

**COMMUNICATION
THEORY
(CCHK02)**



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CONTENTS

	<u>Lesson Name</u>	<u>Pages</u>
Unit - I		
1.	Introduction to Communication Theory and Models	1.1 - 1.16
2.	Basic Communication Models; Shnnon and Weaver, Lasswell's Model	2.1 - 2.13
3.	Osgood and Schramm's Model and Newcomb's ABX Model	3.1 - 3.12
4.	Newcomb's ABX Model	4.1 - 4.11
Unit - II		
5.	Katzand Lazarsfeld's Two - Step Flow	5.1 - 5.12
6.	Gerbner's General Model of Communication	6.1 - 6.8
7.	Diffusion of Innovation Theory	7.1 - 7.15
8.	Non-Verbal Communication Theory	8.1 - 8.10
Unit -III		
9.	Normative Theories of Communication	9.1 - 9.11
10.	Theories of The Press	10.1 - 10.11
11.	Development	11.1 - 11.13
12.	Development Communication	12.1 - 12.16
Unit - IV		
13.	Psychological Theories of Communication	13.1 - 13.14
14.	Knowledge Gap Hypothesis	14.1 - 14.16
15.	Hieder's Balance Theory	15.1 - 15.14
16.	Festinger's Cognitive Bissonance and Comstock's Psychological Model of TV	16.1 - 16.15
Unit - V		
17.	Agenda Setting Theory and Learning Theory	17.1 - 17.13
18.	Spiral of Silence and Cultivation Theory	18.1 - 18.14
19.	Uses and Gratifications Model	19.1 - 19.19
20.	Social Learning Theory	20.1 - 20.13

Unit - I

Lesson - 1

Introduction to Communication Theory and Models

1.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

- The objective of this lesson is to introduce you to
- Communication theories
- History of Communication theories
- Important communication theorists
- Communication models
- Advantages and disadvantages of studying communication models
- The importance of studying communication theory/models

Structure of The Lesson:

- 1.0 Objectives**
- 1.1 Introduction to the study of Communication Theory/ Models**
- 1.2 Some Realms of Communication and their Theories**
- 1.3 Evaluating theory**
- 1.4 Communication Models**
- 1.5 Summary**
- 1.6 Technical Terms**
- 1.7 Model Questions**
- 1.8 Reference Books**

1.1 Introduction to The Study of Communication Theory/ Models:

There is much discussion in the academic world of communication as to what actually constitutes communication. Currently, many definitions of communication are used in order to conceptualize the processes by which people navigate and assign meaning.

We might say that communication consists of transmitting information from one person to another. In fact, many scholars of communication take this as a working definition, and use Lasswell's maxim, "who says what to whom in what channel with what effect," as a means of circumscribing the field of communication theory.

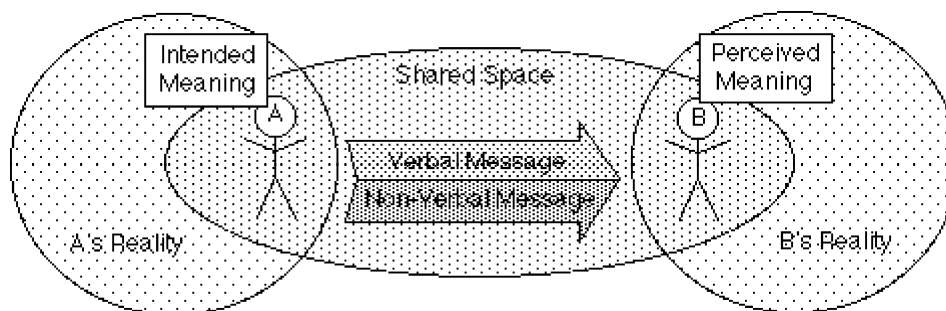


Fig.1 A simple communication model with a sender transferring a message to a receiver

Other commentators suggest that a ritual process of communication exists, one not artificially divorceable from a particular historical and social context.

Communication stands so deeply rooted in human behaviors and the structures of society that scholars have difficulty thinking of it while excluding social or behavioral events. Because communication theory remains a relatively young field of inquiry and integrates itself with other disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, and sociology, one probably cannot yet expect a consensus conceptualization of communication across disciplines.

Currently, there is no paradigm from which communication scholars may work. One of the issues facing scholars is the possibility that establishing a communication metatheory will negate their research and stifle the broad body of knowledge in which communication functions.

In Fig 1, A and B have different personal realities. They each have their own world formed by their experiences, their perceptions, their ideas, etc. They will perceive, experience, and interpret things differently. The same event will always be perceived a little differently by each of two people.

For the consideration to communicate to appear at all there must be some kind of shared space. The participants must have some kind of concept of each other's location and of a possible channel of communication existing between them. They must agree sufficiently on these to agree that communication is taking place.

The sender will have some kind of meaning she wishes to convey to the receiver. It might not be conscious knowledge, it might be a sub-conscious wish for communication. What is desired to be communicated would be some kind of idea, perception, feeling, or datum. It will be a part of her reality that she wishes to send to somebody else.

Something will be transmitted across a distance in the shared space. We can regard it as an object, a particle, or as a wave, or flow. It might be sound vibrations, rays of light, words, pieces of paper, cannon balls, body language, telepathy, or whatever.

Between humans there will be several layers of the message being sent. There will often be a verbal portion, something that is being expressed in language, spoken or written. And there is also a non-verbal portion, covering everything else, most notably body language. Sometimes the verbal and non-verbal messages don't agree with each other, they are incongruent. If they do agree we say that they are congruent.

Based on what the receiver perceives, and based on her interpretation of the verbal and non-verbal input, she will form a concept in her reality of what the meaning of the message is. It will mean something to her. It might or might not be what was intended by the sender. In successful communication the perceived message will approximate the intended message to the sender's satisfaction. However, the sender will only know that if she receives a message back that is congruent with what she had in mind.

One can never take for granted that the receiver has the same reality as the sender. One can never take for granted that the receiver will interpret the message the same way as the sender intended it.

Communication is not an absolute finite thing. Particularly, communication with language is always vague and misleading to some extent. If A says a word, like for example "trust", she has a certain meaning attached to it in her reality. She has had certain experiences with the subject matter, she has made certain conclusions about it, and she has certain perceptual filters concerning it. The meaning of the word is all the stuff it is associated with in her reality. However, because words also have nice, finite dictionary definitions it might appear as if the word is something very precise.

To have effective communication one needs to take all the factors into consideration. The different realities, the space the communication takes place in, verbal as well as non-verbal messages, the intended meaning versus the perceived meaning.

History of Communication Theory:

Communication as a named and unified discipline has a history of contestation that goes back to the Socratic dialogues, in many ways making it the first and most contested of all early sciences and philosophies.

Aristotle first addressed the problem of communication and attempted to work out a theory of it in *The Rhetoric*. He was primarily focused on the art of persuasion.

Humanistic and rhetorical viewpoints and theories dominated the discipline prior to the twentieth century, when more scientific methodologies and insights from psychology, sociology, linguistics and advertising began to influence communication thought and practice.

Seeking to define "communication" as a static word or unified discipline may not be as important as understanding communication as a family of resemblances with a plurality of definitions as Ludwig Wittgenstein had put forth.

Communication Theory Framework:

It is helpful to examine communication and communication theory through one of the following viewpoints:

Mechanistic: This view considers communication to be a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver. (as seen in Fig 1).

Psychological: This view considers communication as the act of sending a message to a receiver, and the feelings and thoughts of the receiver upon interpreting the message.

Social Constructionist (Symbolic Interactionist): This view considers communication to be the product of the interactants sharing and creating meaning.

·Systemic: This view considers communication to be the new messages created via “through-put”, or what happens as the message is being interpreted and re-interpreted as it travels through people.

Inspection of a particular theory on this level will provide a framework on the nature of communication as seen within the confines of that theory.

Theories can also be studied and organized according to the ontological, epistemological, and axiological framework imposed by the theorist.

Ontology essentially poses the question of what, exactly, it is the theorist is examining. One must consider the very nature of reality. The answer usually falls in one of three realms depending on whether the theorist sees the phenomena through the lens of a realist, nominalist, or social constructionist.

Realist perspective views the world objectively, believing that there is a world outside of our own experience and cognitions. Nominalists see the world subjectively, claiming that everything outside of one’s cognitions is simply names and labels. Social constructionists straddle the fence between objective and subjective reality, claiming that reality is what we create together.

Epistemology is an examination of how the theorist studies the chosen phenomena. In studying epistemology, objective knowledge is said to be the result of a systematic look at the causal relationships of phenomena. This knowledge is usually attained through use of the scientific method. Scholars often think that empirical evidence collected in an objective manner is most likely to reflect truth in the findings.

Theories of this ilk are usually created to predict a phenomenon. Subjective theory holds that understanding is based on situated knowledge, typically found using interpretative methodology such as ethnography and interviews. Subjective theories are typically developed to explain or understand phenomena in the social world.

Axiology is concerned with what values drive a theorist to develop a theory. Theorists must be mindful of potential biases so that they will not influence or skew their findings.

Mapping The Theoretical Landscape:

A discipline gets defined in large part by its theoretical structure. Communication studies often borrow theories from other social sciences. This theoretical variation makes it difficult to come to terms with the field as a whole. That said, some common taxonomies exist that serve to divide up the range of communication research. Two common mappings involve contexts and assumptions.

Contexts:

Many authors and researchers divide communication by what they sometimes called “contexts” or “levels”, but which more often represent institutional histories. The study of communication in the US, while occurring within departments of psychology, sociology, linguistics, and anthropology (among others), generally developed from schools of rhetoric and from schools of journalism. While many of these have become “departments of communication”, they often retain their historical roots, adhering largely to theories from speech communication in the former case, and from mass media in the latter.

The great divide between speech communication and mass communication becomes complicated by a number of smaller sub-areas of communication research, including intercultural and international communication, small group communication, communication technology, policy and legal studies of communication, telecommunication, and work done under a variety of other labels. Some of these departments take a largely social-scientific perspective, others tend more heavily toward the humanities, and still others gear themselves more toward production and professional preparation.

These “levels” of communication provide some way of grouping communication theories, but inevitably, some theories and concepts leak from one area to another, or fail to find a home at all.

Assumptions:

Another way of dividing up the communication field emphasizes the assumptions that undergird particular theories, models, and approaches. While this approach also tends to have as its basis institutional divisions, theories within each of the seven “traditions” of communication theory that Robert Craig suggests tend to reinforce one another, and retain the same ground epistemological and axiological assumptions. His traditions include:

- Rhetorical - practical art of discourse
- Semiotic – intersubjective mediation through signs
- Phenomenological - experience of otherness, dialogue
- Cybernetic - information processing
- Sociopsychological - expression, interaction and influence
- Critical - discursive reflection
- Sociocultural - reproduction of social order

Craig finds each of these clearly defined against the others, and remaining cohesive approaches to describing communicative behavior. As a taxonomic aid, these labels help to organize theory by its assumptions, and help researchers to understand why some theories may seem incommensurable.

While communication theorists very commonly use these two approaches, it seems that they decentralize the place of language and machines as communicative technologies. The idea (as argued by Vygotsky) of communication as the primary tool of a species defined by its tools remains on the outskirts of communication theory. It finds some representation in the Toronto School of communication theory (alternatively sometimes called medium theory) as represented by the work of Innis, McLuhan, and others. It seems that the ways in which individuals and groups use the technologies of communication — and in some cases are used by them — remain central to what communication researchers do. The ideas that surround this, and in particular the place of persuasion, remain constants across both the “traditions” and “levels” of communication theory.

1.2 Some Realms of Communication and Their Theories:

- Message production: Constructivist Theory, · Action Assembly Theory
- Message processing: Elaboration Likelihood Theory, · Inoculation Theory

- Discourse and interaction: Speech Acts Theory, Coordinated Management of Meaning
- Developing relationships: Uncertainty Reduction Theory, Social Penetration Theory
- Ongoing relationships: Relational Systems Theory, Relational Dialectics
- Organizational: Structuration Theory, Unobtrusive and Concertive Control Theory
- Small group: Functional Theory, Symbolic Convergence Theory
- Media processing and effects: Social Cognitive Theory, Uses and Gratifications Theory
- Media and society: agenda setting, spiral of silence
- Culture: Speech Codes Theory, Face-saving Theory
- Symbolic Convergence Theory

Some have suggested that the very common practice of beginning a communication theory class with an attempt to define communication and theory is flawed pedagogy. Nonetheless, it is difficult to begin a study of the theories of communication without first having some grasp, however temporary and tenuous, of what sorts of phenomena “count” as communication, and what kinds of ideas about those phenomena constitute “theory,” or, more specifically, good theory.

Communication is a slippery concept, and while we may casually use the word with some frequency, it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition that is agreeable to most of those who consider themselves communication scholars. Communication is so deeply rooted in human behaviors and the structures of society that it is difficult to think of social or behavioral events from which communication is absent.

We may turn to etymology for clues: “communication” (from the Latin “communicare”) literally means “to put in common”, “to share”. While the term was originally meant in a very material sense, applying to tangible things, it has since evolved to apply primarily to knowledge and information.

We might say that communication consists of transmitting information from one person to another. In fact, many scholars of communication take this as a working definition, and use Lasswell’s maxim (“who says what to whom to what effect”) as a means of circumscribing the field of communication. Others suggest that there is a ritual process of communication that cannot be artificially abstracted from a particular historical and social context.

As a relatively young field of inquiry, it is probably premature to expect a conceptualization of communication that is shared among all or most of those who work in the area. Furthermore, communication theory itself is, in many ways, an attempt to describe and explain precisely what communication is.

Indeed, a theory is some form of explanation of a class of observed phenomena. Karl Popper colorfully described theory as “the net which we throw out in order to catch the world—to rationalize, explain, and dominate it.”

The idea of a theory lies at the heart of any scholarly process, and while those in the social sciences tend to adopt the tests of a good theory from the natural sciences, many who study communication adhere to an idea of communication theory that is akin to that found in other academic fields.

Many of these theorists would not actually consider themselves “communication” researchers. The field of communication study is remarkably inclusionary, and integrates theoretical perspectives originally developed in a range of other disciplines.

Theorists and Approaches to Communication:

- Uncertainty Reduction: Charles Berger, Richard Calabrese
- Propaganda and the Public: Walter Lippmann, Harold D. Lasswell, Edward Bernays, and Jacques Ellul
- Uses and Gratifications: Hetzog, Katz, and friends
- The Frankfurt School: Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno
- Communicative Action: · Habermas Commentary
- Semiotics and Myth: Roland Barthes
- Orality and Literacy: Walter Ong
- Diffusion of Innovations: Gabriel Tarde, Everett Rogers
- Sociological Systems: Niklas Luhmann
- Network Society: Manuel Castells

Retrieved from “http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Communication_Theory”

1.3 Evaluating Theory:

What makes a theory “good”? Six criteria might be said to be properties of a strong theory. (The terminology presented here is drawn from Littlejohn, *Theories of Human Communication*, but a similar set of criteria are widely accepted both within and outside the field of communication.)

Theoretical Scope:

How general is the theory? That is, how widely applicable is it? In most cases, a theory that may only be applied within a fairly narrow set of circumstances is not considered as useful as a theory that encompasses a very wide range of communicative interactions. The ideal, of course, is a theory that succinctly explains the nature of human communication as a whole.

Appropriateness:

Theories are often evaluated based upon how well their epistemological, ontological, and axiological assumptions relate to the issue or question being explained. If a theory recapitulates its assumptions (if it is tautological), it is not an effective theory.

Heuristic value:

Some theories suggest the ways in which further research may be conducted. By presenting an explanatory model, the theory generates questions or hypotheses that can be operationalized relatively easily. In practical terms, the success of a theory may rest on how readily other researchers may continue to do fruitful work in reaction or support.

Validity:

It may seem obvious that for a theory to be good, it must also be valid. Validity refers to the degree to which the theory accurately represents the true state of the world. Are the arguments internally consistent and are its predictions and claims derived logically from its assumptions? Many also require that theories be falsifiable; that is, theories that present predictions that—if they prove to be incorrect—invalidate the theory. The absence of such questions significantly reduces the value of the theory, since a theory that cannot be proven false (perhaps) cannot be shown to be accurate, either.

Parsimony:

The law of parsimony (Occam's razor) dictates that a theory should provide the simplest possible (viable) explanation for a phenomenon. Others suggest that good theory exhibits an aesthetic quality, that a good theory is beautiful or natural. That it leads to an "Aha!" moment in which an explanation feels as if it fits.

Openness:

Theories, perhaps paradoxically, should not exist to the absolute exclusion of other theories. Theory should not be dogma: it should encourage and provide both for skepticism and should—to whatever degree possible—be compatible with other accepted theory.

It is important to note that a theory is not "true," or "false" (despite the above discussion of falsifiability), but rather better or worse at explaining the causes of a particular event. Especially within the social sciences, we may find several different theories that each explain a phenomenon in useful ways. There is value in being able to use theories as "lenses" through which you can understand communication, and through which you can understand the world together with other scholars.

Laws and Rules:

The aim in the natural sciences is to create what, since Hempel at least, has been called covering law. Covering law requires the explicit relationship of a causal condition to an effect within certain boundaries. It has been observed that social relationships are very difficult to capture within the structure of covering law. Perhaps this is because people have the annoying habit of violating "natural laws." Wittgenstein's later work in particular put forward the possibility that rules-based systems may provide a more effective descriptive model of human communication. This may account for the propensity of communication theorists to develop models more often than theory. Rules-based approaches are particularly popular within speech communication, where human interaction is seen to proceed along structural, though not necessarily causal, lines.

Mapping The Theoretical Landscape:

A discipline is defined in large part by its theoretical structure. Instead communication, at its present state, might be considered a field of inquiry. Theory is often borrowed from other w:en:social sciences, while communication provides few examples of theories that have been exported to other disciplines. What is taught as communication theory at one institution is unlikely to be at all similar to what is taught within other communication schools. This theoretical variegation makes it difficult to come to terms with the field as a whole. That said, there are some common taxonomies

that are used to divide up the range of communication research. Two common mappings will be briefly presented here.

Many authors and researchers divide communication by what are sometimes called “contexts” or “levels,” but more often represent institutional histories. The study of communication in the US, while occurring within departments of psychology, sociology, linguistics, and anthropology among others, generally developed from schools of rhetoric and schools of journalism. While many of these have become “departments of communication,” they often retain their historical roots, adhering largely to theories from speech communication in the former case, and mass media in the latter.

The great divide between speech communication and mass communication is joined by a number of smaller sub-areas of communication research, including intercultural and international communication, small group communication, communication technology, policy and legal studies of communication, telecommunication, and work done under a variety of other labels. Some of these departments take a largely social science perspective, others tend more heavily toward the humanities, and still others are geared more toward production and professional preparation.

These “levels” of communication provide some way of grouping communication theories, but inevitably, there are theories and concepts that leak from one area to another, or that fail to find a home at all. If communication is a cohesive field of study, one would expect to see a cohesive set of theories, or at least a common understanding of the structure of the field, and this appears to still be developing.

Another way of dividing up the communication field emphasizes the assumptions that undergird particular theories, models, and approaches. While this tends also to be based on institutional divisions, theories within each of the seven “traditions” of communication theory that Robert Craig suggests tend to reinforce one another, and retain the same ground epistemological and axiological assumptions. His traditions include the rhetorical, semiotic, phenomenological, cybernetic, sociopsychological, and sociocultural traditions. Each of these are, for Craig, clearly defined against the others and remain cohesive approaches to describing communicative behavior. As a taxonomic aid, these labels help to organize theory by its assumptions, and help researchers to understand the reasons some theories may be incommensurable.

While these two approaches are very commonly used, it seems that they decentralize the place of language and machines as communicative technologies. The idea that communication is (as Vygotsky argues) the primary tool of a species that is defined by its tools remains at the outskirts of communication theory. It is represented somewhat in the Toronto School of communication theory (alternatively sometimes called medium theory) as represented by the work of Innis, McLuhan, and others. It seems that the ways in which individuals and groups use the technologies of communication—and in some cases are used by them—remains central to what communication researchers do, and the ideas that surround this, and in particular the place of persuasion, are constants across both the “traditions” and “levels” of communication theory.

Retrieved from “http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Communication_Theory”

1.4 Communication Models:

What is a Model?

1. “In the broadest sense, a model is a systematic representation of an object or event in idealized and abstract form. Models are somewhat arbitrary by their nature. The act of abstracting eliminates certain details to focus on essential factors. . . . The key to the usefulness of a model is the degree to which it conforms—in point-by-point correspondence—to the underlying determinants of communicative behavior.”
2. “Communication models are merely pictures; they’re even distorting pictures, because they stop or freeze an essentially dynamic interactive or transactive process into a static picture.”
3. Models are metaphors. They allow us to see one thing in terms of another.

The Advantages of Models:

1. They should allow us to ask questions.
“A good model is useful, then, in providing both general perspective and particular vantage points from which to ask questions and to interpret the raw stuff of observation. The more complex the subject matter—the more amorphous and elusive the natural boundaries—the greater are the potential rewards of model building.”
2. They should clarify complexity.
Models also clarify the structure of complex events. They do this, as Chapanis (1961) noted, by reducing complexity to simpler, more familiar terms. . . Thus, the aim of a model is not to ignore complexity or to explain it away, but rather to give it order and coherence.
3. They should lead us to new discoveries-most important, according to Mortensen.
At another level models have heuristic value; that is, they provide new ways to conceive of hypothetical ideas and relationships. This may well be their most important function. With the aid of a good model, suddenly we are jarred from conventional modes of thought. . . . Ideally, any model, even when studied casually, should offer new insights and culminate in what can only be described as an “Aha!” experience.

Limitations of Models:

1. Can lead to oversimplifications

“There is no denying that much of the work in designing communication models illustrates the oft-repeated charge that anything in human affairs which can be modeled is by definition too superficial to be given serious consideration.”

We can guard against the risks of oversimplification by recognizing the fundamental distinction between simplification and oversimplification. By definition, and of necessity, models simplify. So do all comparisons. “Science always simplifies; its aim is not to reproduce the reality in all its complexity, but only to formulate what is essential for understanding, prediction, or control. That a model is simpler than the

subject-matter being inquired into is as much a virtue as a fault, and is, in any case, inevitable." So the real question is what gets simplified. Insofar as a model ignores crucial variables and recurrent relationships, it is open to the charge of oversimplification. If the essential attributes or particulars of the event are included, the model is to be credited with the virtue of parsimony, which insists-where everything is equal-that the simplest of two interpretations is superior. Simplification, after all, is inherent in the act of abstracting. For example, an ordinary orange has a vast number of potential attributes; it is necessary to consider only a few when one decides to eat an orange, but many more must be taken into account when one wants to capture the essence of an orange in a prize-winning photograph. abstracting. For example, an ordinary orange has a vast number of potential attributes; it is necessary to consider only a few when one decides to eat an orange, but many more must be taken into account when one wants to capture the essence of an orange in a prize-winning photograph.

Models can miss important points of comparison. "A model can tolerate a considerable amount of slop."

2. Can lead of a confusion of the model between the behavior it portrays

Mortensen: "Critics also charge that models are readily confused with reality. The problem typically begins with an initial exploration of some unknown territory. . . . Then the model begins to function as a substitute for the event: in short, the map is taken literally. And what is worse, another form of ambiguity is substituted for the uncertainty the map was designed to minimize. What has happened is a sophisticated version of the general semanticist's admonition that "the map is not the territory." Spain is not pink because it appears that way on the map, and Minnesota is not up because it is located near the top of a United States map.

"The proper antidote lies in acquiring skill in the art of map reading."

3. Premature Closure

The model designer may escape the risks of oversimplification and map reading and still fall prey to dangers inherent in abstraction. To press for closure is to strive for a sense of completion in a system.

The danger is that the model limits our awareness of unexplored possibilities of conceptualization. We tinker with the model when we might be better occupied with the subject-matter itself. In many areas of human behavior, our knowledge is on the level of folk wisdom ... incorporating it in a model does not automatically give such knowledge scientific status. The majority of our ideas is usually a matter of slow growth, which cannot be forced.... Closure is premature if it lays down the lines for our thinking to follow when we do not know enough to say even whether one direction or another is the more promising. Building a model, in short, may crystallize our thoughts at a stage when they are better left in solution, to allow new compounds to precipitate.

One can reduce the hazards only by recognizing that physical reality can be represented in any number of ways.

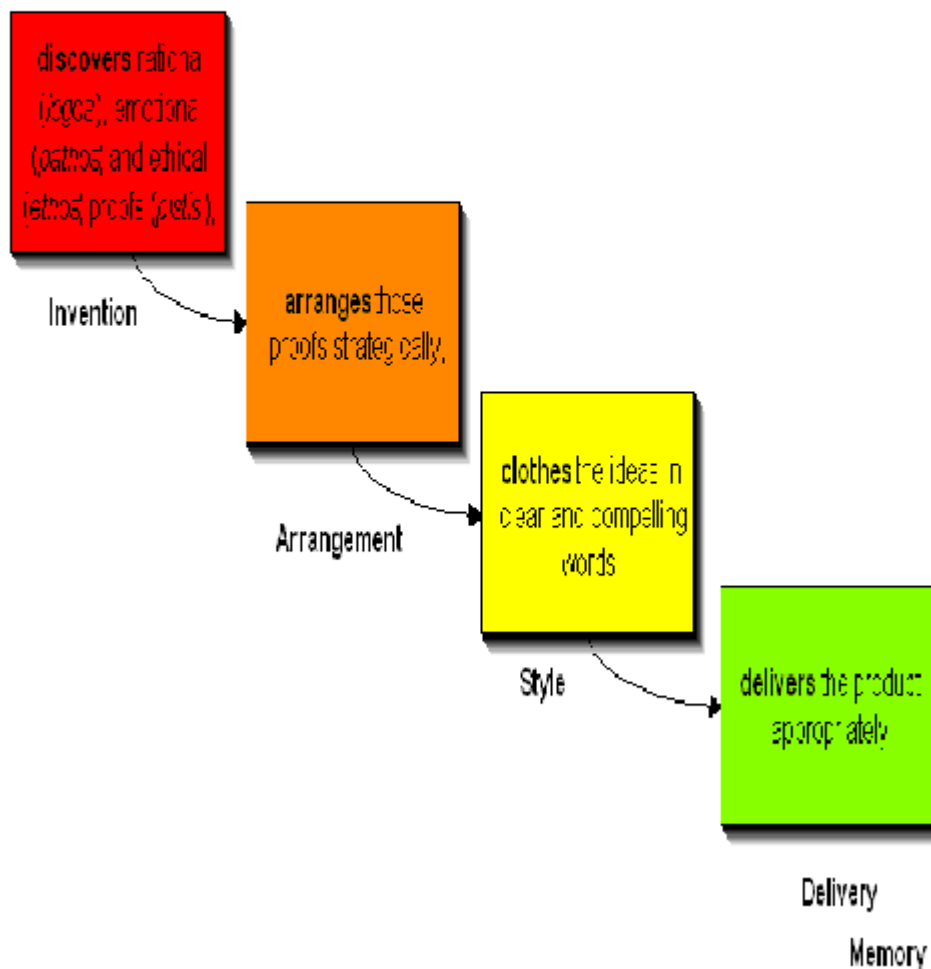
D. Classical Communication Models:

1. Aristotle's definition of rhetoric. Ehninger, Gronbeck and Monroe: One of the earliest definitions of communication came from the Greek philosopher-teacher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.).
 - a. "Rhetoric" is "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion".
 - b. Aristotle's speaker-centered model received perhaps its fullest development in the hands of Roman educator Quintilian (ca. 35-95 A.D.), whose *Institutio Oratoria* was filled with advice on the full training of a "good" speaker-statesman.

Aristotle's Model of Communication

from Ehninger, Gronbeck and Monroe

A Speaker . . .

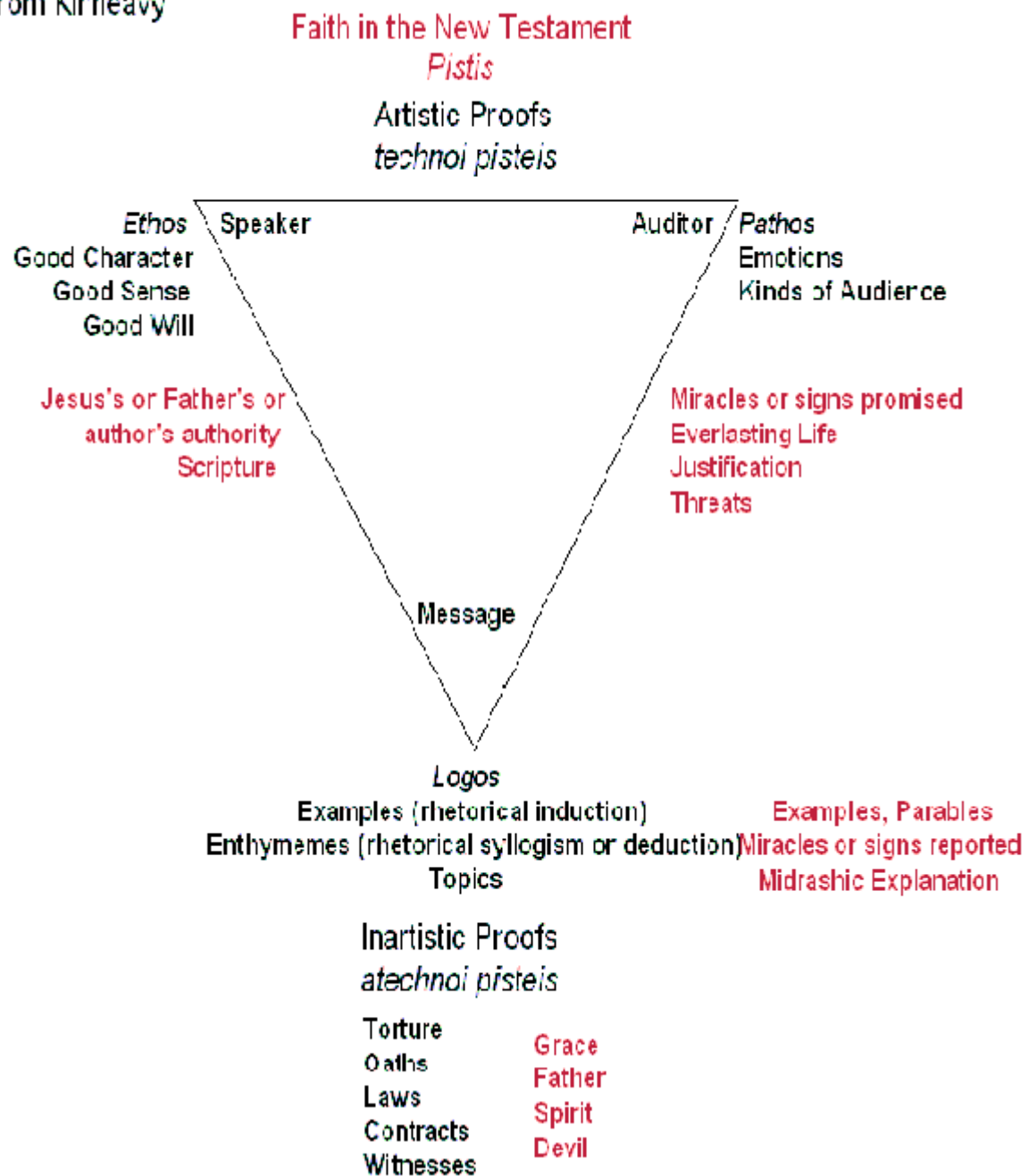


2. Aristotle's model of proof.

- a. Logos, inheres in the content or the message itself
- b. Pathos, inheres in the audience
- c. Ethos, inheres in the speaker

Aristotle's Model of Proof

from Kirneavy



Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation:

Lloyd Bitzer developed described the "Rhetorical Situation," which, while not a model, identifies some of the classical components of a communication situation ("The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 1. Bitzer defines the "rhetorical situation" as "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action so as to bring about significant modification of the exigence."

1.5 Summary:

Communication consists of transmitting information from one person to another. A simple communication model with a sender transferring a message containing information to a receiver. Other commentators suggest that a ritual process of communication exists, one not artificially divorceable from a particular historical and social context. Currently, there is no paradigm from which communication scholars may work.

Aristotle first addressed the problem of communication and attempted to work out a theory of it in *The Rhetoric*. He was primarily focused on the art of persuasion. There are several viewpoints that help us to understand communication theory. Some of them are Mechanistic viewpoint, Social viewpoint, Psychological viewpoint and Systemic viewpoint. Inspection of a particular theory on this level will provide a framework on the nature of communication as seen within the confines of that theory.

Theories can also be studied and organized according to the ontological, epistemological, and axiological framework imposed by the theorist.

Some realms of communication and their theories are Constructivist Theory, Action Assembly Theory, Elaboration Likelihood Theory, Inoculation Theory, Speech Acts Theory, Coordinated management of Meaning, Uncertainty Reduction Theory, Social Penetration Theory, Relational Systems Theory, Relational Dialectics, Structuration Theory, Unobtrusive and Concertive Control Theory, Functional Theory, Symbolic Convergence Theory, Social Cognitive Theory, Uses and Gratifications Theory, agenda setting, spiral of silence, Speech Codes Theory, Face-saving Theory and Symbolic Convergence Theory

"In the broadest sense, a model is a systematic representation of an object or event in idealized and abstract form. Models are somewhat arbitrary by their nature. The act of abstracting eliminates certain details to focus on essential factors. . . . The key to the usefulness of a model is the degree to which it conforms—in point-by-point correspondence—to the underlying determinants of communicative behavior."

"Communication models are merely pictures; they're even distorting pictures, because they stop or freeze an essentially dynamic interactive or transactive process into a static picture."

Models should allow us to ask questions. They should clarify complexity. They should lead us to new discoveries-most important, according to Mortensen.

However, studying models does have limitations. It can lead to oversimplifications.

We can guard against the risks of oversimplification by recognizing the fundamental distinction between simplification and oversimplification. By definition, and of necessity, models simplify. So do all comparisons. “Science always simplifies; its aim is not to reproduce the reality in all its complexity, but only to formulate what is essential for understanding, prediction, or control.

Models can miss important points of comparison. “A model can tolerate a considerable amount of slop.”

It can lead of a confusion of the model between the behavior it portrays. Critics also charge that models are readily confused with reality. The problem typically begins with an initial exploration of some unknown territory. It can lead to Premature Closure.

The model designer may escape the risks of oversimplification and map reading and still fall prey to dangers inherent in abstraction. To press for closure is to strive for a sense of completion in a system.

1.6 Technical Terms:

Mechanistic: A view that considers communication to be a perfect transaction of a message from the sender to the receiver. (as seen in the diagram above)

Psychological: A view that considers communication as the act of sending a message to a receiver, and the feelings and thoughts of the receiver upon interpreting the message.

Constructionist (Symbolic Interactionist): A view that considers communication to be the product of the interactants sharing and creating meaning.

Systemic: A view that considers communication to be the new messages created via “through-put”, or what happens as the message is being interpreted and re-interpreted as it travels through people.

Ontology : Poses the question of what, exactly, it is the theorist is examining.

Realist perspective : A view the world objectively, believing that there is a world outside of our own experience and cognitions.

Nominalists : People who see the world subjectively, claiming that everything outside of one’s cognitions is simply names and labels.

Social constructionists : People who straddle the fence between objective and subjective reality, claiming that reality is what we create together.

Epistemology : is an examination of how the theorist studies the chosen phenomena. In studying epistemology, objective knowledge is said to be the result of a systematic look at the causal relationships of phenomena.

1.7 Model Questions:

1. What are Communication theories ? What is the history of Communication theory ?
2. Explain the Communication theory framework.
3. Mention 6 criteria for evaluating a communication theory.
4. What is a communication model ? What are the advantages and disadvantages of studying models ?
5. Explain certain classical communication models.

1.8 Reference Books:

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Deutsch, K. "On Communication Models in the Social Sciences," Public Opinion Quarterly, 16:356-380, 1952.

Gerbner, G. "Toward a General Model of Communication," Audio-Visual Communication Review, 4:171-199, 1956.

Kaplan, A. The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science. San Francisco: Chandler, 1964.

Lesson Writer

B.N. NEELIMA

Lesson - 2

Basic Communication Models : Shannon and Weaver, Lasswell's Model

2.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Lasswell's model
- Shannon and Weaver's model

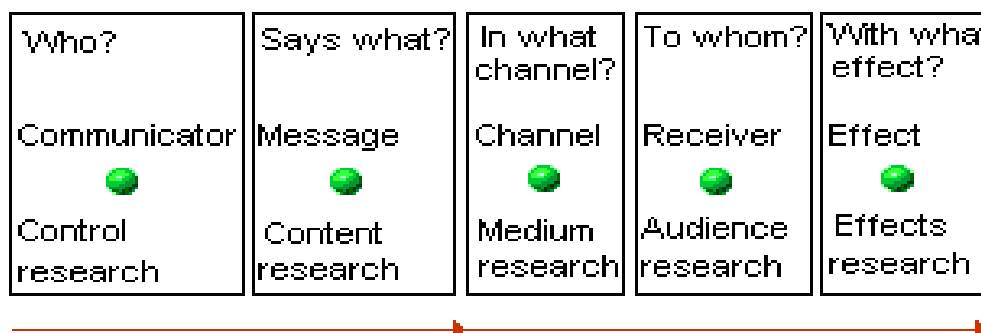
Structure of The Lesson:

- 2.0 Objectives of The Lesson
- 2.1 The Lasswell's Formula
- 2.2 The Shannon-Weaver Mathematical Model
- 2.3 Summary
- 2.4 Technical Terms
- 2.5 Model Questions
- 2.6 Reference Books

2.1 The Lasswell's Formula:

The Lasswell Formula:

Harold Dwight Lasswell (February 13, 1902 — December 18, 1978) was a leading American political scientist and communications theorist. He was a member of the Chicago school of sociology and was a student at Yale University in political science. Along with other influential liberals of the period, such as Walter Lippmann, he argued that democracies needed propaganda to keep the uninformed citizenry in agreement with what the specialized class had determined was in their best interests.



