indonesia, like most of the newly developing countries, has its "five-year plan" aimed at economic growth and eventual

stability. However, as in most new countries, the tides of political change, a group struggle for power, and breakdown of the former colonial facilities and installations are major factors of interference. Like most new nations a burning desire to establish leadership status among the other nations also complicates straightforward approaches to socio-economic assistance -- no matter how urgent or strong is the country's desire for help.

With so many languages and dialects it was imperative that Indonesia have a national language. Bahasa Indonesian, a form of Malayan, was born in 1915. However, it is said that the greatest stimulant for its universal use was an outcome of the Japanese occupation when as a part of "Asia for Asians" program it was made mandatory to speak the Indonesian language and severe penalties were established for those caught speaking Dutch. Since Indonesia has become a republic Dutch has been dropped, and English has become the second language. Soon after independence Indonesia launched an all out literacy program for adults and Bahasa Indonesian became the teaching language in the schools. Today, Indonesia is able to show an increase in her literacy rate from about 90% illiterate before the war to 55% literate (claimed) at present. With the universal language now being taught in the schools the new language is understood generally throughout the islands. However, it is a new language (one of the

world's newest) and because of this is highly restrictive as a medium of communications. The vocabulary has few words or phrases at this time which relate to mechanical, scientific, or technological terms, things, or techniques. Consequently, translation, guidance and indoctrination are limited.

In spite of the rapid growth of primary and secondary schools combating illiteracy in Indonesia confronts this island nation with all of the problems facing other nations with high illiteracy -- the inability to supply teachers and facilities fast enough to keep up with the steep rise in population. Great effort is being made to train teachers to meet this problem but it is a barrier of considerable concern. While there are no figures available to illustrate the magnitude of this problem, reference to a pilot study made in Iran could illustrate the problem faced by Indonesia.

The Agency for International Development's Education Division in Iran projected a study ^{1/} of the dynamics of illiteracy in that country over a period extending from 1957 to 1977. Based on the following assumptions and expansions this survey reflected statistically some of the major problems of education facing all of the newly developing countries. The survey was based on assumptions that:

^{1/} Dr. Gerald F. Winfield: "The Roles of the Communications Processes in the Economic Growth of Nations. "

"The Population of Iran was projected on a 2% per annua average increase.

"The largest increase of primary enrollment yet recorded in a single year was used as the rate of expansion for projecting primary education for 20 years.

"It was estimated that at least 50,000 adults would be taught how to read and write each year for the next 20 years. This is a rate which is somewhere between two and five times that at which adults have been taught to read in Iran in recent years.

"A second projection was made on the assumption that enough additional teachers would be trained and schoolrooms built to provide one teacher and one classroom for every 40 children in the 6 to 12 year age group in 1977. This requires adding an average of 5,000 new teachers per year for the next 20 years instead of the 2,000 now being added. This would provide 112,500 teachers 20 years from now compared to 30,000 teachers now."

These assumptions developed:

"In the next 20 years the total Iranian population will expand from 19.4 million to 27.6 million.

"In 1957 the 19.4 million of the Iranian population consisted of 4 million children under 5 years of age; 2.1 million people of all ages who are literate and 13.2 million illiterates.

"In 1957 there were 3,040,000 primary school age children (6 to 12 years). Of this number 824,000 (29%) were in primary schools. In 1957 Iran was growing 2.2 million illiterate children who should have been in school.

"When the highest rate of primary school enrollment increase achieved in any one year was used to project the expansion of primary education, and it was assumed that 50,000 adults would be taught to read and write each year, the following estimated situation in 1977 resulted:

Total population	27.6 million
Under 5 years of age	5.9 million
Literate	6.1 million
Illiterate	15.6 million

"If the present rate of expansion of primary education is continued for the next 30 years, Iran will increase the number of literates in her population from 2.1 to 6.1 million, an increase of almost 300%. But the absolute number of illiterates will go up from 13.2 to 15.5 millions, a net increase of 2.3 million.

"When primary education is projected with a rate of expansion that is 2-1/2 times that now being attained, it will be possible in 1977 to have a classroom and teacher for each 40 of the predicted 4.5 million children who will then be in the 6 to 12 year age group. The literacy situation in 1977 will have dramatically improved. Of the 27.6 million population 5.9 million will be under 5 years of age and

not expected to be literate; 11.5 million will be literate, a five to six fold increase over the 2.1 million literates now in the population. However, even with this vastly stepped up rate of expansion of primary education, in 1977 there will still be 10.2 million illiterates in the Iranian population.

"The study also showed that a vast expansion of primary education, something in the order of 2-1/2 times the present rate must be attained if illiteracy is to be reduced.

"It was also clear that millions of Iranian adults will live out their lives as illiterates. In the rural population these illiterate adults will make the vast majority of agricultural, village industry, and other basic decisions that are made in Iranian communities through the next two decades. Even if the expanded rate of growth for primary education is achieved there will still be 10.2 million adults in the Iranian population who will be illiterate 20 years from now. "

It is when faced with situations such as these that an understanding and appreciation of the role of communications is of paramount importance to those responsible for program planning in cooperation with the departments of government of these new nations. For example, an activity to develop better strains of rice or corn can go on for 50 years without increasing the economy or relieving shortages --

if the people who grow rice and corn cannot get the seed because of poor distribution -- or never are informed about the advantages of the new strains in such a manner that they will be motivated to plant it. And so it goes in every endeavor of economic assistance.

Activities can be planned and executed, but their success in the main depends on an enlightened and understanding public -- a public that understands what their government is doing -- what it means to them. Only by means of communications can this climate of understanding be established -- and a country of many ethnic groups, many who have been natural enemies for centuries, be welded into a nation -- a nation on the move and in active transition.

DEFINING COMMUNICATIONS

Throughout the world A. I. D. missions are stepping up the emphasis that accents the importance of human resources. Here in Thailand today there is great concern for and many activities planned to establish better relations and attitudes among the peoples who live in the border areas of the country. We hear much of "developing the human resources -- political communications -- community development -- and economic development". At the openings of recent training meetings for the Kamnans,^{1/} His Excellency Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat emphasized the development of human resources when he said: "Agricultural, technical, and industrial development are vital to the progress of the country -- but the development of human resources is the most important of all." He also commented that if the people do not understand what is going on and what the government is aiming at, they cannot cooperate in Thailand's development.

^{1/} A Kamnan is a Tambol leader. The Tambol is a geographic area averaging about 8 to 10 villages. His first qualification is that he must be a Puyaiban or village chief himself. He is then selected by the Puyaibans in an open and democratic election supervised by the Nai Amphur (appointed district leader). He holds his office for life unless removed by the Governor for cause. He is the highest official elected in Thailand today.

All of these planned and programmed activities for the development of the country's resources have the common goal of strengthening positive opinions and attitudes and increasing the standard of living and productivity of the people. These are part of a larger program which is to develop the economic, social, and political elements of Thailand -- so that they will contribute to the country's progress toward economic independence in the world of free nations. But again we must consider communications -- that ingredient that binds them together and ferments growth.

What is this fourth ingredient -- Communications? Communications (in the sense used here) means the movement of knowledge to people -- in such frameworks that they will understand, accept, and act on that knowledge. The communications media are the various tools that we use -- such as radio, television, the press, and films -- these are the methods, devices, and techniques used to reach individuals, groups or the general public to speed up understanding, national unity, and good relations between the government and the people. Let us stop for a moment and review the development of communications.

Since the beginning of time men have had a burning desire to communicate with each other -- to record outstanding events that affected their lives. From this desire spoken language was born,

closely followed by the written or picture languages. Both of these forms of communications were symbols. The basic tribal spoken symbols, or language, and later the picture drawings transmitted events to those who could not understand the spoken symbols (thus bridging a gap of predawn illiteracy.)

So, throughout the recorded history we see the people of many lands developing their own particular spoken and written symbols for the express purpose of communicating with each other. As they developed understanding throughout their societies in this manner, their social, economic, and political development kept pace with it. For example, there were the Greek and Roman cultures, the Egyptian, Phoenician, Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Korean, to name a few. These men of ancient times worked hard to develop communications symbols and techniques.

By the year 105 A. D. the Chinese had made paper and ink; by the year 450 block printing was practiced in Asia; between the years 900 and 1450 movable type was developed in China and cast metal type in Korea; by the middle of the 15th century Gutenberg and others perfected a system of casting metal type and applied it to bookmaking; in the year 1456 the 42-line Gutenberg Bible was printed.

This was the turning point that led to mass communications.
Wilbur Schramm, Director of the Institute of Communications

Research at Stanford University, describes it in this manner:^{1/} "But it was many years after Gutenberg before Western Europe developed anything which we should recognize today as mass media. As soon as the first books and documents came off of the presses, however, the new tool of print was caught up in social use. It became a weapon of the men in power and a weapon of revolution. The first news sheets became tools of commerce; the first books became the tools of education. Magazines and pamphlets argued out the politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The American and the French Revolutions would have been unlikely, if not impossible, without mass communications. When political freedom had been won for the common man, mass communications were able to reach, over the heads of the specially privileged and the specially educated, to the great masses of men who had need of information in order to play their proper parts in democracy and to take advantage of the opportunities they were being offered. Political democracy, economic opportunity, free public education, the Industrial Revolution, and mass communications were woven together in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to make a great change in human life and national relations."

^{1/} Wilbur Schramm: "Mass Communications".

As was mentioned earlier, the development of the printing press was really the first breakthrough of mass communications and the spread of education to a wider range of the population. This urge to communicate with people and the importance and emphasis placed on it by all of the peoples of the world has, however, developed many complicated spoken and written language symbols, so complicated that we have difficulty even in our own language of a clear-cut interpretation of the many written and spoken words and their implications in the frameworks in which they are presented.

Let us dwell for a moment on how communications works. Communications always requires the three elements: the SOURCE, the MESSAGE, and the AUDIENCE. The source may be an individual, a publishing company, a radio, television station, or a motion picture studio. It also could be the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Health, Interior, or the government itself. The message may be the written word, photography, drawn illustrations, sound or picture waves in the air, electronic impulses over a telephone, or any other signal or set of symbols that are capable of being interpreted. The audience may be an individual, members of a group, or large masses of people either listening, watching, or reading.

So we see that communications is the transmittal of ideas from a SOURCE to an AUDIENCE. However, before transmission can take

place the SOURCE must "encode" the idea into symbols or words. After the idea is transmitted the AUDIENCE must "decode" the symbols into something approximating the original idea. The communicator has good reason to worry about whether the audience is "in tune" with him or whether the idea was received without distortion. A poorly coded message will always produce "static" that makes decoding distorted or impossible in the same manner that "static" on the radio makes it difficult or impossible to understand the message.