While studying Laswell's entry on propaganda, we must put aside "democratic dogmatism about men being the best judges of their own interests" since "men are often poor judges of their own interests, flitting from one alternative to the next without solid reason". The Lasswell Formula is typical of what are often referred to as transmission models of communication.

The sociologist, Harold Lasswell, tells us that in studying communication we should consider the elements in the graphic above.

Lasswell: Communicator:

Lasswell was primarily concerned with mass communication. In every form of communication, though, there must be someone (or something) that communicates.

How appropriate is the term communicator? You might say that you can't really talk about communication if the audience for the message don't respond appropriately. Maybe that's a reason that many communication specialists refer to the communicator as source or transmitter or sender of the message - at least that doesn't presuppose that communication does actually take place.

Lasswell: The Message:

Being concerned with the mass media, Lasswell was particularly concerned with the messages present in the media.

Interpersonal Communication:

What about our everyday communication, though? Do you spend much time thinking about how best to formulate your messages? In much of our everyday interpersonal communication with our friends, we probably are not all that conscious of thinking much about our messages. Still, you can probably think of certain messages you are communicating now to anyone passing by as you read through this. Think about it for a minute -

- what clothes are you wearing?
- how is your hair done?
- are you wearing specs?
- what about that deodorant?

The answers to those questions may not be the result of a lot of thought before you left home this morning, but they are the result of a variety of decisions about the image you want to project of yourself - the messages about you, your personality, your tastes in music etc.

No doubt also during the day, there'll be certain messages you will think about more carefully - that thank you letter you've got to send; that excuse you've got to find for not handing in your essay; that way of telling that person you wish they'd really leave you alone.

Lasswell: Channel:

The channel is what carries the message. If I speak to you my words are carried via the channel of air waves, the radio news is carried by both air waves and radio waves. I could tap out a message on the back of your head in Morse Code, in which case the channel is touch. In simple terms, messages can be sent in channels corresponding to your five senses.

This use of the word 'channel' is similar to the use of the word medium when we talk about communication. The words are sometimes used interchangeably. However, strictly speaking, we often use the word medium

to refer to a combination of different channels. Television for example uses both the auditory channel (sound) and visual channel (sight).

Lasswell: The Receiver:

Many Communication scholars use the rather technological-sounding terms: sender, source or transmitter to refer to the Communicator. You'll also come across the technological receiver to refer to what we might ordinarily call audience or readership. This whole question of audience is vitally important to successful communication.

Lasswell: Effects:

Lasswell's model also introduces us to the question of media effects. We don't communicate in a vacuum. We normally communicate because we want to achieve something. Even if we just pass someone in the corridor and say 'hello' without really thinking about it, we want to have the effect of reassuring them that we're still friends, we are nice people, and so on.

Feedback:

To find out what kind of effect our communication has, we need some kind of feedback. If I speak to you, I listen to your responses and watch for signs of interest, boredom etc. In other words, I use feedback from you to gauge the effect of my communication. If you give me positive feedback by showing interest, I'll continue in the same vein; if you give me negative feedback by showing boredom, I'll change the subject, or change my style, or stop speaking.

When broadcasters transmit a programme, they use the services of BARB to gain feedback in the form of ratings. Advertising agencies use a variety of services, such as Gallup, to find out whether their campaign has worked. These are all forms of feedback.

Feedback is not shown specifically in Lasswell's formula, but very many communication models do show it. A simple one which does so is the Shannon-Weaver Model

Lasswell's Formula (1948) : Analysis:

- Useful but too simple.
- It assumes the communicator wishes to influence the receiver and therefore sees communication as a persuasive process.
- It assumes that messages always have effects.
- It exaggerates the effects of mass communication.
- It omits feedback.
- On the other hand, it was devised in an era of political propaganda
- It remains a useful Introductory model
- Braddock (1958) modified it to include circumstances, purpose and effect

The Shannon-Weaver Mathematical Model, 1949

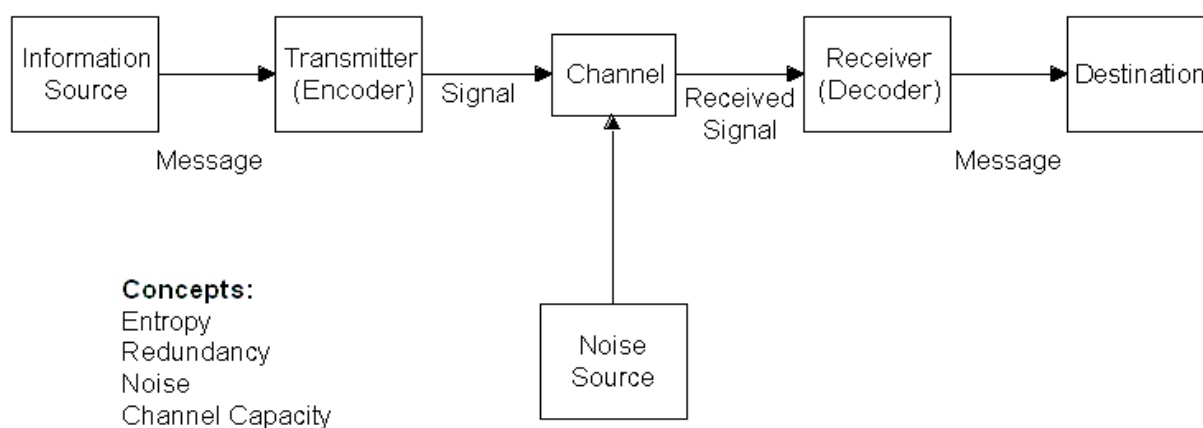


Fig 2. Shannon and Weaver Model

Claude Shannon, designed the most influential model in communication called as the Shannon-Weaver Model. Although Shannon and Weaver were principally concerned with communication technology, their model has become one which is frequently introduced to students of human communication early in their study. However, despite the fact that it is frequently used early in the study of human communication, it's worth bearing in mind that information theory, or statistical communication theory was initially developed to separate noise from information-carrying signals. That involved breaking down an information system into sub-systems so as to evaluate the efficiency of various communication channels and codes. You might ask yourself how viable the transfer of Shannon's insights from information theory to human communication is likely to be. The concepts of information theory and cybernetics are essentially mathematical and are intended to be applied to technical problems under clearly defined conditions. After you've read this section, which, I think, is a reasonable attempt to loosely apply Shannon's ideas to human communication, ask yourself whether you feel enlightened.

The Shannon-Weaver Model (1947) proposes that all communication must include six elements:

- a source
- an encoder
- a message
- a channel
- a decoder
- a receiver

These six elements are shown graphically in the model. As Shannon was researching in the field of information theory, his model was initially very technology-oriented. The model was produced in 1949, a year after Lasswell's and you will immediately see the similarity to the Lasswell Formula.

The Source:

All human communication has some source (information source in Shannon's terminology), some person or group of persons with a given purpose, a reason for engaging in communication. You'll also find the terms transmitter and communicator used.

The Encoder:

When you communicate, you have a particular purpose in mind:

- you want to show that you're a friendly person
- you want to give them some information
- you want to get them to do something
- you want to persuade them of your point of view and so on.

You, as the source, have to express your purpose in the form of a message. That message has to be formulated in some kind of code. How do the source's purposes get translated into a code?

This requires an encoder. The communication encoder is responsible for taking the ideas of the source and putting them in code, expressing the source's purpose in the form of a message.

It's fairly easy to think in terms of source and encoder when you are talking on the phone (transmitter in Shannon's terminology). You are the source of the message and the 'phone is the encoder which does the job of turning your sounds into electrical impulses.

The distinction is not quite so obvious when you think of yourself communicating face-to-face.

In person-to-person communication, the encoding process is performed by the motor skills of the source - vocal mechanisms (lip and tongue movements, the vocal cords, the lungs, face muscles etc.), muscles in the hand and so on. Some people's encoding systems are not as efficient as others'.

Shannon was not particularly concerned with the communication of meanings. In fact, it is Wilbur Schramm's model of 1954 which places greater emphasis on the processes of encoding and decoding.

The inclusion of the encoding and decoding processes is very helpful to us since it draws our attention to the possibility of a mismatch between the operation of the encoding and decoding devices, which can cause semantic noise to be set up.

The Message:

The message of course is what communication is all about. Whatever is communicated is the message.

Denis McQuail (1975) in his book *Communication* writes that the simplest way of regarding human communication is 'to consider it as the sending from one person to another of meaningful messages'.

The Shannon-Weaver Model, in common with many others separates the message from other components of the process of communication. In reality, though, you can only reasonably examine the message within the context of all the other interlinked elements.

Whenever we are in contact with other people we and they are involved in sending and receiving messages.

The crucial question for Communication Studies is: to what extent does the message received correspond to the message transmitted?

That's where all the other factors in the communication process come into play.

The Shannon-Weaver model and others like it tends to portray the message as a relatively uncomplicated matter. Note that this is not a criticism of Shannon since meanings were simply not his concern:

Frequently the messages have meaning, that is they refer to or are correlated according to some system with certain physical or conceptual entities. These considerations are irrelevant to the engineering problem.

This was particularly emphasized in Warren Weaver's introduction to Shannon's paper:

The word information, in this theory, is used in a special sense that must not be confused with its ordinary usage. In particular information must not be confused with meaning.

In fact, two messages, one of which is heavily loaded with meaning and the other of which is pure nonsense, can be exactly equivalent, from the present viewpoint, as regards information.

It may however be a criticism of the application of Shannon's model to the more general area of human-to-human communication. Meanings are assumed to be somehow contained within the signs used in the message and the receiver can, as it were, take them out again. Matters such as the social context in which the message is transmitted, the assumptions made by source and receiver, their past experiences and so on are simply disregarded. In this respect, models which incorporate such factors are probably more revealing of the complexity of the communication process.

The Channel:

You tap on a membrane suspended above a steadily flowing jet of water. The air under the membrane causes slight deflections in the jet of water. A laser is aimed at a receiver. The jet of water flows through the laser beam, deflecting it from its target. Every time the water jet is deflected by the movement of the air, the laser beam hits its target.

The laser receiver is connected to a computer which takes each 'hit' and turns it into a 1 and each miss and turns it into a 0. The computer sends these etc. etc.....

You get the idea: the air waves, the jet of water and so on are all channels. The words channel and medium are often used interchangeably, if slightly inaccurately.

The choice (a pretty stupid one above) of the appropriate channel is a vitally important choice in communication. It's obvious that you don't use the visual channel to communicate with the blind or the auditory channel with the deaf, but there are more subtle considerations to be taken into account as well. A colleague of mine was clearly much more responsive to visual communication than I.

To elucidate his arguments he would inevitably grab a pencil and a piece of paper and sketch out complex diagrams of his arguments. Though they may have helped him to clarify his ideas, they merely served to confuse me, who would have preferred a verbal exposition. It's curious that in the college where I work many students who are dyslexic or have other learning difficulties end up studying information technology in so-called flexible learning centres.

Bearing in mind the statement above that "the choice of the appropriate channel is a vitally important choice in communication", it's less than obvious how a student who has difficulty reading and writing can have their needs met by a learning model which boils down in essence to 'read this; it will tell you what to write'.

Physical Noise:

Shannon is generally considered to have been primarily concerned with physical (or 'mechanical' or 'engineering') noise in the channel, i.e. unexplained variation in a communication channel or random error in the transmission of information. Everyday examples of physical noise are:

- a loud motorbike roaring down the road while you're trying to hold a conversation
- your little brother standing in front of the TV set
- mist on the inside of the car windscreen
- smudges on a printed page

However, it is possible for a message to be distorted by channel overload. Channel overload is not due to any noise source, but rather to the channel capacity being exceeded. You may come across that at a party where you are holding a conversation amidst lots of others going on around you or, perhaps, in a Communication lesson where everyone has split into small groups for discussion or simulations.

Shannon and Weaver were primarily involved with the investigation of technological communication. Their model is perhaps more accurately referred to as a model of information theory (rather than communication theory).

Consequently, their main concern was with the kind of physical (or mechanical) noise discussed above.

Although physical noise and how to avoid it is certainly a major concern of scholars of communication, the Shannon and Weaver model turns out to be particularly suggestive in the study of human communication because of its introduction of a decoding device and an encoding device.

The possibility of a mismatch between the two devices raises a number of interesting questions. In technological communication: I give you a PC disk and you stick it into a Mac - the Mac can't decode it; I give you an American NTSC video tape and you stick it into a European PAL video recorder - the recorder won't decode it. Transfer this notion of a mismatch between the encoding and decoding devices to the study of human communication and you're looking at what is normally referred to as semantic noise.

That concept then leads us on to the study of social class, cultural background, experience, attitudes, beliefs and a whole range of other factors which can introduce noise into communication.

The Decoder:

Just as a source needs an encoder to translate her purposes into a message, so the receiver needs a decoder to retranslate. The decoder (receiver in Shannon's paper) is an interesting and very useful development over, say, the Lasswell Formula.

If you take a look at our discussion of the receiver, you'll see that we considered how, for example, a blind person would not have the equipment to receive whatever non-verbal messages you send in the visual channel.

The notion of a decoder reminds us that it is quite possible for a person to have all the equipment required to receive the messages you send (all five senses, any necessary technology and so on) and yet be unable to decode your messages.

For e.g, if a person does not know the language that you are speaking, he may not be able to decode your message.

Noise in communication systems also makes decoding difficult.

The Receiver:

For communication to occur, there must be somebody at the other end of the channel. This person or persons can be called the receiver. To put it in Shannon's terms, information transmitters and receivers must be similar systems. If they are not, communication cannot occur.

What that probably meant as far as he was concerned was that you need a telephone at one end and a telephone at the other, not a telephone connected to a radio. In rather more obviously human terms, the receiver needs to have the equipment to receive the message. A totally blind person has the mental equipment to decode your gestures, but no system for receiving messages in the visual channel. So, your non-verbal messages are not received and you're wasting your energy.

Feedback:

Feedback is a vital part of communication. When we are talking to someone over the phone, if they don't give us the occasional 'mmm', 'aaah', 'yes, I see' and so on, it can be very disconcerting. This lack of feedback explains why most of us don't like ansaphones. In face-to-face communication, we get feedback in the visual channel as well - head nods, smiles, frowns, changes in posture and orientation, gaze and so on.

Why do people often have difficulty when using computers, when they find it perfectly easy to drive a car? You'd think it should be easier to operate a computer - after all there are only a few keys and a mouse, as against levers, pedals and a steering wheel.

A computer's not likely to kill you, either. It could be due to the lack of feedback - in a car, you've the sound of the engine, the speed of the landscape rushing past, the force of gravity. Feedback is coming at you through sight, hearing and touch -overdo it and it might come through smell as well! With a computer, there's very little of that.

Feedback helps the source to modify his/her message to get the desired output. The source can, on receiving the feedback, make the necessary changes in channel and message content to suit the audience better.

b. Strengths:

- i. This model, or a variation on it, is the most common communication model used in low-level communication texts.
- ii. Significant development. "Within a decade a host of other disciplines—many in the behavioral sciences—adapted it to countless interpersonal situations, often distorting it or making exaggerated claims for its use."
- iii. "Taken as an approximation of the process of human communication."
- iv. Significant heuristic value.

1) With only slight changes in terminology, a number of nonmathematical schemas have elaborated on the major theme. For example, Harold Lasswell (1948) conceived of analyzing the mass media in five stages: "Who?" "Says what?" "In which channel?" "To whom?" "With what effect?"

In apparent elaboration on Lasswell and/or Shannon and Weaver, George Gerbner (1956) extended the components to include the notions of perception, reactions to a situation, and message context.

- v. The concepts of this model became staples in communication research

1) Entropy-the measure of uncertainty in a system. "Uncertainty or entropy increases in exact proportion to the number of messages from which the source has to choose.

In the simple matter of flipping a coin, entropy is low because the destination knows the probability of a coin's turning up either heads or tails. In the case of a two-headed coin, there can be neither any freedom of choice nor any reduction in uncertainty so long as the destination knows exactly what the outcome must be.

In other words, the value of a specific bit of information depends on the probability that it will occur. In general, the informative value of an item in a message decreases in exact proportion to the likelihood of its occurrence."

2.) Redundancy-the degree to which information is not unique in the system. "Those items in a message that add no new information are redundant. Perfect redundancy is equal to total repetition and is found in pure form only in machines. In human beings, the very act of repetition changes, in some minute way, the meaning or the message and the larger social significance of the event.

Zero redundancy creates sheer unpredictability, for there is no way of knowing what items in a sequence will come next. As a rule, no message can reach maximum efficiency unless it contains a balance between the unexpected and the predictable, between what the receiver must have underscored to acquire understanding and what can be deleted as extraneous.”

3) Noise-the measure of information not related to the message. “Any additional signal that interferes with the reception of information is noise. In electrical apparatus noise comes only from within the system, whereas in human activity it may occur quite apart from the act of transmission and reception.

Interference may result, for example, from background noise in the immediate surroundings, from noisy channels (a crackling microphone), from the organization and semantic aspects of the message (syntactical and semantical noise), or from psychological interference with encoding and decoding.

Noise need not be considered a detriment unless it produces a significant interference with the reception of the message. Even when the disturbance is substantial, the strength of the signal or the rate of redundancy may be increased to restore efficiency.”

4) Channel Capacity-the measure of the maximum amount of information a channel can carry. “The battle against uncertainty depends upon the number of alternative possibilities the message eliminates. Suppose you wanted to know where a given checker was located on a checkerboard.

If you start by asking if it is located in the first black square at the extreme left of the second row from the top and find the answer to be no, sixty-three possibilities remain-a high level of uncertainty.

On the other hand, if you first ask whether it falls on any square at the top half of the board, the alternative will be reduced by half regardless of the answer.

By following the first strategy it could be necessary to ask up to sixty-three questions (inefficient indeed!); but by consistently halving the remaining possibilities, you will obtain the right answer in no more than six tries.”

vi. Provided an influential yet counter-intuitive definition of communication.

Information is a measure of uncertainty, or entropy, in a situation. The greater the uncertainty, the more the information. When a situation is completely predictable, no information is present. Most people associate information with certainty or knowledge; consequently, this definition from information theory can be confusing. As used by the information theorist, the concept does not refer to a message, facts, or meaning.

It is a concept bound only to the quantification of stimuli or signals in a situation.

On closer examination, this idea of information is not as distant from common sense as it first appears. We have said that information is the amount of uncertainty in the situation. Another way of thinking of it is to consider information as the number of messages required to completely reduce the uncertainty in the situation.

For example, your friend is about to flip a coin. Will it land heads up or tails up? You are uncertain, you cannot predict. This uncertainty, which results from the entropy in the situation, will be eliminated by seeing the result of the flip. Now let's suppose that you have received a tip that your friend's coin is two headed. The flip is "fixed."

There is no uncertainty and therefore no information. In other words, you could not receive any message that would make you predict any better than you already have. In short, a situation with which you are completely familiar has no information for you.

c. Weaknesses:

i. Not analogous to much of human communication.

1) "Only a fraction of the information conveyed in interpersonal encounters can be taken as remotely corresponding to the teletype action of statistically rare or redundant signals."

2) "Though Shannon's technical concept of information is fascinating in many respects, it ranks among the least important ways of conceiving of what we recognize as "information." "

ii. Only formal—does not account for content

1) Mortensen: "Shannon and Weaver were concerned only with technical problems associated with the selection and arrangement of discrete units of information—in short, with purely formal matters, not content. Hence, their model does not apply to semantic or pragmatic dimensions of language. "

2) Theodore Roszak provides a thoughtful critique of Shannon's model in *The Cult of Information*. Roszak notes the unique way in which Shannon defined information:

Once, when he was explaining his work to a group of prominent scientists who challenged his eccentric definition, he replied, "I think perhaps the word 'information' is causing more trouble . . . than it is worth, except that it is difficult to find another word that is anywhere near right. It should be kept solidly in mind that [information] is only a measure of the difficulty in transmitting the sequences produced by some information source".

iii. Static and Linear

1) Mortensen: "Finally, the most serious shortcoming of the Shannon-Weaver communication system is that it is relatively static and linear. It conceives of a linear and literal transmission of information from one location to another. The notion of linearity leads to misleading ideas when transferred to human conduct; some of the problems can best be underscored by studying several alternative models of communication."

2.4 Summary:

Harold Lasswell a political scientist in 1948 proposed a linear model, which explains the communication process as “Who says what to whom in what channel with what effect.” Lasswell’s model focuses primarily on verbal communication just as Aristotle’s. The model is a simple description of one-way communication process, which comprises of a speaker who communicates a message to a receiver by making use of any of the media like print, radio, television, etc to finally convey the information.

Claude Shannon, an engineer for the Bell Telephone Company, designed the most influential of all early communication models. His goal was to formulate a theory to guide the efforts of engineers in finding the most efficient way of transmitting electrical signals from one location to another.

The Shannon-Weaver Model (1947) proposes that all communication must include six elements:

- a source
- an encoder
- a message
- a channel
- a decoder
- a receiver

2.5 Technical Terms:

Source	:	The originator of message
Message	:	Content of Communication
Channel	:	Medium of Communication
Receiver	:	Receiver of message
Feedback	:	Communication from receiver to source
Encoder	:	Person who sends message through a device, for e.g.telephone
Decoder	:	Person who receives message through a device, for e.g. like telephone
Noise	:	Disturbance in Communication process

2.6 Model Questions:

1. Discuss the Lasswell’s formula of communication.
2. Describe the elements of the Shannon and Weaver’s model of communication.
3. Enumerate the strengths and weaknesses of the Shannon and Weaver’s model of communication.

2.7 Reference Books:

McQuail, D (2000) McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, Sage Publications Amazon UK

McQuail, D and Windahl, S (1993) Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication, Prentice Hall Amazon UK

Windahl, S, Signitzer, B and Olson, J (1991) Using Communication Theory, Sage Amazon UK

Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 3

Osgood and Schramm's Model and Newcomb's ABX Model

3.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Osgood and Schram's model of communication
- Elements of the above model - empathy and feedback

Structure of The Lesson:

- 3.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 3.1 Osgood and Schramm's Model**
- 3.2 Summary**
- 3.3 Technical Terms**
- 3.4 Model Questions**
- 3.5 Reference Books**

3.1 Osgood and Schramm's Model:

Most of the early communication models presented communication as a linear process, within which the rôles of sender and receiver are clearly distinguished.

Schramm Stated:

In fact, it is misleading to think of the communication process as starting somewhere and ending somewhere. It is really endless. We are little switchboard centers handling and rerouting the great endless current of information.... (Schramm W. (1954) quoted in McQuail & Windahl (1981).

The Osgood and Schramm circular model is an attempt to remedy that deficiency: The model emphasizes the circular nature of communication. The participants swap between the rôles of source/encoder and receiver/decoder.

The model is particularly helpful in reminding us of the process of interpretation which takes place whenever a message is decoded.

The more mechanical models, particularly those concerned primarily with machine communication, tend to suggest that fidelity will be high as long as physical noise is reduced to a minimum or strategies (such as increasing channel redundancy) are adopted to counter the noise. This circular model reminds us that receiving a message is not simply a matter of decoding, but also of interpreting the message.

Whenever we receive data from the world around us, even in, say, the apparently very simple act of seeing what's in front of us, we are engaged in an active process of interpretation, not simply taking in information, but actively making sense of it. An important question is: what criteria are we using to make sense of what we are receiving? Since the criteria we use will inevitably differ from one person to another, there will always be semantic noise.

If we can answer that question about our audience, then we stand a chance of communicating successfully.

Osgood stresses the social nature of communication and says:

Any adequate model must therefore include at least two communicating units, a source unit (speaker) and a destination unit (hearer). Between any two such connecting units, connecting them into a single system, is what we may call the message.

Message is that part of the total output (response) of a source unit which simultaneously may be a part of the total input (stimuli) to a destination unit. When individual A talks to individual B, for eg, his postures, gestures, facial expressions and even manipulations with objects (eg, laying down a playing card, pushing a bowl of food within reach) may all be part of the message, as of course are events in the sound wave channel.

But other parts of A's total behavior (eg sensations from B's own posture, cues from the remainder of the environment), do not derive from A's behavior - these events are not part of the message as we use the term. These R-S message events (reaction of one individual that produces stimuli for another) may be either immediate or mediate -- ordinary face to face conversation illustrates the former and written communication (along with musical recordings, art objects, so forth) illustrates the latter.

Remember, Shannon and Weaver were not particularly interested in the sociological or psychological aspects of communication. Instead, they wanted to devise a communications system with as close to 100 percent efficiency as possible.

You'll note that the Shannon and Weaver diagram has essentially the same parts as the one formulated by Aristotle. It's true the parts have different names, and a fourth component — in this case the transmitter — is included.

However, this model has an interesting additional element. Shannon and Weaver were concerned with noise in the communications process.

Noise, Weaver said, "may be distortions of sound (in telephony, for example) or static (in radio), or distortions in shape or shading of picture (television), or errors in transmission (telegraph or facsimile), etc." The "noise" concept introduced by Shannon and Weaver can be used to illustrate **"semantic noise" that interferes with communication.**

Semantic noise is the problem connected with differences in meaning that people assign to words, to voice inflections in speech, to gestures and expressions and to other similar "noise" in writing.

Semantic noise is a more serious problem or barrier to developing effective communications than most realize. It is hard to detect that semantic noise has interfered with communication.

Too often the person sending a message chooses to use words and phrases that have a certain meaning to him or her. However, they may have an altogether different meaning to individuals receiving the message.

In the interest of good communication, we need to work to hold semantic noise to the lowest level possible.

We should be aware that there is a semantic noise in face-to-face verbal communication just as there is static noise, for example, in radio communication. There are other kinds of noises involved in communication as well.

Therefore, Of the various forms of noise, semantic noise may be the most common and difficult to define. It can best be described as particular diction or syntax that leads to confusion or misinterpretation of the intended message. One reason semantic noise is so widespread is how easily it can extend to written language.

For example, the reader may perceive this article to be correct if it is written well enough, though that has little to do with the content.

However, a person using language this formal in casual conversation may seem a bit strange.

Psychological Perspective:

The model presents a psychological perspective of communication.

The key is that cognitive processes handle (filter) messages which places the emphasis on the perceptions of senders and receivers. So, communication only takes place only when the other party perceives it.

The goal of the exchange is to arrive at a mutually agreeable meaning between the sender and receiver, thus reducing the chances for misinterpretation in the meanings each party has for the given message objects and communication events.

Psychologically based communication theories form the basis of Osgood and Schramm's model (1954) where two people communicate via messages that the other processes through an encoder, interpreter, and decoder.

They believe each person is a complete communicative system with both sending and receiving abilities and where each person's own experiences determine the meaning of symbols (verbal and nonverbal signals and gestures).

In other words, words have meaning for someone only if that person's personal experience provided a context for interpretation. Sender and receiver must share similar experiences in order for communication to occur.

By this model, the effects of communication are limited by the cognitive capacities of the sender/receiver. Human beings pay attention to incoming messages selectively, and base their responses on prior experience and anticipation of future events. Two important research findings based on psychologically-based communication theory are:

- Incidental learning (Schramm),
- Social learning model (Bandura, the BoBo doll aggression experiment)

Theorists who support the social relationships on communication say that communication only occurs through social interaction.

Each person's definition of and experience with objects, events, other people, and even oneself, is determined through a network of interpersonal relationships.

The meanings each person forms are products of social "negotiation" with other people and through these relationships the symbols we use to communicate and meanings of those symbols are determined.

The key to this theory is that the symbols, objects, events, and self-images that make up our world are the creation of a shared meaning through social communication.

Messages are constructed, filtered (by sender/receiver), and interpreted (given meaning) by interpersonal networks.

One of the most important elements of communication introduced by Osgood and Schramm is feedback.

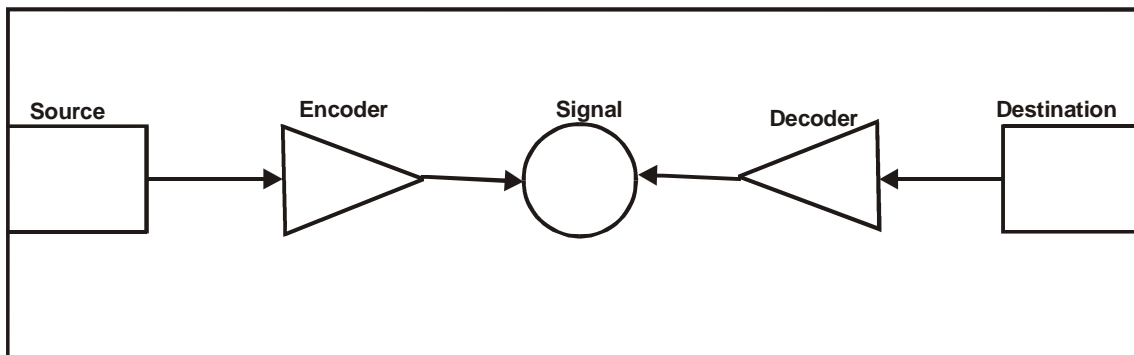


Fig. 1 The First of Schramm's Model

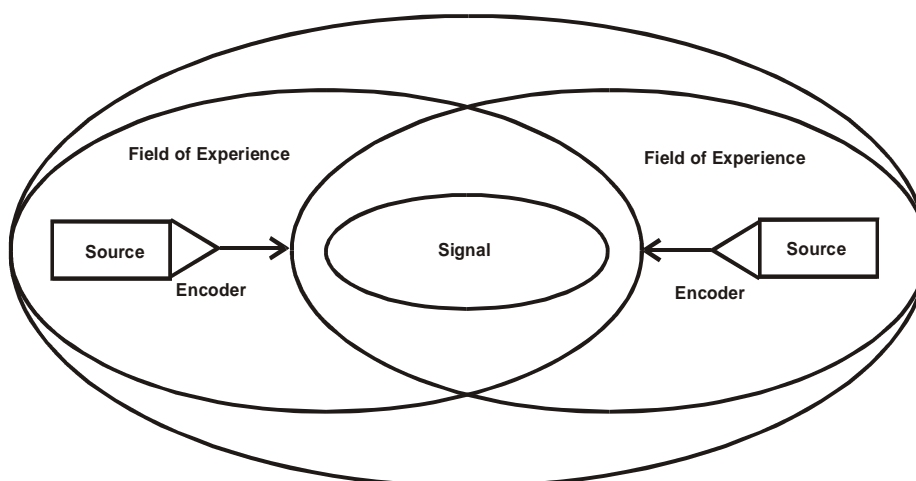


Fig. 2 Second Schramm's Model

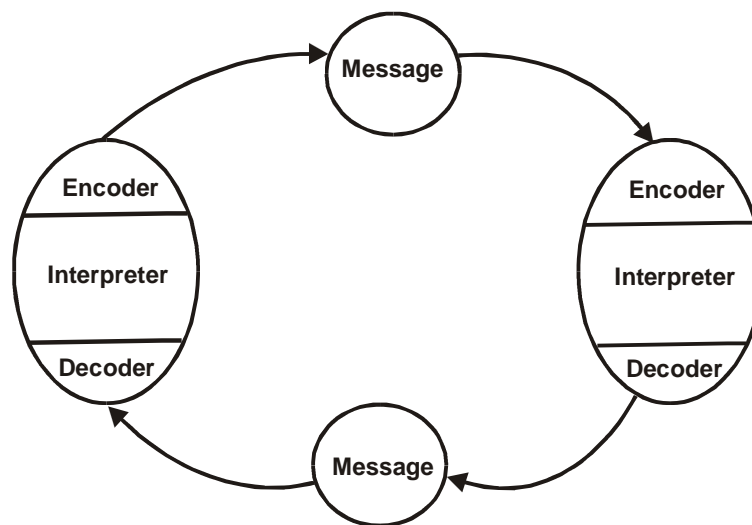


Fig. 3. Third of Schramm's Models

In any early series of models, Schramm (1954) proceeded from a simple human communication model to a more complicated model that accounted for the accumulated experiences of two individuals trying to communicate and then to a model that considered human communication with interaction between two individuals.

The first model bears a striking similarity to that of Shannon. In the second, Schramm introduces the notion that only what is shared in the fields of experience of both the source and the destination is actually communicated, because only that portion of the signal is held in common by both the source and the receiver.

The third model deals with communication as an interaction with both parties encoding, interpreting, decoding and transmitting and receiving signals. Here we see feedback and the continuous 'loop' of shared information.

Empathy:

Empathy is commonly defined as one's ability to recognize, perceive and feel directly the emotion of another. Since the states of mind, beliefs, and desires of others are intertwined with their emotions, one with empathy for another may often be able to more effectively define another's mode of thought and mood.

Empathy is often characterized as the ability to "put oneself into another's shoes", or to in some way experience the outlook or emotions of another being within oneself, a sort of emotional resonance.

Empathy is also a concept recognized as "reading" another person, completely translating each movement into understandable conversation.

Some Definitions of Empathy:

- Theodore Lipps: feeling into.
- Edith Stein: Empathy... is the experience of foreign consciousness in general.
- Heinz Kohut: Empathy is the capacity to think and feel oneself into the inner life of another person.
- Nancy Eisenberg: An affective response that stems from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition, and that is similar to what the other person is feeling or would be expected to feel.
- Gregory Gwyn: Empathy is a physical affliction of pain or loss that can be viewed by others through past experiences.
- Roy Schafer: Empathy involves the inner experience of sharing in and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person.
- D. M. Berger: The capacity to know emotionally what another is experiencing from within the frame of reference of that other person, the capacity to sample the feelings of another or to put oneself in another's shoes.
- R. R. Greenson: To empathize means to share, to experience the feelings of another person.
- Wynn Schwartz: "We recognize others as empathic when we feel that they have accurately acted on or somehow acknowledged in stated or unstated fashion our values or motivations, our knowledge, and our skills or competence, but especially as they appear to recognize the significance of our actions in a manner that we can tolerate their being recognized."
- Carl Rogers: To perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but without ever losing the "as if" condition. Thus, it means to sense the hurt or the pleasure of another as he senses it and to perceive the causes thereof as he perceives them, but without ever losing the recognition that it is as if I were hurt or pleased and so forth.
- Jean Decety: a sense of similarity in feelings experienced by the self and the other, without confusion between the two individuals.
- Martin Hoffman: An affective response more appropriate to another's situation than one's own.

Since empathy involves understanding the emotions of other people, the way it is characterised is derivative of the way emotions themselves are characterised. If for example, emotions are taken to be centrally characterised by bodily feelings, then grasping the bodily feelings of another will be central to empathy.

On the other hand, if emotions are more centrally characterised by combinations of beliefs and desires, then grasping these beliefs and desires will be more essential to empathy.

Furthermore, a distinction should be made between deliberately imagining being another person, or being in their situation, and simply recognizing their emotion. The ability to imagine oneself as another person is a sophisticated imaginative process. However the basic capacity to recognize emotions is probably innate and may be achieved unconsciously. Yet it can be trained, and achieved with various degrees of intensity or accuracy.

The human capacity to recognize the bodily feelings of another is related to one's imitative capacities, and seems to be grounded in the innate capacity to associate the bodily movements and facial expressions one sees in another with the proprioceptive feelings of producing those corresponding movements or expressions oneself. Humans also seem to make the same immediate connection between the tone of voice and other vocal expressions and inner feeling.

There is some debate concerning how exactly the conscious experience (or phenomenology) of empathy should be characterized. The basic idea is that by looking at the facial expressions or bodily movements of another, or by hearing their tone of voice, one may get an immediate sense of how they feel (as opposed to more intellectually noting the behavioral symptoms of their emotion). Though empathic recognition is likely to involve some form of arousal in the empathiser, they may not experience this feeling as belonging to their own body, but instead likely to perceptually locate the feeling 'in' the body of the other person. Alternatively the empathiser may instead get a sense of an emotional 'atmosphere' or that the emotion belongs equally to all the parties involved.

More fully developed empathy requires more than simply recognizing another's emotional state. Since emotions are typically directed towards objects or states of affairs, the empathiser may first require some idea of what that object might be (where object can include imaginary objects, concepts, other people, or even the empathiser). Alternatively the recognition of the feeling may precede the recognition of the object of that emotion, or even aid the empathiser in discovering the object of the other's emotion.

The empathiser may also need to determine how the emotional state affects the way in which the other perceives the object. For example, the empathizer needs to determine which aspects of the object to focus on. Hence it is often not enough that the empathiser recognize the object toward which the other is directed, plus the bodily feeling, and then simply add these components together. Rather the empathiser needs to find the way into the loop where perception of the object affects feeling and feeling affects the perception of the object. It should also be noted that the extent to which a person's emotions are publicly observable, or mutually recognised as such has significant social consequences. Empathic recognition may or may not be welcomed or socially desirable.

This is particularly the case where we recognise the emotions that someone has towards ourselves during real time interactions. The appropriate role of empathy in our dealings with others is highly dependent on the circumstances. For instance, it is claimed that clinicians or caregivers must take care not to be too sensitive to the emotions of others, to over-invest their own emotions, at the risk of draining away their own resourcefulness. There are also concerns that the empathiser's own emotional background may affect or distort what emotions they perceive in others. Empathy is not a process that is likely to deliver certain judgements about the emotional states of others.

It is a skill that is gradually developed throughout life, and which improves the more contact we have with the person with whom we empathise. Accordingly, any knowledge we gain of the emotions of the other must be revisable in light of further information. Thus awareness of these

limitations is prudent in a clinical or caregiving situation. When seeking to communicate with another, it may be helpful to demonstrate empathy with the other, to open-up the channel of communication with the other. In this case two methods of empathy are possible:

- a) Either simulate 'pretend' versions of the beliefs, desires, character traits and context of the other and see what emotional feelings this leads to;
- b) Or simulate the emotional feeling and then look around for a suitable reason for this to fit.

Either way, full empathetic engagement is supposed to help to understand and anticipate the behavior of the other. Empathy may be painful to oneself: seeing the pain of others, especially as broadcasted by mass media, can cause one temporary or permanent clinical depression; a phenomenon which is sometimes called *weltschmerz*.

Without a basic emotional understanding of others there is no basis for relationship, therefore a tension struggle lies in the dilemma to protect oneself from the pain of empathy or seek to relate to other humans despite the potential risk of injury.

Feedback is a phenomenon whereby some proportion of the output signal of a system is passed (fed back) to the input. This is often used to control the dynamic behavior of the system. Examples of feedback can be found in most complex systems, such as engineering, architecture, economics, thermodynamics, and biology.

An example of a complex feedback system is the steering system of an automobile. While driving, a person receives signals from the environment, such as signs and hazards. The driver's brain processes the information and sends signals to the automobile via the steering wheel and pedals. The automobile responds by changing direction or speed accordingly.

Negative feedback was applied by Harold Stephen Black to electrical amplifiers in 1927, but he could not get his idea patented until 1937. Arturo Rosenblueth, a Mexican researcher and physician, co-authored a seminal 1943 paper *Behavior, Purpose and Teleology* that, according to Norbert Wiener, set the basis for the new science of cybernetics.

Rosenblueth proposed that behavior controlled by negative feedback, whether in animal, human or machine, was a determinative, directive principle in nature and human creations. This kind of feedback is studied in cybernetics and control theory.

In organizations, feedback is a process of sharing observations, concerns and suggestions between persons or divisions of the organization with an intention of improving both personal and organizational performance. Negative and positive feedback have different meanings in this usage, where they imply criticism and praise, respectively.

Feedback is both a mechanism, process and signal that is looped back to control a system within itself. This loop is called the feedback loop. A control system usually has input and output to the system; when the output of the system is fed back into the system as part of its input, it is called the "feedback."

Feedback and regulation are self related. The negative feedback helps to maintain stability in a system in spite of external changes. It is related to homeostasis.

Positive feedback amplifies possibilities of divergences (evolution, change of goals); it is the condition to change, evolution, growth; it gives the system the ability to access new points of equilibrium.

For example, in an organism, most positive feedback provide for fast autoexcitation of elements of endocrine and nervous systems (in particular, in stress responses conditions) and play a key role in regulation of morphogenesis, growth, and development of organs, all processes which are in essence a rapid escape from the initial state.

Homeostasis is especially visible in the nervous and endocrine systems when considered at organism level.

Types of feedback are:

- Negative feedback: which tends to reduce output (but in amplifiers, stabilizes and linearizes operation),
- Positive feedback: which tends to increase output, or
- Bipolar feedback: which can either increase or decrease output.

Systems which include feedback are prone to hunting, which is oscillation of output resulting from improperly tuned inputs of first positive then negative feedback. Audio feedback typifies this form of oscillation.

Bipolar feedback is present in many natural and human systems.

Feedback is usually bipolar—that is, positive and negative—in natural environments, which, in their diversity, furnish synergic and antagonistic responses to the output of any system.

A whole variety of models stress the importance of feedback in communication. We also know from our everyday experience how vital it is:

- We check a person's facial expression to see if they're interested in what we're saying - do we give up and find someone else to talk to?
- We listen for reinforcers from them such as 'yes', 'dead right', 'I agree' and so on - are we wasting our time trying to persuade them?
- We gain feedback from our own body on our performance - are we blushing? do we have a dry throat?
- Advertisers use · Gallup - do they need to adjust their advertising strategy?
- Broadcasters use · BARB for ratings - is the audience for the Nine O'clock News going up or now after the latest revamp - does it need fine tuning?

Briefly, then, feedback provides the source with information concerning his/her success in accomplishing his/her objective. In doing this, it exerts control over future messages which the source encodes.

Feedback: Schramm & Osgood:

A simple, but effective, graphical illustration of the importance of feedback in interpersonal communication is provided by Osgood and Schramm. The Osgood and Schramm Circular Model emphasizes:

- The two-way flow of dyadic communication
- The active rôle of interpreter which each participant in the communication act plays
- That neither participant will be simply either encoder or decoder

Even a person who doesn't say anything will

Decode the message she receives according to her own, more or less highly developed, set of communication skills interpret the message according to her own complex set of values, attitudes, beliefs etc.

Then encode her reactions in the form of non-verbal signals, which provide feedback to the other participant that person then has to decode and interpret that non-verbal message and so on.

Feedback Problems:

In order to decide on the right treatment for your message, you have to know how the receiver is likely to respond to any of the various possible treatments. You also have to be able to interpret the response you get.

This is fraught with difficulty.

We can't simply assume that a message we encode will be decoded and interpreted as we intend it to be.

We all encode our messages differently for different people, based on a prediction of what is the appropriate encoding for them.

They then encode their response based on their prediction of what is right for us. But what if one or the other gets the prediction wrong?

3.2 Summary:**Schramm stated:**

In fact, it is misleading to think of the communication process as starting somewhere and ending somewhere. It is really endless. We are little switchboard centers handling and rerouting the great endless current of information....

Schramm W:

The Osgood and Schramm circular model is an attempt to remedy that deficiency: The model emphasizes the circular nature of communication. The participants swap between the rôles of source/encoder and receiver/decoder.

The source has to express your purpose in the form of a message. That message has to be formulated in some kind of code. How do the source's purposes get translated into a code? This requires an **encoder**. The communication encoder is responsible for taking the ideas of the source and putting them in code, expressing the source's purpose in the form of a message.

The Shannon-Weaver Model, in common with many others separates the message from other components of the process of communication. In reality, though, you can only reasonably examine the message within the context of all the other interlinked elements. Whenever we are in contact with other people we and they are involved in sending and receiving messages. The crucial question for Communication Studies is: to what extent does the message received correspond to the message transmitted? That's where all the other factors in the communication process come into play.

The words **channel** and **medium** are often used interchangeably, if slightly inaccurately. The choice of the appropriate channel is a vitally important choice in communication.

Shannon is generally considered to have been primarily concerned with physical (or 'mechanical' or 'engineering') noise in the channel, i.e. unexplained variation in a communication channel or random error in the transmission of information.

The model is particularly helpful in reminding us of the process of interpretation which takes place whenever a message is decoded. The more mechanical models, particularly those concerned primarily with machine communication, tend to suggest that fidelity will be high as long as physical noise is reduced to a minimum or strategies are adopted to counter the noise. This circular model reminds us that receiving a message is not simply a matter of decoding, but also of interpreting the message.

Whenever we receive data from the world around us, even in, say, the apparently very simple act of seeing what's in front of us, we are engaged in an active process of interpretation, not simply taking in information, but actively making sense of it. An important question is: what criteria are we using to make sense of what we are receiving? Since the criteria we use will inevitably differ from one person to another, there will always be semantic noise. If we can answer that question about our audience, then we stand a chance of communicating successfully.

Just as a source needs an encoder to translate her purposes into a message, so the receiver needs a **decoder** to retranslate. The decoder (receiver in Shannon's paper) is an interesting and very useful development over, say, the Laswell formula.

For communication to occur, there must be somebody at the other end of the channel. This person or persons can be called the **receiver**. To put it in Shannon's terms, information transmitters and receivers must be similar systems. If they are not, communication cannot occur. (Actually Shannon used the term destination, reserving the term receiver for what we have called decoder.)

3.3 Technical Terms:

Mechanical Models : Communication models that primarily concern themselves with machine communication.

Empathy : The capacity to identify oneself with the situation of others. **Feedback** : The message from the receiver to the source.

3.4 Model Questions:

1. Describe the Osgood and Schramm's model of communication.
2. Elucidate the merits and demerits of Osgood and Schramm's model of communication.
3. Briefly explain the concepts of Feedback and Empathy.

3.5 Reference Books:

McQuail, D (2000) McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, Sage Publications Amazon UK.

McQuail, D and Windahl, S (1993) Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication, Prentice Hall Amazon UK.

Windahl, S, Signitzer, B and Olson, J (1991) Using Communication Theory, Sage Amazon UK.

Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 4

Newcomb's ABX Model

4.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Newcomb's model of communication
- Elements of the above model

Structure of The Lesson:

- 4.0 Objectives of The Lesson
- 4.1 Newcomb's ABX model of communication
- 4.2 Problems in Newcomb's Model
- 4.3 Summary
- 4.4 Technical Terms
- 4.5 Model Questions
- 4.6 Reference Books

4.1 NewComb's ABX Model:

Communication is unbalanced with regard to resources, time, power and other factors which is usually a case in communication within the frame of information behaviour. There are the developments of model representing the potential changes based on disagreement and conflict among senders and receivers.

Newcomb (1953) developed the ABX coorientation model with a social-psychological perspective. This model focuses on the interaction between people. Within Newcomb's model the orientation of person A to X as object of the interaction like the orientation of person A to person B and vice

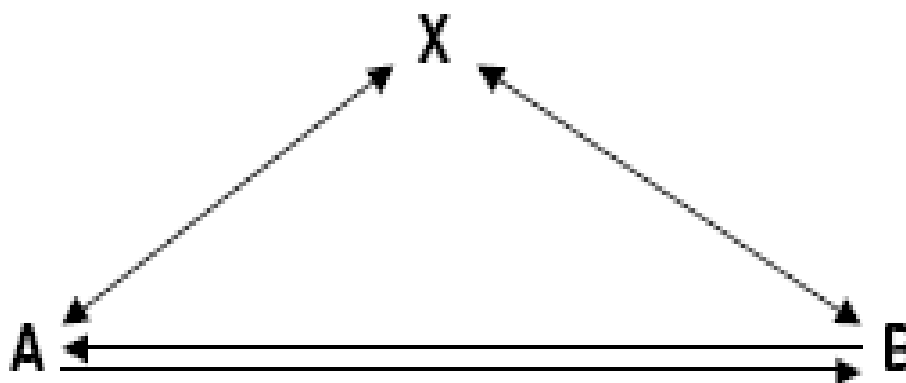


Fig 1. The ABX-model of Newcomb (1953).

Newcomb (1953) originally developed the co-orientation model as a tool for relational analysis of dyadic pairs. This simple, yet insightful, model consists of two communicators, A and B, and their “co-orientation” toward some “object of communication”, X (Figure 1).

The object of communication can be an actual physical object, an event, an activity, an attitude, or a behavior. Each communicator, A and B, has a simultaneous co-orientation towards her or his communication partner and towards the object of communication.

Newcomb (1953) identified four basic components of this relation system:

A's attitude toward X; and

A's attraction to B; -

B's attitude toward X; and

B's attraction to A.

McLeod and Chaffee's (1973) co-orientation model (Figure) builds on Newcomb's paradigm. The co-orientation model assumes that each actor in the co-orientation pair has two set of cognitions: a “self-perception” of a particular object or attributes of the object, and an “other-perception” of what the other person thinks about the object or its attributes.

Comparison of these four sets of cognitions yield five relationships.

These five measures identified by the co-orientation model generates three basic kinds of communication states: Congruency, Agreement and Accuracy.

Communication Relationships in the Co-orientation Model:

Congruency is not a true interpersonal variable from the objective social system point of view since it is an indicator of the degree of similarity between person's own cognitions and her/his perception of the other person's cognitions. The point is that the effect of communication may be either to increase or decrease congruency, depending on its initial level and the actual state of the system.

Congruency tends to be more important in the early stages of interpersonal processes and consequently has been useful as an independent variable in developing communication theory.

The degree of similarity, or cognitive overlap, between the co-orientations of the “organization's definition” and the “stakeholders' definition” is called “agreement”. To the extent that the organization and the stakeholder group have the same summary evaluations of objects there is agreement. McLeod et al. (1972) argued that agreement is not a satisfactory criterion for communication. It can be argued that personal values, the products of many kinds of individual experiences and constraints, are unlikely to be changed sufficiently by communication alone to produce complete agreement.

Accuracy is the extent to which one participant's estimate of the other's cognitions matches what the other participant really does think, seems an ideal criterion for communication. A key assumption underlying the co-orientation model is that a person's behavior is not based simply upon a private cognitive construction of the person's own world, but also a function of the perception of the co-orientation held by others around the person and of the orientation to them.

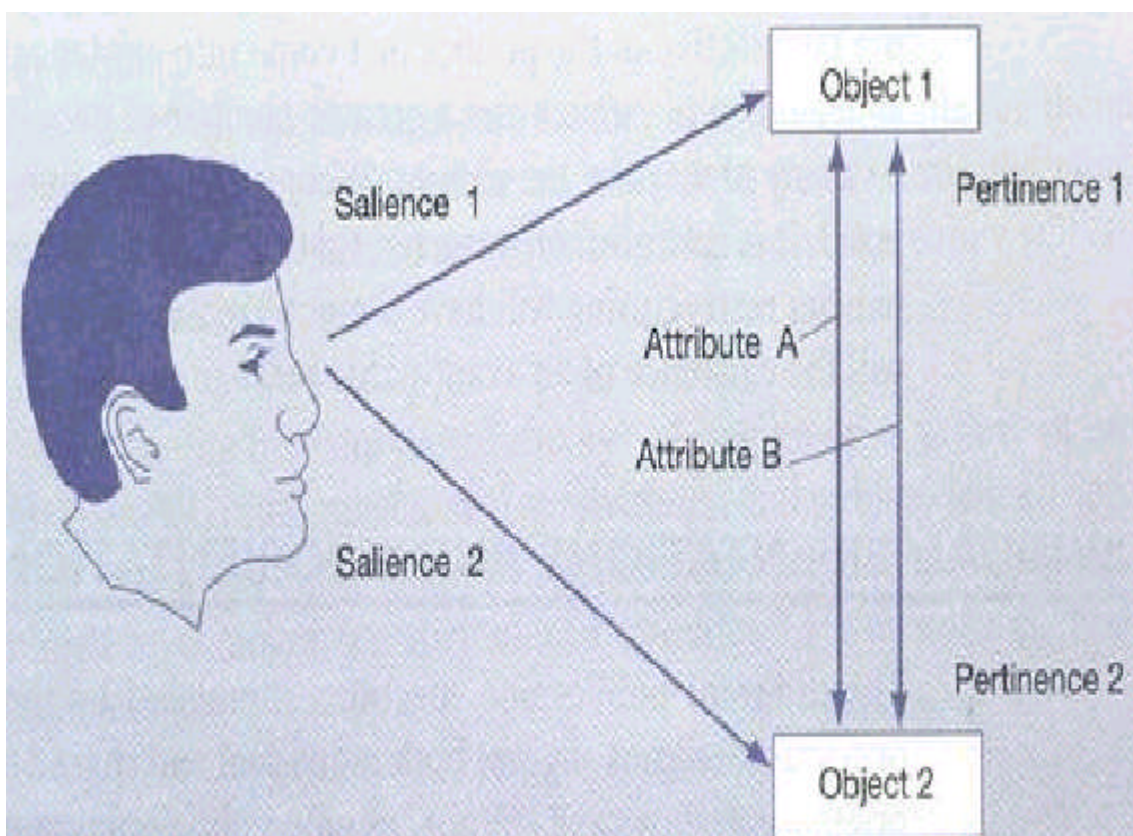
This assumption serves as an important basis of this study because the forest industries are likely to design their services based not only on their own cognitions, but also on their perceptions of their end consumers' cognition.

Co-Orientation States In The Co-Orientation Model:

By including many individual simultaneously oriented to issues of mutual concern and interest, the interpersonal co-orientation model can be extended to large social groupings. The co-orientational concept of public opinion in communities and society casts public opinion as the product of both "individual perceptions on an issue" and "their perceptions of what significant others think about the same issue".

Social scientists recognized the need to take into account perceptions of agreement in addition to actual agreement. Scheff (1967), for example, argued that perceptions of agreement can be independent of actual agreement and that perceptions of agreement more likely affect public behavior than does actual agreement.

Those involved in issues of public debate often do not know the state of actual agreement, and are operating instead on their perceptions of agreement. A number of combinations of co-orientation states between communicating parties are possible and each can be expected to have different implications for an effective communication strategy.



Source: Adapted from Richard F. Carter, "Communication and Affective Relations," *Journalism Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (Spring 1965), p. 224.

Fig 2. Model of Individual Orientation

Individuals hold opinions of varying degrees of relevance and intensity. Individuals assign value to objects in their environment on the basis of both their previous history with the objects and their assessment of the objects in the current context.

The former value is salience or the feelings about an object derived from an individual's experiences and reinforcements from previous situations. Salience refers to what the individual brings to a situation as a result of history.

The second source of value is pertinence, which refers to the relative value of an object on the basis of object-by-object comparisons on the basis of some attribute or attributes. Pertinence value can vary depending on which attribute is used to make the comparison or what other objects are used in the comparison.

In other words, salience indicates how individuals feel about an object, independent of the situation, whereas pertinence depends on how the individual defines the situation. To describe and understand an individual's opinion about some object, then, you have to measure both salience and pertinence. The distinction helps clarify the relationship between attitudes and opinions.

People may have similar understandings but perceive that they do not. (Pluralistic ignorance). The parties believe that they disagree on an issue when in fact, they agree (False conflict).

Dissensus : Communicators can have dissimilar understandings of what the communication rules are and accurately perceive that this is the case. The parties hold conflicting views and are aware of their differences.

False Consensus : They can have dissimilar understandings of the rules but believe that they do not. The organization believes that the stakeholders agree with them on a particular issue, or the stakeholder group mistakenly believes that the organization holds the same view that they do.

Consensus is a complex social phenomenon that can be described using the co-orientational model. In this way, the state of true consensus represents a high level of actual agreement recognized as such by those involved.

Dissensus exists when a high level of actual disagreement are accurately perceived as such. Public opinion based on inaccurate perceptions of agreement is more troublesome in communication relationships.

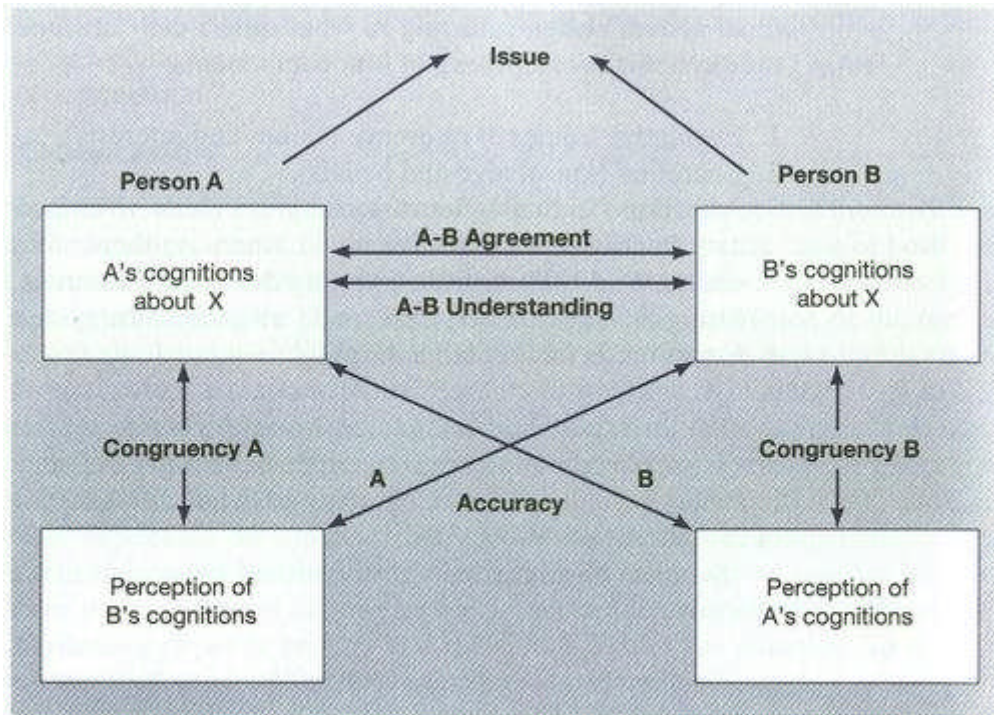
After extended interaction, two or more persons may simply agree or disagree. At least they know where each other stand on the issue.

The same cannot be said about situations based on inaccurate perceptions of each other's views. False consensus exists when there is actual disagreement but the majority of those who are involved think they agree. False conflict represents the state of public opinion in which the majority perceives little agreement but, in fact, there is widespread agreement.

When those involved do not accurately recognize the state of actual agreement, they act on the basis of their inaccurate perceptions. However, instead of trying to increase the accuracy of cross perceptions in communication relationships, most communication efforts attempt to influence levels of agreement.

But actual agreement can exist independent of perceptions of agreement.

In the context of public relation, the nature of the relationship between the organization and its public can be threatened by different definitions and inaccurate perceptions, not a disagreement over the issue itself .



Source: Adapted from Jack M. McLeod and Steven H. Chaffee, "Interpersonal Approaches to Communication Research," in *Interpersonal Perception and Communication*, ed. Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, special edition of *American Behavioral Scientist*, 16, no. 4 (March–April 1973), pp. 483–88.

Fig 3. Model of Co-orientation

Co-orientation state Monolithic consensus or true consensus : Communicators can have similar understandings of the same communication rules and accurately perceive that this is the case. (Monolithic consensus) The parties know they share an agreement on their evaluation of an issue. (True consensus) Pluralistic ignorance or The social or interpersonal concept of public opinion requires two or more individuals oriented to and communicating about an object of mutual interest. In other words, they are **cooriented** to something in common and to each other. The coorientational model in the figure illustrates the **intrapersonal** and **interpersonal** elements of communication relationships. First, the intrapersonal construct of **congruency** describes the extent to which your own views match your estimate of another's views on the same issue. Some refer to this variable as **perceived agreement**. On the basis of this estimate, you formulate strategies for dealing with the other person or for spontaneously responding in interactions.

The extent to which you accurately estimate another's views determines the appropriateness of your actions. Each of us recalls instances in which we misjudged another person's position on some issue of mutual interest, and responded to them inappropriately until we learned what the person really thought about the issue. **Accuracy**, then, represents the extent to which your estimate matches the other person's actual views.

Extracted from *Effective Public Relations* by Scott Cutlip, Allen Center and Glen Broom for use on the Public Relations course in the Tipperary Institute Multimedia Degree Programme. Situations call for communication designed to change the level of agreement-disagreement on the issue. Communication that helps to create shared definitions and increased accuracy improves the organization-public relationship and makes each side's dealing with the other more appropriate.

Towards Sustainability Communication through Co-orientation

Co-orientation State and Communication Activities

The co-orientation model was developed originally by Newcomb 1953 and further developed by McLeod and Chaffee in 1973. It was later adapted for public relations by Broom (1977) and Grunig et al. (1984). This extension made it possible to reconceptualize the traditional approach to public relations by focusing on two-way relationship variables:

Communication (dialogue or mutual exposure); Understanding (shared cognitions); Agreement (shared attitudes); and Complementary behavior.

In addition, the accuracy variable in the co-orientation model made it possible to identify gaps between, for example, the organization's perception of the stakeholders' evaluation and the stakeholders' self-evaluation.

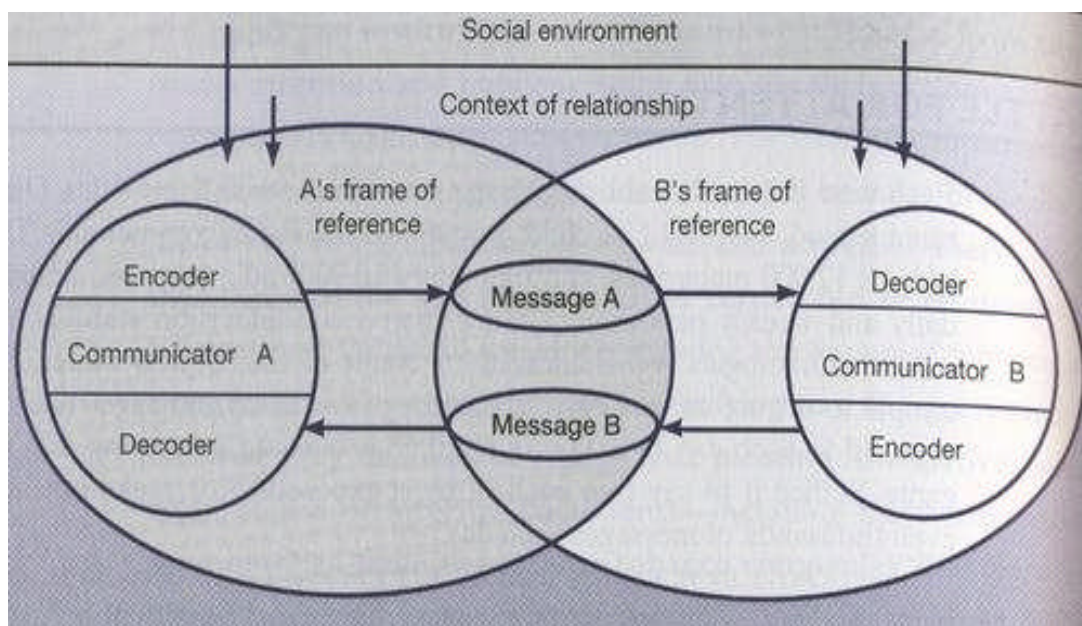


Fig 4. Communication is a reciprocal process of exchanging signals

Learning is an Imperative:

A key aspect of the co-orientation model is that information is exchanged and the major result of communication is that a greater knowledge of another's cognitions is achieved. Communication should lead to changes in cognitions by both the organization and the public toward the issue, thus increasing accuracy.

As mentioned earlier, a number of combinations of co-orientation states and communication relationships between the communicating parties are possible and each can be expected to have different implications for an appropriate communication strategy. Only in the co-orientation state corresponding to “true consensus” do we claim that there is an optimal communication strategy.

This state is characterized by high agreement, congruency and accuracy. The communicating parties are of like mind in that they have a common understanding of the issue and know that they do.

Communication in this situation will be of different nature than in the other co-orientation states. In reality, the relationship between the communication parties, as they are the organizations and their relevant stakeholders, are dynamic and characterized by learning. The key element in Grunig et al.'s (1984) symmetrical two-way communication model is the feedback activity. They caution that feedback is in the form of dialogue.

The discrepancies between stakeholders on the accuracy variable indicate potential misunderstandings regarding the issue that cause difficulties in the communication relationship.

The co-orientational approach helps identifying the three co-orientation-states, dissensus, false consensus and false conflict, that call for more sophisticated communication strategies. A dissensus on sustainable development will need more than only provision of information. Moving from the state of dissensus to the state of true consensus requires an exchange of information from both sides.

In this case, one-way communication may help as a minimum to provide information. Increased congruency needs an improved level of learning between the forest industry and their stakeholders by maintaining a high level of accuracy through two-way communication.

In the case of “false consensus” and “false conflict”, however, communication strategies were developed on the basis of inaccurate perceptions of the other's views. Being in the state of “false consensus” or “false conflict” requires increased accuracy the one communicating party toward the other's view of the issue under consideration.

Accuracy can be achievable through communication activities that support reflection on the other's point of view. In a two-way communication model practitioners both seek information from and give information to communication partners. Dialogue can be defined as “a sustained collective inquiry in to processes, assumptions and certainties that comprise everyday experiences”. Dialogue presents a unique opportunity for the forest industries to learn.

It also carries the possibility of the stakeholder being able to influence the organization as much as the organization can influence the stakeholder. Birkin et al. (1997) identify four levels of stakeholder involvement in the organizational decision-making process:

- No communication,
- One-way communication (information on request),
- Two-way communication (proactive information) and
- Dialogue.

An effective communication strategy seeks to find a balance between inquiry and advocacy. According to Harrison et al. (1994), stakeholder management includes communicating, negotiating and contracting, managing relationships and motivating them to respond to the organization in ways that benefits it.

4.2 Problems in Newcomb's Model:

The balance theory as suggested by Newcomb, asserts that balanced states will be preferred over imbalanced states, and imbalanced states will lead to activities to change them to balanced states.

While the basic idea was persuasive, the theory was vague and incomplete. Here are some problems of balance theory.

1. **Unsymmetric relations.** Should all relations be conceived as symmetric? The answer is that they should not; it is possible for P to like O while O dislikes P.

Theoretical discussions of balance have sometimes recognized this possibility - Heider, for example, states that unsymmetric liking is unbalanced - but there has been no general definition of balance which covers unsymmetric relations. The empirical studies of balance have assumed that the relations are symmetric.

2. **Two directions of relationship.** The three-entity relationship did not take into account the fact that liking and disliking usually flow in two directions (with only two people involved, mutual liking or disliking represents balance).

Though in many situations there are both positive and negative feelings toward a person or object and though affects vary greatly in intensity (both "like" and "adore" are positive, but they are hardly equivalent), there was no way to assess the relative or absolute strength of sentiments.

3. **Units containing more than three entities.** Nearly all theorizing about balance has referred to units of three entities. It would seem desirable to be able to speak of the balance of even larger units. For e.g, one may consider the coorientation of five people in a relationship.
4. **Negative relations.** Is the negative relation the complement of the relation or its opposite? All of the discussions of balance seem to equate these, but they seem to be quite different, for the complement of a relation is expressed by adding the word "not" while the opposite is indicated by the prefix "dis" or its equivalent.

Thus, adding the word "not" while the opposite is indicated by the prefix "dis" or its equivalent expresses the complement of a relation. Thus, the complement of "liking" is "not liking"; the opposite of "liking" is "disliking."

5. **Cognitive fields and social systems.** Newcomb's intention is to describe balance of cognitive units in which the entities and relations enter as experienced by a single individual. Newcomb attempts to treat social systems which may be described objectively.

In principle, it should be possible also to study the balance of sociometric structure, communication networks, patterns of power, and other aspects of social systems.

4.3 Summary:

Theodore Newcomb (1953) developed a Co orientation Model as a helpful tool in relational analysis of dyadic pairs. This simple yet insightful model consists of two communicators, A and B, and their “orientation” toward some “object of communication”, X.

The object of communication could be an actual physical object (such as a house which the couple is considering purchasing or a painting in a museum), an event (such as cricket, a music concert or a marriage), an activity (such as playing cards or watching cartoons on television every Sunday), an attitude (such as loving action movies or being opposed to non vegetarianism), or a behavior (such as being absent from the class without taking permission about it first or donating clothes to the local orphanage).

Any subject, behavior, attitude, belief, event, or object, which is the focus of communication for the two participants, has the potential to be the “object of communication”. Each communicator, A and B, has a simultaneous co orientation toward his or her communication partner (usually the level of attraction and feelings toward the partner) and toward the object of communication (the degree of positive or negative attitude about X).

Newcomb (1953) - ABX Model – is based on psychological view of communication. Newcomb saw communication as a way in which people orient to their environment and to each other. Base on the concept of balance between one’s attitudes and beliefs and those that are important to an individual. If the balance is disturbed, communication is used to restore it.

Newcomb is the one that introduces us to fundamentally different shape. It is triangular. Its main significance, however, lies in the fact that it is the first of our models to introduce the role of communication in society or a social relationship. For Newcomb this role is simple – it is to maintain equilibrium within the social system, The way the model works is this, A and B are communicator and receiver; they may be individuals, or group. X is part of their social environment. ABX is a system, which means that its internal relations are interdependent: if A changes, B and X will change as well; or if A changes her/his relationship to X, B will have to change his/her relationship either with X or with A.

If A and B are friends, and X is something or someone known to both of them, it will be more important that A and B will be under pressure to communicate until the two friends arrive at broadly similar attitudes to X. The more important a place X has in their social environment, the more urgent will be their drive to share an orientation towards him or it.

Of course, X may not be a thing or a [person: it may be any part of their shared environment. A May be the government, B the labour, and X pay policy: in this case we can see, to oversimplify for the sake of clarity, that a labour government (a) and the labour (B), who in theory ‘like’ each other, will be under pressure to hold frequent meetings to try and agree on X, the pay policy. But if A is Anti labour government who is not friendly with the b, the Labour, there will be less pressure for them to agree on x. If the AB relationship is not of liking they can differ over X: the system is till in equilibrium.

Another example of the way equilibrium increases the need to communicate can be seen when X changes. Immediately A and B need to communicate to establish their co-orientation to the new X. In time of war, people’s dependence on the media is increased, and so too is the government’s

use of the media. This is because the war, X, is not only of crucial importance but is also constantly changing. So government and people (A and B) need to be in constant communication via the mass media.

This model assumes, though does not explicitly state, that people need information. In a democracy information is usually regarded as a right, but it is not always realized that information is also a necessity. Without it we cannot feel part of the society, We must have adequate information about our social environment in order both to know how to react to it and to identify in our reaction factors that we can share with the fellow members of our peer group, subculture, or culture. In simpler terms this model suggests the interaction between sender and receiver for any common goal or cause. Both sender and receiver are at the same level but their interpretation for the common goal or cause may or may not differ. Newcomb sees four basic components of this relational system:

- (1) A's attitude toward X,
- (2) A's attraction to B,
- (3) B's attitude toward X, and
- (4) B's attraction to A.

According to the model, both A and B have a natural propensity toward balance in their coorientation toward X and their partner.

If A has a negative attitude toward smoking (X) and a very positive attraction toward B, but B has a positive attitude toward smoking (X) and toward A, then A will experience an imbalance resulting in a push toward revision of attitudes to regain balance.

This "strain toward balance" can be resolved by one or a combination of

- (1) A decreasing the amount of liking for B,
- (2) A changing his attitude toward X, and
- (3) A changing B's attitude about X to align with A's. A's actions are dependent on A's own orientations as well as A's perceptions of B's orientations, and vice versa for B.

Thus, both communicators are continually making predictions or estimates of their partner's orientations. A has perceptions of what B is thinking and feeling, just as B has perceptions of what A is thinking and feeling.

Based on this model, Wilmot (1987) concludes that at the very minimum, any thorough index of a dyadic relationship should include the following two items of information:

- (1) each person's orientation (that is, their attitude toward the object of communication and their attraction toward their communication partner) and
- (2) what each person perceives their partner's orientations to be.

Cognitive Processes : the performance of some composite cognitive activity; an operation that affects mental contents; "the process of thinking"; "the cognitive operation of remembering"**Monolithic consensus or true consensus** : Communicators can have similar understandings of the same communication rules and accurately perceive that this is the case.

True Consensus : The parties know they share an agreement on their evaluation of an issue.
Attitude : **The way we look at things and our reaction to it.**

4.4 Model Questions:

1. Describe the NewComb's ABX model.
2. Explain the Co-orientation model of communication and describe the various co-orientation states in the Co-orientation Model.

4.5 Reference Books:

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Unit - II

Lesson - 5

Katz and Lazarsfeld's Two-Step Flow

5.0 Objective of The Lesson:

The objective of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Katz and Lazarsfeld's Two-Step Flow model of communication

Structure of The Lesson:

5.0 Objective of The Lesson

5.1 Katz and Lazarsfeld's Two-Step Flow

5.2 The Opinion Leaders

5.3 The Importance of Social Influence

5.4 Criticisms

5.5 Support for the theory

5.6 Recent Studies Based on the Two-step Flow of Communication

5.7 Applications of the Theory

5.8 References

5.9 Summary

5.10 Technical Terms

5.11 Model Questions

5.12 Reference Books

5.1 Katz and Lazarsfeld's Two-Step Flow:

It was the Katz and Lazarsfelds investigation of American Presidential elections which led them to formulate the two-step flow model .

Development of The Two-step Flow of Communication Theory:

Katz and Lazarsfeld's investigation of American Presidential elections was what we would call an empirical study. This research established that the audience is not a homogeneous mass: different audience members belong to different social and class groups. Such factors as a persons class or his family relationships act like filtering screens around him and any potential influence of much of media output is therefore somewhat limited. This is the two-step flow model, which is part of what is often known as the limited effects paradigm, i.e. the view that the effects of the mass media are sharply limited by our pattern of social relationships.

As with most theories now applied to Advertising, the Two-step flow of communication was first identified in a field somewhat removed from communications-sociology. In 1948, Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet published *The People's Choice*, a paper analyzing the voters' decision-making processes during a 1940 presidential election campaign.

The study revealed evidence suggesting that the flow of mass communication is less direct than previously supposed. Although the ability of mass media to reach a large audience, and in this case persuade individuals in one direction or another, had been a topic of much research since the 1920's, it was not until the *People's Choice* was published that society really began to understand the dynamics of the media-audience relationship.

The study suggested that communication from the mass media first reaches "opinion leaders" who filter the information they gather to their associates, with whom they are influential. Previous theories assumed that media directly reached the target of the information.

Lazarsfeld et al suggested that "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population."

People tend to be much more affected in their decision making process by face to face encounters with influential peers than by the mass media (Lazarsfeld, Menzel, 1963).

The studies by Lazarsfeld and his associates sparked interest in the exact qualities and characteristics that define the opinion leader. Is an opinion leader influential in all cases, on all topics?

Or is the influence of an opinion leader constrained to certain topics? How does an opinion leader come to be influential?

5.2 The Opinion Leaders:

Who are they? How have they come to be defined?

A study by Robert Merton revealed that opinion leadership is not a general characteristic of a person, but rather limited to specific issues. Individuals who act as opinion leaders on one issue, may not be considered influentials in regard to other issues (Merton, 1949).

A later study directed by Lazarsfeld and Katz further investigated the characteristics of opinion leaders.

This study confirmed the earlier assertions that personal influence seems more important in decision making than media. Again, influential individuals seem constrained in their opinion leading to particular topics, non-overlapping among the individuals.

The opinion leaders seem evenly distributed among the social, economical, and educational levels within their community, but very similar in these areas to those with whom they had influence.

Katz and Lazarsfeld did not identify any particular traits amongst opinion leaders that stand out. The traits that characterize each of the opinion leaders in their niche did have things in common, though.

For one thing, the opinion leaders were identified as having the strongest interest in their particular niche. They hold positions within their community affording them special competence in their particular niches.

They are generally gregarious, sociable individuals. Finally, they had/have contact with relevant information supplied from outside their immediate circle. Interestingly enough, Katz and Lazarsfeld observed that the opinion leaders receive a disproportionate amount of their external information from media appropriate to their niche.

Studies by Glock and Nicosia determined that opinion leaders act “as a source of social pressure toward a particular choice and as a source of social support to reinforce that choice once it has been made (1966).”