What depends on our being able to communicate with others? Wilbur Schramm of Stanford University, who was mentioned earlier, has indicated that we possibly find it easier to communicate with our immediate families -- husband, wife, mother, father, or close friends, because their field of experience more closely resembles ours, and because of the higher credibility we place on the source. The listing of the most difficult to communicate with would no doubt include people with different socio-economic backgrounds and those who speak a different language, the illiterate, or the semi-literate.

Dr. Gerald Winfield, referred to earlier, is a leading authority on methods of communicating education and information to the peoples of the newly emerging countries. In commenting on communications with audiences that are illiterate or semi-literate, he

points out the following:^{1/}

"Most peoples of the world who must become the end-users of knowledge carried through technical cooperation programs are illiterate or at best semi-literate. The effectiveness of any communication with them will depend on how well the communicator understands a series of special characteristics which apply to them. The illiterate people of the world are almost all poor. They follow custom and have pre-scientific belief systems.

"With all their limitations and lack of education, the illiterate audiences of the world are still shrewd and canny. They live in societies that are dominated by personal relations. Illiterate people experience life whole and continuously.

"Their approach to life is largely visual. They are not usually skilled in the processes of analysis nor are they 'logical' in the sense that people who have had schooling are logical. Illiterate folk can much more quickly understand ideas presented in pictorial form than in any other. Such pictorial presentation needs to be organized in the sequence of logic.

"All people have their own peculiar vernacular of words, situations and actions. The understood spoken vernacular of illiterates is carried by a limited vocabulary.

^{1/} Dr. Gerald F. Winfield: "The Roles of the Communications Processes in the Economic Growth of Nations".

"The sense of identification with other people tends to be limited in the illiterate audience." (The people in Northeast Thailand, for example, might identify themselves with His Majesty, The King, but not with the Governor, the people in the next valley, and certainly not with the Thai in the South.) "Furthermore, the illiterate audience has a limited ability to transfer learning. To be understood the subject matter must be specific and clear in both words and images."

Dr. Winfield further states that: "Experimental study has shown that illiterate and semi-literate people do not follow both word and image in a movie or other audio-visual medium if the two do not stay closely together. The illiterate usually cannot grasp too many ideas at one time.

"To be effective it is necessary to know what the audience considers as valid evidence. There is a person or group of persons in the community that is the one who can 'legitimize' a new idea. If these 'legitimizers' accept it, then the rest of the group will go along. One must know what is convincing to the 'legitimizers'. A person usually must be the primary agent that brings about change. At the same time, the communications loads in the underdeveloped parts of the world are so great that every person who is engaged in instituting change must be equipped with materials that can make him effective in communicating with large groups.

"The illiterate audience has a vast desire to look. The approach to the illiterate audience should be by:

"A person using realistic, complete images within the vernacular of situation and action understood by the audience.

"Explained by a spoken vernacular of simple words, following closely, and serving to emphasize and clarify images that can be understood without explanation.

"Images put together in the sequence of experience rather than the sequence of logic.

"Usually, the sequence of experience has a simple linear time scale with a direct progression -- that is, having no flash-back or foreshortening. " (For example, if you tell the story of a man they expect him to be born -- grow up -- grow old -- and die. If you tell the story and start with a middle-aged man and go back to his youth to tell why he is like he is -- this mixing up of the normal time sequence will confuse a simple audience.) "This technique (of following normal time sequence) should be followed whenever possible. Four fundamental concepts have appeared over and over again in the experience of technicians engaged in communicating with this vast rural audience:

"1. Only one idea should be presented in one training unit and usually not more than five points should be made about that idea.

"2. Repetition should be carefully planned to help clarify and stimulate recall.

"3. Motivation must be clearly and strongly built with attention to both positive and negative fears.

"4. All communication of useful information must be shaped to relate that which is to be taught to the vital interest that the audience already consciously recognizes. "

In all of the countries where effort is being made to bring about economic change it soon becomes obvious that change is more rapidly obtained where there is national solidarity and unity. Thailand already has an advantage over many other countries in this respect, for Thailand has an unifying symbol in the form of His Majesty The **King**, to whom the people in all of the areas of the country pay allegiance -- regardless of sectional, ethnical, or religious differences. This homogeneity and the universal respect to the Monarchy have been achieved in part through communications -- pictures in public places, stores, shops, and most of the homes in the land -- addresses over the radio, appearances on television, and by personal visits by His Majesty and the Royal Family throughout the Kingdom.

A united people with national solidarity can only develop where there is a national pride -- a sense of "belongingness". One of the principal means to accomplish this is to build a bridge of understand-

ing and cooperativeness between the government and the people. To establish a "two-way" flow of communications between the government and the people -- and between the people and the government.

If scientific research concurs that economic, social, and political development progress in ratio to the development of communications, then it will also emphasize the importance of social development -- the human resources. There is no substitute for the people in any program of national development. If economic development is to go forward on a sound footing either in Thailand or elsewhere, it must have the backing and cooperative efforts of enlightened and understanding publics. These are the masses who in the future will build the towns and cities, man the factories, accept and put into practical application modern farming, forestry, and irrigation methods and techniques. From this group will come the local leadership needed to expedite these activities throughout the country.

But how do we go about this job of "building a bridge between the government and the village people"? Admittedly it is not easy. There are many considerations to make -- many types of people to communicate with and they in turn will have their own problems and desires to speak of. Also, the voice of the people will represent audiences in many stages of social development. There is no simple formula. To do the job effectively means real hard work, well-

planned -- well-executed. Each audience group will need special attention because communication will have to be established and conducted within the scope of each group's frame of reference. Modern methods and techniques of transmitting education and information through the use of audio and visual media will speed up the process, but they will not work magic. If opinions and attitudes are to be positively influenced, a considerable amount of self-examination will be required of the government sector, and a thorough knowledge and understanding of the various groups of people who are to be reached will need to be developed.

Who are these people who make up the various audiences throughout the land? They are made up of many kinds and types. In Thailand they range from the hill tribes who live in nomadic groups in the mountains surrounding the country from the north to the east -- those who are still living in a traditional society environment in the more remote areas of the country -- and those who through exposure in one way or another are experiencing various stages of social transition. These people include a high rate of illiterate and superstitious, the newly literate, and large percentage of "literate" who have had three, four, or in some instances, six years of schooling. A large part of this population is in the Northeast and the East in the vicinity of the Laos and Cambodian borders. The language of Northeast

Thailand is heavily influenced by the languages of these bordering countries, as well as their social patterns and living habits. Thus, their opinions and attitudes are strongly molded by the peoples from these countries to the North and East.

However, all of these people who inhabit the thousands of villages throughout the country have one thing in common: These are the masses of adults who compose Thailand's manpower reserve; these are the hands that will help bring about economic development; they are to a great extent the adults who will never go to school -- or go back to school if they once did.

How do we go about this problem of winning men's minds -- changing their opinions and attitudes, developing good relations between the government and the masses of people in the villages of Thailand?

The principal channel is through continuing programs of education and information based on the truth. The speed and the degree of public cooperation can be motivated through communications methods. Development activities will be greatly hampered until this bridge of communications between the government and the people is built. The problem must be met and solved if economic development is to move forward. These should be tailored to fit the area and within the frame of reference of the people who live in it if they are to have maximum

effectiveness. If the government is to reach the people in a manner that will effect change with consent, and win loyalty and support, the government should first determine how much the people know about the government, and what their present attitudes are toward the government activities. Otherwise, there is no place to begin.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Why has it been stressed that a knowledge of stage of development of communications and its potential for further development have primary importance to programs of technical and economic assistance? Earlier a hypothesis was posed that "the economic, social, and political progress of a country in transition -- only progresses in ratio to the speed of the development of communications." If this assumption is true, and it is reasonably substantiated by the research studies of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University; the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University;^{1/} and the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology;^{2/} then, communications becomes a principal ingredient for consideration in political and socio-economic development activities. The studies mentioned all indicate that communications sets the stage, provides the vehicle, indicates the direction, and controls the speed of development of economic, social,

^{1/} Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman: "Politics of the Developing Areas".

^{2/} Daniel Lerner, Professor of Sociology and International Communications, and member of the Senior Staff of the Center for International Studies, M. I. T.: "The Passing of Traditional Society".

and political advancement. Thus, communications becomes the controlling factor in good planning.

It is hoped that in the not too distant future scientific research can be directed at developing methods of measurement, analysis, and evaluation of communications as a whole, rather than a supporting element to the political, social, and economic advancement. It is felt that the result of such research would prove to be a valuable barometer for forecasting the probable rate of growth.

Since the early days of the Marshall Plan, U. S. economic assistance activities have passed through a series of evolutionary changes. U. S. economic aid got its start in Europe in the rebuilding of war-shattered production plants. Here the principal effort was focused on economic assistance and the transplanting of American productivity methods into the plants and factories of war-torn Western European countries. With the emergence of so many newly developing countries in recent years, the planning and implementation of assistance programs have grown more complicated and the activities more varied. In addition, with few exceptions, all of the newly developing countries, unlike Europe, are in various stages of transition from traditional societies.

In yesterday's programs it was adequate if the economist was a good economist -- the educational specialist a good educator, etc.,

as, for the most part, their counterparts were educated and literate.

Today the picture has changed. No longer can those working in the developing areas of the world approach their programming and implementation activities in the light of their professional specialty alone. Today's planning must be based on current information pertaining to the stage of development of the political, social, economic, and communications factors if activities are to reach their conclusion with some assurance of success. The people must demonstrate complete acceptance to, as well as continued use or operation of, the facilities or training that were incorporated into the objectives of the activity.

For example, an agricultural program supervisor might well develop projects and methods that are acceptable, or even highly desirable, to high-level officials at the Ministry of Agriculture, who are both educated and westernized. However, the agricultural technician working at village level may find that these farming methods and applications may be impossible to introduce to the peasant traditional level because of local customs, superstitions, or economic restrictions -- barriers that neither the agricultural supervisor nor the host government official knew about, or considered, during the planning stages. Semi-literacy or illiteracy and lack of communications among the people who are expected to apply, to use, or to

operate the facility developed by the activity is another area where wise and comprehensive planning should take place. This factor alone has proven to be one of the principal barriers to economic development.

Another area is that of malaria eradication where the importance of communications can be illustrated. An activity such as this is doomed to lengthy delays or failure without the complete support of the public. The public must be able to understand and willingly support such an activity. This was historically true in Sumatra, Indonesia, during the former "malaria control" program in Indonesia. The government did not consider the need at that time to prepare and educate the village people in the area about the program and thereby develop the understanding and cooperative acceptance of the people. Because of this, when the spray teams arrived in the village and started to order the people to remove their belongings from their houses, riots started as the villagers rebelled against this invasion by strangers. This, of course, stopped the program in these areas. Now, however, a great deal of information and education is being given and conducted at village level to prepare in advance a climate of understanding that clearly defines the cooperative role of the villager in the program, and the reasons for it. All of the communications media have been directed toward this purpose.

To develop communications activities that are aimed at changing attitudes and behaviors on a national scale are expensive. They require men, money, commodities, know-how, and considerable time to be effective. This is another principal reason why communications is an essential ingredient. To be successful and maintain the support of both the American and host government leaders directing these activities, the communications element should be written into the bi-national agreements wherever possible, so that adequate and continuing funds are available to finance this activity.

In all of the newly developing countries the problems of changing attitudes and of motivating behavior changes with consent through the development of channels of communications are of the first importance. On the speed and thoroughness in which we can accomplish this task rests our ability to help these new nations toward the goals they have set. This is a difficult task and requires the use of all the mass communications media, all of the audio and visual media, and all of our skills and techniques if we are to help these countries bridge across the barriers of so few trained people, almost non-existent school systems, high rate of illiteracy, and rapidly multiplying populations.

Daniel Lerner writes that one of the prime factors in the economic growth of a newly emerging country is its ability to develop

mobility -- mobility that moves the society from the traditional stage into the transitional. Mobility, he says, is motivated principally by empathy, developed by exposure to mass communications.

Dr. Lerner has reported this in detail, as it related to his studies on mass communications in the Middle East, in the following manner:^{1/} "A mobile society has to encourage rationality, for the calculus of choice shapes individual behavior and conditions its rewards. People come to see the social future as manipulatable rather than heritage. Rationality is purposive: ways of thinking and acting are instruments of intention (not articles of faith); men succeed or fail by the test of what they accomplish (not what they worship). So, whereas traditional man tended to reject innovation by saying, 'it has never been thus', the contemporary Westerner is more likely to ask, 'Does it work?' and try the new way without further ado.

"The psychic gap between these two postures is vast. It took much interweaving through time, between ways of doing and ways of thinking, before men could work out a style of daily living with change that felt consistent and seamless. The experience of mobility through successive generations gradually evolved participant life-ways which feel 'normal' today. Indeed, while past centuries established the public practices of the mobile society, it has been the work of the twentieth century to diffuse widely a mobile sensibility so adaptive to

^{1/} Daniel Lerner: "The Passing of Traditional Society (modernizing the Middle East)"; The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, pp. 48-51.

change that rearrangement of the self-system is its distinctive mode.

"The mobile personality can be described in objective and technical fashion. The mobile person is distinguished by a high capacity for identification with new aspects of his environment; he comes equipped with the mechanisms needed to incorporate new demands upon himself that arise outside of his habitual experience. These mechanisms for enlarging a man's identity operate in two ways. Projection facilitates identification by assigning to the object certain preferred attributes of the self -- others are 'incorporated' because they are like me. Introjection enlarges identity by attributing to the self certain desirable attributes of the object -- others are 'incorporated' because I am like them or want to be like them. We shall use the word empathy as shorthand for both these mechanisms.

"We are interested in empathy as the inner mechanism which enables newly mobile persons to operate efficiently in a changing world. Empathy, to simplify the matter, is the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation. This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings. Ability to empathize may make all the difference, for example, when the newly mobile persons are villagers who grew up knowing all the extant individuals, roles and relationships in their environment. Outside his village or tribe, each must meet new individuals, recognize new roles, and

learn new relationships involving himself.

"High empathic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate and participant. Traditional society is nonparticipant -- it deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from a center; without an urban-rural division of labor, it develops few needs requiring economic interdependence, people's horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve only other known people in known situations. Hence, there is no need for a transpersonal common doctrine formulated in terms of shared secondary symbols -- a national 'ideology' which enables persons unknown to each other to engage in political controversy or achieve 'consensus' by comparing their opinions. Modern society is participant in that it functions by 'consensus' -- individuals making personal decisions on public issues must concur often enough with other individuals they do not know to make possible a stable common governance. Among the marks of this historic achievement in social organization, which we call Participant Society, are that most people go through school, read newspapers, receive cash payments in jobs they are legally free to change, buy goods for cash in an open market, vote in elections which actually decide among competing candidates, and express their opinions on many matters which are not their personal business.

"Especially important, for the Participant Style, is the enormous proportion of people who are expected to 'have opinions' on public matters -- and the corollary expectation of these people that their opinions will matter. "

Doing First Things First

In all of the reports of scientific study that have been referred to in this paper, three factors stand out as the principal roles of communications in countries emerging from traditional societies. The first is to stimulate and develop education in the broadest sense, including programs to eliminate illiteracy. The second is to develop mobility toward economic growth through motivation of empathy. The third is to develop a sense of national unity that will bridge old scars of ethnic or tribal group animosity held over from pre-colonial experience and ruler-peasant relationship,

Education at all levels is of paramount importance in all emerging countries, but the high degree of illiteracy is a principal barrier to economic growth. Most of these countries are predominantly agricultural, with as high as 90% of their mass population engaged in farming operations. Of this group, a large percentage of the agricultural population is engaged in subsistence farming (in Indonesia over 50%). The farm populations generally are living in a village-

centered, traditional society environment with a very high proportion of illiteracy. Most of the technical assistance programs in these countries lean heavily on agricultural development. Activities are planned to enable these new countries to feed themselves without food imports by introducing better farming methods, proper use of fertilizers, and better seed development. There is no time to wait for standard teaching techniques if the large illiterate agricultural population is to assume its historic position in a society in transition and provide the economy with sufficient food. Agricultural self-sufficiency will expand the internal buying power and provide markets for the growing industrial sectors as they begin to form.

It is here in the field of education that communications and the communications media used to stimulate and speed up "learning and doing" show up to the best advantage. Here, progress through the most effective techniques for mass educational development, from the villages to the universities (if they exist), rests on the highly developed use of the audio-visual media. Through their use, for both teaching and training, the educational processes are compressed and speeded up. Time is important, as all of the economic development projects depend to a considerable degree on the availability of a literate pool of both the rural and urban publics.

The Importance of Public Relations

There is another aspect of communications that plays an important role in the newly developing areas, it is seldom recognized for what it is -- that is public relations. Public relations plays a dual role toward the success of our assistance programs.

The first of these pertains to the part public relations plays in the daily functions of our project technicians and directors and our program directors and their negotiations and associations with counterpart government officials. Their success in developing a continuing compatible relationship depends on how well they know, and can interpret, the flexibility or limitations of the communication channels active in the country, the political history and the motivating factors of current political trends, and the social and anthropological background and how it applies to individuals and developments in the country

On the basis of interpreting these factors, there is a good possibility that projects proposed by the host government can be weighed as to their prematurity, or possible successful implementation. This knowledge also enables a better foundation for the guidance and advice to government counterparts because it determines the manner of conducting conversations, conferences, and the preparation of program proposals in such a way that they consider continuing

influences that reflect the cultural, social, and political backgrounds,

It is important, as well, to develop a good understanding of public relations among the officials of the government. In many of the newly developing countries the society reflects a former stratified ruler-peasant relationship. This is not conducive to the development of communications down to the village level, nor does it help in melding the many ethnic groups together into a unified nation. To accomplish this, official recognition of the value of good public relations by government officials, who first must develop a real desire to communicate, is necessary. So, in expediting the transition of the new nations, the development and understanding of the value of public relations becomes an important factor toward their success.

COMMUNICATIONS IN TWO CONTRASTING SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

Indonesia and Thailand are both predominantly agricultural and will depend on agriculture to feed growing populations, large urban concentrations, and to supply foreign exchange for capital development. Consequently, agricultural activities will need continual strengthening by the use of fertilizer, irrigation, improved varieties, and modern methods. To do this will depend on to what extent rural populations can be persuaded to adapt new farming methods. Also absentee land owners (where the estate system is still active) must be persuaded to finance their operations to assure increased yields.

Both nations are Southeast Asian -- both are striving for economic and national security. However, they are in direct contrast to each other and while their main objectives are the same, their approach to them is opposite in every respect. Indonesia with a super-nationalistic personality that is hypersensitive and to a great extent anti-western reaches for its goal under the direction of "Guided Democracy". Guided Democracy is an Indonesian brand of Socialism designed to appease both the communist bloc and the free world countries and still preserve Indonesia's traditional way of life by absolute dictation of the President.

While the patterns of communications are quite well established throughout the archipelago (a continuation of the Dutch system), establishment of two-way communications between the people and the government to assure unity and cooperative endeavor is extremely difficult and will continue to be. The Indonesian government official is quite often suspicious or quite sensitive of western assistance activities or objectives; for that matter they are too often suspicious of each other.

Thailand, on the other hand, because of its history of independence and continued effort through generations of seeking Western education and Western methodology and applying the best of these to their culture and development, is psychologically in a far better state to develop its human resources for socio-economic independence.

The Thai in contrast are easy to talk with and will discuss problems on a "give and take" basis without fear of "loss of face" or extreme sensitiveness, now that the government is aware of the need to inform and educate the public of the government's plans and activities. Previously the government had felt no real need to establish two-way communications; so little had been done other than radio news and television (in the Bangkok area only). Realization of this shortcoming has developed an urgent effort to do something about it, but it has also brought to the attention of the government that it has

little capacity to do this. However, the desire to communicate with the people is established and steps are well on the way to rectify this weakness.

Communications in Indonesia

The importance of developing methods and channels of communications in Indonesia is urgent if that country is to maintain a steady economic growth. These will not be easy to develop. There are many barriers which must be considered that, while not unlike barriers confronted in other newly developing nations, are greatly magnified and complicated in this island nation.

Some of the difficulties facing national unity and economic development are geographic, some are political, while others center around the transition of the traditional cultures.

The high rate of illiteracy and universal lack of understanding of the national language also create problems. Lack of adequate insular transportation (both sea and air), poor rail transport, and inadequate roads add to the slowing up of progress.

Before Dutch colonization, the archipelago was ruled by Javanese kings in Central Java. The Sumatrans, Coastal Dyaks of Borneo, the peoples of the Celebes, and the Muluccas were constantly at war with their Javanese rulers, who in turn exercised tight control over their island domain. This suppression through the centuries left deep

scars and strong anti-Javanese attitudes that persist even today. During the revolution for independence some of these outer island peoples collaborated with the Dutch against the people of Central Java where the revolution centered. This brought about (with Dutch sanction) a desire by the people of the outer island for a United States of Indonesia (federal government) rather than a centralized Republic.

This desire by the outer provinces for a federal government with state's rights and autonomy has been one of the strong motivating factors of the recent revolution in Indonesia. This was also fermented by the failure of the central government to return a substantial amount of the revenue from exports for provincial development -- 90% of Indonesia's export commodities come from the outer provinces (oil, copra, tin and rubber, to name a few). When these demands were not met, the provincial governments resorted to direct export of these commodities and many of the small-holder rubber estates and copra planters turned to smuggling their outputs to Singapore. The final outcome was the outright revolution led by political and military leaders in some of the principal outer provinces.