Charles Glock explained that opinion leaders often develop leadership positions in their social circles. They achieve these positions based on their knowledge of situations outside their circles (1952).

“Opinion leaders are not a group set apart, and ... opinion leadership is not a trait which some people have and others do not, but rather ... opinion leadership is an integral part of the give-and-take of everyday personal relationships” (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955, p.33).

Katz and Lazarsfeld see opinion leaders as people in certain segments of society that are interested in particular subjects who become, in effect, something like media experts on those subjects. It is these people, then, that absorb certain media messages and inform their friends, families, and peers. Opinion leaders are not necessarily traditional leaders in society, such as politicians and clergy and the like (although they can be). Rather, they are perceived experts in particular domains.

Katz and Lazarsfeld’s study on voting behavior revealed that:

1. Personal influence was both more frequent and more effective than any of the mass media, not only in politics but also in marketing, fashion decisions, and movie attendance.
2. Interpersonal influence in primary groups is effective in maintaining a high degree of homogeneity of opinions and actions within a group. In the voting studies, voters who changed their minds reported initially that they had intended to vote differently from their family and friends. Medical doctors tended to prescribe the same drugs as their closest colleagues, especially when treating the more puzzling diseases.
3. In the decision making process, different media play different roles. Some media inform about or announce the existence of an item, while others legitimize or make acceptable a given course of action.

Lazarsfeld and Herbert Menzel note that opinion leaders are not found solely in the upper classes of society, but tend to be “evenly distributed through every class and population” (1974, p.97).

One of the main points in discussing opinion leadership as it relates to functional theory and the Two - Step Flow model is that mass media communication does not reach the public in one giant wave.

Rather, there are two steps in the process, and there is a trickle-down effect among subgroups of a population. The opinion leader, then, is the key to this model of communication.

Subgroups are collections of people that share similar traits or interests, and opinion leaders tend to be seen as those people who are both informed and are upholders of the “norms of a social system [or subgroup]” (Watson and Hall 1997, p.163).

This is not to say that people may belong to one group only as they lead their daily lives. Rather, most people tend to belong to several groups at once, and consult different opinion leaders depending on the issue at hand (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955, p.330-332).

5.3 The Importance of Social Influence:

Their research was originally based on something like the simplistic hypodermic needle model of media influence, whereby it was assumed that a message would be transmitted from the mass media to a 'mass audience', who Katz and Lazarsfeld then applied these three aspects of opinion leadership to four different spheres of daily activity and opinion in an attempt to determine if opinion leaders possessed similar traits across diverse subjects. The researchers focused on women in exploring the four aforementioned areas, and this is what, in summary, Katz and Lazarsfeld discovered:

***Marketing:** Large family wives are the most frequent source of marketing leaders Marketing leaders appeared in consistent proportions on each status level and for products of all kinds, friends and neighbors were named most often (1955, p.246).

***Fashion:** Fashion leadership is dependent ... on life-cycle type ... [and] in fashions the girls are the key influential Social status must also be taken into account When influence traveled across status lines, it stemmed somewhat more from women of middle status (1955, p.270).

***Public Affairs:** Social status ... plays a very much more important role in public affairs leadership.... Better educated, wealthier women ... seem to move in a climate which promotes greater participation in public affairs ... [and gregariousness is also a] major key to leadership (1955, p.295).

***Movies:** Movie going is a main theme of American youth culture and the influential from this realm arise from the ranks of the young and carefree [and while] people go to the movies in groups ... when it comes to consulting a movie "expert," people of all ages turn to the girls (1955, p.308).

Granted these excerpts are only summaries of the study's findings. However, even in looking at the summaries one can distinguish several important points about opinion leadership and the Two - Step Flow model of communication.

First, opinion leaders differ among different groups and among different subjects in question.

Second, opinion leaders come from all strata of social life in a given society, and thus media messages may be interpreted and applied differently among social groups.

Third, it is clear that media messages reach the mass audience through various filters, and therefore in order for a media message to reach several audiences, the message source must optimally alter the message to attract various groups.

5.4 Criticisms:

- Since the research was not designed to specifically test the flow of influence, the experiment was decidedly lacking in explanations.
- The first problem concerning the findings of the study were that the data had to be collected in a random sample, but subjects in a random sample can only speak for themselves.

- For these reasons, each person could only say whether or not they considered his/herself an advice giver.
- Lazarsfeld and his associates in the 1940 election study were unable to determine the specific flow of influence.
- They determined there were a number of opinion leaders spread throughout the socio-economic groups; however, these leaders were not directly linked to particular groups within the socio-economic levels.
- Even within studies specifically designed to determine who opinion leaders are and how they are different from the average populace, there have been problems born from experimental design. “The criticisms of the concept of opinion leaders has focused mainly on its methodological deficiencies (Weimann, 1991).
- There seemed to be too many factors to control. Despite the difficulties in qualifying the influentials, the theory of a group of individuals that filter the flow of media information has lived on.

5.5 Support For The Theory:

Although the empirical methods behind the two-step flow of communication were not perfect, the theory did provide a very believable explanation for information flow.

The opinion leaders do not replace media, but rather guide discussions of media. Brosius explains the benefits of the opinion leader theory well in his 1996 study of agenda setting, “The opinion leaders should not be regarded as replacing the role of interpersonal networks but, in fact, as reemphasizing the role of the group and interpersonal contacts.”

Lazarsfeld and his associates detailed five characteristics of personal contact that give their theory more validity:

- **Non-purposiveness/casualness** One must have a reason for tuning into a political speech on television, but political conversations can just “pop-up”. In this situation, the people are less likely to have their defenses up in preparation, they are more likely open to the conversation.
- **Flexibility to counter resistance** In a conversation, there is always opportunity to counter any resistance. This is not so in media, a one sided form of communication.
- **Trust** Personal contact carries more trust than media. As people interact, they are better able through observation of body language and vocal cues to judge the honesty of the person in the discussion. Newspaper and radio do not offer these cues.
- **Persuasion without conviction** The formal media is forced to persuade or change opinions. In personal communication, sometimes friendly insistence can cause action without affecting any comprehension of the issues.

Menzel introduced another strong point in favor of the two-step flow of information theory.

First, there are an abundance of information channels “choked” with all types of journals, conferences, and commercial messages. These are distracting and confusing to their target. With the barrage of information humans are flooded with daily, it is not hard to understand why someone might turn to a peer for help evaluating all of it. The true test of a theory lies in its timelessness, its ability to spark interest and provoke thought years after its introduction. The two step flow of communication theory has been able to remain relevant throughout the years. This should not be difficult to believe considering it has fueled at least the past few pages this year, forty years after its debut.

There have been several recent studies that have addressed issues arising from Lazarsfeld’s, Katz’s, and Merton’s studies from the 1940s. In two such studies Gabriel Weimann (1994) and Hans-Bernd Brosius (1996) addressed the setting of agendas as a two step flow of communication.

In Weimann’s paper addressing the re-emergence of the opinion leader theory into modern day (1991), he addresses several problems that have been overcome sparking the new interest in the old theory. As is further discussed in the section on theory criticisms, the two-step flow of communication theory is difficult to witness in the field. Many researchers have attempted to design credible models for testing the theory, but with only minor success (Weimann, 1991).

Brosius and Weimann set out to explain agenda setting using the basis of the two-step flow of communication theory determined by Lazarsfeld, Katz, and the many other researchers. To avoid the difficulties in studying the actual flow of communication, Weimann and Brosius separated the opinion leaders from their two-step flow of communication theory. Participants were studied against a scale to determine the “Strength of Personality”.

5.6 Recent Studies Based On The Two-Step Flow of Communication Theory:

The Brosius-Weimann study attempts to describe the individuals whose personal communication has impact on agenda setting. These individuals are the archetypal opinion leaders, who still control the flow of information. Weimann and Brosius define agenda setting as a two-step flow, wherein certain individuals (influentials) “collect, diffuse, filter, and promote the flow of information” from media to the community. The difference between these influentials and the opinion leaders, as Weimann stresses, is that these influentials are usually elitists, not spread throughout the community as the old theory suggested (Weimann, 1991). Are these influentials a new breed? Or is there really a difference between influentials and opinion leaders? This, as yet, has not been addressed. Weimann and Brosius suggest the influentials are a subsection of the opinion leaders.

5.7 Applications Of The Theory:

To those who claim that there are no applications of a socio-political theory in advertising, exhibit A is the barrage of articles written daily on the very subject. No longer does the advertising industry doubt the existence or qualities of influentials, as they are most commonly referred to today. Instead, the discussion revolves around effectively targeting messages to reach these influentials.

For fifty years, the research organization Roper has considered the group of “influentials” important enough to track. Regularly, reports and studies are performed in an attempt to unlock the secret to reaching these influentials. Who are they? What has the term “influential” come to describe?

According to Diane Crispell, these people are the “thought leaders” and “pioneer consumers”. “Influentials are better educated and more affluent than the average American, but it is their interest in the world around them and their belief that they can make a difference that makes them influential (Crispell, 1989).”

The influentials today seem to be isolated in the upper class. They are the trend-setters. It is this group that is first to adopt new technology, and remains on the leading edge of trends (Poltrack, 1985). This is the group that advertising attempts to reach. Daily articles are published on maximizing the market by reaching these influentials. The idea remains that the most efficient media is word-of-mouth, and it is by reaching the influentials with other forms of media that this word-of-mouth is generated. It seems the opinion leaders of yesterday have been overlooked for the smaller subset of influentials.

would absorb the message. However, their investigations suggested that media effects were minimal, that the conception of a ‘mass audience’ was inadequate and misguided and that social influences had a major effect on the process of opinion formation and sharply limited the media’s effect.

Limited Effects:

The study by Lazarsfeld et al concluded that only some 5% of people changed their voting behaviour as a result of media messages. Their exposure to election broadcasts turned out to be a relatively poor predictor of their voting behaviour, particularly when compared with other factors such as their interpersonal communication with friends, union members, business colleagues and the political tradition they had grown up in.

This view of media effects was confirmed in a variety of other investigations and came to be known as the ‘limited effects paradigm’ of media influence.

Two-Step Flow - General Conclusions:

Consequently Lazarsfeld and his colleagues developed the notion of a ‘two-step’ flow of media messages, a process in which opinion leaders played a vitally important rôle.

This was later developed by Katz and Lazarsfeld and presented in their book *Personal Influence* (1955). A number of significant conclusions follow from their research:

- Our responses to media messages will be mediated through our social relationships, the effects of media messages being sharply limited by interpersonal relationships and group membership (this is confirmed also by Hovland who identifies our adherence to group norms as a major factor; see also the more general sections on Social Influence)

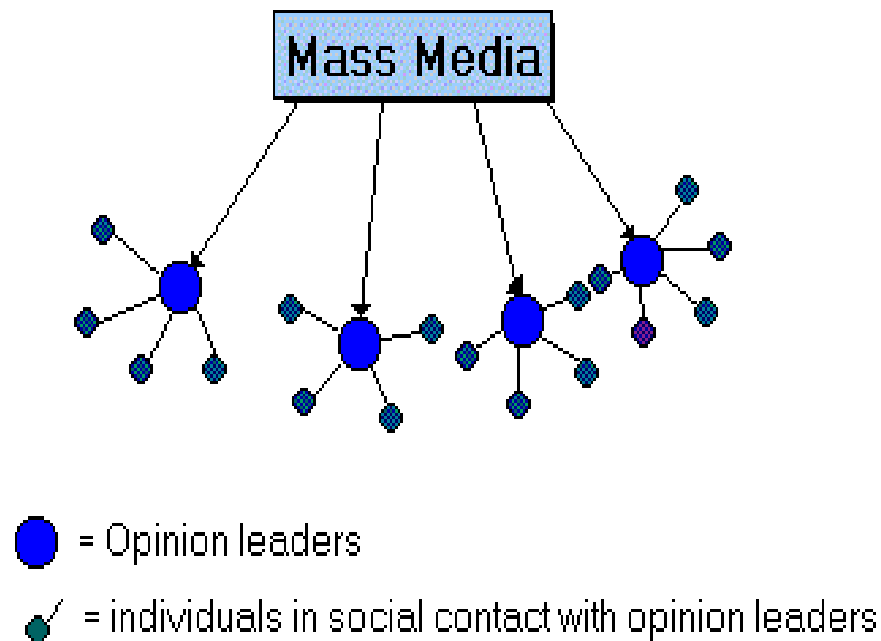


Fig.1. The Two Step Model

- There are some people amongst the media audience who act as opinion leaders - typically such people use the mass media more than the average, mix more than the average across social classes and see themselves and are seen by others as having an influence on others
- Reasons suggested for the greater effectiveness of personal influence over media influence include the following:
- It is misleading to think of receivers as members of a 'mass audience' since that implies that they are all equal in their reception of media messages, whereas in fact some play a more active rôle than others
- Receiving a message does not imply responding to it; nor does non-reception imply non-response (since we may still receive the message via interpersonal communication) The content and development of a conversation are less predictable than mass media messages. Consequently, the receiver cannot be as selective in advance as (s)he is able to be when choosing which media messages to attend to.
- In a face-to-face conversation, the critical distance between the partners is less than in mass communication. By direct questioning of the partner in the conversation, the assumptions underlying the conversation can be rapidly and accurately established, which is not so with mass communication.

In face-to-face interaction the communicator can rapidly adjust to the receiver's personality. (S)he has direct feedback as to the success of the communication, can correct misunderstandings and counter challenges.

Criticisms:

The model is often presented graphically as shown on the right. In fact, that is somewhat misleading as it suggests that mass media messages flow first to opinion leaders and from them to the rest. Obviously, that's not the case, since you and I can both receive messages directly. The point is that the messages we receive are then modified through the pattern of our social contacts.

Katz and Lazarsfeld are perhaps also somewhat misleading when they suggest that individuals with certain characteristics are opinion leaders. It may be the case that many opinion leaders will have the characteristics they mention, but we also know that some opinion leaders in some subject areas will not have those general characteristics.

However, it should be mentioned that Katz and Lazarsfeld certainly did not take the view that opinion leaders were necessarily those formally recognized as such (e. g. celebrities, politicians etc.) Thus, their studies showed that top-down influence was relatively slight. Influence tended to be horizontal across a particular socio-economic class, except that in the 'higher' social classes there was a tendency for people to find opinion leaders in the next class up. No opinion leader was an opinion leader in all aspects of life. For example, the car mechanic in your local pub may not use the media much at all because he's always working late.

Nevertheless, he knows a lot about cars and so what the rest of those in the pub 'know' from the media about different makes of car will be influenced by his views. Similarly, your Politics lecturer may not use the media anything like as much as you do, but her reading and viewing is targeted on political issues. Together with her broad knowledge of political theory and history, that is likely to make her an opinion leader as far as your Politics class is concerned. Allowing for those differences from one class to another and from one subject area to another, we probably can recognize in opinion leaders the characteristics which Katz and Lazarsfeld suggested, in particular that opinion leaders will be more active users of the mass media than others.

Katz and Lazarsfeld may also be misleading in suggesting that people are either active opinion leaders or passive followers of opinion leaders. Apart from the evidence that people can be opinion leaders on some matters and not on others, there is also the objection that some people may be neither leaders nor followers, but quite simply detached from much media output.

Much depends also on the accessibility of countervailing opinions. In the 1940s the general public would have had access to far fewer sources of information than they have today and may, broadly speaking, have had less time to access those sources.

Under such circumstances it is likely that an opinion leader in the community may be especially influential. This was recognized by the Nazi party in its gradual rise to power during the 1920s and 1930s. Nazi agitation and propaganda became increasingly successful at forcing themselves onto the front pages of newspapers, thus becoming an everyday topic of conversation. They were particularly keen to capitalize on that attention, directing it in the right direction through influencing the leading members of the various small associations which were spread throughout German communities.

Where local leaders, enjoying respectability and influence, were won over, further converts often rapidly followed. In the relatively homogeneous villages in Schleswig-Holstein, where feelings about the 'Weimar system' were running high on account of the agrarian crisis, the push from one or two farmers' leaders could result in a local landslide to the NSDAP [the Nazi Party].

Kershaw (1999 : 321)

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5.9 Summary:

Man has forever fought against the forces of entropy, working very diligently at creating order and meaning, dissecting and perusing until order is achieved. For civilization this has been important. It has lent the world many fascinating theories about our surroundings and the effect human beings can have. As order driven beings, we seek to stretch and apply knowledge gained in all aspects of life to situations and experiences very different from the origin of the knowledge. It is through the stretching and manipulating of old thought that new insights are made, and new psychological mountains are tackled. It is through this stretching and manipulating of one socio-political based theory that the field of Advertising has defined some of its capabilities and constraints in the area of mass communication. This theory involves the two-step flow of communication.

Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz are well-known as the fathers of functional theory, and their book *Personal Influence*, published in 1955, is considered to be the handbook to the theory. In researching the effects of the media on the voting public in Elmira, New York in 1940, Lazarsfeld and his team of researchers asked the question as to whether the Hypodermic Needle approach, where (presumably) the mass media would affect the actions of the voting populations, was a valid model of communication.

In the 1940s, social researchers needed to question psychologically-based communications theories in an attempt to more clearly define how information flows from a source to its audience. Therefore Lazarsfeld investigated the flow of voting information in Elmira, as well as in Erie County, Ohio, and in the process placed the Hypodermic Needle under the most intense of microscopes.

The specific methods and results of this study were published in Lazarsfeld's *The People's Choice* in 1948 (first edition). It is here that functional theory and the Two - Step Flow model of communication are conceived. Stephen W. Littlejohn summarizes the results of the Elmira study nicely:

The researchers found an unexpected occurrence that, although unconfirmed, implied a possible strong involvement of interpersonal communication in the total mass communication process. This effect ... had a major impact on the conception of mass communication (1989, p.262).

Essentially what Lazarsfeld discovered is that many voters regard family members and close personal friends, and not the mass media, as major influences in the decision making process (Lazarsfeld et al 1968, p.vi). These people of influence, who pass on information received in the media to other people in society, were coined opinion leaders. The researchers found that "crystallizers," or those who had a 'don't know' opinion as to who to vote for in October before the 1940 election, tended to vote the way their friends and colleagues voted in November - and thus the presence (and importance) of opinion leaders surged to the forefront (1968, p.xxiv).

Katz and Lazarsfeld pursued this notion of opinion leadership further in a study of the flow of information in Decatur, Illinois in 1945. This is the basis of *Personal Influence*. Through this research Lazarsfeld and Katz supported their hypothesis that mass media is filtered through what are known as opinion leaders. These opinion leaders tend to "[exert] a disproportionately great influence on the vote intentions of their fellows" (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955, p.32). Moreover, through the discovery of the concept of opinion leaders, Katz and Lazarsfeld concluded that:

... the traditional image of the mass persuasion process must make room for 'people' as intervening factors between the stimuli of the media and resultant opinions, decisions, and actions (1955, p.32-33).

Interpersonal communication must have a place in communication models, as the presence of such interaction, judging from the conclusions of Katz and Lazarsfeld, is clearly a large factor in determining which messages become publicly accepted and which do not.

Therefore, a visual model of Functional Theory and the Two - Step Flow model of communication would look like this:

Source > Message > Mass Media > Opinion Leaders > General Public

5.10 Technical Terms:

Opinion Leaders : People who command the faith and credibility among others in society.

5.11 Model Questions:

1. Explain the two step flow theory of Katz and Lazarsfeld.
2. Critically evaluate the wo step flow theory of Katz and Lazarsfeld while detailing its merits and demerits.
3. Who are opinion leaders ? What are their characterisitcs ?
4. Mention the applications of the wo step flow theory of Katz and Lazarsfeld.

5.12 Reference Books:

McQuail, D (2000) McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, Sage Publications Amazon UK.

McQuail, D and Windahl, S (1993) Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication, Prentice Hall Amazon UK.

Windahl, S, Signitzer, B and Olson, J (1991) Using Communication Theory, Sage Amazon UK.

Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 6

Gerbner's General Model of Communication

6.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Gerbner's General Model of Communication
- Understand the merits and demerits of the theory

Structure of The Lesson:

6.0 Objectives of The Lesson

6.1 Gerbner's General Model of Communication

6.2 Analysis of Gerbner's Model

6.3 Summary

6.4 Technical Terms

6.5 Model Questions

6.6 Reference Books

6.1 Gerbner's General Model of Communication:

The communication process is described as a dynamic process with special emphasis on the matters of control and effect.

An event takes place in the 'reality'.

The event (E) is perceived by M (the man) or machine).

The process of perception is not simply a matter of 'taking a picture' of event E. It is a process of active interpretation (as Schramm & Osgood emphasize in their circular model).

The way that the E is perceived will be determined by a variety of factors, such as the assumptions, attitudes, point of view, experience of M. This is similar to Berlo's S-M-C-R model which draws our attention to the way that attitudes, knowledge level, communication skills, culture and social position affect the encoding and decoding of messages.

E can be a person talking, sending a letter, telephoning, or otherwise communicating with M. In other words, E could be what we conventionally call the Source or Transmitter.

In this case, the model draws our attention to those factors mentioned by Berlo and is applicable to interpersonal communication.

Equally, E can be an event - a car crash, rain, waves crashing on a beach, a natural disaster etc. In this case, we could be applying the model to mass media communication, say the reporting of news.

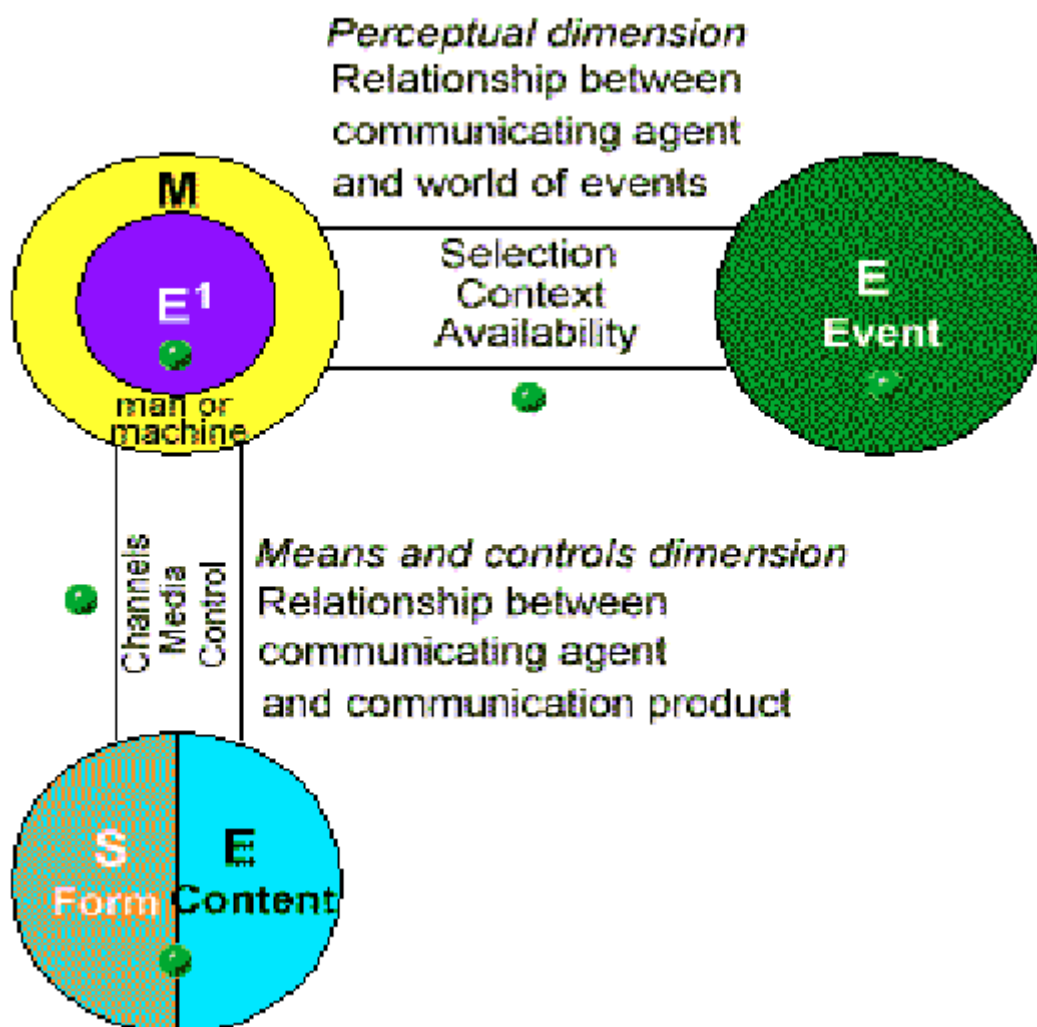


Fig.1. Gerbner's General Model

It is this generality in the model which makes it a useful starting point for the analysis of wide variety of communication acts. Note that the model, besides drawing our attention to those factors within E which will determine perception or interpretation of E, also draws our attention to three important factors:

- **Selection:** M, the perceiver of the event E (or receiver of the message, if you prefer) selects from the event, paying more attention to this aspect and less to that. This process of selecting, filtering is commonly known as gatekeeping, particularly in discussion of the media's selection and discarding of events or aspects of them.

- Context:** a factor often omitted from communication models, but a vitally important factor. The sound represented by the spelling 'hair' means an animal in one context, something that's not supposed to be in your soup in another. Shouting, ranting and raving means this man's very angry in one context, raving loony in another.

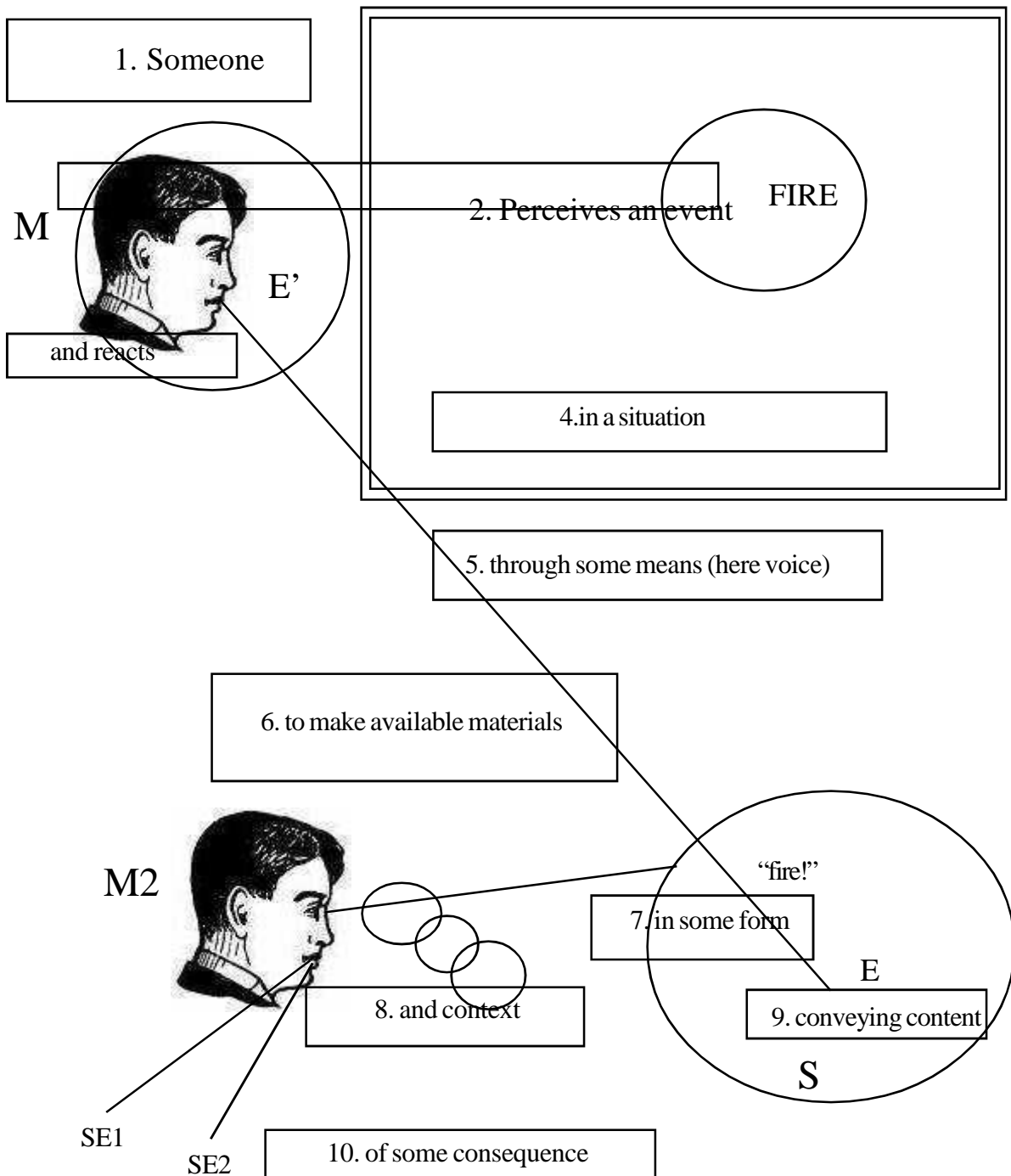


Fig. 2 Gerbner's Model

· Availability: how many Es are there around? What difference does availability make? If there are fewer Es around, we are likely to pay more attention to the ones there are. They are likely to be perceived by us as more 'meaningful'. What sort of Es are there - for example, in the UK's mainly Conservative press, how many non-Conservative messages are available to us?

E1 is the event-as-perceived (E) by the man (sic) or machine M. In terms of human communication, a person perceives an event. The perception (E1) they have of that event is more or less close to the 'real' event. The degree of correspondence between M's perception of event E (E1) will be a function of M's assumptions, point of view, experiences, social factors etc.

In the next stage of the model, M becomes the Source of a message about E to someone else. M produces a statement about the event (SE). To send that message, M has to use channels (or media) over which he has a greater or lesser degree of control.

The question of 'control' relates to M's degree of skill in using communication channels. If using a verbal channel, how good is he at using words? If using the Internet, how good is he at using new technology and words? And so on? 'Control' may also be a matter of access - does he own this medium? can he get to use this medium? Think of teachers in classrooms controlling the access to communication channels, parents at home, owners of newspapers, editors of letters pages etc.

SE (statement about event) is what we would more normally call the 'message'. S stands for Signal in fact, so in principle an S can be present without an E, but in that case it would be noise only.

The process can be extended ad infinitum by adding on other receivers (M2, M3etc.) who have further perceptions (SE1, SE2 etc.) of the statements about perceived events.

McQuail and Windahl (1981) suggest that the generality of the model makes it useful both for the analysis of interpersonal and mass communication. For example, on an individual-to-individual level, it may.....be useful to illustrate communicative and perceptual problems in the psychology of witnessing before a court: How adequate is the perception of witness M of event E, and how well is E1 expressed in SE and to what degree does the perception of SE1 of judge M2 correspond to SE? Where the mass media are concerned, they suggest E could be potential news, M the mass media, SE media content and M2 the media audience. That then allows us to ask: 'How good is the correspondence between reality and the stories (between E and SE) about reality given by the media (M)?' and 'How well is media content (SE) understood by the media audience (M2)?'

Thus Gerbner adds in the contextual elements of perception, culture, the medium, and power.

Person #1 perceives an event, "E". This perception is filtered: (physical ability to experience the event, personal and cultural selective perceptions), and is therefore one step removed from the original event ("E1").

Person #1 selects a channel to send the message. ("Signal" or "S")

The message = the FORM + its CONTENT ("SE1" or Signal + E1).

Person #2 receives and decodes the message, also filtering the message (physical ability to receive the message, cultural and personal selective perceptions), and therefore receives "a perception of a

Statement about an event" ("SE2") The message understood by Person #2 is now several removes from the original intent.

Key Points:

1. Every person involved in the communication has perceptions and filters which structure how they send or receive a message.
2. A message is content PLUS form — both convey meaning.

It is this generality in the model which makes it a useful starting point for the analysis of wide variety of communication acts.

Note that the model, besides drawing our attention to those factors within E which will determine perception or interpretation of E, also draws our attention to three important factors:

Gerbner elaborated on Laswell's model and provided a verbal model that implies 10 basic areas of communication research:

Verbal Model	Areas of Study
1. Someone	Communicator and audience research
2. Perceives an event	Perception research and theory
3. and reacts	Effectiveness measurement
4. In a situation	Study of physical and social setting
5. Through some means	Investigation of channels, media, control over facilities.
6. To make available materials	Administration, distribution, freedom of access to materials
7. In some form	Structure, organisation, style, pattern
8. and context	Study of Communicative setting, sequence
9. conveying content	Content analysis, study of meaning
10. of some consequence	Study of overall changes

These 10 aspects represent shift in emphasis only, rather than tight compartments for the study of communication.

Gerbner's model appears to be an extension of the Laswells' model, but Gerbner includes a comparison with the Shannon model (Fig.3). Once again we see the influence of Shannon.

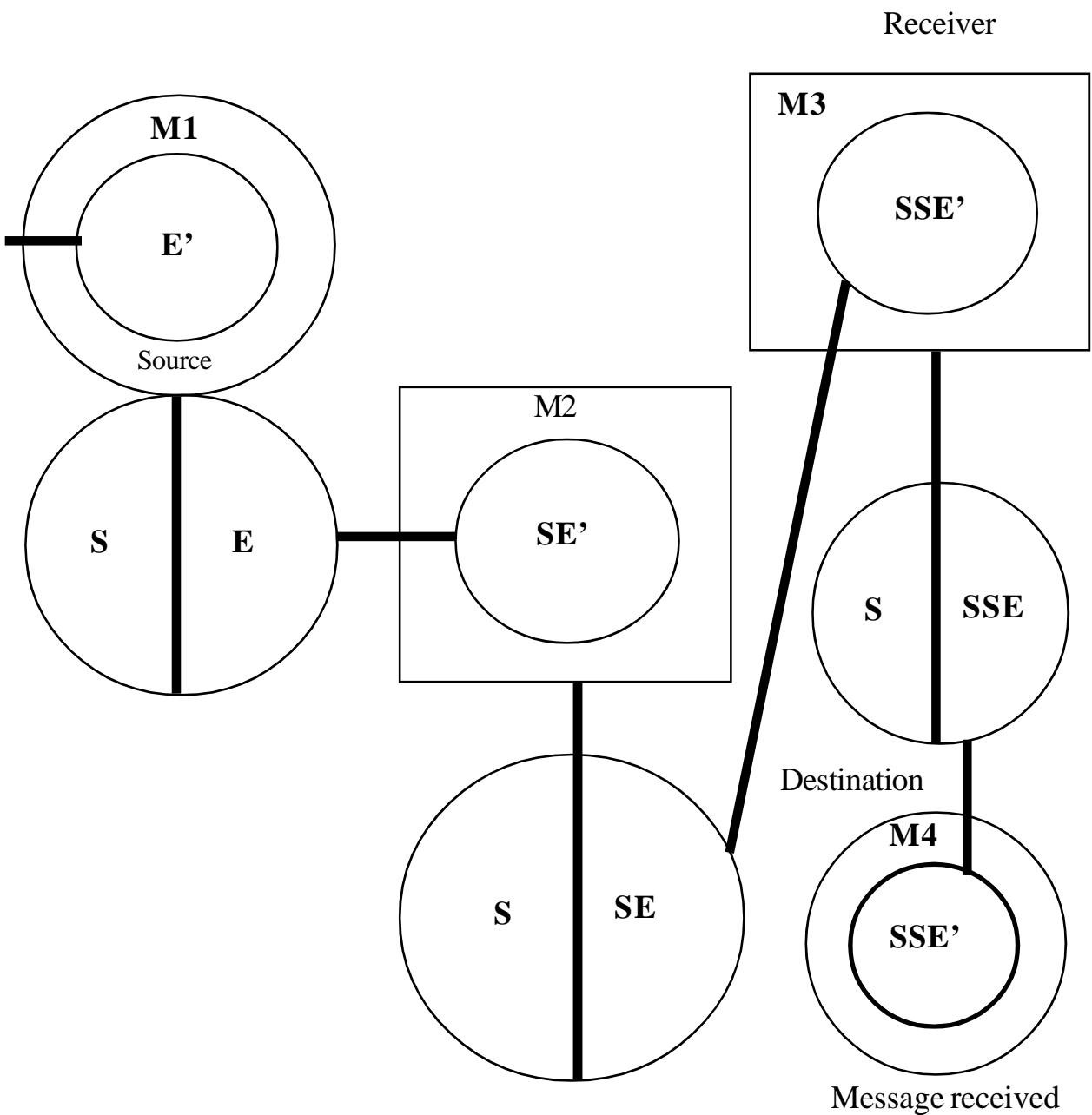
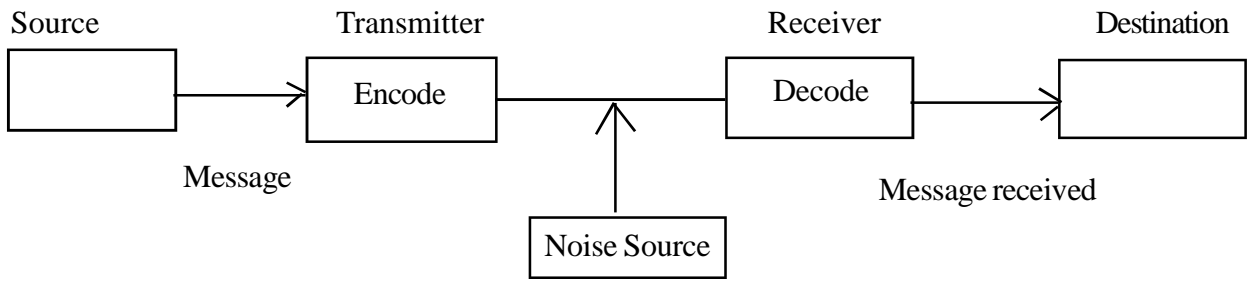


Fig.3. Shannon's diagram of a general communication system (top) Compared with the progress of a signal in the same system

6.2 Gerbner's Model - An Analysis:

It was not until George Gerbner's (1956) attempt at a general model of communication that the process school was able to break out of some of its more positivist underpinnings (i.e., that a medium is a transparent carrier of messages, and that the content of messages is objectively given, waiting to be faithfully reproduced).