Education has always been and remains one of the most acute barriers handicapping economic, social, and political development.

Lucian W. Pye has said that^{1/} "The Dutch were extremely conservative about providing opportunities for Western education, and at a remarkably early period they were sensitive to the problems that might follow from creating numbers of unemployed Westernized intellectuals. "

The Dutch system of indirect rule had built-in restrictions to thwart any mass-educational development. Indirect rule worked through the traditional authority -- continuing and strengthening the Javanese aristocracy as well as the local Sultans. This was generally accomplished by detailing a Dutch Commissioner to the courts of the Sultans and Lords. Here, exercising their colonial power quietly, they were able to reshape the Javanese society as well as the others into hierarchies, with the Sultans and Lords exercising more authoritative control over the lesser nobility. In turn the lesser nobility exercised more control over the village chiefs. Thus, for the benefit of all concerned, the large mass of Indonesian peasantry was transformed into force labor. Under the system of indirect rule educational opportunities were only granted to the sons (and later daughters) of the Sultans and nobility as boons. This system

^{1/} Lucian W. Pye: "Politics of the Developing Areas". (The Politics of Southeast Asia) p. 65.

continued through the centuries until Indonesian independence. In later years the privilege of attending Dutch schools had spread to include the families of lesser nobility and a number of Indo-Europeans. Although a great part of the forced labor activities was discarded by 1877 some phases persisted until 1917. At the time of their independence Indonesia was said to have only 300 native doctors for over 70 million people, and the intellectuals with college educations capable of governing administration were few indeed -- perhaps no more than 1500.

There is no question but that this challenge to meet the educational problems must be met substantially before economic progress can gain momentum. The desire to advance must be stimulated by the backing of an adequate pool of literate and knowledgeable middle class workers capable of running the machines, staffing the offices, and conducting the business activities of the private sector -- that is, if the leaders who dare to venture into private enterprise are to protect their investments and carry on successfully. But the development of communications through education is not the only area where evaluation and subsequent methods of challenge and enlightenment are needed.

Problems of Economic Development

In addition to education there are other problems that must be understood and met with care and consideration. All of them can be overcome through the development of adequate communications; although for many, time will also be a factor in their resolvment. The words of Professor W. W. Rostow seem apt at this point. He says, ^{1/} "One must say a change in attitude -- because what is involved here is not some vague change in psychological or sociological orientation, but a change translated into working institutions and procedures. Such change is not to be established by retrospective Gallup polls, but by the comparative examination of political, social, and economic performance in response to similar objective profit possibilities. "

Nowhere in Asia do social, ethnic, and cultural differences loom higher as barriers to national unity and the "preparation for take-off" toward economic growth than in Indonesia. To begin with, throughout the islands there are many different ethnic groups, each with contrasting social mores, -- however, for all of them the Dutch system of indirect rule left marks that will be difficult to erase. Principally it created strong class consciousness -- wide gulfs between the

^{1/} Walt W. Rostow: "Stages of Economic Growth".

governing nobility and mass-public. Indirect rule eliminated to a great extent the possibility for the peoples of the Indies to conduct an interchange of ideas, or supply the opportunity for them to meet and to know each other. It did nothing to develop a feeling of national unity, but rather emphasized their cultural difference and kept alive the feeling of superiority each group felt for its particular culture. It did nothing to erase the universal dislike held by the other groups for the Javanese, who had ruled them none too easily for centuries. This feeling of superiority or class distinction is prevalent among the educated ruling few (usually related directly or indirectly to former nobility) in all the provinces. However, it is most evident in Java where the large population, ruled by a very small educated group in a few urban centers, have always maintained a marked social distinction between the ruler and the masses. This same distinction persists at the national level where a few thousand educated leaders govern Indonesia's estimated 90 million people.

And how does this affect the conduct of economic and technical assistance programs? Principally, because there is no real desire by government officials to communicate with the people, because of a conscious or subconscious feeling of class superiority. This is one of the most difficult things for a Western technician to recognize whose cultural and professional training has been to "help people to help

themselves". While the germ of public service is beginning to sprout, there is no word for 'service', as Westerners know it, in the Indonesian language. A technician for example might have a fine agricultural extension project underway and find suddenly that it is getting nowhere. If he looks into it carefully he might find that all was well until it came time for his Indonesian counterpart physically to demonstrate to the village farmers better rice planting techniques, or a better way to fertilize their fields -- there the project stalled. It stalled because the Indonesian's dignity, his authoritative and cultural position (assumed or real) rebelled -- to do so would reduce him to the level of the farmer -- by direct contact and physically demonstrating with his hands. This tendency, mostly subconscious, persists in all sectors where technical assistance and economic development is needed.

The Loss of or the Protection of "Face" as a Barrier to Informative Communications

The loss of or protection of "face" by an Asian is extremely important. To them and particularly to an Indonesian the loss or protection of a Westerner's "face" is equally as important because it affects his. This makes teaching and training and all forms of negotiating extremely difficult as it is almost impossible to get a "no" answer to anything. It interferes with government requests for

segments of the public to participate in this or that action. When asked if they understand something, or want something, the answer is always "yes" -- when the meaning is "no". Once these characteristics are recognized by a Westerner they can be met, but a great deal of skill in public relations is required to keep a project moving forward. When coupled with standard of behavior of the old nobility (in Java) negotiation is indeed difficult. Louis Fischer^{1/} writes "In Indonesia friends cautioned me to 'talk Javanese'. Words, they said, are never what they seem to be. When faced with a request the refusal of which would cause pain you say 'yes'. When met with an argument which you would like to respect you agree. To do otherwise would affront, insult. Always give joy first. Later you might indicate ever so mildly what you really think. Circumlocution is the best policy. Never put a direct question or expect a direct response."

Inter-Island Shipping and Air Transport
Roads and Railroads

The lack of adequate transport both by sea and air and the deterioration of what were once an excellent rail and primary and secondary road systems are major elements that stand in the way of economic development and the development and spread of communications. During the Dutch occupation a large fleet of inter-island ships

^{1/} Louis Fischer: "The Story of Indonesia", Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959.

regularly plied between Java and the other islands and the traffic in goods, services, and people was high. Also the highways and the railroads were maintained and heavily used. Since the departure of the Dutch, who withdrew all of her inter-island shipping at that time, Indonesia has been hard pressed to find replacement bottoms to reestablish her inter-island and international trade. This has left Java, the seat of the government, pretty much isolated from the outer-island provinces. Internal travel by air is also limited. The primary and secondary paved roads have suffered from neglect and lack of maintenance. In some of the outer provinces they have pock-marked trails where the jungle is moving in to take over. In most instances this is not from lack of interest by the Indonesian government, but from the lack of trained men, machinery, and supplies -- and the funds both in rupiahs and foreign exchange to finance a major replacement and repair program.

Reading Material for the Newly Literate

One area of great concern is how to supply reading material, written at the proper level, to the "newly literate". Indonesia has done an excellent job of trying to lessen the gap between her literate and illiterate publics. Everyone from the lowest farm worker to the highest leaders in government has an avid desire to learn more. Throughout the country thousands of people have learned to read and

write in a comparatively short time. However, the programs did not take into consideration that if you teach people to read and develop reading habits -- you have to supply them with reading material, written at a level they can readily follow. It is worse to learn and want to continue reading, but have nothing to read, than never to have learned to read in the first place. At present in Indonesia, as in some other countries with similar problems, the Communist party is supplying this need. If communications through education and information is to support and speed up economic development it must have definite channels for easy flow both to and from the public. The newly literate can play an important role in this multiplying process as communicators and opinion molders with their less fortunate village neighbors.

The Media of Communications

While Indonesia's socio-economic and political development is considerably upset for the reasons illustrated, this country does have a rather complete communications network spread throughout her 3,000 islands. Once the pressure turns from purely political and status seeking objectives towards those of enlisting public support and cooperation in social and economic activities, Indonesia can do a good job of motivating mass effort in these directions.

Generally speaking, Indonesia is in a better position with her

media producing facilities than most of the newly emerging countries. Twenty-eight well run government radio stations supply news, political and governmental information, and traditional music throughout the republic. Educational and public service programs dealing with health and agriculture are few, however, and take but a small fraction of the broadcast time. There are about 500,000 receivers in Indonesia.

Films, which have proven to be one of the best informative mediums, are held back for several reasons. Among these is the lack of foreign exchange to import sufficient raw stock. Geographic problems control the logistics of distribution. Another problem is the unscheduled allocation of a majority of the imported raw stock for the production of political documentaries. Educational and informational films have a low priority at present.

Printing

Printing is another medium of communications that suffers from similar ills. The printing industry in Indonesia under the Dutch produced some of the world's finest printing. Indonesia was the source of much of the Dutch world market printing and two of Amsterdam's largest printing firms had large establishments in Djakarta. The government printing offices were staffed and equipped in a superior manner. Today, after the departure of the Dutch, much

has been done to up-grade the former Indonesian and management personnel who have filled their shoes in printing and maintenance techniques. With the acquisition or "take-over" of the private Dutch printing interests by the Indonesian government, however, the task of producing at the former level of quality and efficiency is almost an unsurmountable one. The principal reason for this is the lack of foreign exchange for the import items -- paper, ink, zinc, copper, and replacement parts, also the handicaps of transport greatly impair distribution.

Newspapers

Newspapers in Indonesia cannot be classified as elsewhere as a mass medium. There are quite a number of papers printed throughout the island but their circulation generally is specialized and small -- between five and ten thousand. There are two or three with 20,000 circulation. Newspapers for the most part are party-controlled papers, with very few independents. All are subject to strict censorship by the government, who in turn control the import of all newsprint and allocate it on a quota basis.

The Traditional Play

The use of the traditional plays, with live actors, puppet shows, and shadow plays are done quite effectively in Indonesia as media of communications. For over a thousand years these three media have

formed the principal entertainment for Indonesians at all levels of society. All of them tell the same stories and use the same characters. Prominent among the characters are three clowns. For centuries these clowns have ad-libbed bits of news, gossip, current events, etc., to the audience during the plays (which last four or five hours). Today, through the clowns of the live plays, as well as the puppet and shadow shows, information of general, political, and local interest is communicated in this same manner.