In his model, the meaning of any given message is culturally relative as individual perceptions will order and make sense of a communication event in different ways according to the most familiar cultural frameworks available.

The major departure from the hypodermic model of communication is in postulating what a 'message' actually is. For Gerbner, a message never exists in some kind of raw state waiting to be coded, sent, then decoded. Rather, the practice of coding is itself part of what a message is.

The revelation that accompanies this, however, is that the medium in which the message is sent is itself a part of the coding and therefore of the message – the means and control dimension of communication. The innovation that Gerbner makes therefore is in critiquing the idea that the medium or form of communication merely conveys, transports or transmits message. Instead, the message is already a part of the form.

In also making the listener, viewer or receiver more active in the process of communication, Gerbner introduces two new concepts : access and availability. The first refers to the social and technical conditions for access to a communication medium. In the second media age, not everyone can afford internet access.

6.3 Summary:

In Gerbner's model, the communication process is described as a dynamic process with special emphasis on the matters of control and effect. An event takes place in the 'reality'. The event (E) is perceived by M (the man (sic) or machine). The process of perception is not simply a matter of 'taking a picture' of event E. It is a process of active interpretation (as Schramm & Osgood emphasize in their circular model).

The way that the E is perceived will be determined by a variety of factors, such as the assumptions, attitudes, point of view, experience of M. This is similar to Berlo's S-M-C-R model which draws our attention to the way that attitudes, knowledge level, communication skills, culture and social position affect the encoding and decoding of messages.

E can be a person talking, sending a letter, telephoning, or otherwise communicating with M. In other words, E could be what we conventionally call the Source or Transmitter.

In this case, the model draws our attention to those factors mentioned by Berlo and is applicable to interpersonal communication.

Equally, E can be an event - a car crash, rain, waves crashing on a beach, a natural disaster etc. In this case, we could be applying the model to mass media communication, say the reporting of news

Gerbner adds in the contextual elements of perception, culture, the medium, and power.

Person #1 perceives an event, “E”. This perception is filtered: (physical ability to experience the event, personal and cultural selective perceptions), and is therefore one step removed from the original event (“E1”).

Person #1 selects a channel to send the message. (“Signal” or “S”)

The message = the FORM + its CONTENT (“SE1” or Signal + E1).

Person #2 receives and decodes the message, also filtering the message (physical ability to receive the message, cultural and personal selective perceptions), and therefore receives “a perception of a statement about an event” (“SE2”) The message understood by Person #2 is now several removes from the original intent.

Key Points:

1. Every person involved in the communication has perceptions and filters which structure how they send or receive a message.
2. A message is content PLUS form — both convey meaning.

6.4 Technical Terms:

Perception : View / the way in which one sees a particular situation

6.5 Model Questions:

1. Describe the Gerbner’s Model of Communication.
2. What are the contextual elements in Gerbner’s Model of Communication.

6.6 Reference Books:

McQuail, D (2000) McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory, Sage Publications Amazon UK.

McQuail, D and Windahl, S (1993) Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication, Prentice Hall Amazon UK.

Windahl, S, Signitzer, B and Olson, J (1991) Using Communication Theory, Sage Amazon UK.

Lesson Writer

B.N.Neelima

Lesson - 7

Diffusion of Innovation Theory

7.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the concept of Diffusion of Innovation Theory
- In understanding the various elements of the theory

Structure of The Lesson:

- 7.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 7.1 Introduction to Diffusion of Innovation Theory**
- 7.2 Definition of Diffusion of Innovation**
- 7.3 Background on Diffusion of Innovation**
- 7.4 Summary**
- 7.5 References**
- 7.6 Technical Terms**
- 7.7 Model Questions**
- 7.8 Reference Books**

7.1 Introduction to Diffusion of Innovation Theory:

French sociologist Gabriel Tarde originally claimed that sociology was based on small psychological interactions among individuals, especially imitation and innovation.

A first theory of innovation diffusion was formalized by Everett Rogers in a 1962 book called Diffusion of Innovations. Rogers stated that adopters of any new innovation or idea could be categorized as innovators (2.5%), early adopters (13.5%), early majority (34%), late majority (34%) and laggards (16%). Each adopter's willingness and ability to adopt an innovation would depend on their awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. Some of the characteristics of each category of adopter include:

- Innovators - venturesome, educated, multiple info sources, greater propensity to take risk
- Early adopters - social leaders, popular, educated
- Early majority - deliberate, many informal social contacts
- Late majority - skeptical, traditional, lower socio-economic status
- Laggards - neighbours and friends are main info sources, fear of debt

Rogers also proposed a five stage model for the diffusion of innovation:

- Knowledge - learning about the existence and function of the innovation
- Persuasion - becoming convinced of the value of the innovation
- Decision - committing to the adoption of the innovation
- Implementation - putting it to use
- Confirmation - the ultimate acceptance (or rejection) of the innovation

Rogers theorized that innovations would spread through society in an S curve, as the early adopters select the technology first, followed by the majority, until a technology or innovation is common.

The speed of technology adoption is determined by two characteristics, the speed at which adoption takes off, and the speed at which later growth occurs. A cheaper technology might have a higher adoption speed, for example, taking off more quickly, while a technology that has network effects (like a fax machine, where the value of the item increases as others get it).

7.2 Definition of Diffusion of Innovation:

In his comprehensive book Diffusion of Innovation, Everett Rogers defines diffusion as the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. Rogers' definition contains four elements that are present in the diffusion of innovation process.

The four main elements are:

- (1) innovation - an idea, practices, or objects that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption.
- (2) communication channels - the means by which messages get from one individual to another.
- (3) time - the three time factors are:
 - (a) innovation-decision process
 - (b) relative time with which an innovation is adopted by an individual or group.
 - (c) innovation's rate of adoption.
- (4) social system - a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal.

7.3 Background on Diffusion of Innovation:

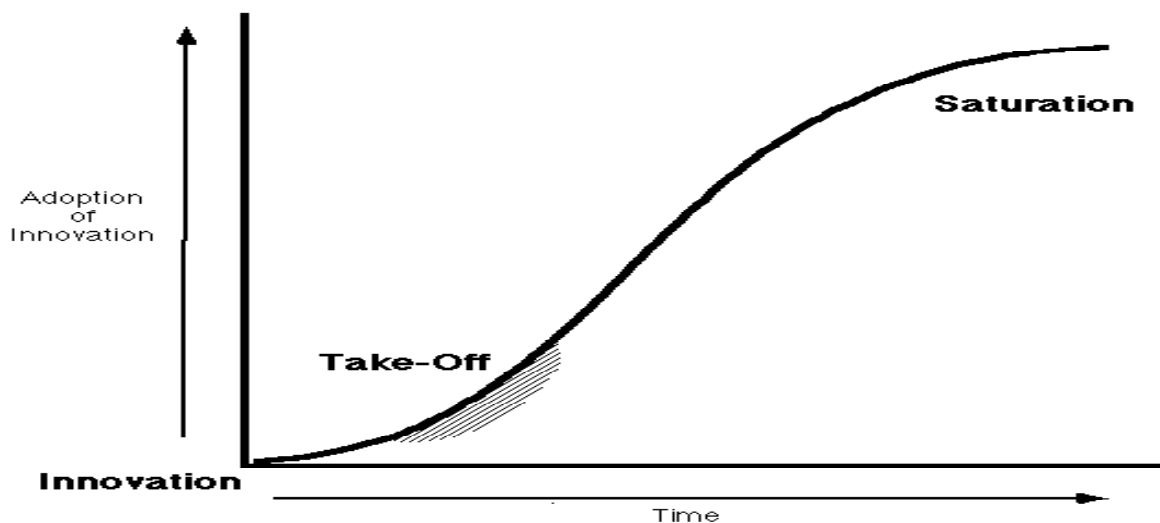
The original diffusion research was done as early as 1903 by the French sociologist Gabriel Tarde who plotted the original S-shaped diffusion curve. Tarde's 1903 S-shaped curve is of current importance because "most innovations have an S-shaped rate of adoption". (Rogers, 1983)

The variance lies in the slope of the "S". Some new innovations diffuse rapidly creating a steep S-curve; other innovations have a slower rate of adoption, creating a more gradual slope of

the S-curve. The rate of adoption, or diffusion rate has become an important area of research to sociologists, and more specifically, to advertisers.

In the 1940's, two sociologists, Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross "published their seminal study of the diffusion of hybrid seed among Iowa farmers" renewing interest in the diffusion of innovation S-curve. The now infamous hybrid-corn study resulted in a renewed wave of research. "The rate of adoption of the agricultural innovation followed an S-shaped normal curve when plotted on a cumulative basis over time". This rate of adoption

The Innovation Adoption Curve



Source : cq-pan.cqu.edu.au/.../Reading/Adoption/onweb/

curve was similar to the S-shaped diffusion curve graphed by Tarde forty years earlier.

Ryan and Gross classified the segments of Iowa farmers in relation to the amount of time it took them to adopt the innovation, in this case, the hybrid corn seed.

The five segments of farmers who adopted the hybrid corn seed, or adopter categories are:

- (1) innovators,
- (2) early adopters,
- (3) early majority,
- (4) late majority, and
- (5) laggards.

"The first farmers to adopt (the innovators) were more cosmopolite (indicated by traveling more frequently to Des Moines) and of higher socioeconomic status than later adopters". One of the most important characteristics of the first segment of a population to adopt an innovation, the innovators, is that they require a shorter adoption period than any other category.

Rogers identifies several additional characteristics dominant in the innovator type:

- (1) venturesome, desire for the rash, the daring, and the risky,
- (2) control of substantial financial resources to absorb possible loss from an unprofitable innovation.
- (3) the ability to understand and apply complex technical knowledge, and
- (4) the ability to cope with a high degree of uncertainty about an innovation.

Characteristics Rogers identified in the Early Adopters:

- (1) integrated part of the local social system,
- (2) greatest degree of opinion leadership in most systems,
- (3) serve as role model for other members or society,
- (4) respected by peers, and
- (5) successful.

Characteristics Rogers identified in the Early Majority:

- (1) interact frequently with peers,
- (2) seldom hold positions of opinion leadership,
- (3) one-third of the members of a system, making the early majority the largest category.
- (4) deliberate before adopting a new idea.

Characteristics Rogers identified in the Late Majority:

- (1) one-third of the members of a system,
- (2) pressure from peers,
- (3) economic necessity,
- (4) skeptical, and
- (5) cautious.

Characteristics Rogers identified in the Laggards:

- (1) possess no opinion leadership,
- (2) isolates,
- (3) point of reference in the past,
- (4) suspicious of innovations,
- (5) innovation-decision process is lengthy, and
- (6) resources are limited.

Although additional names and titles for the adopters of an innovation have been used in other research studies, Everett Rogers labels for the five adopter categories are the preferred or standard for the industry. Moreover, the specific characteristics that Rogers identifies for each adopter category is of significance to advertisers interested in creating an integrated marketing plan targeting a specific audience.

The Adoption Process:

In his book *Diffusion of Innovations*, Rogers defines the diffusion process as one “which is the spread of a new idea from its source of invention or creation to its ultimate users or adopters”. Rogers differentiates the adoption process from the diffusion process in that the diffusion process occurs within society, as a group process; whereas, the adoption process pertains to an individual. Rogers defines “the adoption process as the mental process through which an individual passes from first hearing about an innovation to final adoption”.

Five Stages of Adoption:

Rogers breaks the adoption process down into five stages. Although, more or fewer stages may exist, Rogers says that “at the present time there seem to be five main functions”. The five stages are:

- (1) awareness,
- (2) interest,
- (3) evaluation,
- (4) trial, and
- (5) adoption.

In the awareness stage “the individual is exposed to the innovation but lacks complete information about it”. At the interest or information stage “the individual becomes interested in the new idea and seeks additional information about it”. At the evaluation stage the “individual mentally applies the innovation to his present and anticipated future situation, and then decides whether or not to try it”. During the trial stage “the individual makes full use of the innovation”. At the adoption stage “the individual decides to continue the full use of the innovation”.

Why is the Adoption Process of any relevance to advertisers? The purpose of marketing and advertising is to increase sales, which hopefully results in increased profits. It is through analyzing and understanding the adoption process that social scientists, marketers and advertisers are able to develop a fully integrated marketing and communication plan focused at a predetermined stage of the adoption process.

Rejection and Discontinuance:

Of course, as Rogers points out, an innovation may be rejected during any stage of the adoption process. Rogers defines rejection as a decision not to adopt an innovation. Rejection is not to be confused from discontinuance. Discontinuance is a rejection that occurs after adoption of the innovation.

Rogers synthesizes many of the significant research findings on discontinuance. Many “discontinuances occur over a relatively short time period” and few of the “discontinuances were caused by supersedence of a superior innovation replacing a previously adopted idea”. One of the most significant findings was research done by Johnson and Vandan Ban (1959):

The relatively later adopters had twice as many discontinuances as the earlier adopters. Previous researchers had assumed that later adopters were relatively less innovative because they did not adopt or were relatively slow to adopt innovations. This evidence suggests the later adopters may adopt, but then discontinue at a later point in time.

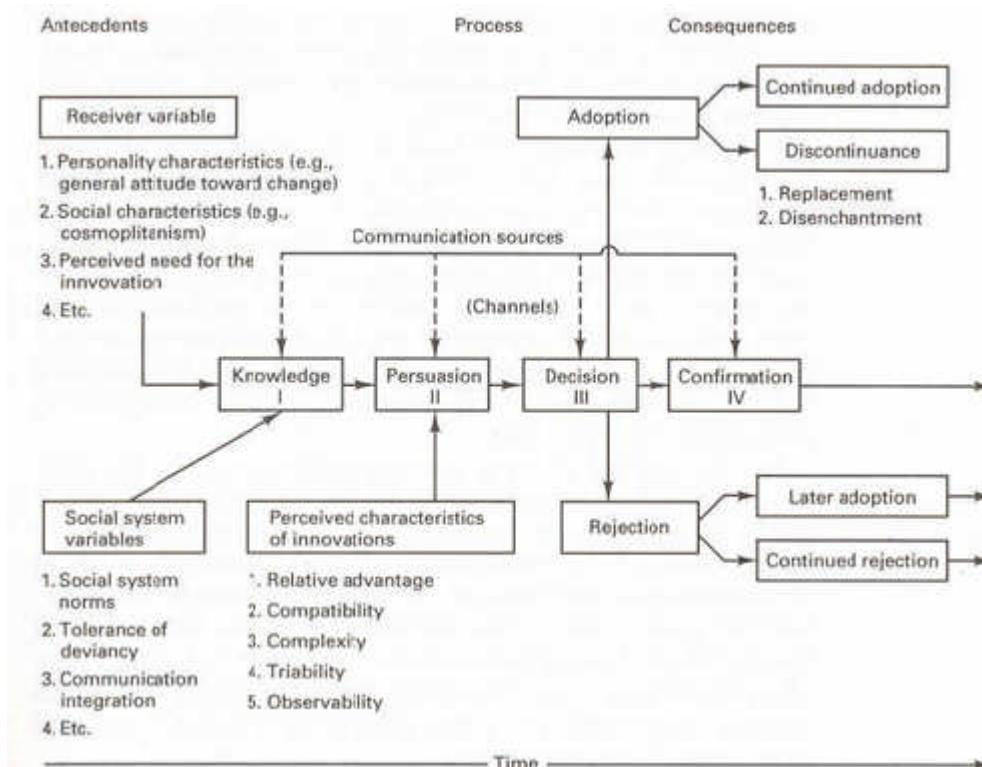


Fig.2 Roger's Model of Diffusion of Innovations

Rogers Identifies Two Types of Discontinuance:

- (1) Disenchantment discontinuance - a decision to reject an idea as a result of dissatisfaction with its performance, and
- (2) Replacement discontinuance - a decision to reject an idea in order to adopt a better idea.

The Innovation - Decision Process:

Rogers defines the innovation-decision process as the “process through which an individual (or other decision making unit such as a group, society, economy, or country) passes through the innovation-decision process”.

There are five stages in the Innovation-Decision Process:

- (1) from first knowledge of innovation,
- (2) to forming an attitude toward the innovation,
- (3) to a decision to adopt or reject,
- (4) to implementation of the new idea,
- (5) to confirmation of this decision.

It should be noted that prior conditions affect the innovation-decision process. Prior conditions such as:

- (1) previous practice,
- (2) felt needs/problems,
- (3) innovativeness, and
- (4) norms of the social systems.

The first stage of the innovation-decision process entails seeking one or more of three types of knowledge about the innovation. Rogers describes these as:

Awareness knowledge is information that an innovation exists.

How-to-knowledge consists of the information necessary to use an innovation properly, and

Principles knowledge consists of information dealing with the functioning principles underlying how the innovation works.

Rogers states that awareness and knowledge of an innovation can be made most efficiently through mass media. It will be interesting in twenty years or so, to ascertain if mass media will still be considered the most efficient means to create product awareness and knowledge.

The following table identifies seven characteristics consistently found in 'early knowers'. These characteristics should be taken into consideration when targeting the early or late knowers segment of the population.

- 1 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more formal education than later knowers.
- 2 Earlier knowers of an innovation have higher socioeconomic status than late knowers.
- 3 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more exposure to mass media channels of communication than later knowers.
- 4 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more exposure to interpersonal channels than later knowers.
- 5 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more change agent contact than later knowers.
- 6 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more social participation than later knowers.
- 7 Earlier knowers of an innovation have more cosmopolite than later knowers.

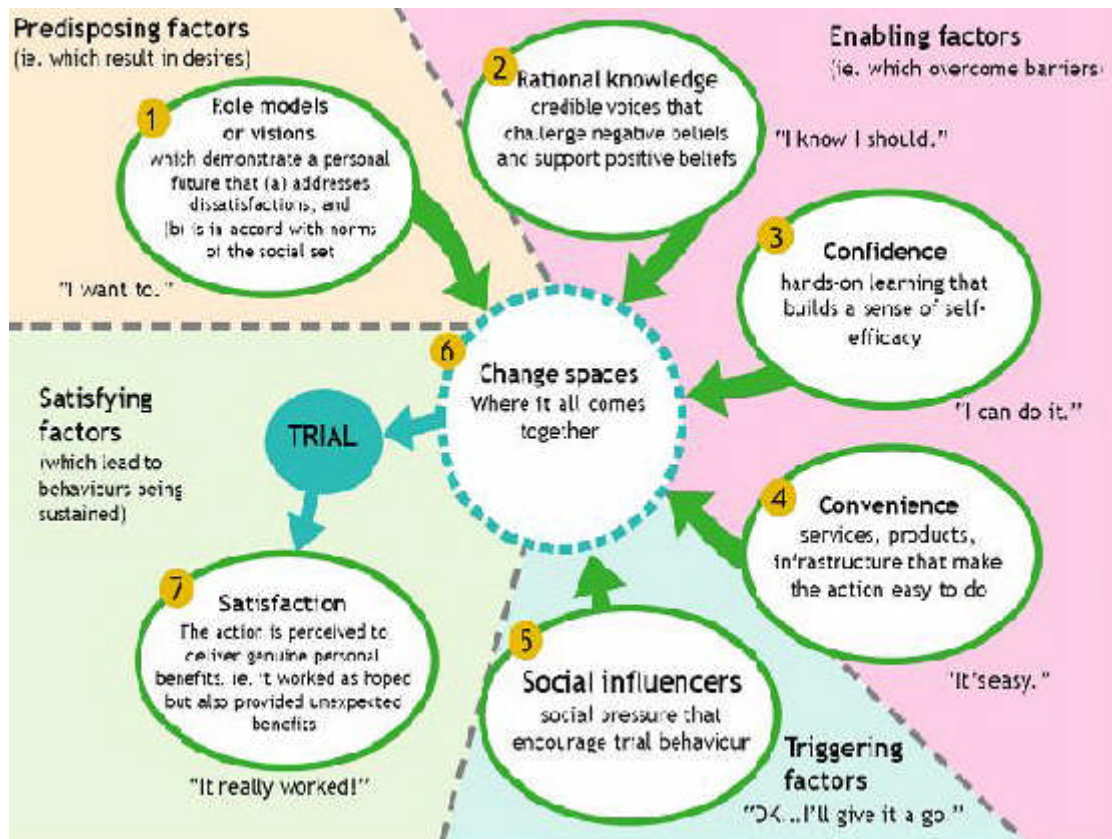
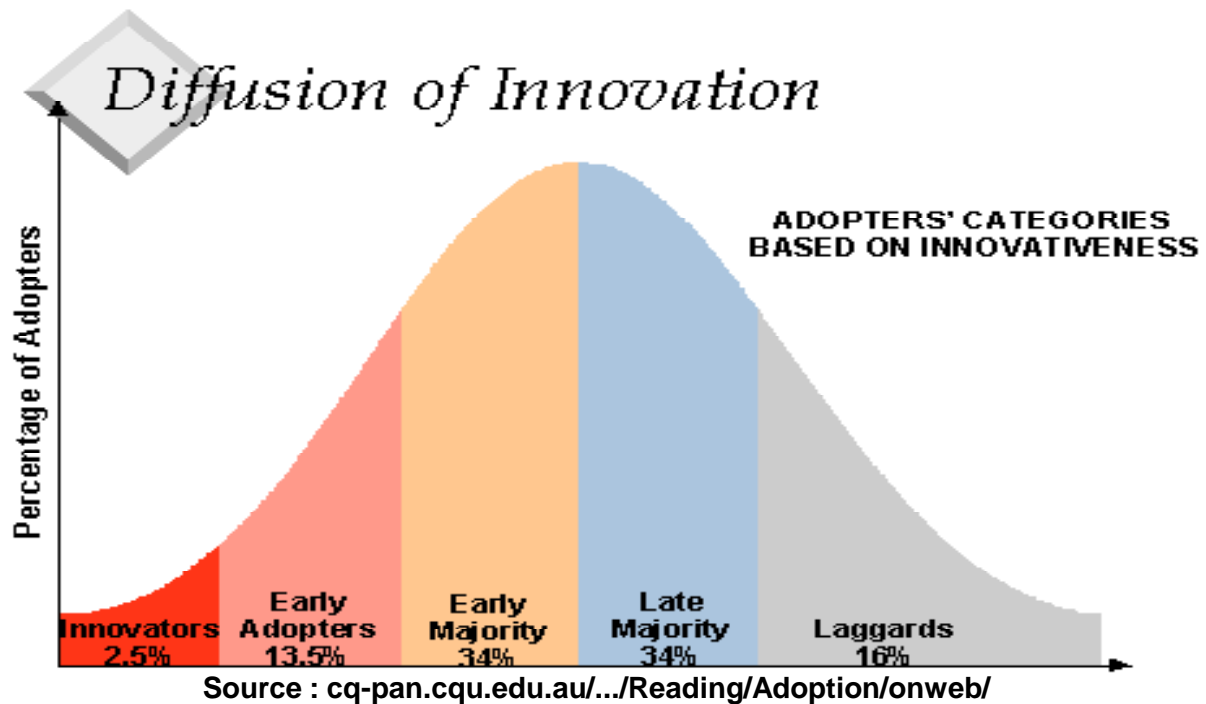


Fig.3 Diffusion of Innovations Model and Social Change Source : media.socialchange.net.au/images/7_Doors.jpg

The knowledge stage of the innovation-decision process is of great value to advertisers because at this vulnerable stage of the innovation-decision process, advertisers are able to create an impressionable impact on their target audience. Advertisers should focus their efforts on creating awareness and knowledge when promoting a new product or innovation.

Consequences of Innovations:

Before concluding our discussion on the innovation-decision process, it is important to consider the consequences or changes that occur to an individual or to a social system as a result of the adoption or rejection of an innovation. Rogers identifies three consequences or changes:

- (1) Desirable versus undesirable consequences
- (2) Direct versus indirect consequences, and
- (3) Anticipated versus unanticipated consequences

Diffusion research is emerging as a single, integrated body of concepts and generalizations, even though the investigations are conducted by researchers in several scientific disciplines.

Everett M. Rogers with F. Floyd Shoemaker (1971), *Communications of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach*

For the most part, the world of advertising is concerned with the diffusion of innovation process in terms of how such research studies can facilitate product adoption and therefore market segmentation. But it should be mentioned that additional research exists on the diffusion of innovation theory in other scientific disciplines, such as economic development and in the technological sector.

The Process of Innovation:

In *The Innovative Choice: An Economic Analysis of the Dynamics of Technology*, Mario Amendola and Jean-Luc Gaffard compare the process of innovation with the diffusion of innovation as “the extent and the speed at which the economy proceed to adopt a superior technique.” The concern is on how the economy adjusts or ‘diffuses’ to the new technology. This adjustment or diffusion can be instantaneous or gradual.

Amendola explains a ‘new’, expanded interpretation of the process of innovation has emerged. Less emphasis is on the actual absorption of a given technology, and more importance is placed on the actual process through which a new technology is developed step by step.

“The economy, in this context, no longer adjusts passively to the technology but becomes the instrument for determining the extent, the nature and the articulation through time of the development of the technology.” (Amendola, 1988)

Although, we are most concerned with how the diffusion of innovation theory relates to the field of advertising, it is meaningful to give a brief description of other existing research that is based on and integrates the diffusion on innovation process into its’ study.

A slow advance in the beginning, followed by rapid and uniformly accelerated progress, followed again by progress that continues to slacken until it finally stops: These are the three ages of...invention...if taken as a guide by the statistician and by the sociologists, (they) would save many illusions.

-Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, p 127.

Innovativeness and Adopter Categories

Experience has taught diffusion scholars that adopters can be classified within five categories: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The specific percentage of adopters in each category is not critical information; neither are the differences in characteristics that separate any two of the categories.

The importance of the classification scheme is to highlight that the characteristics and needs of potential adopters differ during the diffusion process. Of special importance is recognizing the roles played by innovators and early adopters.

Innovators with respect to one new technology but be laggards with respect to another. People do, however, tend to exhibit socioeconomic and psychological qualities that place them within certain adopter categories:

Innovators (first 5 percent of adopters) tend to be venturesome, cosmopolite, networked with other innovators, have available financial resources, understand complex technical knowledge, and be able to cope with uncertainty.

Change agents should recognize that, for high-involvement innovations, innovators do not significantly affect adoption decisions. Innovators, by definition, are too socially marginal to gain the respect needed to be an opinion leader. Thus, while adoption by innovators might encourage the change agent (as it did Nelida in Los Molinas), it cannot be expected that innovators will generate much diffusion effect.

Early Adopters (next 10 percent of adopters) are respected and more local than innovators. It is from this category that the change agent should expect to locate opinion leaders. These persons are venturesome, but sufficiently skeptical to recognize good innovations from poor ones.

Because opinion leaders have more influence on the diffusion effect than persons in any other adopter category, it is persons in this category that the change agent attempts to persuade to adopt.

Early Majority (next 35 percent) tend to interact frequently with peers, seldom hold positions of opinion leadership but have strong interconnectedness within the system's interpersonal networks, and tend to have a long period of deliberation before making an adoption decision.

Late Majority (next 35 percent) tend to adopt from economic/social necessity due to the diffusion effect. They usually are skeptical and cautious and have few extra resources to risk on high-involvement innovations.

Laggards (final 15 percent) are the most localite, suspicious of change agents and innovations, and have few resources to risk. It might sound as if the laggards are a doltish lot. In fact, persons within this category might be highly innovative in their symbolic adoption but slow to implement because they have few financial resources to offset transition costs or little access to innovation-evaluation information. By coincidence or design, laggards are the "smartest" ones when seemingly beneficial innovations become unexpectedly costly or ineffective.

The inability of some to adopt when they would like to do so underscores the fact that new technology adoption can further existing inequalities. That is, if the new technology creates economic advantages, but requires resources to offset transaction costs, then income inequalities can widen as a result of new technology adoption.

The innovativeness-needs paradox refers to the social problem wherein the individuals who most need the benefits of an innovation generally are the last to adopt it.

Contributions of the Diffusion of Innovations Approach:

Rogers first reviews contributions of the diffusion approach in helping sociologists and other change agents gain adoption of new technologies.

The diffusion model is relevant to many disciplines and topics. The model enjoys much popularity among a wide variety of academic disciplines, public agencies, and private firms in providing insight into adoption decisions and strategies for gaining adoption. The approach works, it works in many settings worldwide, and it has done so for many years. The diffusion of innovations model serves as the foundation for every social change program in the world.

The model has a strong applied focus. Although supported by much sound social science theory, one need not be an professional social scientist to develop practical programs for social change. The methodology of diffusion is clear-cut and relatively easy to implement.

Criticisms of the Diffusion of Innovations Approach:

Because the sociologist is supposed to engineer society in a favorable manner, the unintended, unanticipated, and undesirable consequences of technology adoption need to be foreseen and mitigated as much as possible. No small task!

This section describes criticisms of the diffusion approach. Not all the criticisms reviewed by Rogers are presented here. Some of them are relevant only to professional sociologists conducting research on the model itself. Please read all the criticisms of the model presented in Chapter 3, but just the ones likely to be of interested to most persons are listed below.

Overadoption:

Overadoption is adoption when experts suggest rejection, or less adoption. This criticism is a variation on the theme that one can have too much of a good thing. Too much housing development in certain locations, for example, can be detrimental to environmental quality. Too much use of antibiotics in medications, animal feed, and cleaning products frightens microbiologists who express concerns about bacteria developing a strong resistance to antibiotics, thereby becoming “supergerms” that will be difficult to defeat. Sometimes, good innovations should not be adopted by persons who cannot afford them or cannot use them wisely because of insufficient knowledge of how they work.

Thus, the delicate task of social change is fraught with many hidden dangers. One value choice leads to another. Questions that come to mind are:

- Which innovations should be diffused?
- Who should have them?
- Who should not have them?
- Should limits be placed upon technology adoption?

Pro-Innovation Bias:

The pro-innovation bias is the implication that the innovation should be adopted by all members of the social system. New technologies offer wonderful promises for a better, brighter tomorrow. Many technologies have lengthened the life span, eased burdens, and provided much entertainment and pleasure. Technological failures, however, sometimes bring about heartbreaking catastrophes. Given their responsibilities to all citizens to improve society, sociologists are obligated to investigate potential negative consequences rather than blindly accept the promises of new technologies.

The sociologist must be critical in evaluating new technologies, recognizing that some technologies are produced for and by the power elite. Reduction of inequalities sometimes requires the sociologist to note that adoption will increase inequalities or cause the less powerful to bear a disproportionate share of the risk.

The Individual-Blame Bias

The individual-blame bias is a tendency to blame individuals for their non-adoption. Of course, some persons are laggards simply because they do not like change, are slow to understand new technologies, and so forth. The responsible change agent, however, must look beyond such individualistic explanations to fully understand non-adoption because not all laggards are ignorant, resistant to change, or otherwise personally predisposed to reject new technologies.

One course of action for the change agent to pursue in understanding non-adoption is to investigate how the characteristics of the innovation might influence some persons to be laggards.

- It might be, for example, that laggards fully understand the features of the innovation but do not find it compatible with their values (e.g., Amish and Mennonites reject many technologies based upon their religious beliefs).
- Laggards might want to adopt an innovation but do not have the financial ability to do so (e.g., safer automobiles tend to be more expensive to purchase).
- It might be that laggards do not have a good opportunity to adopt because the innovation is not easily available to them (e.g., a person might be anxiously awaiting the opportunity to have a cable connection to the internet when it becomes available in their geographic area).

The explanations provided above for non-adoption focus upon legitimate reasons why some persons are laggards. The system-blame perspective, as a second explanation of non-adoption, seeks to understand why many persons rather than just laggards do not adopt.

Why, for example, were many persons reluctant to wear seatbelts when driving their automobiles? Blaming many persons for being ignorant, lazy, etc. when many persons are made aware of a new technology is not an adequate explanation for widespread non-adoption. To understand why many persons do not adopt an innovation that seems beneficial, sociologists must investigate system-level constraints to adoption. What might seem like individual reluctance to adopt might be a symptom of cultural or structural conditions in society that impede adoption.

- It might be that issues of compatibility are widely felt within a society (e.g., many persons reject abortion because they consider it to be immoral, or said another way, they see abortion as harmful rather than as beneficial).

- It might be that societal infrastructure does not encourage adoption (e.g., it has taken time for policies to be developed to support individual use of ethanol as a fuel additive).
- It might be that societal infrastructure erodes the effects of adoption (e.g., Ralph Nader, in *Unsafe at Any Speed*, pointed out that, even if drivers wore seatbelts, automobile and highway construction technologies and policies significantly contributed to motor vehicle injuries and deaths).
- It might be that societal-level practices constrain adoption (e.g., a colleague noted that practices in some countries encourage unsafe or dangerous pesticides because powerful interest groups are capable of influencing national policies).

Issues Related to Furthering Inequalities:

The critical perspective of sociology asserts that the powerful elite will intentionally encourage the development of technologies that maintain or further their class standing. Such activity might or might not occur; it is difficult to prove technological conspiracies to further inequalities. Proving intent by the powerful elite, however, is unnecessary when investigating negative consequences of technology adoption. Whether by intent of the powerful elite or not, new technology adoption can further inequalities between upper and lower classes.

New technology adoption can further inequalities for several reasons:

- People in upper classes typically have greater input to research and development planning and decision making. Through their contacts and memberships on committees and advisory councils they can suggest needs for technologies that seem appropriate to them and consequently tend to benefit them more than they benefit persons in lower class positions.
- Upper class people are more likely to hear about new technologies earlier than are persons in lower class positions. Earlier knowledge of emerging technologies gives upper class persons an edge in planning for change. Upper class persons are more likely to hear innovation-evaluation information earlier than their lower class counterparts and therefore know in advance how well a new technology works.

By definition, upper class persons have greater economic resources that allow them to take risks on new technologies that would be too great for persons with less money.

Thus, because upper class persons have more input to technology research and development, learn earlier than other persons about new technologies, and are in a better position to take economic risks, they are able to take advantage of beneficial technologies earlier than persons in lower class positions.

These privileges can further inequalities because oftentimes the marginal benefits of a new technology are highest at its early stages of implementation. Profit margins are higher early on and decrease as competing firms produce similar technologies or as patents expire.

Competitive advantages of increased efficiency or productivity are higher early on and decrease as others adopt similar practices. Persons in position to adopt early, therefore, reap more benefits. Rogers refers to advantages accrued through early adoption as windfall profits. If the elite adopt a beneficial technology early, then inequalities increase, whether through intentional conspiracies or not.

7.4 Summary:

The diffusion of innovation process consists of four main elements: the innovation, communication through certain channels, over time, and among the members of a social system. Research concerning the diffusion of innovation process has increased significantly the past several decades due to its' versatility.

A universality or similarity found amongst the various research studies on the diffusion of innovation process is that the adoption process or the rate of diffusion can be charted on an S-shaped curve.

Of vast importance to those in the advertising field is the innovation-decision process. Rogers defines the innovation-decision process as the process through which an individual passes from first knowledge of an innovation to forming an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation and use of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision.

The diffusion of innovation process can be tracked on a micro level as is the case of an individual who is a targeted member of an audience, or traced at the macro level when considering economic development or technological advances.

In either instance, during the course of the twentieth century the diffusion of innovation theory has proven to be versatile, universal, but most important relevant.

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7.6 Technical Terms:

Diffusion : Spread

Innovation : Creation of New idea / technology

Adopters : Those who take to a situation/ thing /idea quickly

Laggards : Those who take to a situation/ thing /idea at the end / slowly

7.7 Model Questions:

1. Describe the diffusion of Innovations theory
2. Enumerate the characteristics of early adopters, early majority, late adopters, late majority and laggards
3. Explain the adoption process and the five stages of adoption of innovations.
4. What are the factors that lead to rejection and discontinuance ?
5. Diagrammatically represent the Roger's diffusion of innovations model.
6. Explain the innovation adoption curve.
7. What are the stages in the Innovation-Decision Process?
8. Explain the five stages of the diffusion process.

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Lesson - 8

Non-Verbal Communication Theory

8.0 Objective of The Lesson:

The objective of this lesson is to introduce you to

- Non-Verbal Communication Theory

Structure of The Lesson:

8.0 Objective of The Lesson

8.1 Verbal and Non Verbal Communication theories

8.2 Non Verbal Communication Theory

8.3 Interaction between Non-verbal and Verbal Communication

8.4 Summary

8.5 Technical Terms

8.6 Model Questions

8.7 Reference Books

8.1 Verbal and Non Verbal Communication Theories:

We have all been using these terms in our theory of human communications.

Is voice and gestures the only difference between them?

What are the actual differences between verbal and non-verbal communications.....

Verbal Communications:

They use words as modes of communication and they can be chosen, edited and controlled.

Words have a specific range of meanings.

The syntax and the formation of the sentences actually convey the meaning.

The punctuations are periods, commas and colons.

The vocabulary is large and words are equivalent to symbols.

They communicate concrete conscious phenomena.

The process is through the sender, receiver, medium message and feedback (words).

The interpretation is through thinking (rational).

It deals with external realities and there is diversity of languages.

Non-Verbal Communications.

They use gestures as modes of communication.

The postures, gestures and movements are involuntary.

Gestures have to be interpreted in context.

The clusters of gestures are interpreted for their meaning or message.

The punctuations are pauses and vocalizations.

The vocabulary is limited and the facial expressions and gestures are equivalent to the signals.

They communicate inner meanings, impulses and conflicts.

The process is the same as verbal communications but through gesture clusters, posture, vocalizations and tone of voice.

The interpretation is through feeling (gut level).

8.2 Verbal (V) and Non Verbal Communication (NVC):

Human communication can roughly be divided into verbal communication and nonverbal communication. Verbal communication includes all the verbal aspects of communication, such as words and phrases. NVC, on the other hand, includes aspects such as gestures, movements of the head and body, posture, facial expressions, direction of gaze, proximity and spatial behaviour, bodily contact, orientation, tone and pitch of voice, clothing, and adornment of the body.