The Desire for Status

The desire for status among the neutral and hyper-nationalistic countries of Asia and Africa, and the internal struggle for power and status by individual nationals and parties within these countries, will no doubt continue to plague economic growth, and the progress of economic and technical assistance programs. Indonesia is possibly the outstanding example of a newly emerging country where this desire is not only a national policy but a way of life. From President Sukarno and the Cabinet members, down to the lowest government worker, this desire for national and personal recognition is ever present. The majority of university and high school students have this same ambition -- a government job that offers both status and security. No one is interested in working with his hands. Of course, most of the world is now familiar with President Sukarno's "good-will" missions;

Indonesia's part in developing the Asia-Africa bloc that started with the Bandung Conference; official visits by other dignitaries in the U.N. The most current is Indonesia's crash program to host the Asian Games in 1962. At the expense of many economic assistance programs this project has drawn most of the cement from the Gresik plant -- and limited foreign exchange for imported building supplies. The most beneficial result is the completion of a large hotel in Djakarta which was badly needed. Most of the facilities for the games, swimming pools, race tracks, stadiums, and housing for the athletes have been financed by a large loan from the Soviet Union, who in turn are supplying the engineers and "know how" for this project. Unfortunately, most of the facilities under construction will add little to Indonesia's progress toward economic growth. It is felt that these illustrations of a national urge for status and recognition will apply in a similar way to most of the emerging nations.

Thus, we find in Indonesia, a majority of the problems that restrict and frustrate programs of economic and technical assistance in all of the emerging nations. In Indonesia the geography, the social, and the political involvements magnify these problems. Only by developing and insisting on a flow of communications that will produce national unity, and an understanding and cooperative public will the economic, political, and social growth gain mobility.

Communications in Thailand

Thailand was chosen as a country for discussion with Indonesia because of the contrasting history and national attitudes of these two nations. Thailand is a Buddhist Kingdom with a population of 28 million, more than 85% of whom are rural. The country covers an area roughly equivalent to that of France.

Bangkok, the capital and principal city, has a population of about two and a half million in its metropolitan area. There are no other large cities within the country and the majority of the Thai people make their living from agriculture. Thai farmers for the most part own their own land. Although the per capita incomes are low, the absence of serious deprivation in the necessities of life is a factor contributing to the country's social stability.

Other factors contributing to the attitudes and general stability of the Thai are in direct contrast to those of the Indonesians. They are predominantly a homogeneous people with few minority groups and an unusually high degree of linguistic and religious unity. They share a universal respect for the monarchy and have a well-established civil service. The overseas Chinese in Thailand, who constitute the largest alien minority and occupy a position in the economic life of the country far out of proportion to their numbers, have profited from the lack of any serious disharmonies with the Thai

in religious or cultural matters and enjoy good relations with them. The attitudes of the Thai and the relative strength of Thailand's institutions no doubt reflect in a great part the fact that the country has behind it over six centuries of uninterrupted independence -- has never been under the influence of any colonial power. There has also been continuity in the institution of the monarchy. This has added greatly to the symbolic significance and the influence of the monarchy.

The Media of Communications

Although little has been done in Thailand to exploit the mass media for planned education and information purposes, an awareness to these possibilities is growing. Recently, government information teams made exploratory surveys in the remote areas of the country to find out what the living conditions and needs of these rural people are -- what they know about their government -- how they keep in touch with the rest of the country -- and what they think of their government.

From these trips all conducted in Northeast Thailand and other surveys pertaining to mass media use, some idea can be gained of how remote these areas really are in relation to the rest of the country. One is also aware of how little penetration communications has in Thailand today. These were some of the findings.

"In most villages visited the people had never seen a movie or an automobile; had never met an official from Bangkok nor an American. In many places people never before had met their Nai Amphur. None of the villages was connected to the amphur (district headquarters town) by more than oxcart tracks (except by water for those situated on the Mekong River); none had electric power; all were short of water, of health facilities, school building and school supplies - and in some cases short of sufficient teachers.^{1/}

"There is no road to any village visited by the Team - only rutted, eroded and meandering oxcart tracks inches deep in dust. Transportation is so difficult in many areas many people had never even been to the amphur. Busses run to none of the villages and most people never had seen any kind of automobile.

"Although Team members refrained from making promises of aid to the villagers, help in all the categories mentioned above was asked of the Team. Also the people, especially in the villages in Amphur That Phanom, complained of heavy indebtedness. Even though no promises were made, the very presence of Bangkok officials and the opportunity the visit gave villagers for voicing their grievances undoubtedly raises hopes and even expectations that some

^{1/} Report: Mobile Information Team - Amphur That Phanom and Amphur Khemma-Raj - Jan 22 to Feb 4, 1962.

form of assistance will be forthcoming. It also is possible that the glimpses of the more affluent life outside the village afforded by the movie showing, the printed materials and the appearance of the Team members themselves may tend to stir dissatisfaction among villagers.

"Most villages, however poor and remote, had at least one radio, some as many as four. Usually these were owned by schoolteachers and most of them were transistor long and short wave, Radio Thailand appeared to be the most popular station although stations using moh-lam singers also seemed especially favoured. None of the sets seen were community-owned, but individual sets were heard by many people and seemed to be almost the only source of news from the outside world. Other occasional sources of news: visits by the village headman to the amphur, visits by villagers to the nearest market town, passing river boats (for villages on the Mekong).

"Every village, however remote, desolate, and poor, has its school or at least shares a school with one or more nearby villages. While none of the schools has adequate teaching materials and most are in dilapidated buildings too small for the number of children, while there are not only teachers in most cases, and though in all villages classes go only as high as the fourth grade, it is quite obvious everywhere that the schools are the principal purveyors of national feeling and loyalty. Though the teachers are local people

who speak Lao in everyday conversation, they teach the children to speak and to read Thai. Pictures of the King and of past kings, worm-eaten, water-stained, and faded, hang in some of the schools. Pithy quotations from the writings of former kings often are painted on boards nailed to the walls or posts (many schools have no walls). Every school flies the national flag, which is raised each morning in a simple but dignified ceremony."

The Mobile Information Team on its second trip visited 24 villages in Amphur Saeka and Amphur Bungkhan, Changwad Nongkhai, between March 15 and April 4 -- a total of 20 days on the road. The Team made direct contact with about 15,000 people.

"Many of the teachers are young. All have studied at provincial teacher-training schools, mostly at Udorn. The majority of them are keen and earnest, doing their best against enormous odds and doing more than what is actually expected of them. For example, many teachers supplement the meager school supplies, such as paper, ink, paint, pens, etc., by buying them out of pocket. Some show considerable ingenuity and artistic skill in the fabrication of posters, charts, and diagrams to use as teaching aids.

"The teachers, along with the village headmen, abbots, and certain revered elders, are the most highly respected citizens of the villages. Though usually less well housed than average village

families, often boarding with a family or living alone in one-room thatched huts, the teachers still represent an important village contact with the outside world and act as interpreters of events outside the village area. Many own radios. Some have bicycles and at least one from each village travels once a month to the amphur seat to deliver reports, talk with officials, and pick up supplies.

Occasionally they go to the provincial capital for meetings. As the Team trip was ending, all the teachers in the province were traveling to Nongkhai for a five-day seminar. Most of the teachers can speak some English and all are leaders in village events and ceremonies. They are constantly consulted on a wide spectrum of subjects by the villagers, who pay homage to the teachers' relative sophistication. No one ever would contradict the statement or opinion of a teacher. "1/

A second Mobile Information Team II covered approximately 2,000 kilometers or about 1,300 miles in the course of its 20-day journey into three remote Amphurs of Changwad Loey, Amphur Chieng Kan, Amphur Tarlee and Amphur Dansai. All travel was done by vehicle except for one short stretch along the Mekong River which was negotiated by hired boat. About 600 or more road miles were covered in the remote areas.

1/ Report: Mobile Information Team I, Second Trip. March 15 to April 4, 1962.

"As a general rule the habits and customs of the villagers are the same throughout the area covered: similar house construction, similar farming methods and, what appeared to be to the reporting officer a like manner of expression, reaction to and opinion about things in general. There is a presence of political awareness in various levels of understanding among the Northeast villager, particularly those along the border regarding pride of nationality, loyalty, to the King and Queen and the fact that there is some kind of trouble within Laos. The closer one goes to the border, the more aware the villager is of what the trouble in Laos is and that there is a Communist Pathet Lao movement. Some know the names of the principal Lao leaders and generally how the fight is going. This general political awareness has been largely furnished the villager by village level leaders, school teachers and traveling merchants. All of the local leaders appear to have some knowledge that the Communists are attempting to infiltrate Thailand and are a danger to their country.

"Except in rare cases newspapers never reach the remote areas, thus radio is the only means of current news. Although there were a fair number of villages which had one or more radios, there are still very few in ratio to total population of the area. The Thai Public Relations Department newscasts can be clearly received throughout

the area covered by Team II, but so can radio Peking, radio Hanoi and the Pathet Lao radio. One of the problems which must be faced is that, since the villagers of the remote areas are out of touch with current affairs, they are not oriented to newscasts and would normally prefer to listen to music or programs of entertainment value.

Straight newscasts will draw a minimum of interested listeners even when given in the Northeastern dialect. Story programs telling of Thai historical heroes and events related to current affairs or programs of Northeastern music (Mohlam) interspersed with newsspots or possibly singing the news in Mohlam style would create added interest. This type of regionally directed radio programming on a continual basis would do more to cut down the Communist radio listeners than anything else. If the radio station at Udorn and the new station at Khon Kaen could handle such programming, including locally originated material on a regular basis, transmitting at sufficient power, then the two main reasons for listening to Communist programs would be erased: clearness and ease of reception, and entertaining programs. ^{1/}

^{1/} Report: Mobile Information Team II - Remote Villages in Amphurs Chieng Kan, Tarlee and Dansai of Changwad Loey, March 15 to April 3, 1962.

Radio

Radio is and will continue to be the primary mass medium in Thailand. Since the advent of the transistor radio it is rare to find a village, regardless of how remote the area might be, that does not have at least one radio. Surveys conducted in Thailand that sampled both urban and rural areas indicated that the Thai tend to consider radio news more reliable than newspapers. In the village of Yang Terng, for example, radio ranked fourth in credibility (below the village head man) wall newspapers, wats (Buddhist temple center) in a poll of the reliable sources of news about Thailand. But it ranked as the most reliable source of news about other countries.

There are nearly 70 radio stations in Thailand. All are government owned and operated and all of them will, and most do, accept advertising on a commercial basis. These stations are under the direction of the ministries, agencies, and the armed forces and derive their operating funds from advertising sales. It is doubtful if any, with the exception of the Public Relations Department, have Thai Government budgeted funds for operation. Programming generally features news, entertainment, music, and spot commercials, although there is a limited amount of educational material broadcast. Educational and informational broadcasts could be increased to a great extent. A lack of trained planning, programming,

and writing personnel is the principal deterrent to progress in educational radio development.

Television

Television has great promise as a medium of mass communications and education. At present there are two television stations in Bangkok -- Thai TV and the Army TV. Both are government owned and operated and both, like the radio stations, operate from the sale of commercial time for spot commercials and sponsored programs.