NVC is involved in most human contact. It may reveal the true nature of emotions, provide hints on personality and work as a channel to send and receive information. NVC emerges in a variety of ways, some of which may not be even consciously thought of.

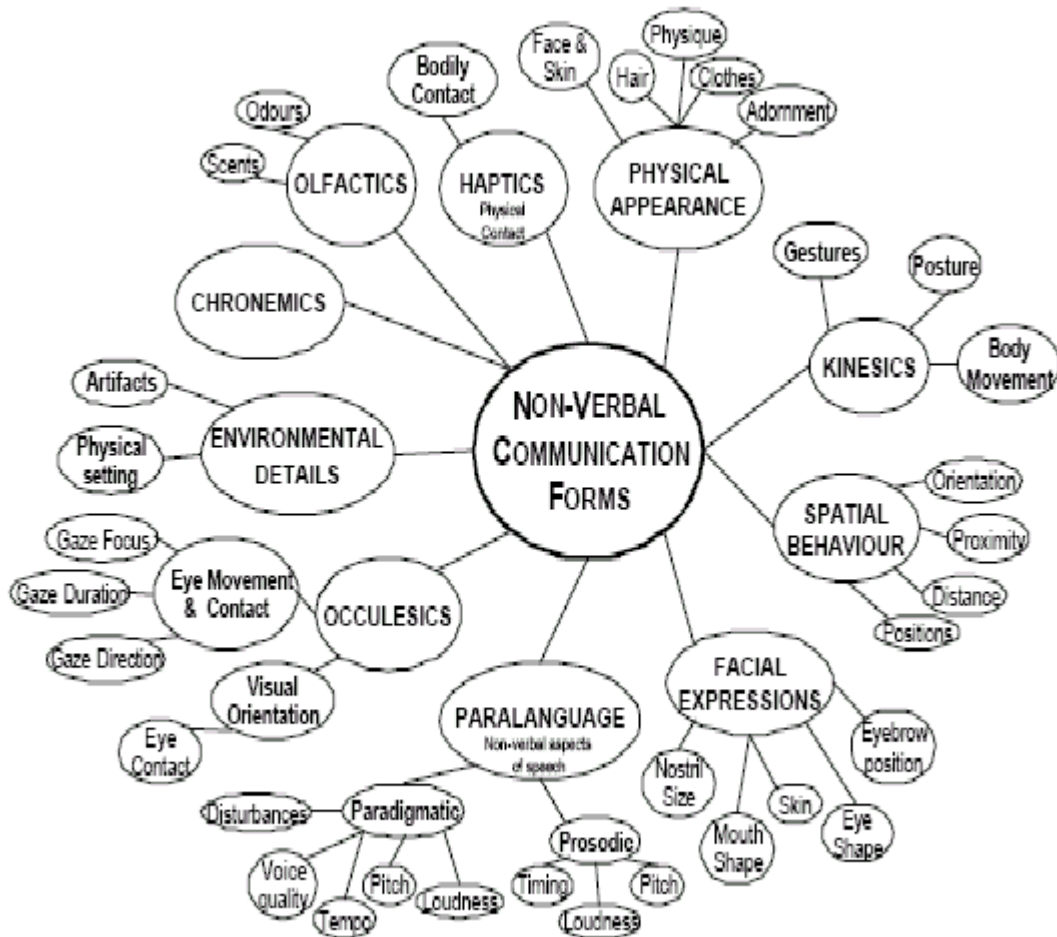


Fig.1 Different Elements of Non-Verbal Communication

Source : ludocraft.oulu.fi/publications/DGRC_2003_NVC_Avatars.pdf

Models of Verbal Communication:

- The Lasswell Formula
- The Shannon-Weaver Model
- The Osgood and Schramm Model
- Gerbner's Model
- Katz and Lazarsfeld Two Step Flow Model
- Diffusion of Innovation Model
- Uses and Gratifications Model

- Agenda Setting Model
- Dance's Helical Model

8.3 Non-Verbal Communication Theory:

Nonverbal communication is often regarded as “body language,” but this designation falls far short of its true nature and potential. In its broadest definition, nonverbal communication is, according to Hecht, DeVito, and Guerrero, “all the messages other than words that people exchange in interactive contexts.”

Perhaps too parsimonious, this definition fails to capture the specialized functions of nonverbal communication in interpersonal life.

To further define what qualifies as nonverbal communication, experts have identified several perspectives, including those that assume all human behavior is potentially communicative, communicative only if intentionally sent, and communicative if behaviors reasonably function as messages within a given speech community.

Defined as such, nonverbal communication includes those behaviors that are mutually recognized and socially shared codes and patterns with a focus on message meaning.

For example, an unintended frown when reading a memo may function as a message because most people regard it as a sign of displeasure.

A frown in response to a stubbed toe is less likely to be regarded as a message because it is a more spontaneous, involuntary reaction.

In this framework, the distinction between communication and behavior (i.e., sign and symptom) is often fuzzy.

However, key to this approach is the idea of what is typical. “If a behavior is commonly encoded deliberately and interpreted as meaningful by receivers or observers,” says Duck, “it does not matter if, in a given situation, it is performed unconsciously or unintentionally.”

This means that our clients who may not be intending to convey a message with their nonverbal behavior could be perceived as doing so because the community as a whole interprets these behaviors as meaningful messages.

Theory:

Nonverbal communication has been considered theoretically from a variety of perspectives. The relational perspective suggests that meaning construction between interactants provides the context for interpersonal communication.

In other words, when we meet others interpersonally, our primary task is to communicate who we are, particularly our attitudes toward relevant objects in the environment. Interactants infer similarity to their partner from both verbal and nonverbal cues.

If similarity is detected, it is experienced as reinforcement to our own attitudes and often results in increased interpersonal attraction (i.e., making friends, gaining acceptance).

Further, people have perceptual filters for relationship building, particularly for physical appearance cues. These filters help us reduce uncertainty about the other and reassure us that this person is “like me” or “acceptable to me.” We thus monitor our communication partner’s nonverbal cues to be sure that this is someone with whom a relationship is possible.

Clearly, not every interaction evolves into a relationship, yet humans retain the need to be liked and included by their peers.

Further theoretical focus has delved into the outcomes of unexpected or atypical nonverbal behavior. Expectancy violations theory suggests that people hold expectations for what is typical of interaction (nonverbally). These expectations are grounded in culture, relationship, and situational parameters.

When an interactant broaches those expectations, it prompts arousal in the communication partner and focuses attention on the violation. If the violator holds greater reward valence (e.g., well-liked, physically attractive, powerful), the decoder will be more likely to accept the violation without consequence (i.e., communication continues).

However, if the violator holds less potential reward for the decoder (e.g., stranger), some type of compensation would be expected by the communication partner. For example, in the case of a space violation it could mean moving away or even mentally derogating that violator. In any case, breaches of nonverbal behavior are taken seriously by interactants and accumulate to account for a great deal of impression formation.

Given this theory of expectancy violations, it becomes apparent why our clients who have nonverbal communication deficits are not accepted by their peers. They have difficulty receiving and decoding nonverbal behaviors and, therefore, are unable to adjust their own nonverbal behavior accordingly.

Because the communication partner’s expectations were not met and behavioral adjustments were not made, the communication partner is likely to exit the conversation. The theory also provides support for clinical assessment and intervention of comprehension and flexible behavioral performance of nonverbal behaviors, a skill that is difficult for many of our clients.

Behaviors:

Categories currently exist to provide an idea of the behaviors that constitute nonverbal communication. There are seven classes, also known as codes, of nonverbal signals. Codes are distinct, organized means of expression that consist of both symbols and rules for their use. Although these codes are presented within classes, they occur together and are naturally integrated with verbal expression.

The nonverbal codes include:

- kinesics—messages sent by the body, including gestures, facial expression, body movement, posture, gaze, and gait
- Vocalics (i.e., paralinguistic)—vocal cues other than words, including volume, rate, pitch, pausing, and silence
- Physical appearance—manipulable cues related to the body, including hairstyle, clothing, cosmetics, and fragrance

- Haptics—contact cues, such as frequency, intensity, and type of touch
- Proxemics—spatial cues, including interpersonal distance, territoriality, and other spacing relationships
- Chronemics—the use of time as a message system, including punctuality, amount of time spent with another, and waiting time
- Artifacts—manipulable objects in the environment that may reflect messages from the designer or user, such as furniture, art, pets, or other possessions

While these categories provide a framework from which to conceptualize nonverbal communication, it is, in reality, a combination of cues and codes that work together to produce a certain meaning. It is inefficient to look at one cue or code for specific meaning.

A better way to grasp the integration of nonverbal codes is to consider their functions. In general, nonverbal communication helps people accomplish various goals.

First, we use nonverbal communication to create impressions. Physical appearance cues weigh heavily on this function, but kinesics, chronemics, and other cues all can contribute to how others form perceptions of competence and character.

Second, nonverbal communication is used to manage interaction. Facial expression, vocalics, and even proxemics are used to signal turn taking in conversations as well as leave taking.

Third, nonverbal communication is a primary means of expressing emotion. In fact, some experts have identified nonverbal expression to be part and parcel of emotional experience. In addition, each cultural community has its own display rules for emotional expression appropriateness.

Fourth, nonverbal communication allows people to send relational messages. We convey affection, power, respect, and dominance through nonverbal cues. Fifth, deception is conveyed and detected via nonverbal cues. Finally, nonverbal communication also is used to send messages of power and persuasion. Leadership is conferred on the basis of nonverbal cues.

The functional approach to nonverbal communication, then, illuminates how people use it. In this way, nonverbal cues can be considered in conjunction with each other in patterns. Several cues contribute to a single message or thread of messages, making treatment focused only on a single nonverbal behavior (e.g., eye gaze), a less effective means of achieving the functional goal of sending messages such as friendship, willingness, sadness, or anger.

Influencing Factors:

Not only is it important to understand what behaviors are included in nonverbal communication as well as their purpose, but also to understand what influences how nonverbal messages are sent and received.

Nonverbal messages are shaped by three primary factors: the culture (with the understanding that cultural differences exist), the relationship, and the situation.

Although research has identified some universal facial expressions, culture remains a strong influence on nonverbal communication. Cultural values of specific groups affect space and touch norms.

Further, gender roles within a culture will determine, to some degree, dress and even baseline kinesics activity (e.g., eye gaze). As culture provides an overall template for nonverbal communication, the specific relationship also determines important norms for interactants.

The type of relationship (e.g., helping, adversarial, work, friendship) and the stage of relationship, such as a new friendship vs. a sibling bond, influence what is expected nonverbally between interactants. In addition, each communication situation presents its own parameters for nonverbal behaviors. These could include the physical environment, timing, temporary physical or mental states, or the number of people present.

It is important to note that these factors influence both how people encode nonverbal messages as well as decode them. For any organisation, the management needs to be aware when creating activities and hierarchies of the following:

- an understanding of the employee/client's ability to decode the message;
- the nonverbal behaviors that the employee/client has difficulty demonstrating;
- the employee/client's ability to adjust their behavior accordingly;
- what combination of nonverbal codes constitute the intended message based on the employee/client's age, gender, and relational variables of the communication interaction;
- and the environment in which the communication interaction is taking place.

When considering all possible variables, addressing nonverbal communication can be overwhelming. Realistically, the aim is not to address all impacting factors concurrently, but to be aware of their presence, their possible impact on treatment progression, and their functional importance to each client when selecting treatment goals and activities.

Goals:

Nonverbal behaviors are complex to address in treatment both because of the variety of cues that need to be addressed as well as the variables associated with their use.

Bear in mind that nonverbal behaviors are simply behaviors and are not inherently "good" or "bad." Their function is to send specific messages that can be either positive (e.g., group acceptance) or negative (e.g., anger) in nature.

In order to be efficient nonverbal communicators, our clients need to be able to send a variety of nonverbal messages across an array of situations. Additionally, they must understand these behaviors and adjust their own behaviors based on the expectations of their communication partners.

Without the combined skills of encoding and decoding, our clients will still be unable to make functional gains in social settings, which is the ultimate goal of intervention focusing on nonverbal skills.

8.4 Interaction between Non-verbal and Verbal Communication:

The following kinds of interaction between non-verbal and verbal communication are distinguished:

A. Interaction of non-verbal communication with the content of verbal communication:

1. Non-verbal communication provides information additional to the content information transferred by the of the verbal communication:
 - The subject of the non-verbal communication has no connection with the subject of the verbal communication
 - The subject of the non-verbal communication is related to the subject of the verbal communication.
2. Non-verbal communication affects the interpretation of the contents of the verbal communication; modified interpretation

B. Interaction of non-verbal communication with the process of the verbal communication:

1. The verbal communication process is affected by reflex-based reactions to the non-verbal communication
2. The verbal communication process is affected by conscious reactions to the non-verbal communication

Notice that non-verbal communication of type A. will lead to conscious reactions of the recipient; as the interpretation of observations as being communicated information is a conscious process.

Combinations of the different types of interaction can occur during one communication process. In the examples it is assumed that the agents share a common ontology for world information. Simple examples of the different types of non-verbal communication are:

A. Interaction of non-verbal communication with the content of verbal communication :**1. Additional information**

- a) No connection. Agent A communicates verbally to B that tea can be found in pot 2. Agent B observes that agent A smiles to him and concludes that agent A recognises him. This observation does not influence the communication process concerned with where the tea can be found. Furthermore, agent B does not change his interpretation of the verbal communication on account of noticing that agent A recognises him.
- b) Related. Agent A communicates verbally to B that tea can be found in pot 2. During the communication Agent A points to position p3. Agent B observes the direction that agent A is pointing in and concludes that agent A is telling it that tea can be found in pot 2.

2. Modified Interpretation

Agent A communicates verbally to B that fresh tea can be found in pot 2. However, agent A makes a face that indicates she is disgusted at the moment the verbal communication process takes place.

Agent B combines this non-verbal communication with the verbal one and, therefore, interprets the communication as follows: tea can be found in pot 2, but it is definitely not fresh. Modification of the interpretation of the verbal communication appeared to be necessary, based on the non-verbal part of the communication.

B. Interaction of non-verbal communication with the process of verbal communication :

Agent A initiates the communication process by walking to position p1. She notices that agent B is looking at her and she starts her communication to agent B that tea can be found in pot 2, by putting the correct slide on the projector.

However, after performing this action agent A observes that agent B is looking in another direction; in reaction (either by reflex or consciously) she breaks off the communication process by removing the slide, and (to get attention) starts tapping the microphone. Agent B observes the noise of the microphone and (either by reflex or consciously) reacts by looking at agent A with interest.

Agent A waits until she observes that agent B is looking interested, and then resumes the verbal communication process by putting the slide on the projector again. In such a case the information transferred by verbal communication is not affected by the non-verbal communication, but (the control of) the process of communication is.

Verbal Communication is a type of communication that uses words or sounds to communicate. Non Verbal Communication makes use of gestures and signs to communicate. Following are some of the important models of communication

- The Lasswell Formula
- The Shannon-Weaver Model
- The Osgood and Schramm Model
- Gerbner's Model
- Katz and Lazarsfeld Two Step Flow Model
- Diffusion of Innovation Model
- Uses and Gratifications Model
- Agenda Setting Model
- Dance's Helical Model

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8.5 Technical Terms:

Perception : View / the way in which one sees a particular situation

Non-Verbal Communication : Communicatin that uses signs, gestures, facial expressins etc. Primarily the absence of words/sound.

8.6 Model Questions:

1. What is verbal and non verbal communication ?
2. Illustrate with a diagram, the various Elements of Non-Verbal Communication.
3. Explain the theory of non verbal communication.
4. Describe the interaction between verbal and non verbal communication.

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Unit - III

Lesson - 9

Normative Theories of Communication

9.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Normative theories of Communication
- In understanding the four theories of press

Structure of The Lesson:

9.0 Objectives of The Lesson

9.1 Various theories of Communication

9.2 Introduction to Normative Theories of Communication

9.3 Summary

9.4 Model Questions

9.5 Reference Books

9.1 Various Theories of Communication:

If theory is understood not only as a system of law like propositions, but as any systematic set of ideas that can help make sense of a phenomenon, guide action or predict a consequence, then one can distinguish at least five kinds of theory which are relevant to mass communication. These can be described as : social scientific, cultural, normative, operational and everyday theory.

Social scientific theory offers general statements about the nature, working and effects of mass communication based on systematic and objective observation of media and other relevant sources, which can in turn be put to test and validated or rejected by similar methods.

There is now a large body of such theory. However, it is loosely organised and not very clearly formulated or even very consistent. It also covers a very wide spectrum, from broad questions of society to detailed aspects of individual information sending and receiving.

It also derives from different disciplines, especially sociology, psychology and politics.

Some scientific theory is concerned with understanding what is going on, some with developing a critique and some with practical applications in processes of public information or persuasion.

Cultural theory is much more diverse in character. In some forms it is evaluative, seeking to differentiate cultural artefacts according to some criteria of quality. Sometimes its goal is almost the opposite, seeking to challenge hierarchical classification as irrelevant to the true significance of culture.

Different spheres of cultural production have generated their corpus of cultural theory, sometimes along aesthetic or ethical lines, sometimes with a socio-critical purpose.

This applies to film, literature, television, graphic art and many other media forms. While cultural theory demands clear argument and articulation, coherence and consistency, its core component is often itself imaginative and ideational. It resists the demand for testing or validation by observation. Nevertheless, there are opportunities for combined cultural and scientific approaches and the many problematics of the media call for both.

A third kind of theory can be described as normative, since it is concerned with examining or prescribing how media ought to operate if certain social values are to be observed or attained. Such theory usually stems from the broader social philosophy or ideology of a given society.

This kind of theory is important because it plays a part in shaping and legitimating media institutions and has considerable influence on the expectations concerning media that are held by other social agencies and by the media's own audiences.

A good deal of research into mass media has been stimulated by the wish to apply norms of social and cultural performance. A society's normative theories concerning its own media are usually to be found in laws, regulations, media policies, codes of ethics, and instances of public debate. While normative media theory is not in itself objective, it can be studied by the objective methods of the social sciences.

A fourth kind of knowledge about media can best be described as operational theory, since it refers to the practical ideas assembled and applied by media practitioners in the conduct of their own media work. Similar bodies of accumulated practical wisdom are to be found in most organisational and professional settings. In the case of the media, operational theory serves to guide solutions to fundamental tasks including :

- how to select news,
- please audiences,
- design effective advertising,
- keep within the limits of what society permits, and
- relate effectively to sources and society.

At some points, it may overlap with normative theory, for instance in matters of journalistic ethics and codes of practice.

Such knowledge merits the name of theory because it is usually patterned and persistent, even if rarely codified, and it is influential in respect of behavior. It comes to light in the study of communicators and their organisations.

Katz compared the role of the researcher in relation to media production to that of the theorist of music or philosopher of science who can see regularities which a musician or scientist does not even need to be aware of.

Finally there is everyday or common sense theory of media use referring to the knowledge we all have from our personal experience of the media. This enables us to make sense of what is going on, allows us to fit a medium into our daily lives, to understand how its content is intended to be 'read' as well as how we like to read it, to know what the differences are between different media and media genres and much more. On the basis of such 'theory' is grounded the ability to make consistent choices, develop patterns of taste, construct lifestyles and identities as media consumers. It also supports the ability to make critical judgements.

All this in turn, shapes what the media actually offer to their audiences and sets both directions and limits to media influence. For instance, it enables us to distinguish between 'reality' and 'fiction', to read 'between the lines' or to see through the persuasive aims and techniques of advertising and other kinds of propaganda, to resist many of the potentially harmful impulses that the media are said to provoke. The working of the common-sense theory can be seen in the norms for use of media which many people recognise and follow. The social definitions that mass media acquire are not established by media theorists or legislators or even the media producers themselves but

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Box 1.1 Concerns of communication theory and research

- Who communicates to whom? (sources and receivers)
- Why communicate? (functions and purposes)
- How does communication take place? (channels, languages, codes)
- What about? (content, references, types of information)
- What are the outcomes of communication, intended or unintended? (ideas, understandings, actions)

9.2 Introduction to Normative Theories of Communication:

Mass media institutions increasingly play a constitutive role in society, politics, the economy, culture, and law. The roles of citizen and consumer are fundamentally shaped by the information and frameworks of interpretation provided by the media. While traditional standards of media accountability primarily stressed the performance of media in democracy, emerging standards recognize this pervasiveness of media in all areas of life.

Research to develop these emerging standards is both theoretical and practical. Theory includes the development, evaluation, and critical application of complex models of media influence and normative standards of media performance. Because we are living in a time of great transition, both these models and standards are in flux.

New models of media influence allow researchers and policy makers to specify the media's effect on democratic, social and cultural processes. Normative theory allows us to specify how the media ought to perform to reach desired goals, including a democratic society and polity, and a rich cultural environment. Legal and policy studies specify how these standards should be applied, both by government and civil society to hold media institutions accountable. Finally, new forms of media practice, including reporting on complex political, social, and scientific issues, and civic, public, and participatory journalism, offer models of accountability.

A slightly different typology for Russia, based on the relationship between media and centers of power, is presented by Ivan Zassoursky (2001, 90-91):

- **Propaganda Machine**
- **Independent Media**
- **Media-Political System**
- **Instrumental**

A synthesis of contemporary media models in the United States is presented in a new anthology *The Press* (Overholser & Hall Jamieson 2005):

- **Marketplace of Ideas**
- **Agenda Setter**
- **Watchdog**
- **Informing The Public**
- **Mobilizing Citizen Participation**

Another American typology corresponds to the historical stages through which the press has developed, as presented by Michael Schudson (1995):

- **Advocacy**
- **Market**
- **Trustee**

A classic typology from the United Kingdom can be found the works of Raymond Williams (1966):

- **Authoritarian**
- **Paternal**
- **Commercial**
- **Democratic**

A contemporary British list of media models is presented in McQuail's Mass Communication Theory (2005):

- **Liberal-pluralist, Market**
- **Social responsibility, Public interest**
- **Professional**
- **Alternative**

Another basic typology is typically found in Scandinavia – in Sweden even adopted as an official policy (Nordenstreng 1997):

- **Information, Surveillance**
- **Criticism, Participation**
- **Forum, Open access**

Finally, a recent classification of Euro-American media systems by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004) suggests three overall models:

- **Liberal**
- **Democratic corporatist**
- **Polarized pluralist**
- **Normative Theories**

Each of these typologies has its own logic of classification – sometimes clearly stated but often implicit. It is vital to explicate the concepts and theories on which such media models are based.

This leads us to examine the media-society relationships and to the paradigms which determine the understanding of media and society in each case.

Media models can be approached at different levels:

- (1) by describing what is the phenomenon in question,
- (2) by explaining the nature of the phenomenon in question, and
- (3) by determining what the phenomenon in question should do.

The first two levels represent descriptive and analytical approaches – a sociological perspective which maps out the functions, aims and objectives of the media in a social system.

The third level for its part represents a normative perspective which defines the tasks, duties and responsibilities of the media in a socio-political and professional context.

A normative approach is pursued by asking what the task of media in society is, and typical answers to this question are, for example: making money and supporting democracy.

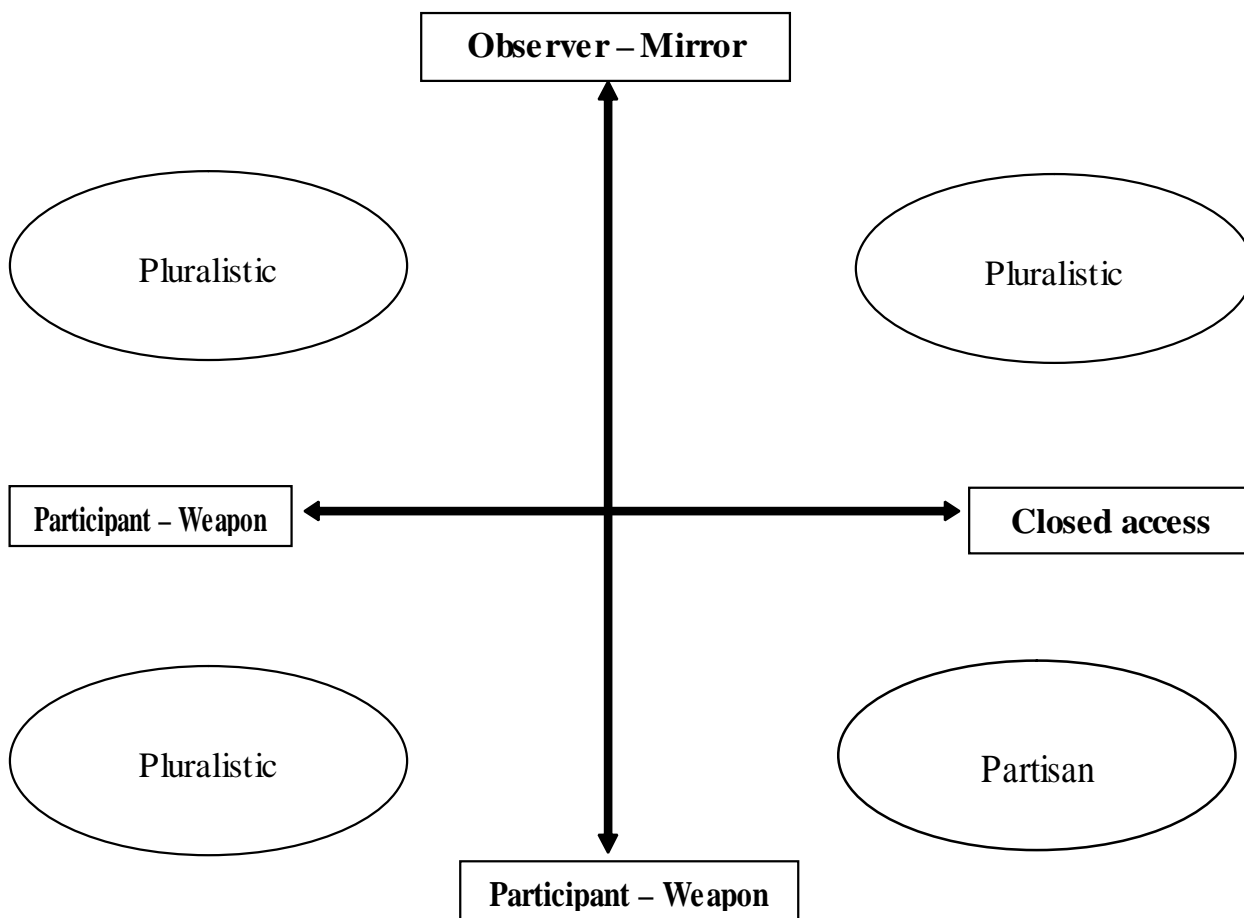


Fig 1. Four types of media

One way to characterize different types of media is to construct maps based on two dimensions. In the figure we single out the central dimensions of Observer vs. Participant in society and Open vs. Closed access to the media.

The basic (vertical) dimension runs between the extremes of an outside and neutral observer of events in society, or mirror for looking at the world, on the one hand, and an active participant in running and changing society, or weapon to fight in the world, on the other.

Historically, among the first papers were both information gazettes of an observer nature (serving commercial and administrative elites) and participating papers of a fighting nature (serving political parties including liberation movements).

The other (horizontal) dimension runs between two extreme types of gatekeeping for the media: open access to the media without discrimination, and controlled access to the media with screening and selection of messages.

Against these dimensions, four basic types of media roles can be distinguished. In each society at a time different media are located in different places in the figure.

Figure 2 presents a different logic for mapping out media models, with a focus on the normative roles of the media. While the horizontal dimension of media Autonomy vs.

Dependency is more or less the same as the Open-Closed dimension above, the vertical dimension of Institutional vs. People's power is quite different from the Observer-Participant dimension.

Normative media theories refers to systematically worked out sets of ideas about how the media ought to operate if they are to fulfill a wide range of expectations about their contribution to society.

Most media in modern democratic states are free from positive obligations to provide particular services (there are expectations as in public broadcasting), and otherwise have much the same rights, freedoms and obligations as any citizen.

At the same time, they often operate according to certain ethical and normative principles formally by their own choice but also in response to requests and pressures and by agreement with agents of other social institutions.

The democratic political system is the prime example, since its communication needs can only be met in cooperation with the mass media.

There are historical precedents and long established conventions that enable the media and political institutions to work together without compromising essential media freedoms.

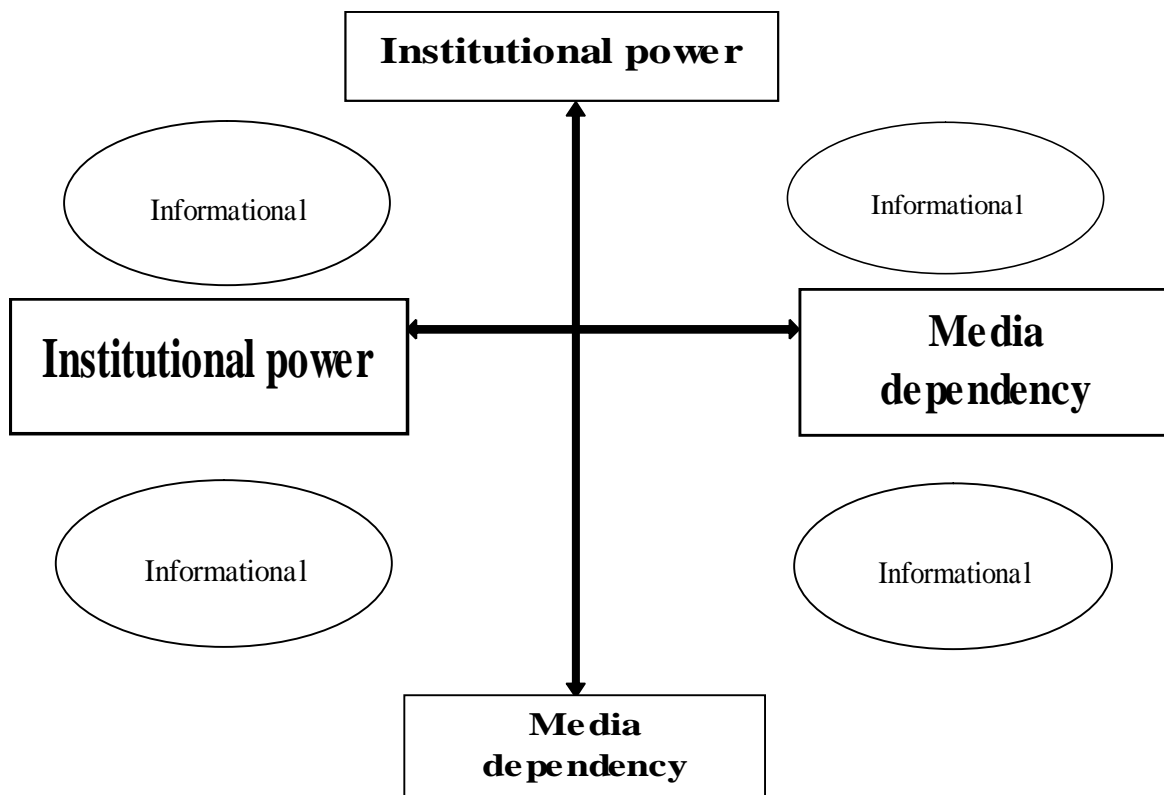


Figure 2. Four normative roles of media

This map is based on the relation of the media to the power system in society, both political and economic power, leading to four different normative roles:

- 1) Collaborative role
- 2) Informational role
- 3) Facilitative role
- 4) Radical role

The listing is from Christians & al. (forthcoming). Collaborative role refers to cases where media directly serve governments and other centers of power like “lapdogs”.

Informational role refers to typical cases of media seeing themselves as neutral observers reporting “objectively” about the world.

However, since the sources of information are mostly in the centers of power, the agenda is largely set by the power system and thus the informational role is in fact quite dependent on institutional power and elites even if it may criticize them like a “watchdog”.

Facilitative role has a greater distance from centers of power, since it seeks to provide citizens with a platform for expressing themselves and participating in the political process.

This category also includes the movement of civic or “public journalism”. Radical role finally refers to a totally oppositional approach to the prevailing power, to the extent of questioning the foundations of socio-political order and inciting revolution.

Liberation movements used to belong to this category; today it has only token representation among established political organizations and is mainly represented among free intellectuals and alternative social movements.

Why discuss and analyze media models, one may ask. After all, they are not reality but only idealizations of it. The answer is the same as in any area of public policy: since power in society is largely hidden in the prevailing ways of thinking, it is vital to liberate ourselves from the conventional ideologies – to achieve emancipation or “empowerment”.

Changing reality is always done with conceptual models which need to be deconstructed. In the media world, glasnost is one of the greatest incentives for reform and Gorbachev has a place alongside Mill in the gallery of classics.

Mass media do not operate in a vacuum. This assertion is generally agreed upon, and has led researchers to study the relationship between mass media and the government.

The first well-known attempt to clarify the link between mass media and the political society was introduced by Frederick S. Siebert in 1963, and presented in *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm.

The purpose of the work was to establish and explain four normative theories that ought to illustrate the press’ position in relation to its political environment. By “press” Siebert means all the media of mass communication, including television, radio, and newspaper.

Siebert's four theories (the authoritarian, the libertarian, the Soviet, and the social responsibility) are still acknowledged by many mass media researchers as the most proper categories to describe how different media systems operate in the world.

The popular media researcher Shirley Biagi, for instance, builds her research on the four theories of the press without even questioning Siebert's approach.

Confirming this, journalists Ralph Lowenstein and John Merrill write: "Almost every article and book dealing with philosophical bases for journalism has alluded to this book [Four Theories of the Press], commented on it, or quoted from it.

It has definitely made an impact".

There is, therefore, a need to evaluate the four theories analytically in order to find out if Siebert's approach still is the most functional.

A critical evaluation shows that Siebert's theories, which seek to explain the relationship between mass media and the government, are outdated and too simplistic to be useful in today's media research.

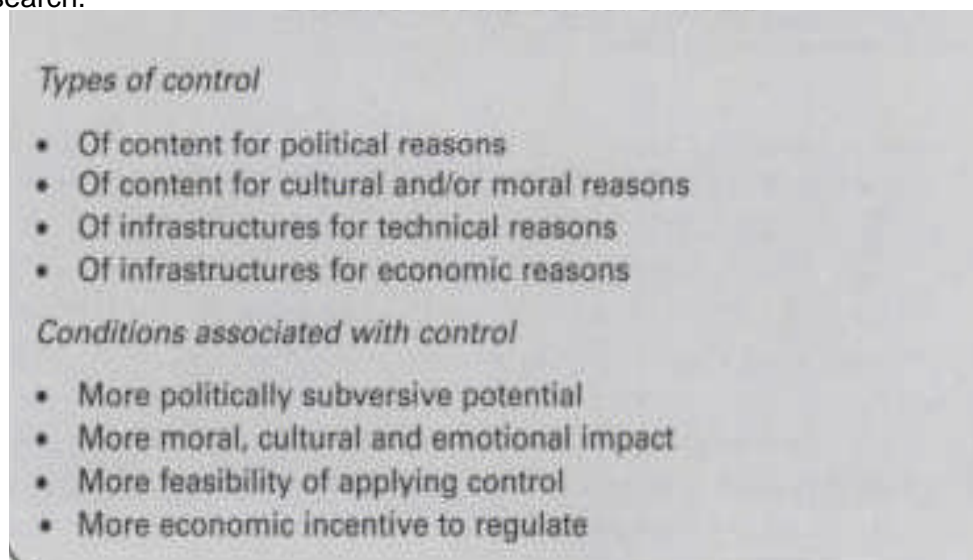


Fig 3. Social Control of Media

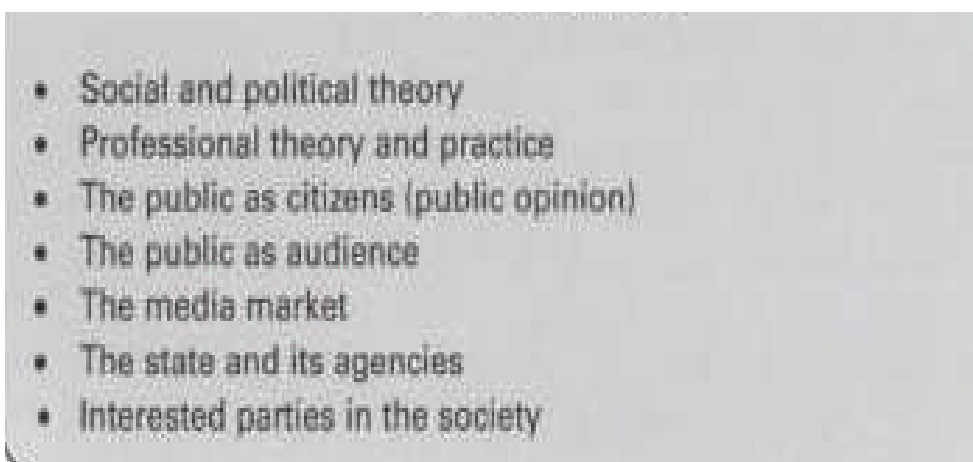


Fig 4. Sources of Normative Influence on Media Conduct

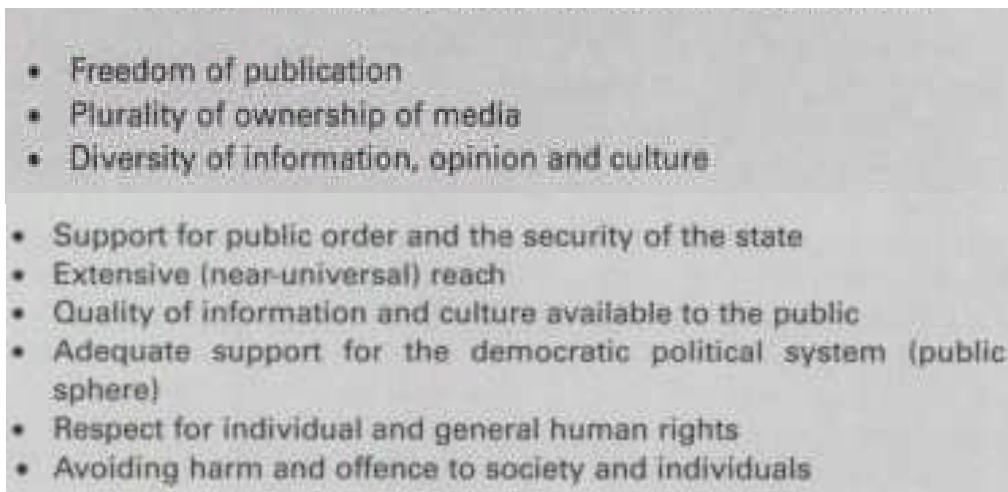
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- Freedom of publication
 - Plurality of ownership of media
 - Diversity of information, opinion and culture
 - Support for public order and the security of the state
 - Extensive (near-universal) reach
 - Quality of information and culture available to the public
 - Adequate support for the democratic political system (public sphere)
 - Respect for individual and general human rights
 - Avoiding harm and offence to society and individuals

Fig. 5. Main public interest criteria and requirements

9.3 Summary:

Normative theory is a theory that describes a norm or standard of behavior that ought to be followed as opposed to one that actually is followed.

Normative Theories:

- Descriptive statements are falsifiable statements that attempt to describe reality.
- By contrast, normative statements affirm how things should or ought to be, how to value them, which things are good or bad.
- Normative theories of the press: Ideal views of how journalism/ media ought to, or are expected to, operate – what is desirable in relation to both structure and performance): “Journalists/ journalism should or could do this or that.”

Structure and Performance:

- Structure – e.g. freedom from the state, multiplicity of different channels.
- Performance – e.g. how the media carry out their chosen or allotted informative or entertaining tasks. Conventions, genres, professional guidelines and ethical rules, which apply to what the media do.

9.4 Model Questions:

1. Discuss the normative theory of the media.
2. Discuss the applications of normative theory.

9.5 Reference Books:

Crowley,D and Mitchell, D. (eds) (1993) Communication Theory Today. Cambridge:Polity.

Luhmann, N. (2003) The Reality of Mass Media. Cambridge:Polity.

Mattelart,A. (2003) The Information Society, London:Sage.

Mills, C.W. (1956) The Power Elite. New York:Oxford University Press.

Lesson writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 10

Theories of The Press

10.0 Objective of The lesson:

The objective of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the theories of the press

Structure of The Lesson:

- 10.0 Objective of The Lesson**
- 10.1 The Authoritarian Theory**
- 10.2 The Libertarian Theory**
- 10.3 The Soviet Theory**
- 10.4 The Social Responsibility Theory**
- 10.5 Summary**
- 10.6 References**
- 10.7 Model Questions**
- 10.8 Reference Books**

10.1 The Authoritarian Theory:

According to Siebert, the authoritarian state system requires direct governmental control of the mass media. This system is especially easy to recognize in pre-democratic societies, where the government consists of a very limited and small ruling-class.

The media in an authoritarian system are not allowed to print or broadcast anything which could undermine the established authority, and any offense to the existing political values is avoided. The authoritarian government may go to the step of punishing anyone who questions the state's ideology.

The fundamental assumption of the authoritarian system is that the government is infallible. Media professionals are therefore not allowed to have any independence within the media organization.

Also foreign media are subordinate to the established authority, in that all imported media products are controlled by the state.

One may think that there is an inevitable parallel between the authoritarian media system and a totalitarian society. This is true for the most part, but a government may enforce a authoritarian profile without being openly totalitarian. A state that comes close to this media system today, is Albania.

The relationship between the state and the media in an authoritarian system can be illustrated as such:

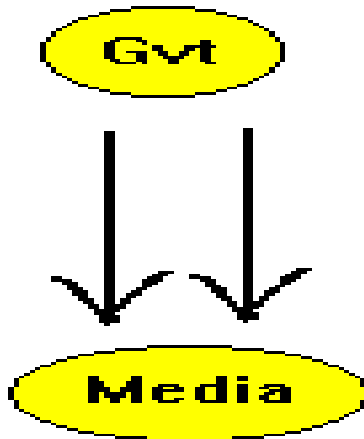


Fig 1. Information flow in Authoritarian regimes is from govt to media only and not Vice versa

10.2 The Libertarian Theory:

In his book, Siebert goes on to explain the libertarian theory, which is also called the free press theory. In contrast to the authoritarian theory, the libertarian view rests on the idea that the individual should be free to publish whatever he or she likes.

Its history traces back to the 17th century's thinker John Milton, who asserted that human beings inevitably choose the best ideas and values. In the libertarian system, attacks on the government's policies are fully accepted and even encouraged. Moreover, there should be no restrictions on import or export of media messages across the national frontiers.

Moreover, journalists and media professionals ought to have full autonomy within the media organization.

It is hard to find intact examples of libertarian media systems in today's world. The U.S. will in many aspects come close, but as we will see later, this country's media system has tendencies of authoritarianism as well.

As this illustration shows, there is no explicit connection between the government and the media in the libertarian theory:

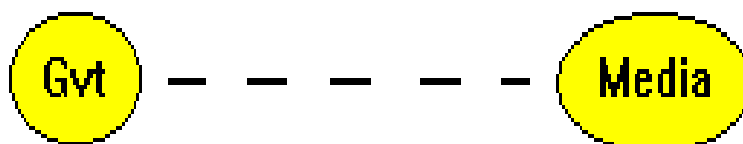


Fig 2. There is no explicit connection between the government and the media in the libertarian theory

10.3 The Soviet Theory:

Apparent from its name, the Soviet theory is closely tied to a specific ideology; the communist. Siebert traces the roots of this theory back to the 1917 Russian Revolution based on the postulates of Marx and Engels. The media organizations in this system were not intended to be privately owned and were to serve the interests of the working class.

An illustration of the Soviet system would appear to be the same as the authoritarian model, in that both theories acknowledge the government as superior to the media institutions:

However, there is a major difference between the two theories that needs to be clarified: The mass media in the Soviet model are expected to be self-regulatory with regard to the content of their messages.

Also, the Soviet theory differs from the authoritarian theory in that the media organizations have a certain responsibility to meet the wishes of their audience. Still, the underlying standard is to provide a complete and objective view of the world according to Marxist-Leninist principles.

Today, the name of this theory is only of historical interest.

Beginning in the mid-eighties and continuing after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia has performed a mass media model closer to the social responsibility principle.

The clearest current example of the Soviet media theory is how the media function in China, where TV, radio, and newspapers are controlled by the communist government.

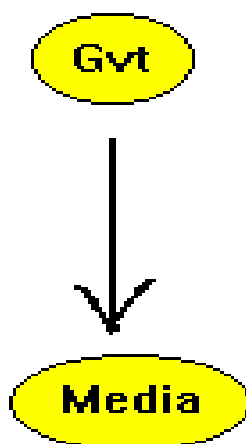


Fig 3. Media controlled by government

10.4 The Social Responsibility Theory:

An American initiative in the late forties brought forth the social responsibility theory. Realizing that the market had failed to fulfill the promise that press freedom would reveal the truth, The Commission on Freedom of the Press provided a model in which the media had certain obligations to society. These obligations were expressed in the words "informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance".

Siebert writes that the goal of the social responsibility system is that media as a whole is pluralized, indicating “a reflection of the diversity of society as well as access to various points of view” .

As opposed to the libertarian theory, the social responsibility principle is to provide an entrance to different mass media to minority groups. The journalist is accountable to his audience as well as to the government.

Most media systems in Western Europe today come close to the social responsibility theory. An illustration of the theory puts the mass media and the government on the same level, signifying an interaction where both parts are allowed to criticize the other:

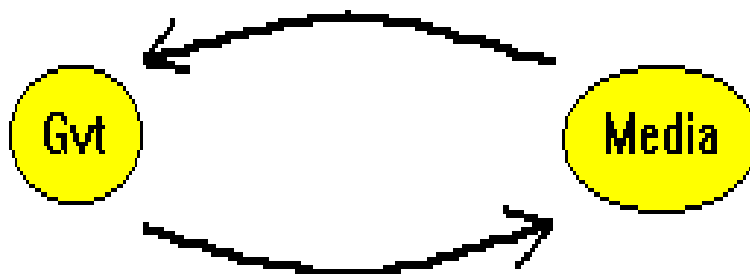


Fig 4. Government and Media are allowed to criticise each other

Siebert's theories: a normative approach

Mass media scholars Jack McLeod and Jay Blumler point out that it is important to notice that Siebert's theories were intended to be normative, meaning that “they do not attempt to stipulate how social systems do operate, but rather with specification of how they should or could work according to some preexisting set of criteria”.

An evaluation of the theories should, therefore, not find out if they provide perfect descriptions of the various political systems, but rather if the approach leads to a valuable understanding of the mass media's position in society.

For instance, it would be a mistake to judge Siebert's theories as dysfunctional solely on the basis of a study that shows that the Soviet model does not entirely tell how the current Russian media operate.

With regard to this, two notes need to be made: First, the ideal system is not synonymous with the best system as ascribed to the author. Secondly, one must not mistake Siebert's theories as being a representation of how the mass media system actually work.

However, it is legitimate to expect that theories concerning mass media and society to a large degree correspond to actual political systems. If not, the contemporary usefulness of such theories would be low.

Numerous studies have been done to evaluate the four media systems in order to point out the most successful. Unfortunately, these studies tend to overlook that there might be weaknesses in Siebert's theories from their starting-point.

The purpose of this evaluation is therefore not to discover potential weaknesses of the four media systems, but rather to criticize on Siebert's approach to answering the question: How can we best understand the relationship between mass media and society?

The critics will be presented under the headings of five statements that demonstrate attributes of a good theory. A good theory is not limited to a short period of time.

In his book *A First Look at Communication Theory*, Em Griffin claims that a main requirement of a good media theory is that it should not reflect only a limited period of time (9). With this in mind, it is legitimate to expect that theories concerning mass media and society, such as the four theories of the press, to a large degree correspond to actual political systems. If not, the usefulness of such theories would be low in the current media world.

Supporting the time requirement, McLeod and Blumler also emphasize the fact that a mass media theorist always has to decide what time span the proposed theory should be valid for. In other words, a theory will always be a compromise between general and specific criteria; that is, "to what extent the theory is applicable to all conditions at all times".

Hence, a theory cannot be expected to be general enough to fit both the communications of the ancient Roman Empire and the computer technology of NASA's Kennedy Base. Nevertheless, it is legitimate to assume that a media theory created in the 1960's has validity 30 years later. Siebert was aiming at exactly this: to come up with a theory that would be useful for media researchers throughout the 20th century.

Given these circumstances, it is a reasonable requirement that Siebert's theories have relevancy over at least three to four decades. Unfortunately, several recent political changes in the world indicate that Siebert's approach fails to do so. Most apparent are the drastic changes of Eastern Europe's political conditions during the past five years.

The collapse of the iron curtain and the Soviet Union makes it irrelevant to talk about a "Soviet media theory," because it no longer reflects the conditions of the Soviet superpower. The other three models are also closely related to political ideologies of their age, as explained by Siebert himself.

When introducing the basis for the four theories, he does not make any attempt to hide the fact that all of them have their roots from specific periods of time and are closely tied to the political conditions of those ages.

Consequently, a potential weakness of his approach appears when the chosen political systems diminish.

On the other hand, one might argue in favor of Siebert's approach by referring to the theories as being normative. This normativeness implies that the theories will remain even though their original societies no longer exist. An article that gives credit to Siebert on the basis of his intention to make the theories normative, is *The Macrosocial Level of Communication Science* by McLeod and Blumler.

They emphasize how each of the four press models depicts a set of ideal (not actual) types which compose the ideological media system. For instance, even though there are no totalitarian states functioning in the pure form any more, Siebert's authoritarian model can be used to describe Albania because the nation's press maintains a number of totalitarian attributes.

However, McLeod and Blumler go on to state that a media theory is usually considered useless if the normative descriptions differ significantly from the actual political conditions. They argue, "The problem with it [Siebert's approach] is that the unwary reader may mistake the types as representations of how press or other systems actually work". The conclusion, then, is that the four theories of the press fail to fulfill the time aspect criterion, which by Griffin is called "the ultimate test of each theory".

A good theory is simple, yet complex enough to be fruitful.

Every theory has to be a compromise between two factors; simplicity and complexity. Griffin states this balance as such, "A good theory is simple, yet complex enough to be fruitful". The flexibility of a theory, then, depends on how well the theory balance criteria of simplicity (the theory should be easy to understand) and criteria of complexity (the theory should reflect reality).

Few will dispute that Siebert's theories are easy to understand, because the simple approach makes use of well-known concepts from the area of political science. For instance, one does not have to be a communication scholar in order to understand how words like "Marxism," "working class," "communism," and "Pravda" are connected. The broad use of Siebert's theories in many basic mass communication books, such as Vivian's *The Media of Mass Communication*, is partly a result of the simplicity of the approach. Obviously, the four theories of the press cannot be accused for ignoring simplicity.

However, when it comes to the other end of the continuum, complexity, there is a stronger reason to look critically at Siebert's approach. Is the approach "complex enough to be fruitful"? Siebert has picked four theories based on four general political ideologies, claiming them to be measurements for all current media systems.

The critical question, then, is whether or not the four theories of the press are ignoring the subtle variations among the numerous media systems of the world. McLeod and Blumler especially pay attention to this weakness of many mass media theories and use Siebert's approach as a main illustration of an approach that lacks a fruitful complexity. In their argument, they introduce the term "global typologizing," which refers to the four theories as ignoring important variations among the many press systems of the world.

A difficulty regarding Siebert's global typologizing became visible when Everett Rogers and other Third World communication researchers began their studies in the late 1960's. Because there were no organized mass media systems in development countries when Siebert presented his theories in 1963, he did not include a Third World model. Hence, Rogers found none of the media models sufficient as he searched for a model to explain how Third World mass media functioned.

The first model of mass media systems in development countries came on the market as late as in 1980, when the Unesco International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems presented its so-called "MacBride report." Denis McQuail criticizes the four theories of the press when he writes that they are "biased" because they omit the Third World mass media.

Attempting to make Siebert's approach more complete by adding the development component, Herbert Altschull has proposed a mass media theory corresponding to the three worlds. In his theory, the First World corresponds to the liberal system, the Second World to the Soviet,

and the Third World to the advancing (developing) system. Several researchers judge this theory as useless because it even more than Siebert's theory falls into the category of being too simple to be useful.

Supporting the criticism of the simplicity of Siebert's approach, McQuail has added two more theories to the original four theories of the press. The two additional theories, the development and the democratic-participant theories, seek to depict two normative systems that were absent when Siebert proposed his model.

The importance of the McQuail example, as well as the Altschull example, is to notice how the researchers realize that the classic four theories fail to be flexible enough to fit all parts of the world.

The weakness of Siebert's generalizations is also clear in each of the four media systems. McLeod and Blumler write that the reader is tempted to believe that the press in the U.S. system is totally free, whereas the Albanian system gives no access for the public to express its ideas.

The truth, however, is that even a liberal nation like the United States contains elements of authoritarianism in its media system. Though this might sound unfamiliar in the first place, most people will agree that the U.S. media in fact are censored, as pointed out in a Washington Journalism Review article after the Gulf War in January 1991. In the article, Jeff Kamen reports how the American reporters were required to run battlefield stories past censors before being dispatched.

One last example of how Siebert's theories suffer from a lack of flexibility, is expressed by John Martin and Arju Chaudhary in their comparative study of international mass media models. They conclude that the press model not only is too simplified; it is biased as well. According to the study, the bias is apparent in the sense that Siebert's approach favors nations in which the basic media (newspapers, radio, and television) are subject for the same degree of governmental control. A large number of examples show that the four classic theories are too general in this aspect too.

The Norwegian national TV channel Norsk rikskringkasting, for instance, is subject for governmental support and authority, whereas the newspaper system fits almost completely into the libertarian category. Media researcher Helge concludes therefore that none of Siebert's theories are sufficient for explaining the Norwegian media system.

The examples given in this evaluation show that the second requirement of a good media theory, a proper balance between simplicity and complexity, is not maintained in Siebert's approach. Among the communication scholars who agree that the four theories are too simplistic to be useful, are Lowenstein and Merrill. They conclude, "The 'four theories' concept lacks the flexibility needed for proper description and analysis of all of today's press systems and therefore should be modified".

A good mass media theory does not ignore its most important part: the audience. Siebert's foremost goal was to provide a model to clarify how the mass communication channels were influenced by the political environment. In the four theories, the political environment seems to be identical with the government and its ideology. Nevertheless, the political conditions in a state is more complex than the politics of the ruling authority. Inputs from the audience will contribute to shaping how the nation's ideology is reflected in the mass media.

The impression derived from Siebert's approach is that transmission of political opinion simply is a matter of two parts; the medium itself and the government. A more fruitful approach would be to bring in the third and the largest party, the audience.

A good media theory does not ignore the communication perspective

The names of the four press theories not only testify the close link between media and their political environment, but also reveal that Siebert's starting-point is political, not communicative. First he observes the political conditions, then he provides a mass media theory according to the known conditions.

By choosing this approach, Siebert also answers the question, "Does the mass media shape the society or opposite?" With a socio-political starting-point, Siebert becomes an advocate for materialism, which is the term used when the social structure influences the media system but not the reverse.

A communicative approach would be more open for the patterns of idealism (media influencing the social structure but not reverse) and interdependence (mutual influence).

A good theory does not favor one specific system

Altschull's comments on the four mass media theory point out that every system claims its own reliability. For instance, all press systems are based on the belief in free expression, although free expression is defined in different ways. All systems also endorse the doctrine of social responsibility, proclaiming that they serve the needs and interests of the people.

In Siebert's explanations of the four models, it is evident that he assumes that only the social responsibility theory has these positive qualities. Hence, Siebert is favoring one particular theory through his choice of words, which gives the other theories a worse reputation than they claim to have.

A new proposal: the continuum

The fundamental objection against Siebert's approach is the lack of flexibility. In order to avoid this weakness, the following model may be proposed:

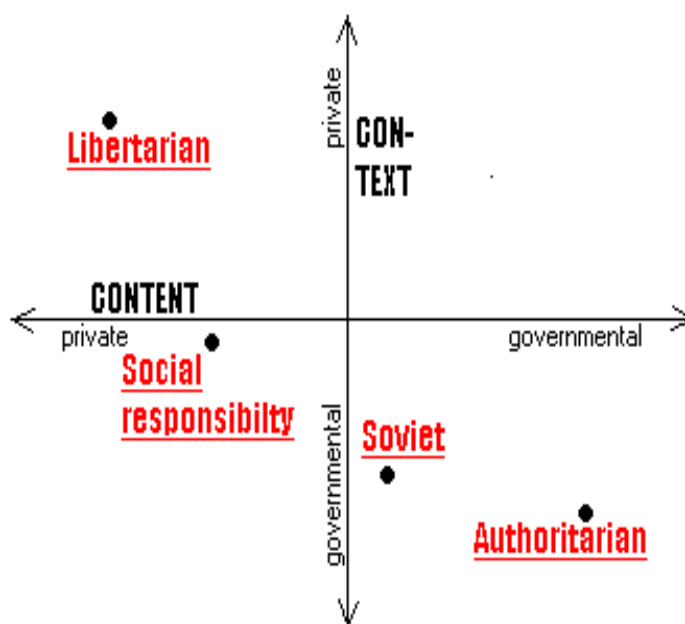


Fig 5. Four theories of the press

This model's strength lies first of all in its starting-point: communication. The two continuums illustrate the two elements required for a communication event to occur: Context (the medium itself) and content (the message). Another strength is the breakdown of strictly given categories, which opens up for new ideas.

The model seeks to answer the question "Who owns the medium, and who determines what message is to be sent?" Siebert's four-division is put into the model to demonstrate how it may be used. This model remains normative; one might for instance suggest that media ought to strive for an audience-oriented content.

Realizing that a theory always will be a compromise between opposing factors, I will not claim universality for this model either. A shortcoming of the model may be that it does not allow for easy grouping of different media households. But I do think the continuum gives a more fruitful approach to understanding how mass media and society interrelate.

10.5 Summary:

Mass media do not operate in a vacuum. This assertion is generally agreed upon, and has led researchers to study the relationship between mass media and the government.

The first well-known attempt to clarify the link between mass media and the political society was introduced by Frederick S. Siebert in 1963, and presented in *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. The purpose of the work was to establish and explain four normative theories that ought to illustrate the press' position in relation to its political environment. By "press" Siebert means all the media of mass communication, including television, radio, and newspaper.

Siebert's four theories (the authoritarian, the libertarian, the Soviet, and the social responsibility) are still acknowledged by many mass media researchers as the most proper categories to describe how different media systems operate in the world. The popular media researcher Shirley Biagi, for instance, builds her research on the four theories of the press without even questioning Siebert's approach.

Confirming this, journalists Ralph Lowenstein and John Merrill write: "Almost every article and book dealing with philosophical bases for journalism has alluded to this book [*Four Theories of the Press*], commented on it, or quoted from it. It has definitely made an impact". There is, therefore, a need to evaluate the four theories analytically in order to find out if Siebert's approach still is the most functional. A critical evaluation shows that Siebert's theories, which seek to explain the relationship between mass media and the government, are outdated and too simplistic to be useful in today's media research

The four theories of the press are the Authoritarian theory, the Libertarian theory, the Soviet theory and the Social Responsibility theory.

According to Siebert, the authoritarian state system requires direct governmental control of the mass media. This system is especially easy to recognize in pre-democratic societies, where the government consists of a very limited and small ruling-class. The media in an authoritarian system are not allowed to print or broadcast anything which could undermine the established authority, and any offense to the existing political values is avoided. The authoritarian government may go to the step of punishing anyone who questions the state's ideology.

In his book, Siebert goes on to explain the libertarian theory, which is also called the free press theory. In contrast to the authoritarian theory, the libertarian view rests on the idea that the individual should be free to publish whatever he or she likes. Its history traces back to the 17th century's thinker John Milton, who asserted that human beings inevitably choose the best ideas and values. In the libertarian system, attacks on the government's policies are fully accepted and even encouraged. Moreover, there should be no restrictions on import or export of media messages across the national frontiers. Moreover, journalists and media professionals ought to have full autonomy within the media organization.

Apparent from its name, the Soviet theory is closely tied to a specific ideology; the communist. Siebert traces the roots of this theory back to the 1917 Russian Revolution based on the postulates of Marx and Engels. The media organizations in this system were not intended to be privately owned and were to serve the interests of the working class.

An illustration of the Soviet system would appear to be the same as the authoritarian model, in that both theories acknowledge the government as superior to the media institutions. However, there is a major difference between the two theories that needs to be clarified: The mass media in the Soviet model are expected to be self-regulatory with regard to the content of their messages. Also, the Soviet theory differs from the authoritarian theory in that the media organizations have a certain responsibility to meet the wishes of their audience. Still, the underlying standard is to provide a complete and objective view of the world according to Marxist-Leninist principles.

An American initiative in the late forties brought forth the social responsibility theory. Realizing that the market had failed to fulfill the promise that press freedom would reveal the truth, The Commission on Freedom of the Press provided a model in which the media had certain obligations to society. These obligations were expressed in the words "informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance". Siebert writes that the goal of the social responsibility system is that media as a whole is pluralized, indicating "a reflection of the diversity of society as well as access to various points of view".

As opposed to the libertarian theory, the social responsibility principle is to provide an entrance to different mass media to minority groups. The journalist is accountable to his audience as well as to the government.

Most media systems in Western Europe today come close to the social responsibility theory. An illustration of the theory puts the mass media and the government on the same level, signifying an interaction where both parts are allowed to criticize the other:

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10.7 Model Questions:

1. Describe the four theories of the press, while critically evaluating each theory

10.8 Reference Books:

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Lesson writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 11

Development

11.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to help you

- In understanding the concept of development
- Understand the various nuances of development

Structure of The Lesson:

- 11.0 Objectives of The Lesson
- 11.1 The Concept of Development
- 11.2 Developing Countries and The Concept of Development
- 11.3 Growth and Development
- 11.4 The Development Debate
- 11.5 Are Growth and Development Desirable?
- 11.6 Expansion of The Structure
- 11.7 Summary
- 11.8 Model Questions
- 11.9 Further Reading

11.1 The Concept of Development:

Development has many meanings in different contexts. Generally it is seen as an improvement from the existing state of situations. There are several dimensions to development:

Social Development Refers To:

- change in the nature, the social institutions, the social behavior or the social relations of a society, community of people, or other social structures.
- any event or action that affects a group of individuals that have shared values or characteristics.
- acts of advocacy for the cause of changing society in a normative way (subjective).

Economic Development is the development of economic wealth of countries or regions for the well-being of their inhabitants. From a policy perspective, economic development can be defined as efforts that seek to improve the economic well-being and quality of life for a community by creating and/or retaining jobs and supporting or growing incomes and the tax base.

Socio-cultural Development is an umbrella term for cultural evolution and social evolution, - how cultures and societies have developed over time. A study of cultural development provides for understanding the relationship between technologies, social structure, the values of a society, and how and why they change with time, they vary as to the extent to which they describe specific mechanisms of variation and social change.

Sustainable development is meeting today's needs of development without compromising future generations' ability to develop. Sustainable development does not focus solely on environmental issues.

More broadly, sustainable development policies encompass three general policy areas: economic sustainability, environmental sustainability and social sustainability.

11.2 Developing Countries and The Concept of Development:

In discussions of development issues two general approaches can be distinguished:

1. The fight against poverty This approach focuses on the problems of widespread poverty, hunger and misery in developing countries and on the question of what can be done in order to realise improvements of the situation in the short term.
2. The analysis of long-term economic and social development This approach concentrates on comparing developments in different countries, regions and historical periods in order to gain a better understanding of the factors that have long-term effects on the dynamics of socio-economic development.

One of the characteristics of the first approach is a strong involvement with the problems of developing countries and their inhabitants. Most people who study development issues do so because they feel that present levels of poverty, misery and injustice are simply unacceptable. Their aim is to arrive at concrete recommendations for action. This approach is closely linked with development policies and strategies at international, national, regional or local levels. Some people choose a technocratic interpretation, focusing on policies, instruments and projects, others choose a more radical—political interpretation. The latter argue for political action in order to achieve dramatic changes in the existing order of things.

A potential drawback of strong involvement is a certain trendiness in thinking about development. To illustrate this, one can point to the endless succession of ideas and slogans that have played a role in post-war discussions of development: the idea that large-scale injections of capital are the key to development ('big push'); the 'small is beautiful' movement; human capital as the missing link in development; the green revolution as a technological fix for agricultural development; community development; appropriate technologies; basic needs; integrated rural development; self-reliance; delinking from the world economy; the New International Economic Order; market orientation and deregulation; promotion of the informal sector; structural adjustment policies; or sustainable development.

A common characteristic of these recipes for development is their shortterm perspective. Time and again, proposals have been put forward in order to achieve certain goals, preferably within a decade or two. In the meantime, developments that take place irrespective of the fashion of the day are ignored or disregarded. These fashions often evoke a brief surge of enthusiasm in

theworld of politics, policy and the development sciences. But when the immediate results are slow in materialising, disenchantment sets in again.

The issue disappears from the public eye, and new and more appealing solutions and catchphrases emerge. The greater the involvement, the harder it is to distinguish between desirability and reality, and the greater the disappointment that follows when the real world proves less manageable than one had hoped. Some of the major mistakes in development policies are a direct consequence of erroneous advice from development advisers and experts. An example is the neglect of the agricultural sector in the drive for industrialisation at all costs in the 1950s.

The long-term approach to development is more detached. One tries to comprehend why, in the long term, such great differences in development have occurred in the different parts of the world. One tries to identify the factors that may help to explain different patterns of development, such as the accumulation of production factors, the efficiency with which these factors of production are being used, technological changes, external political and economic influences, historical factors, institutions and cultural differences.

Economic and social policies figure among these factors, but considering policy as only one of many relevant factors may help to deflate immoderate pretensions and hopes of policy makers, politicians and scientific advisers.

The long-term approach emphasises that economic growth in its modern form is intimately associated with the economic development of the Western countries since the mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, the history of the economic development of prosperous European and North American countries will often serve as a

Point of reference in our comparative discussions of the experiences of developing countries. This is not simply to advocate the copying of Western solutions by developing countries. Rather we hope to gain an insight into the similarities and differences in development processes.

The history of modern economic growth is also associated with industrialisation and a process that Higgins and Higgins (1979) have ironically described as 'getting rid of farmers'. Again this historical relationship between industrialisation and economic growth cannot be applied indiscriminately to developing countries. It does, however, serve as another point of reference.

Furthermore, comparisons of the historical development of economically advanced countries and developing countries may teach us much about the role of institutions in advancing or impeding economic development. In this context one can think of land tenure relations, intellectual and other property rights, patent institutions, processes of state formation or the emergence of financial institutions.

Finally, the historical study of processes of economic growth reveals the importance of processes of saving and investment in the accumulation of factors of production. Such a study leaves us under no illusion with regard to the human costs of economic growth. In the past, economic growth has always been coupled with an enormous increase in the capital—labour ratio. In order to invest in capital goods a considerable portion of the national income has to be saved.

In poor countries, saving means that people living at subsistence levels have to postpone present consumption for the sake of investment in future production.

This is not easy. In Western countries such savings have been realised through the ruthless workings of the market mechanism of nineteenth-century capitalism, which kept wages low. In the centrally planned economies of the twentieth century exploitation of people by people through the market was replaced by direct coercion by the state. Both mechanisms have resulted in the transfer of income from consumers to social groups (capitalists, entrepreneurs, government officials) that were both able and willing to save and invest. It is unlikely that such tough choices can be avoided in the future.

An objection to the long-term approach is that it seldom offers neat solutions to the kind of practical problems and choices policy makers, politicians, entrepreneurs or aid workers are inevitably faced with on a day-to-day basis. On the other hand, it is exactly this kind of distance to policy that enables one to analyse problems and developments in a more independent and critical manner. The emphasis on long-term trends can help make us more immune to the fashions and fads of the day and may dramatically alter our perceptions of development.

The choice between the two approaches is not a matter of all or nothing. Both are important. It is perfectly legitimate for politicians, policy makers, engineers, entrepreneurs or aid workers to ask for support and advice from scientific researchers and development experts. Also, strong involvement with the plight of individuals in developing countries does not preclude independent judgement or critical analysis.

On the other hand, a long-term approach offers a starting point for a realistic assessment of the effects of national and international development strategies and policies.

It provides us with greater insight into the significance and scope of socio-economic policies amidst the many factors that impinge on processes of development. Central questions that must be tackled are:

How do the factors discussed influence the development of per capita income, the standard of living and the conditions of life in poor countries?

Which are the factors that contribute to socio-economic development?

Which are the factors that hamper development?

What are the explanations for the observed developments and trends?

How can the differences between regions and between historical periods be interpreted and explained?

11.3 Growth and Development:

The term 'development' has figured prominently in this lesson. In common parlance the term is used both frequently and rather casually: development studies, problems of development, developing countries, less developed countries, development cooperation, underdevelopment, development aid, development strategies, development policy and so forth. So what do we mean by 'development'?

Implicit in almost every use of the term 'development' is the notion that some countries and regions of the world are extremely poor, whereas other countries, representing a relatively small fraction of the world population, are very prosperous.

The discussion of development is always tied up with basic questions like: why are poor countries poor and rich countries rich? Why do poor countries lag behind rich countries in the development of their standards of living? How can poor countries become more prosperous?

How can poor countries catch up with the rich countries? In this sense an important dimension of the concept of 'development' refers to economic growth or more precisely growth of national income per capita.

11.4 The Development Debate:

There are no final answers to the questions mentioned above.

There is no such thing as scientific certainty, especially not in a field as controversial as that of economic and social development. These debates are characterised by numerous clashing perspectives and theories and deep differences of opinion.

The results of empirical studies are often contradictory or ambiguous. At times it even seems that empirical research leads to more rather than less uncertainty.

It is of great importance for students of development to learn to evaluate statements on development critically and to ascertain to what extent they are consistent with or contradicted by the best empirical evidence available to us at present.

Development conceived of as economic growth is a quantitative concept and basically means more of the same. Yet, even if we limit ourselves to the economic sphere, it is clear that economic development is more than economic growth alone.

Economic development refers to growth accompanied by qualitative changes in the structure of production and employment, generally referred to as structural change. Of particular importance for developing economies are increases in the share of the dynamic industrial sector in national output and employment and a decrease of the share of agriculture.

This implies that economic growth could take place without any economic development. An example is provided by those oil-exporting countries, which experienced sharp increases in national income but saw hardly any changes in their economic structure.

Another important qualitative change is technological change: the ongoing process of change in process and product technologies, resulting in radically new modes of production and new product ranges.

In the 1960s the identification of development with economic growth came under increasing criticism. Authors such as Dudley Seers, Gunnar Myrdal, Paul Streeten, Hollis Chenery, Mahbub ul Haq and institutions like the International Labour Organisation (ILO) pointed out that developing countries did not experience much change in the living conditions of the masses of the poor in spite of the impressive growth figures in

Box 1.1 Untenable generalisations about development

- *Developing countries are trapped in a vicious circle of stagnation; they are condemned to stagnation and poverty.* This stereotypical view of developing countries is generally untrue. As will be indicated in Chapter 3, some developing countries exhibit strong economic growth and dynamics, while other countries stagnate. One should also always remember that every economically advanced country was once a developing country.
- *Given the pace of the population growth, food scarcity in developing countries will always be a problem.* This statement, often associated with horrible images of starvation and malnutrition on the African continent, is generally untrue. In the long term, world food production is increasing more rapidly than world population (see Chapter 10). This is the case in most developing countries. However, this does not mean that hunger and malnutrition can be eliminated in the foreseeable future.
- *Agricultural and mining exports cannot contribute to the economic development of a country.* This unfavourable image of agricultural and mining exports originates from the late nineteenth century when tropical developing countries exported agricultural products and industrial countries exported industrial products. Nevertheless, there are many countries where agricultural and mining exports have been the foundation of later economic prosperity. They can also make a positive contribution today.
- *Dependence of developing countries on the advanced economies leads to a net outflow of capital.* This proposition originates from the first half of the twentieth century, when there was an outflow of resources from colonies to their colonisers. However, during most of the second half of the twentieth century, developing countries have profited from net inflows of capital (see Chapter 13).
- *Rapid population growth is always a threat to economic development.* There is no point in denying that rapid population growth is a problem in many developing countries. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, under certain conditions a too low population density may form an obstacle to economic growth. Rapid population growth does not preclude economic growth. Sometimes population growth can be a stimulus to economic development and technological change.

the post-World War II period. They came to the conclusion that development involves more than economic growth and changes in economic structures. Seers formulated three additional requirements for the use of the term development, namely that there should be a decrease in poverty and malnutrition, that income inequality should decline, and that the employment situation should improve.

Other critics went even further and challenged the too narrow focus on the economic dimensions of development alone. A country can grow rapidly, but still do badly in terms of literacy, health, life expectancy and nutrition (Sen, 1999). The environmental costs of growth are insufficiently recognised (Mishan, 1967). Economic growth does not necessarily make people more happy or satisfied (Easterlin, 1972).

Criticism of growth fetishism led to the emergence of so-called 'social indicators': life expectancy, literacy, levels of education, infant mortality, availability of telephones, hospital beds, licensed doctors, availability of calories, and so forth. Some authors even went so far as to posit an opposition between growth and development.

Sri Lanka or the Indian state of Kerala, where growth was not very rapid but where welfare facilities and the level of education were improving, were compared with countries like Brazil where extremely rapid growth had hardly affected poverty levels. Still, most authors reached the conclusion that, especially in the poorest countries, growth is a prerequisite for development, while development involves more than just growth. Social scientists have stated that development should not be viewed in terms of economics only. One should also pay attention to changes in family structures, attitudes and mentalities, cultural changes, demographic developments, political changes and nationbuilding, the transformation of rural societies and processes of urbanisation.

The Swedish Nobel prize-winner Gunnar Myrdal has argued that discussions of development have implicitly been based on a series of modernisation ideals or values. Opinions may differ on the way in which these ideals should be pursued.

Nevertheless, according to Myrdal, there was a widespread consensus on the ultimate objectives of development among the members of political elites in developing countries involved in developmental policy (Myrdal, 1968: pp. 57—69). The broad concept of development therefore involves a change of the entire society in the direction of the modernisation ideals.

The modernisation ideals are reproduced in Box 1.2. Compared to the 1960s, the climate of opinion has since changed. Some political leaders in developing countries would now hesitate to use the term modernisation. But the list of modernisation ideals compiled by Myrdal still seems highly relevant.

Box 1.2 Modernisation ideals

- *Rationality* (in policy, in the application of technological knowledge, in structuring social relations, in thinking about objectives and means).
- *Planning for development*; searching for a coherent system of policy measures in order to change situations that are considered undesirable.
- *Increases in production per capita and production per worker*, primarily through industrialisation and increased capital intensity of production.
- *Improvements in the standard of living*.
- *Declines in social and economic inequality*. Development ought to be for the benefit of the people, the masses.
- *More efficient institutions and attitudes* that are conducive to an increase in productivity and to development in general (for example, institutions that allow for mobility, initiative, entrepreneurship, effective competition and equal opportunities; attitudes like efficiency, diligence, orderliness, punctuality, economy, honesty, rationality, openness to change, solidarity and future-orientedness).
- *Consolidation of the national state and national integration*.
- *National independence*.
- *Political democratisation*. The concept of democratisation can be interpreted in various ways of which parliamentary democracy is but one. Democratisation always implies some notion of involving the masses of the population in political decision-making.
- *Increased social discipline*. Developmental goals cannot be attained if governments cannot impose obligations on their citizens.

Source: Myrdal (1968).

Recently, Amartya Sen (1999) has argued for an even broader concept of development focusing on the concept of freedom. He sees development as an integrated process of expansion of substantive freedoms. Economic growth technological advance and political change are all to be judged in the light of their contributions to the expansion of human freedoms.