At this time two new Public Relations Department TV stations are going on the air in Northeast Thailand. Another is to be constructed in the southern part of the country. The Northeast stations are scheduled to have seven relay stations within a network system that will enable reception throughout the Northeast. These are part of a Thai government program to make television available to 90% of the population by the end of 1965. TV receivers will no doubt come slower to the masses than the broadcasting facilities, but with the rapid development of low-cost transistorized sets many villages and areas with no electricity will benefit.

Televised educational programs are currently being produced in a limited way. The Army TV station regularly broadcast (live) educational programs on such subjects as mathematics, physics, science, and English language study. With the advent of three new

stations on the air, all with problems of getting sufficient material to fill their time, there is an unusual opportunity to develop audience general information and education programs for the mass rural audiences. Unfortunately, the lack of trained personnel to develop and program educational material is the great weakness that will delay educational television.

Motion Pictures

Thailand has a very small theatrical motion picture producing capacity. The three studios (in Bangkok) who produce theatrical films have small and limited production facilities and few professional-level personnel. They have produced a few creditable films. Nevertheless, they offer no competition to the large import of popular foreign films that circulate through the major cities and towns. The production of documentary, informational, and educational films is almost non-existent, and at this time there are no trained people to write, direct, or produce these types of films.

Newspapers

As in so many of the newly developing countries Thailand's newspapers cannot be classed as mass media. All have limited circulation (3,000 to 10,000) and reflect the views of their individual editors. They all, however, carry a high proportion of advertising and international news.

Although there are very few produced on a regular basis, all newspapers are popular, well received, and effective.

The Common Problem

Thus we find that for comparative purposes Indonesia and Thailand are almost direct opposites. Both are Southeast Asian countries, but so very different in their history, their attitudes, and their approach to economic solidarity. They do have a few things in common, however. Both have well developed media of communications. Both realize that there must be a bridge of understanding between the government and the people if they are to develop and progress through the various stages of economic growth. They both, however, have a common problem that stands in the way of progress. Neither of these countries has the trained and skilled manpower that can develop the channels of communications. Many of the officials in these countries are aware of the need, but the job is so large they frankly do not know how to start. There is no difficulty in determining "what the message" should be -- but without skilled communicators it is difficult to transmit them.

A MEASUREMENT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Walt W. Rostow has formulized a system for the economic measurement of a country which he calls The Five Stages-of-Growth.^{1/} As was indicated earlier, they are: the Traditional Society; the Pre-condition for Take-Off; the Drive to Maturity; the Take-Off; the Age of High Mass-Consumption. It is felt that excerpts from Rostow's own introduction will best describe his thesis. He states:

"This book presents an economic historian's way of generalizing the sweep of modern history. The form of this generalization is a set of stages-of-growth.

"I have gradually come to the view that it is possible and for certain limited purposes, it is useful to break down the story of regions -- according to this set of stages. They constitute, in the end, both a theory about economic growth and a more general, if still highly partial, theory about history as a whole

"I cannot emphasize too strongly at the outset, that the stages-of-growth are an arbitrary and limited way at looking at the sequence of modern history: and they are, in no absolute sense, a correct way. They are designed, in fact, to dramatize not merely the uniformities in the sequence of modernization but also -- and equally -- the uniqueness of each nation's experience

^{1/} Walt W. Rostow: "The Stages of Economic Growth (A Non-Communist Manifesto)".

"Having accepted and emphasized the limited nature of the enterprise, it should be noted that the stages-of-growth are designed to grapple with a quite substantial range of issues. Under what impulses did traditional, agricultural societies begin the process of their modernization? When and how did regular growth come to be a built-in feature of each society? What forces drove the process of sustained growth along and determined its contours? What common social and political features of the growth process may be discerned at each stage? And in which direction did the uniqueness of each society express itself at each stage? What forces have determined the relations between the more developed and less developed areas?

"But this should be clear: although the stages-of-growth are an economic way of looking at whole societies, they in no sense imply that the worlds of politics, social organization, and of culture are a mere superstructure built upon and derived uniquely from the economy. On the contrary, we accept from the beginning the perception on which Marx, in the end, turned his back and which Engels was only willing to acknowledge wholeheartedly as a very old man; namely, that societies are interacting organisms. While it is true that economic change has political and social consequence, economic change is, itself, viewed here as the consequence of political and social as well as narrowly economic forces. And in terms of human motivation,

many of the most profound economic changes are viewed as the consequence of non-economic human motives and aspirations. "

Rostow emphasizes that students of economic growth who are concerned with its foundation in human motivation should always keep in mind Keynes' dictum:^{1/} "If human nature felt no temptation to take a chance on satisfaction (profit apart) in constructing a factory, a railway, a mine or a farm, there might not be much investment merely as a result of cold calculation. "

First Stage of Economic Growth

Rostow describes the Traditional Society as one whose structure is developed with a limited production functions, based on pre-Newtonian science and technology, and on pre-Newtonian attitudes towards the physical world. He uses Newton as a symbol for the time in history when men became aware of the fact that the external world was subject to a few knowable laws, and was systematically capable of productive manipulation. So, as we follow Rostow we find that the pre-Newtonian traditional society was not a static one, but usually had considerable fluidity of movement, always expanding and contracting. Innovations in agriculture techniques could and did increase production. Tradition was stimulated by the development of new crops, or the expansion of extensive irrigation projects, and wars, plagues and

^{1/} Keynes "General Theory", p. 150.

droughts kept the population in balance. However, the economy of the traditional society was usually kept in check by the amount of output the individual could produce because the potentialities which flow from modern science and technology were either not available, or not regularly and systematically applied.

Because of the limitation on productivity a high proportion of their resources was devoted to agriculture, in which the family and clan connections were of paramount influence to the social organization, and as Rostow terms it "the value system of these societies was generally geared to what might be called a long-run fatalism". This condition did not, however, exclude the right of individuals to improve themselves. It was both possible and legitimate. Rostow continues his definition of the traditional society by saying that "Central political rule -- in one form or another -- often existed in traditional societies, transcending the relatively self-sufficient regions, the center of gravity of political power generally lay in the regions, in the hands of those who own or controlled the land. The landowner maintained fluctuating but usually profound influence over such central political power as existed, backed by its entourage of civil servants and soldiers, imbued with attitudes and controlled by interests transcending the regions. "

In short, Rostow groups all of the traditional societies in terms of history as "the whole pre-Newtonian world: the dynasties of China;

the civilization of the Middle East and the Mediterranean; the world of medieval Europe. "

Second Stage of Economic Growth

The second "stage-of-growth" relates to societies in the Process of Transition. It is this stage that most of those who are engaged in activities of socio-economic assistance will identify most readily. A large percent of the newly developing countries fall in this category. This is a slow process as Rostow indicates by stating "it takes time to transform a traditional society in the ways necessary for it to exploit the fruits of modern science, to fend off diminishing returns, and thus enjoy the blessings and choices opened up by the march of compound interest. "

Rostow places the break-up of the Middle Ages as a prime factor influencing the preconditions for take-off in Western Europe: "The preconditions for take-off were initially developed, in a clearly marked way, in Western Europe of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the insights of modern science began to be translated into new production functions in both agriculture and industry, in a setting given dynamism by the lateral expansion of world markets and the international competition for them. But all that lies behind the break-up of the Middle Ages is relevant to the creation of the preconditions for take-off in Western Europe. Among the Western European states,

Britain, favored by geography, natural resources, trading possibilities, social and political structure, was the first to develop fully the preconditions for take-off. "

Thus, the idea of economic progress is not only possible but is a necessary condition for some other purpose, usually deemed good for national dignity (status), private profit, general welfare and social conditions. With this momentum education grows and broadens to meet the needs of developing economic activity. New leaders will develop in both the private sector and in government, with both sides willing to take financial risks for profit or development. Investments increase in transport, communications, and raw materials for export. Internal and external commerce develops, side by side with manufacturing enterprise armed with new methods. This, however, is not normally a rapid development; the pace is slow, because the economy and the society are still characterized by low-productivity methods, old social structure that grew up with them. In summarizing the preconditions for take-off Rostow states that:

"In many recent cases, for example, the traditional society persisted side by side with modern economic activities, conducted for limited economic purposes by a colonial or quasi-colonial power.

"Although the period of transition -- between the traditional society and the take-off -- saw major changes in both the economy

itself and in the balance of social values, a decisive feature was often political. Politically, the building of an effective centralized state -- on a basis of conditions touched with a new nationalism, in opposition to the traditional landed regional interests, the colonial power, or both, was a decisive aspect of the preconditions for take-off. "

Third Stage of Economic Growth

The "Take-Off" by Rostow's analysis is that period in development of a modern society "when the old blocks and resistances to steady growth are finally overcome. The forces making for economic progress, which yielded limited bursts and enclaves of modern activity, expand and come to dominate the society. Growth becomes its normal condition. Compound interest becomes built, as it were, into its habits and institutional structure."

For purposes of analysis or identification Rostow points out that the following stimulus generated the take-off. In the more general cases the take-off awaits the "build-up of social overhead capital and a surge of technological development in industry and agriculture, but also the emergence to political power of a group prepared to regard the modernization of the economy as serious, high-ordered business. "

To illustrate further this period of economic, social and political development for closer identification, Rostow says:

"During the period of take-off, the rates of effective investment and savings may rise from, say, 5% of the national income to 10% or more; although where heavy social overhead capital investment was required to create the technical preconditions period could be higher than 5%, as, for example in Canada before the 1880s and Argentina before 1914. New industries expand rapidly, yielding profits a large proportion of which are reinvested in new plant; and these new industries, in turn, stimulate, through their rapidly expanding requirement for factory workers, the services to support them, and for other manufactured goods, a further expansion in urban areas and in other modern industrial plants. The whole process of expansion in the modern sector yields an increase of income in the hands of those who not only save at high rates but place their savings at the disposal of those engaged in modern sector activities. The new class of entrepreneurs expands; and it directs the enlarging flows of investment in the private sector. The economy exploits hitherto unused natural resources and methods of production. "

Of equal importance to the expansion of industry and the private sector, and paralleling its growth and expansion, is agriculture. Rostow emphasizes the importance of agricultural development by stating that:

". . . . as agriculture is commercialized, and increasing numbers

of farmers are prepared to accept the new methods and the deep changes they bring to ways of life. The revolutionary changes in agricultural productivity are an essential condition for successful take-off; for modernization of a society increases radically its bill for agricultural products. In a decade or two both the basic structure of the economy and the social and political structure of the society are transformed in such a way that a steady rate of growth can be, thereafter, regularly sustained. "

Fourth Stage of Economic Growth

The Drive to Maturity is defined as: the long period after take-off in which the society is steadying and stabilizing its march toward high mass-consumption. Historically, it is pointed out, this period usually takes 60 years from time of take-off to mature growth.

Rostow defines this period of growth as:

"The stage in which an economy demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered its take-off and to absorb and to apply efficiently over a wide range of its resources -- if not the whole range -- the most advanced fruits of (then) modern technology. This is the stage in which an economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skills to produce not everything, but anything that it chooses to produce. It may lack the raw materials or other supply conditions required to produce a

given type of output economically; but its dependence is a matter of economic choice or political priority rather than a technological or institutional necessity. "

Fifth Stage of Economic Growth

The last and final stage of the five stages-of-growth used by Professor Rostow to measure the position of growth of a society is that of the Age of High Mass-Consumption. This is the final stage before breakthrough to the ultimate end in the economic history of a country -- the period beyond consumption.

The period "beyond consumption" Rostow describes as
"where in time, the leading sectors shift toward durable consumer's goods and services: a phase from which Americans are beginning to emerge; whose not unequivocal joys Western Europe and Japan are beginning energetically to probe; and with which Soviet society is engaged in an easy flirtation. "

In charting the economic growth of some of the principal countries of the world, Professor Rostow indicates that the United States only reached the stage of high consumption in 1913-14 "but it was in the 1920's, and again in the post-war decade, 1946-56, that this stage of growth was pressed to, virtually, its logical conclusion. "
Canada reached this stage about 1925; Britain at about 1933; and Australia about 1938. In the 1950's France, Germany, Sweden and

Japan have gained this final status and the Soviet Union is in the state of complete maturity and about to emerge into an age of high mass-consumption (1960). Both Australia and Canada, however, have reached this final stage before reaching their maturity.

In describing the stage of mass-consumption Rostow indicates that "As societies achieved maturity in the twentieth century two things happened: real income per head rose where a large number of persons gained a command over consumption which transcended basic food, shelter, and clothing; the structure of the working force changed in ways which increased not only the proportion of urban to total population, but also the proportion of the population working in offices or in skilled factory jobs -- aware of and anxious to acquire the consumption fruits of a mature economy.

"In addition to these economic changes, the society ceased to accept the further extension of modern technology as an overriding objective. It is in this post-maturity stage, for example, that, through the political process, Western societies have chosen to allocate increased resources to social welfare and social security. The emergence of the welfare state is one of the manifestations of a society's moving beyond technical maturity; but it is also at this stage that resources tend increasingly to be directed toward the production of consumer's durables and to the diffusion of services on a mass

basis, if consumer's sovereignty reigns. The sewing machine, the bicycle, and then the various electrically powered household gadgets were gradually diffused. Historically, however, the decisive element has been the cheap mass-produced automobile with its quite revolutionary effects -- social as well as economic -- on the life and expectations of society The Soviet Union is technically ready for this stage, and, by every sign, its citizens hunger for it; but Communist leaders face difficult political and social problems of adjustment if this stage is launched. "

The Measurement of a Society's Historical Position

Professor Rostow has developed a method, based on historical facts, with which to measure the social and economic position of a society with his "Five Stages-of-Growth. " However, if the stages-of-growth in a country are to be analyzed and weighed -- measured in terms of socio-economic and political development relative to their needs and probable evolutionary turbulence -- other factors must be considered and identified. Of principal importance are the socio-economic and political stages-of-growth, and the extent to which the channels of communications of the nation in question have developed, and their capability for expansion in support of these factors.

It is for this reason that we turn to the report of the studies of The Center for International Studies at Princeton University. This report, recently published, develops methods for measurement and comparative analysis of the socio-political stages of growth in the newly developing areas. It will possibly prove to be as valuable a guide to those developing assistance activities as has Professor Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth. "

A METHOD OF MEASURING THE POLITICS
OF NEWLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The Politics of the Developing Areas^{1/} (A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics) was coauthored by James S. Coleman, Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, Dankwart A. Rostow, George I. Blanksten and Gabriel A. Almond -- at the time of publication all were associated with The Center of International Studies at Princeton University. In the introduction Gabriel A. Almond describes it as ". . . . the first effort to compare the political systems of the developing areas, and to compare them systematically according to a common set of categories." To do this he adds, it "has been necessary to experiment with the conceptual vocabulary of political science The concepts of separation of powers and of representation had arisen at a time of relatively narrow suffrage, when public office was the monopoly of aristocratic or middle-class notables, when party and interest groups were informal and relatively limited phenomena, and when the public was limited to men of substance and culture. Since that time suffrage has become universal, political recruitment has lost its class character, political parties have developed formal and mass organization, associational interest groups have emerged

^{1/} The Politics of the Developing Areas, Edited by Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, Princeton University Press, 1960.

universal education and the media of mass communication have developed. "

Almond points out that to develop an analysis that was meaningful, extensions or replacements of the time-worn and Western-oriented political definitions were required, and that in keeping with modern trends of political analysis it was necessary to turn to sociological and anthropological theory. Some of these, such as political system, political role, political culture, political structure, and political socialization, are terms of this nature. Other terms introduced (for the first time) reflect and suggest the behavior approach. "Thus, instead of the 'concept of the state', limited as it is by legal and institutional meanings, we prefer 'political system'; instead of 'powers', which again is a legal concept in connotation, we are beginning to prefer 'functions'; instead of 'offices' (legal again), we prefer 'roles'; instead of 'institutions' which again direct us toward the norms, 'structures'; instead of 'public opinion' and 'citizenship training', formal and rational in meaning, we prefer 'political culture' and 'political socialization'. We are not setting aside public law and philosophy as disciplines, but simply telling them to move over to make room for a growth in political theory that has been long overdue. "

The Political System

Because of the stress and importance the study Almond has placed on these new terms used for comparative analysis, some digest of their definitions will be needed before discussing their application in Southeast Asia.

The first of these is the "political system", which is termed by the authors: ". . . . the legitimate, order-maintaining or transforming system in the society , that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of intergration and interaction (both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by means of employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate compulsion the order maintaining or transforming system in the society. We use the term 'more or less' because we do not want to exclude from our definition political systems, like the totalitarian ones, where the degree of legitimacy may be very much in doubt; revolutionary systems, where the basis of legitimacy may be in process of change; or non-western systems, in which there are more than one legitimate system in operation. "

Almond stated that the study group used the term "physical compulsion" because it enabled them to distinguish political systems from other social systems. However, he points out, "this is by no means the same thing as reducing politics to force. Legitimate force

is the thread that runs through the inputs and outputs of the political system, giving it its special quality and salience and its coherence as a system. The inputs into the political system are all in some way related to the claims for the employment of legitimate compulsion, whether these demands are for war or for recreation facilities. The outputs of the political system are also in some way related to legitimate physical compulsion, however, remote the relationship may be. Thus, public recreation facilities are usually supported by taxation, and any violation of the regulations governing their use is a legal offense. "

Almond continues in describing the group's conceptions of input and output states that they moved from the definition of political to that of system. . . . "We mean to include not just the structures based on law, like parliaments, executives, bureaucracies, and courts, or just the association of formally organized units, like parties, interest groups and media of communications, but all of the structures in their political aspects, including undifferentiated structures like kinship and lineage, status and caste groups, as well as anomic phenomena like riots, street demonstrations, and the like.

"If we are to extend the boundaries of the universe of comparative politica and include in it the 'uncouth' and exotic of the areas outside

Western Europe, we shall have to break through the barriers of culture and language, and show that what may seem strange at first sight is strange by virtue of its costume or its name, but not by virtue of its function. What are the common properties of all political systems? What makes the Bergdama band and the United Kingdom members of the same universe? There are four characteristics which all political systems have in common, and in terms of which they may be compared.

"First, all political systems, including the simplest ones, have political structure. Even the simplest societies have all of the types of political structure which are to be found in the most complex ones. They may be compared with one another according to the degree and form of structural specialization.

"Second, in all political systems, even though these functions may be performed with different frequencies, and by different kinds of structures, comparisons may be made according to the frequency of the performance of the functions, the kinds of structures performing them, and the style of their performance.

"Third, all political structure, is multifunctional. Political systems may be compared according to the degree of specificity of function in the structure; but the limiting case still involves substantial multifunctionality.

"Fourth, all political systems are 'mixed' systems in the cultural sense. There are no 'all-modern' cultures and structures, in the sense of rationality, and no all-primitive ones, in the sense of traditionality. They differ in the relative dominance of the one as against the other, and in the pattern of mixture of the two components.

"There is no such thing as a society which maintains internal and external order, which has no 'political structure' -- i. e., legitimate patterns of interaction by means of which this order is maintained. Furthermore, all the types of political structures which are to be found in the modern systems are to be found in the non-Western and primitive ones."

Almond continues in the introduction to explain that the reason the collaborating group rejected the "state and non-state" was that "this classification, which is found throughout the anthropological, sociological, and political science literature, is not simply a verbal quibble. It is a matter of theoretical and operational importance. Such a dichotomous classification could come only from an approach to politics which identifies the political with the existence of a specialized visual structure, and which tends to restrict the political process to those functions performed by the specialized structure. With this approach the analysis of the politics of a non-Western or

primitive society may begin and end with a description of the properties and functions of a specific chieftainship or kinship which in the visible sense may perform only the functions of legislation and administration. The articulative, aggregative, and communicative functions may be performed diffusely within the society, or intermittently through the lineage structure. An adequate analysis of a political system must locate and characterize all of these functions, and not simply those performed by the specialized political structure.

". . . . comparing political systems with one another, is only a beginning when we describe the specialized structures. Furthermore, we may be misled if we follow structural lines in our comparative efforts. Suppose we take interest groups as an example, and attempt a comparison of American interest groups with those of Indonesia. We might say that the United States has many formally organized, large-membership interest associations, Indonesia has relatively few; they are poorly organized, inadequately financed, have highly fluctuating memberships, and so forth.

"Suppose we put the problem the other way around, and ask a functional question in regard to both countries: how are interests articulated? These questions open our minds to the whole range of interest phenomena in a society. We are not structure-bound. Thus

we find in Indonesia that the few and relatively poorly organized trade unions or business associations are not the important interest-articulating structures, that we have to look at the bureaucracy, status groups, kinship and lineage groups, and anomic phenomena to discover how interests are articulated.

"The particular functional categories that we employ in this book (*The Politics of the Developing Areas*) were developed for comparing political systems as whole systems; and particularly for comparing the modern Western ones with the transitional.

". . . . The problem essentially was to ask a series of questions based on the distinctive political activities existing in Western complex systems. In other words, we derived our functional categories from the political systems in which structural specialization and functional differentiation have taken place to the greatest extent. Thus, the functions performed by associated interest groups in Western systems led us to the question, 'How are interests articulated in different political systems?' or the interest articulation function. The functions performed by political parties in the Western political systems led us to the question, 'How are articulated demands or interests aggregative or combined in different political systems?' or the aggregative function. The functions performed by specialized media of communications in Western political systems led us to the question, 'How is

political information communicated in different political systems?' or the political communications function. The existence in all political systems of methods of political recruitment and training led us to the question, 'How are people recruited to and socialized into political roles and orientations in different political systems?' or the recruitment and socialization function. Finally, the three authoritative governmental functions, rule-making, rule-application, and rule adjudication, are the old functions of 'separation of powers', except that an effort has been made to free them of their structural overtones -- rule-making rather than 'legislation', rule application rather than 'administration'."

It was the conviction of the collaborators in this study that the political functions rather than the governmental ones, the input functions rather than the output, would be most important in characterizing non-Western political systems, and in discriminating types and stages of political development among them. Our functional categories therefore are as follows:

A. Input functions

1. Political socialization and recruitment
2. Interest articulation
3. Interest aggregation
4. Political communications

B. Output functions

5. Rule-making
6. Rule application
7. Rule adjudication

Professor Almond stresses the political communications function as the major element of political development of both the Western and non-Western societies. He says, "All of the functions performed in the political system -- political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule-making, rule application, and rule adjudication -- are performed by means of communications. "

The emphasis placed on political communications by Professor Almond underscores the feeling of all of the collaborators that this element of the political system in a society was the implementor -- the motivating factor -- in the development and progress of its political character. This can best be illustrated by the manner in which it was discussed.

"In particular, an autonomous, neutral, and thoroughly penetrative system of communications is essential to the development and maintenance of an active and effective electorate and citizenship "

On the use of the communications functions for a measurement of comparison, Almond points out that: "The performance of the communications function in different political systems may be compared

according to the structures performing it and the style of its performance. We have already pointed out that all of the political -- government agencies, parties, interest groups, media of communications -- and all of the social structures -- families, kinship and lineage groups, face-to-face groups, neighborhoods, communities, villages, caste, status and class groups, ethnic and linguistic groups -- may be involved in the performance of the communications function. What distinguishes a modern political system from a traditional or primitive one, is the fact that in the modern system the specialized communications is more elaborate, and that it penetrates the unspecialized or intermittent structures of political communications. Traditional or primitive political communications is performed intermittently by kinship, lineage, status, and village groups. Specialized media of communications are present only to a limited degree, if they are present at all.

"Political systems may also be compared according to the ways in which they combine communications styles. Styles may be distinguished according to whether they are manifest or latent, specific or diffuse, particularistic or generalistic, effectively neutral or effective. A manifest political communication is an explicit message, a latent one is a mood readable only from behavior or expressive cues. A specific message of a political event, or potential event, is one

which separates the political from the non-political, and involves explicit cognitive discrimination. A specific political event is reported as having occurred, as occurring, or as likely to occur, with the estimate of probability, and sometimes, with the consequences, spelled out. A particularistic message is one which by virtue of its language, or of its esoteric properties, cannot be easily transmitted throughout the policy as a whole. It requires political interpreters if it is to be transmitted at all beyond the limits of the esoteric audience. A general or universal message is one that is so couched as to be more or less transmissible throughout the entire communications network of the policy. An effectively neutral communication is an objective report of an event or events which may be combined with other reports and other data and be the ready object of analysis and inference. An effective communications creates difficulties in analysis and inference. It cannot be as readily appraised or weighed and fed into the stream of political inputs and outputs.

"In order to illustrate this mode of analysis of the political communications function, it may be useful to compare its performance in a modern Western system such as the United States with its performance in a transitional political system such as India. The comparison may be made in four respects; 1) the homogeneity of

political information; 2) the mobility of information; 3) the volume of information; 4) the direction of the flow of information. If what has been written about the opinion leader in the United States is correct, a modern political system does not eliminate esoteric communication; it works through a system of widely distributed interpreters which tend to penetrate these primary communications cells and connect them with the secondary media of communications (homogeneous). In contrast, in a transitional political system the messages in the communications network are heterogeneous. In the urban, relatively modern areas, specialized media of communications are to be found, but they tend to be organs of interest groups or political parties. Even in the cities, among the illiterate and certainly the newly urbanized elements of the population tend to persist in a traditional rural-type network of communications, with kinship, lineage, caste, and language groupings performing the political communications function intermittently, diffusely, and particularistically.

"Although here too there are interpreters standing between the modernized and the non-modernized sectors of the urban population, the problems of interpretation is much more difficult than in the modern Western system.

"The politician or interest group leader in an Indian urban area faces a far greater gap between the communications content of the literate modern sector of the Indian city and the illiterate and traditional sector. The gap is one of culture; it may include language in the specific sense, values, and cognitive maps differing radically in amount and specificity of information and in the range of political objects which they include. What has been said of the communications gap in the urban areas of a country like India is true to an even greater extent of connections between the urban and rural and village areas. Here, the problem of interpretation is a massive one. The interpreter, whether he be a bureaucrat, interest group leader, or party leader, cannot readily find equivalents in language, values and cognitive material to make an accurate translation. There is a genuine block in communication between the urban center and the rural and village periphery.

"This takes us to the second major point of contrast between a modern Western and a transitional system of political communications -- the mobility of information. In a modern Western system, neutral information flows freely throughout the polity, from the initiators of information into the neutral secondary media of communications, and into the capillaries of primary communications. In a transitional system, information circulates relatively freely in the

urban areas, but never penetrates fully the diffuse and undifferentiated networks of the traditional and rural areas. Obstacles to mobility exist in both the input and the output process.

"Third in the modern Western system, the volume of political information passing through the communications network is far greater than in a transitional system. A differentiated and autonomous system of communications creates information, by bringing covert communications into 'the open' by making latent volume of information manifest. Its very mobility creates animated discussion and controversy among the various political role incumbents. Thus a large volume of information is pumped rapidly throughout the polity. The assimilation of information is rapid, and calculations may be made relatively quickly and accurately. The volume of flow in a transitional system is uneven. Much information remains covert and latent, and it is consequently difficult to make political estimates accurately and quickly.

"Finally, there are important differences in the direction of the flow of information. The output of message from the authoritative governmental structures in a transitional system tends to be far larger than the input of messages from the society. The government employs the mass media and operates through its own media as well. To be sure, governmental messages cannot be accurately transmitted

to tribesmen, kinsmen, and villagers. They may hear the messages over the radio, but they cannot register their meaning precisely. Nevertheless, the messages get there physically. On the input side, much important information regarding the needs of the base and periphery of the society never get explicated and cannot be fully taken account of by other elements in the political system.

"This brief comparison of the communications function in a modern and a transitional political system is sufficient to suggest how important the communications function is in the operations and cohesion of political systems. "

Admittedly this has been a rather lengthy summary of the methods of measurement and comparative analysis developed by Almond, Coleman and their collaborators. However, its importance lies in the stress and importance given to political communications and the function and the role of communications in the transitional society -- as the motivating element that develops mobility, understanding and support of the people during periods of change.

THE CASE FOR COMMUNICATIONS

This paper has presented the case for communications. It has pointed out that the (little understood) ingredient that binds, develops, and speeds up an emerging society's progress through the various stages of growth is communications between people. It has also presented a reasonable support to the hypothesis of the paper that communications is a measurable ingredient in the mixture of knowledge that should be understood if sound planning of socio-economic development activities is to be carried out in newly developing countries. Daniel Lerner has said,^{1/} "the failure to create an appropriate new symbolism, in a rapidly changing society, produces a historical deformity -- a psychoculture gap between words and deeds that widens through time and develops, ultimately, an explosive charge. If the new words are missing that efficiently relate changing lifeways to changing values, then the events tend to take their meaning from traditional symbolism -- and from the stock of available attitudes which are sustained by these symbols. What people say tends to be incongruent with what they do. Under these conditions, as many Middle Easterners complain, 'hypocrisy'

^{1/} Daniel Lerner: "The Passing of Traditional Society".

becomes a public style and anxiety increases. The more attitudes and actions get out of phase, the more radical becomes the treatment required to restore equilibrium. "

However, immediate concern has been to emphasize the fact that communications is responsible for the motivation of behavior and the motivation of change. As such, it is the principal medium that will assure understanding by the vast numbers of people that form the "manpower pool" required in ever growing numbers to take their places and play their roles in the forward movement towards economic stability in these changing nations. Therefore, a knowledge of all four of the ingredients is necessary in programming and implementing activities connected with socio-economic and technical assistance activities.

It is felt, as well, that the stage of development of communications and its ability to reach and meld together the whole population of a country, for the purpose of developing support and acceptance to change and growth, could well be considered in connection with development loans. The success and use of facilities financed and developed through this source also depend on public understanding, acceptance and use.

Considerable reference has been made to the reports of long and thorough scientific research in the fields of economic and

political history and the social sciences. This was done for two reasons. The first was to alert those connected with the United States Agency for International Development Field Missions engaged in socio-economic and development assistance activities of the importance of understanding methods of measuring the stages of growth in the countries where they function. The second was to point out the importance of the "fourth ingredient" -- communications, and to illustrate the role that it plays (usually without recognition) in the successful implementation of socio-economic and development assistance activities.

The purpose of this paper is to stimulate recognition and additional scientific research associated with the role of communications in emerging countries. Its purpose is also to develop an awareness that all ingredients of the mixture are needed to implement and motivate change.

It is felt that the hypothesis of this paper has been substantiated and one can say in full confidence that:

The economic, social, and political development of a society only progresses in ratio to the speed of the development of communications.

BIBIOGRAPHY

- Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman: "The Politics of the Developing Areas", Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Louis Fischer: "The Story of Indonesia", Harper & Brothers, 1959.
- Keynes: "General Theory".
- Daniel Lerner: "The Passing of Traditional Society", The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.
- Lucian W. Pye: "Politics of the Developing Areas" (The Politics of Southeast Asia), Princeton University Press.
- Walt W. Rostow: "Stages of Economic Growth (A Non-Communist Manifesto)", Cambridge University Press, American Branch, New York.
- Wilbur Schramm: "Mass Communications" (Second Edition), University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1960.
- USIS Bangkok Report: Mobile Information Team - Amphur That Phanom and Amphur Khemma-Raj - Jan. 22 to Feb. 4, 1962.
- USIS Bangkok Report: Mobile Information Team I, Second Trip to Amphur Saeka and Amphur Bungkhan, Changwad Nongkhai, Mar. 15 to Apr. 4, 1962
- USIS Bangkok Report: Mobile Information Team II - Remote Villages in Amphurs Chieng Kan, Tarlee and Dansai of Changwad Loey, Mar. 15 to Apr. 3, 1962.
- Gerald F. Winfield: "The Roles of the Communications Processes in the Economic Growth of Nations". Agency for International Development, Washington, D. C.