Among the most important of these freedoms are freedom from famine and malnutrition, freedom from poverty, access to health care and freedom from premature mortality. In a telling empirical example, Sen shows that urban African Americans have lower life expectancies than the average Chinese person or inhabitants of the Indian state of Kerala, in spite of much higher average per capita incomes in the USA.

According to Sen, freedoms are both ends and means. Thus, markets can be an engine for economic growth (means), but — what is sometimes forgotten — they constitute important freedoms in themselves, namely freedoms to exchange or transact.

One important area where freedoms have frequently been restricted is the labour market, where slavery, serfdom or other institutional arrangements can restrict the free movement of labour. Political freedoms can contribute to economic dynamism, but are also goals in themselves.

Sen argues somewhat optimistically that all freedoms are strongly interconnected and reinforce each other. He also tends to underemphasise clashes between freedoms of different groups of people and the value choices that still need to be made. There is no objective definition of

development and there may be basic differences of opinion about the goals of development, even including that of the very goal of freedom, which may not be the ultimate goal from a variety of religious perspectives.

Nevertheless, his use of the concept of freedom as a normative yardstick for development is insightful. In his perspective economic growth remains important, but not as a goal in itself. It is important in its potential contribution to a wide range of freedoms. It is not enough in itself. Sometimes changes in other spheres such as education and health can be at least as important in the expansion of freedoms.

At this stage four remarks can be made. First, as Myrdal, Seers and many other authors have noted, development is unavoidably a normative concept involving very basic choices and values. Our normative assumptions should therefore be made explicit. Secondly, though the formulations vary greatly, in practice most writers on development come up with a set of similar developmental goals including reduction of poverty, increased economic welfare, improved health and education, and increased political and social freedom.

Development can then be defined as a movement in the direction of these developmental goals. Third, an increase both in productivity and production per head of population in poor countries is an essential ingredient of every definition of 'development'; this is even the case in interpretations of the concept that are critical of a narrow economic approach to 'development'. Economic growth always remains one of the necessary conditions for 'long-term development' and tremendous advances have been made in measuring it in a standardised fashion.

Finally, the fact that there are modernisation ideals or development goals does not mean that all societies ought to develop in the same manner or that they ought to converge to some common standard.

11.5 Are Growth and Development Desirable?

The desirability of economic growth and socio-economic development is not undisputed. Critics have pointed out the drawbacks of growth, development and modernisation. They have pointed to the irreversible disruption of traditional societies and lifestyles, and the spread of a uniform materialistic mass culture, which may lead to cultural shallowness, loss of meaning and spirituality and to the increasing exploitation of people as a result of the spread of capitalist market relations.

Sometimes it is suggested that people are happier in traditional societies than in modern societies. They would be more in tune with their natural environment, and their needs and wishes would balance their potentialities.

There is a strong Malthusian movement which maintains that continued economic growth will disturb the balance of nature, and will eventually lead to ecological catastrophes (Brundtland et al., 1987; Meadows et al., 1972).

The present debates on environmental pollution, global warming and climate change are good examples of this way of thinking (IPCC, 2001; Lindahl-Kiessling and Landberg, 1994; World Bank, 2003).

Some authors see 'development' as a euphemism for Western penetration and domination of the world, involving great misery and exploitation in both past and present (Frank, 1969). An

eloquent example of this viewpoint is Stanley Diamond's frontal attack (1974) on a concept associated with development and progress, i.e. 'civilisation'.

Diamond argues that processes of civilisation have always involved conquest, violence, coercion and oppression with respect to so-called less civilised peoples. For instance, the Indians have been victims of Western penetration into North America, the slaves have been victims of Western penetration into Africa, and the Eskimos have been victims of the spread of Western culture to Alaska. Yet, Diamond does not restrict himself to the results of Western expansion in the world.

Wherever people try to spread their civilisation the fire and the sword are always involved, whether it concerns the expansion of the Greek, the Roman, the Egyptian or the Islamic civilisations.

Such criticism is valuable though at times one-sided.

First, it creates an awareness of the costs involved in development.

Secondly — and perhaps most important — it brings to our attention the relation between the 'concept of development' and international power relationships. What one understands by 'development' in a particular historical period is strongly influenced by dominant cultures and powers of that period.

On the other hand, it is no coincidence that fiercest criticisms of growth and development are often formulated by members of the elites in the richest countries in the world. When members of traditional tribal societies come in contact with modern consumer goods, their needs turn out to be far from limited.

The possession of new goods will be sought for eagerly and widely. If one were to ask poor peasants or residents of urban slums in Africa or Asia whether they would prefer improvement in their productivity and standards of living, an overwhelming majority would respond positively. Only people who have been raised in very affluent societies can afford to have their doubts about the merits of economic growth and material progress.

Criticism of economic growth and development is sometimes inspired by a romantic idealisation of an harmonious and balanced society that may never have existed. And even if isolated and socially and ecologically balanced societies did exist in days gone by, they no longer exist today.

The problems developing countries are facing today have much to do with the fact that these countries have already been 'opened up' to trade, investment, colonial domination and partial penetration by the money economy a long time ago (Myint, 1980).

If there ever was a choice in whether or not to strive for development, this 'choice' has already been made in the past. Traditional self-sufficient societies have been disrupted. Modern technologies have contributed to a rapid growth of population, the needs of which cannot be met by traditional technologies and methods of production.

Contact with the outside world has led to the emergence of modern preferences and needs. Present-day societies have no choice but to strive for socio-economic development. Given the rapid rates of population growth the alternative would be to sink deeper and deeper into a situation of poverty, misery and starvation, which has, for instance, been the primary cause of misery in the developing worlds.

Should then, developing countries strive for a model of development based on the western concept of modernity and growth? This is a very hotly debated topic in development today.

Source : Adam Szirmai (2003) *The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Development: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press.

11.6 Summary:

In discussions of development issues two general approaches can be distinguished The fight against poverty Tand The analysis of long-term economic and social development.

One of the characteristics of the first approach is a strong involvement with the problems of developing countries and their inhabitants. This approach is closely linked with development policies and strategies at international, national, regional or local levels. A potential drawback of strong involvement is a certain trendiness in thinking about development.

A developing country is that country which has a relatively low standard of living, an undeveloped industrial base, and a moderate to low Human Development Index (HDI) score and per capita income, but is in a phase of economic development. Usually all countries which are neither a developed country nor a failed state are classified as developing countries.

Countries with more advanced economies than other developing nations, but which have not yet fully demonstrated the signs of a developed country, are grouped under the term newly industrialized countries. Other developing countries which have maintained sustained economic growth over the years and exhibit good economic potential are termed as emerging markets. The application of the term developing country to any country which is not developed is inappropriate because a number of poor countries have experienced prolonged periods of economic decline. Such countries are classified as either least developed countries or failed states.

Development entails a modern infrastructure (both physical and institutional), and a move away from low value added sectors such as agriculture and natural resource extraction. Developed countries, in comparison, usually have economic systems based on continuous, self-sustaining economic growth in the tertiary and quaternary sectors and high standards of living.

The development of a country is measured with statistical indexes such as income per capita (per person) (GDP), life expectancy, the rate of literacy, et cetera. The UN has developed the HDI, a compound indicator of the above statistics, to gauge the level of human development for countries where data is available.

Developing countries are in general countries which have not achieved a significant degree of industrialization relative to their populations, and which have a low standard of living. There is a strong correlation between low income and high population growth,

The terms utilized when discussing developing countries refer to the intent and to the constructs of those who utilize these terms. Other terms sometimes used are less developed countries (LDCs), least economically developed countries (LEDCs), "underdeveloped nations" or "undeveloped nations", Third World nations, and "non-industrialized nations". Conversely, the opposite end of the spectrum is termed developed countries, most economically developed countries (MEDCs), First World nations and "industrialized nations".

The concept of the developing nation is found, under one term or another, in numerous theoretical systems having diverse orientations — for example, theories of decolonization, liberation theology, Marxism, anti-imperialism, and political economy.

Critics believe that at times the word “developing” is a misnomer. In the case of countries ravaged by European colonialism, the word “re-developing” may be more accurate since there were successful economic systems prior to colonialism.

Allegedly due to ethnocentrism, Western analysts generally deem these prior interactions invalid and do not consider them “developed”. The premise is that “to develop” is the same thing as “to develop in a western manner”.

The history of modern economic growth is also associated with industrialisation and a process that Higgins and Higgins (1979) have ironically described as ‘getting rid of farmers’. Again this historical relationship between industrialisation and economic growth cannot be applied indiscriminately to developing countries. It does, however, serve as another point of reference.

Other critics went even further and challenged the too narrow focus on the economic dimensions of development alone. A country can grow rapidly, but still do badly in terms of literacy, health, life expectancy and nutrition (Sen, 1999). The environmental costs of growth are insufficiently recognised (Mishan, 1967). Economic growth does not necessarily make people more happy or satisfied (Easterlin, 1972).

Criticism of economic growth and development is sometimes inspired by a romantic idealisation of an harmonious and balanced society that may never have existed. And even if isolated and socially and ecologically balanced societies did exist in days gone by, they no longer exist today.

The problems developing countries are facing today have much to do with the fact that these countries have already been ‘opened up’ to trade, investment, colonial domination and partial penetration by the money economy a long time ago (Myint, 1980).

If there ever was a choice in whether or not to strive for development, this ‘choice’ has already been made in the past. Traditional self-sufficient societies have been disrupted. Modern technologies have contributed to a rapid growth of population, the needs of which cannot be met by traditional technologies and methods of production.

Contact with the outside world has led to the emergence of modern preferences and needs. Present-day societies have no choice but to strive for socio-economic development. Given the rapid rates of population growth the alternative would be to sink deeper and deeper into a situation of poverty, misery and starvation, which has, for instance, been the primary cause of misery in the developing worlds.

Should then, developing countries strive for a model of development based on the western concept of modernity and growth? This is a very hotly debated topic in development today.

11.7 Model Questions:

1. Discuss the concept of development. Give the important indicators of development.
2. Discuss the historical dimension of development.
3. Explain the growth and development debate.
4. Explain recent trends in 'development' concept in the world.

11.8 Reference Books:

White, Shirley A. (2003) Participatory Video - Images that Transform and Empower, Sage.

White, Shirley A. (2000) The Art of Facilitating Participation Releasing the Power of Grassroots Communication, Sage

Servaes, Jan (1996) Participatory Communication for Social Change, Sage.

Lesson Writer

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Lesson - 12

Development Communication

12.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objective of this lesson is to introduce you to

- The concept of development Communication
- The application of media for development

Structure of The Lesson:

- 12.0 Objectives of The Lesson
- 12.1 Development Communication
- 12.2 Communication for Development and Social Change
- 12.3 Development Media
- 12.4 Radio and Television for Development
- 12.5 ICTs in Development
- 12.6 Media Hegemony
- 12.7 Summary
- 12.8 Technical Terms
- 12.9 Model Questions
- 12.10 Reference Books

12.1 Development Communication:

Development Communication refers to communication processes, strategies and principles within the field of international development, aimed at improving the conditions and quality of life of people struggling with underdevelopment and marginalization.

Development communication is characterized by conceptual flexibility and diversity of communication techniques used to address the problem.

Some approaches in the “tool kit” of the field include: information dissemination and education, behavior change, social marketing, social mobilization, media advocacy, communication for social change, and participatory development communication.

One of the earliest advocates of development communication is Daniel Lerner in the classic work *The Passing of Traditional Societies* (1958). He coined the expression the “revolution of rising expectations.” He believed that mass media could promote empathy with the modern world and facilitate change from a traditional society to a modern consumer democracy.

The assumptions behind this model have been criticized and it has been shown that his work was actually based on audience research for the Voice of America broadcasts during the Cold War.

Another important influence is Wilbur Schramm who wrote a widely read book *Mass Media and National Development* (1964). Schramm set targets for developing nations to meet: newspapers, radio sets, cinema seats and TV sets per 1,000 population.

This was part of the UN Decade of Development in the 1960s. This top-down approach is widely criticized on the grounds that each nation should set its own goals. It also focuses on national media and gives little attention to local or community media. Schramm's later work focused on small media such as community radio.

The field shifted with the work of Everett Rogers on *The Diffusion of Innovations* (1962). Rogers looked more closely at specific development projects and the adoption of new technology and ideas among target populations. He called this the diffusion of innovations.

Modern projects tend to continue this emphasis on specific goals in fields such as agricultural extension and health education. Rogers later criticized his own work in a famous article published in 1976, but much work continues this tradition.

One of the first examples of development communication was Farm Radio Forums in Canada. From 1941 to 1965 farmers met in groups each week to listen to special radio programs. There were also printed materials and prepared questions to encourage group discussion.

At first this was a response to the Great Depression and the need for increased food production in World War II. But the Forums also dealt with social and economic issues. This model of adult education or distance education was later adopted in India and Ghana.

Instructional television was used in El Salvador during the 1970s to improve primary education. One of the problems was a lack of trained teachers. Teaching materials were also improved to make them more relevant. More children attended school and graduation rates increased.

In this sense the project was a success. However, there were few jobs available in El Salvador for better-educated young people.

In the 1970s in Korea the Planned Parenthood Federation had success in lowering birth rates and improving life in villages such as Oryu Li. It mainly used interpersonal communication in women's clubs.

A project of social marketing in Bolivia in the 1980s tried to get women in the Cochabamba Valley to use soybean recipes in their cooking. This was an attempt to deal with chronic malnourishment among children. The project used cooking demonstrations, posters and broadcasts on local commercial radio stations. Some people did try soybeans but the outcome of the project is unclear.

The idea of development communication has been criticized, especially by Latin American researchers such as Luis Ramiro Beltan and Alfonso Gumucio Dagon. It tends to locate the problem in the underdeveloped nation rather than its unequal relations with powerful economies.

There is also an assumption that Western models of industrial capitalism are appropriate for all parts of the world. Many projects for development communication fail to address the real underlying problems in poor countries such as lack of access to land, agricultural credits and fair market prices for products. Such problems cannot be solved by education or communication alone but require fundamental social change.

Thus Development communication is the integration of strategic communication in development projects.

Strategic communication is a powerful tool that can improve the chances of success of development projects. It strives for behavior change not just information dissemination, education, or awareness-raising. While the latter are necessary ingredients of communication, they are not sufficient for getting people to change long-established practices or behaviors.

All development requires some kind of behavior change on the part of stakeholders. Research shows that changing knowledge and attitudes does not necessarily translate into behavior change.

In order to effect behavior change, it is necessary to understand why people do what they do and understand the barriers to change or adopting new practices. It is not enough to raise awareness of the “benefits”, it is critical to understand peoples’ barriers or the “costs” they perceive such a change would entail. Meaningful communication is about getting information out to particular audiences, listening to their feedback, and responding appropriately. Whether discussing a development project or broader economic reforms — from health, education or rural development to private sector development, financial reform or judicial reform — the idea is to build consensus through raising public understanding and generating well-informed dialogue among stakeholders. Well-conceived, professionally implemented communication programs that are tied directly to reform efforts or development project objectives that bring understanding of local political, social and cultural realities to bear in the design of development programs can make the difference between a project’s success and failure.

12.2 Communication for Development and Social Change:

Communication is essential to human, social and economic development. At the heart of communication for development is participation and ownership by communities and individuals most affected by poverty and other development issues. There is a large and growing body of evidence demonstrating the value of communication for development.

Some provisional examples are:

In India rural radio forums engaging farmers resulted in significant productivity gains.

There have been significant reductions in female genital cutting in Senegal attributed to participation communication strategies.

In Uganda a national and local communication process related to the corruption of centrally allocated public funds for education at the local level in schools resulted in a very significant decrease in the level of funds that did not reach that local level – from 80% “lost” to only 20% lost.

Communication programmes are linked to significant reductions in Acute Respiratory Infection in Cambodia.

Use of mobile phones and other communication techniques for farmers to obtain information on market prices in Tanzania resulted in farmers increasing the price per ton they receive for rice from US\$100 per ton to US\$600. A \$200,000 investment resulted in US\$1.8 million of gross income.

Development Challenges:

In the year 2006, it is estimated that 1.3 billion people world-wide still live in absolute poverty. Even though many countries have experienced considerable economic development, far too many remain worse off in economic and social terms.

Nelson Mandela reminds us that “Poverty is not natural - it is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings”.

People’s rights to equality and to communicate are protected and advanced in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Related to poverty and rights there are other very considerable and related challenges. These are delineated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are often the benchmark for decision-making in civil society, national governments and the international development community. Achieving improved progress on these issues requires addressing some very sensitive and difficult challenges: respect for cultural diversity, self determination of people, economic pressures, environment, gender relations and political dynamics amongst others. These factors often complicate and threaten the success of overall development efforts in local, national and international arenas. It is the people related issues that are the focus for communication for development.

Communication for Development:

Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. It is not public relations or corporate communication.

Strategic Requirements:

That development organisations place a much higher priority on the essential elements of communication for development process as shown by research and practice:

The right and possibility for people to participate in the decision making processes that affect their lives
Creating opportunities for the sharing of knowledge of skills.

Ensuring that people have access to communication tools so that they can themselves communicate within their communities and with the people making the decisions that affect them – for example community radio and other community media

The process of dialogue, debate and engagement that builds public policies that are relevant, helpful and which have committed constituencies willing to implement them – for example on responding to preserving the environment.

Recognising and harnessing the communication trends that are taking place at local, national and international levels for improved development action – from new media regulations and ICT trends to popular and traditional music.

Adopting an approach that is contextualised within cultures.

Related to all of the above a priority on supporting the people most affected by the development issues in their communities and countries to have their say, to voice their perspectives and to contribute and act on their ideas for improving their situation – for example indigenous people and people living with HIV/AIDS In order to be more effective in gaining improved progress on poverty and the other MDGs the communication for development processes just outlined are required in greater scale and at more depth.

Long Term Foundation These processes are not just about increasing the effectiveness of overall development efforts. They are also about creating sustainable social and economic processes. In particular:

Strengthening Citizenship and Good Governance

Deepening the communication links and processes within communities and societies

Those are essential pillars for any development issue.

Source : http://www.devcomm.org/worldbank/vpr/pdf/Main_box/Recommendations.pdf.

12.3 Development Media:

Various media can be used for development : Television, Radio, Newspapers, Magazines and other print media, New Media like computers and internet.

We will examine the use of each of these medis in development one by one.

12.4 Radio and television for Development:

Broadcasting mass media provide information following allocation patterns, with all the attendant, intrinsic disadvantages: one-way communication with few possibilities for feedback, physical distance between sender and receiver, and reinforcement of the existing power structure. Two further weaknesses of mass media broadcasts are the difficulty of retaining the information for later use and the susceptibility, at the same time, of messages to alternative interpretations.

Radio is by far the most widely used electronic (mass) medium in rural regions of developing countries, primarily because of its versatility which allows for its use in various types of communication efforts. The presence of local radio stations and the availability of small transistor radios allow for 'easy and affordable access' in relatively large geographical areas. The extent to which local radio stations operate as independent broadcasters largely depends on the socio-political and economic context of a country, which also determine the way radio stations are allowed to be used.

Local radio stations can be considered the most important mass media as far as their contribution to rural development in developing countries is concerned. The role of these radio stations consists of providing an alternative, more independent, source of general information, as well as offering information on issues of local interest through discussions, interviews with representatives of local interest groups, and testimonies of individuals on their experiences. Simultaneously they offer local NGOs and government agencies access to mass media and often serve as intermediaries between the population and local authorities.

Although active participation of the audience in broadcasts may compensate for some of the disadvantages of broadcasting, in general, local radio stations seem to be unable to move beyond the aforementioned role. In a sense participation of the audience represents a registration pattern, which could serve to provide more meaningful information through broadcasts, thus increasing the relevance of allocation patterns. The relative independence of the local stations (of the state, but not of commercial interests, or institutions such as the church) gives them a higher level of credibility with the local population, but the essentially one-way information flow of the broadcasts limits the use of radio in rural development to very specific aspects.

The easy 'access' to broadcast content, and opportunities for audience participation, could compensate for some of the weaknesses of information centers. Stations could create awareness of centers, familiarizing people with the concept and presenting testimonials of experiences with information centers through participation in radio broadcasts. By associating themselves with information centers, 'independent' local radio stations could also lend some credibility to those centers as a reliable, trustworthy sources of information. Finally, local radio stations could keep information centers in touch with local issues, problems, and specific information demands.

The involvement of electronic mass media of course still does not solve the problem of limited access to information centers, or the limited reach and coverage of those centers. Although no combination of electronic media can completely compensate for that weakness of information centers, the combination of radio and television can provide some information available in the centers to people in remote rural areas. Through careful use of the media richness characteristics of mass media, more complicated and technical information can be made available via broadcasts. To improve on processing and comprehension of information, groups of listeners and viewers could be established in even the smallest settlements to discuss broadcasted information during, and immediately after, reception.

Using the media richness concept implicates that the content of messages conveyed through the different electronic media should be in accordance with their specific characteristics. Mass media, such as radio and television are most suited to convey basic, informative information on campaigns (e.g. health care, education, agricultural programs, and rural development initiatives), government and private sector financing opportunities, available (economic) development support from government institutions, NGOs and other organizations, among others. Mass media will create awareness and through audience participation, discussion forums, and testimonials, they can elaborate on initial information. Radio is more widespread and should thus be the initial medium. Television broadcasts should be added later, using the specific advantages of combining audio and visual aspects. Mass media create limited conversational patterns through audience participation, but individual and networked electronic media will have to provide more detailed and specific information, geared towards smaller groups. Individual, networked media should be used to facilitate and support conversational patterns.

This leads to the second aspect of the approach: using different ITPs. Conversational patterns change the power structure and decentralize generation of and control over information (flows). Instead of focusing on information provision, the emphasis would shift to information exchange or interactive communication. In addition information exchange should take place at local levels, mainly using locally produced information, knowledge, and experience.

Next, to bypass existing centers higher up in the power structure, and to strengthen local level organizations and institutions, communication should preferably be horizontal. Furthermore, to increase relevance of the information and credibility of the source, communication should occur between senders and receivers similarly situated. This approach can be achieved by following the steps below:

- ownership of information centers by local organizations and institutions;
- network information centers, while retaining individual independence;
- promotion and support of independently owned and operated local mass media;
- deployment of electronic media to facilitate and support existing information exchanges at local levels; and,
- using and creating local content.

This approach supports decentralization of the power structure, to create independent information generation and storage, and subsequently facilitates, or provides conditions for, social change through local level, horizontal information exchange, complemented by information provision.

Radio has been used extensively as an educational medium in developing countries. Published reports confirm that it has supported educational programs in a wide range of subject areas and in many different countries. Consider the following list of examples (which is by no means exhaustive). Educational radio has been utilized in:

- Thailand, to teach mathematics to school children , and for teacher training and other curricula.
- India, for rural development.
- Swaziland, for public health purposes.
- Mali, for literacy training.
- Columbia, for various programs.
- Mexico, for literacy training and other programs.
- Nigeria, for management courses for the agriculture sector.
- Kenya, in support of correspondence courses.
- Nicaragua, for health education.
- The Phillipines, for nutrition education.
- Guatemala, in order to promote changes in farming practices and to improve production.
- Sri Lanka, for family planning and health.
- Trinidad and Tobago, to promote knowledge of breastfeeding.

- South Korea, in support of family planning.
- Botswana, for civics education.
- The Dominion Republic, in support of primary education.
- Paraguay, to offer primary school instruction.

Farm Radio Forum:

One of the most dominant and widespread examples of the use of educational radio is known as “Farm Radio Forum.” It was started in Canada in 1941 as a radio discussion program and served as a model which was adopted subsequently in a number of developing countries. After ten years, its sponsors, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA), and the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), invited UNESCO to cooperate in carrying out an evaluation of the program and its effectiveness as an instrument of adult education. The lessons learned from Canada such as the use of forums, multimedia, printed materials, two-way communication and various production techniques (drama, interview, panel discussion) were then introduced in India early in 1956, and in Ghana in 1964, with the initiative and sponsorship of UNESCO. The radio programs for rural forums have been concerned with the problems of agriculture, rural development, rural education, innovations, self-government, and literacy. Such forums have now been introduced in many developing countries. By 1968, a total of about 15,000 was reported.

In 1956, the “Maharashtra Radio Forum” project was carried out in India. The purpose was to determine if radio forums would work in India with rural audiences who were largely illiterate, rarely exposed to radio, and unused to organized group discussion. The objectives of the project were to stimulate discussion, increase participants’ knowledge and, if possible, have the activities result in decisions and actions to improve village life. Interviewing was done before, during, and after the broadcasts. The evaluation showed that some action was taken by village groups, but that many group action decisions were never implemented because the necessary materials were not available. For example, a decision was made to use fertilizers on rice crops to increase productivity but, unfortunately, fertilizer was not available. From the evaluation results, it was concluded that forum members learned a great deal more than non-forum members. In amount of knowledge gained, illiterates did as well as literates.

Educational radio has been employed within a wide variety of instructional design contexts. In some cases it is supported by the use of printed materials, by local discussion groups, and by regional study centres. It is sometimes designed to permit and encourage listener reaction and comment. Indeed, in some cases, there is provision for the audience to raise questions and to receive feedback.

Education and Communication:

Evaluation of communication programs, projects, and experiments have repeatedly shown that radio can teach; it can present new concepts and information.

For example, in a project for teaching mathematics by radio to school children in primary grades in Nicaragua, students who were taught through radio lessons achieved significantly higher scores in the final evaluation than those taught through regular, face-to-face, classroom instruction.

Rural students, tested against rural control groups, benefited more than urban students tested against urban control groups.

A civic education project was organized in Botswana by a community college to provide villagers with basic information about the government and its procedures about citizens' rights and responsibilities. The radio programs were heard and discussed by listening groups.

Pre- and post-broadcast surveys revealed a definite increase in people's knowledge and awareness of government and of ways people can participate in development processes.

Mobile communication is revolutionizing economic and social development in rural India

A new study by The Center for Knowledge Societies (CKS) commissioned by Nokia identifies seven major service sectors including transport, finance and healthcare that could be radically transformed through mobile technologies.

Mobile communication is revolutionizing economic and social life in rural India, spawning a wave of local entrepreneurs and creating greater access to social services according to a new study by The Center for Knowledge Societies (CKS) commissioned by Nokia. The research identifies seven major service sectors including transport, finance and healthcare that could be radically transformed through mobile technologies. Mobile phone ownership in India is growing rapidly, six million new mobile subscriptions are added each month and one in five Indian's will own a phone by the end of 2007. By the end of 2008, three quarters of India's population will be covered by a mobile network.

Many of these new "mobile citizens" live in poorer and more rural areas with scarce infrastructure and facilities, high illiteracy levels, low PC and internet penetration. The study looks at how their new mobility could be used to bridge the growing economic and social digital divide between rural and urban areas.

Mobile phone ownership in India is growing at a phenomenal pace. This new found mobility undoubtedly has the potential to make a major contribution to socio-economic development.

While mobile phones are widely seen merely as a communications medium, they should really be seen as a new and essential form of infrastructure that will transform a host of other service sectors in rural economies around the world.

Transport:

Finding cost-effective, reliable, and safe ways to transport goods and services to market is a major problem for small businesses in rural communities. Public transport is not available in 45% of villages in India, and only 1% of Indian households own a vehicle. Mobile communication could be used to create and co-ordinate car sharing schemes amongst villages, and provide real-time information about public transport services and the ability to make request stops.

Micro-Commerce:

Small businesses in rural areas often have to travel significant distances to markets or other places they can distribute their goods, and cannot make arrangements in advance with buyers or other sellers. Mobile phones could significantly change the logistical issues faced by rural traders and home entrepreneurs, by affording mobile-based ordering systems, delivery requests, and the ability to make more reliable and advance arrangements with business partners or clients.

Finance:

Mobile phones are already being used in rural areas as a tool for financial transactions by swapping airtime for goods and services. The study encourages mobile networks and financial services institutions to work together to test and develop new financial services in this area and address how people can transfer these credits into cash.



Fig.1. People are relying more and more on cellphones in their daily life

Healthcare:

New mobile services in this area could better connect rural communities, creating networks to share and discuss health information and advice.

Governance:

Accessing information about public services remains a major challenge for many rural communities. Mobile phones provide a new platform through which rural communities will be able to access government information and services, using text, data, and audio browsing techniques.

Education:

There are a range of educational services that could be provided via mobiles to children in remote villages and communities, particularly where PCs or connections to the internet are not available. Mobile phones could serve as an essential means for children to become connected to one another for educational and peer-learning activities. These are particularly important for communities that are either nomadic or transitional on account of displacements due to a natural disaster or for other reasons.

Infotainment:

While the mainstream entertainment industry is already well aware of the emerging potential of mobile media, there are also many opportunities for local, peer-to-peer content to be created and distributed, affording new cultural and economic opportunities to rural communities.

12.5 ICTs in Development:

Information and communication technologies serve the development process in two key areas, that of social and economic development. Through ICTs, individuals from all corners of the world can have the opportunities that were often reserved for individuals with access to the greatest

amount of wealth. With access to resources such as the Internet, employment opportunities take significant leaps while at the same time promoting social and cultural development. The result is empowerment and a growing degree of equality. Location is no longer a barrier to prosperity since with a proper network, we become each other's neighbor, regardless of where we live.

While ICT can serve to promote the Millennium Development Goals individually, they are most significant in establishing a platform for the creation of global partnerships which are vital to achieving each goal. Several success stories with regard to the use of ICT in development are emerging in India. One important success story in Andhra Pradesh, India is the use of ICT in providing e-seva services to the people.

The project e Seva (e services) in the district of West Godavari, in the province of Andhra Pradesh in India, was initiated as a tool to introduce ICT in the rural areas, especially to women. This facility has been now extended to several districts of the state.

Using ICT, the project provides these people with access to various C2C (citizen-to-citizen) and C2G (citizen-to-government) services. Web-enabled rural kiosks termed e Seva centres, have been established at the mandal (a sub district unit of administration) level. A unique feature about these centres is that they are run and managed by the women from self-help groups, positioning them as information leaders, and helping to bridge the gender divide.

The women's groups act as change agents while drawing strength from the project. ICT has played a crucial role in facilitating this change. Another important aspect of the project is that it replaces the traditional form of governance and its accompanying deficiencies with a modern, more open, transparent and responsive service delivery system.

The e Seva centres run on a district portal that allows access to various citizen centric services. These services range from the issuance of various certificates to getting information about programmes and also go to the extent of allowing citizens to network with each other for mutually beneficial transactions. Citizens can file grievances at these centres. Every grievance is acknowledged and transferred online for field action. They can also publicise their projects and goods through the portal for online auctions.

Even a marriage bureau has been operationalised so that prospective brides/grooms can place their bio-data online to attract suitable offers, thus making the search for life partners easier and more cost-effective.

Through the portal, the centres expect to provide a virtual meeting place for the citizens to discuss issues relating to their districts/villages, their problems and prospective solutions.

The citizens can freely interact with each other and post their ideas. This acts as an online forum for them to vent their grievances, air their opinions and cause necessary social change. It also provides an opportunity to conduct opinion polls on important topical issues leading to improved decision-making. The kiosks have also become an important mode of communication between the administration and the community. The initiative began in the year 2002 and has been steadily gaining ground.

The benefit is that rural villagers no longer have to travel for miles and go through lengths of red tape in order to get financial grants or access various government services.

It has empowered the women's self-help groups who own and run the kiosks. Moreover, the women who run the centres are trained to use ICT and they become information intermediaries and information leaders. This change in their status has helped improve their relative bargaining power.

Most of these self-help groups come from the poorest segments of the society and the project helps them achieve economic independence. With almost over 80 kiosks operating in the district, the project has been able to carry out more than 300,000 transactions relating to various C2C and G2C services.

These centres have been able to deliver 120,000 certificates while over Rs 50 million has been collected for the payment of electricity bills without any hitches. All the centres are doing good business and becoming self-sustainable. They are earning anything between Rs 6,000 to Rs 15,000 per month. Over 5,000 various grievances from citizens have been channelled through this project; over 4,000 of them have been redressed.

The project has helped in the creation of a knowledge and information economy thereby bringing in more opportunities and prosperity to the impoverished areas of this district. It helps dispel the myth that IT solutions are not for the poor and not for women.

12.6 Media Hegemony:

Hegemony:

The development of cultural studies in Britain was strongly influenced by the Frankfurt School, Althusser and other Marxists, but it is perhaps the views of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci which proved the most fruitful.

Both Marcuse's views and Althusser's tend to portray the great mass of ordinary men and women as incapable of recognising and resisting the appeals of the system of commercial cultural forces around them. Victims of false consciousness, they are seen pretty much as the passive victims of a capitalist conspiracy.

A very important influence on the development of cultural studies was the the Italian Marxist Gramsci and his notion of bourgeois cultural hegemony. Although Gramsci died while Althusser was still a student, his influence was felt later because his Selections from the Prison Notebooks were not translated until 1971.

'Hegemony' in this case means the success of the dominant classes in presenting their definition of reality, their view of the world, in such a way that it is accepted by other classes as 'common sense'. The general 'consensus' is that it is the only sensible way of seeing the world. Any groups who present an alternative view are therefore marginalized: the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership' and

The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent

In Gramsci's view, however, there is not in any sense a single dominant class, but, rather, a shifting and unstable alliance of different social classes. The earlier notion of a dominant ideology is replaced by the idea of a field of dominant discourses, unstable and temporary. From this point

of view, the media are seen as the place of competition between competing social forces rather than simply as a channel for the dominant ideology.

According to Gramsci's view there are on the one hand the dominant classes who seek to contain and incorporate all thought and behaviour within the terms and limits they set in accordance with their interests. On the other hand there are the dominated or subordinate classes who attempt to maintain and to further the validity and effectiveness of their own definitions of reality. There is therefore a continuing struggle for dominance between the definitions of reality (or ideologies) which serve the interests of the ruling classes and those which are held by other groups in society. Culture, according to this view, is seen as the product of a much more vigorous struggle than is suggested in, for example, Althusser's view of ideology. Cultural domination arises from a complex play of negotiations, alignments and realignments within society:

...the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed

Domination is not simply imposed from above, but has to be won through the subordinated groups' spontaneous consent to the cultural domination which they believe will serve their interests because it is 'common sense'. In this sense, Culture for both [Gramsci and Freud] is an amalgam of coercive and consensual mechanisms for reconciling human subjects to their unwelcome fate as labouring animals in oppressive conditions.

As Ien Ang summarizes Gramsci's importance,

The Gramscian concept of hegemony is mostly used to indicate the cultural leadership of the dominant classes in the production of generalized meanings, of 'spontaneous' consent to the prevailing arrangement of social relations - a process, however, that is never finished because hegemony can never be complete.

Fiske similarly emphasizes that hegemony is never complete:

Hegemony is a constant struggle against a multitude of resistances to ideological domination, and any balance of forces that it achieves is always precarious, always in need of re-achievement. Hegemony's 'victories' are never final, and any society will evidence numerous points where subordinate groups have resisted the total domination that is hegemony's aim, and have withheld their consent to the system.

For a fascinating and impassioned account of the abandonment of Gramsci by 'progressives' and his appropriation by the political right, see Rob van Kranenburg's article *Right-Wing Gramscism* in *Undercurrent* the dominant classes use mass culture in their response to this struggle by constructing these other groups into target markets and consumers who are addressed by the culture and advertising industries according to their 'demographic' characteristics their social class, their disposable income, their age, sex and so on.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony is born from the basic idea that government and state cannot enforce control over any particular class or structure unless other, more intellectual methods are entailed. The reason and motive behind the concept has been noted to be the way society is structured and exists on a power and class base. Gramsci defined the State as coercion combined with hegemony and according to Gramsci hegemony is political power that flows from intellectual

and moral leadership, authority or consensus as distinguished from armed force. A ruling class forms and maintains its hegemony in civil society, i.e. by creating cultural and political consensus through unions, political parties, schools, media, the church, and other voluntary associations where hegemony is exercised by a ruling class over allied classes and social groups. Gramsci argues in his Prison Notebooks (which were written whilst he was incarcerated by Mussolini in Fascist Italy) that the way society is controlled and manipulated is of direct consequence of the practice of a 'false consciousness' and the creation of values and life choices which are to be followed. Gramsci argues that the system of hegemony can be classified as "social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Workers State". It is this process which Gramsci refers to when he tries to explain the way in which organisation of people, media and information controls the thought and actions to create a state of domination through the creation of dominant ideologies. Another aspects of the theory of hegemony include the economic determination and intellectual and moral leadership, which degenerates into a domination and consensual managing of life choices. The media has a central role in this theory and the practice of the process has become more and more to the fore in study of the way the ideological media are at the centre of the struggle for consumers' minds and central views. The role of the media has to be taken into account within the context of the theory of hegemony due to of the value of the media and the public-imposed powers it yields. Communication from government, between and inside classes is now controlled by the media and any text consumed by the state has to be considered to be potentially open to the practice of manipulation and therefore, the process of hegemony.

The Media and 'Consent':

It could be argued that the media exists as a vehicle and tool for consumerism to grow and for society to engage in the current purchase-dominated way. If people are not consumers then they may be considered by some areas of society to be outcasts and different from the 'norm'. It is this state of affairs where the media can be key to influencing the people it informs and instilling the thought that one must be a consumer and if not then at least aspire to be.

Gramsci may argue that the way in which the media operates could equate to what he envisaged when he talked about a 'class struggle' and the creation of values which others must follow. It is this situation where the ideological role of the media can be seen to influence the way in which people can decode and read advertisements, features, television programmes and any text which may hold a hidden meaning; therefore creating the possibility for media to become very powerful in terms of ideological control and leadership. It could be said that the media has become the dominant class in a Western society full of semiotic and hegemonic traits. No longer can the world be seen through one's own single apathetic eye. "Due to the rise of trade unions and other pressure groups, the expansion of civil rights (including the right to vote), and higher levels of educational achievement, rule must be based in consent. The intellectuals sympathetic to the ruling class will therefore work to present the ideas and justifications of the class's domination coherently and persuasively. This work will inform the persuasion of ideas through such institutions as the mass media, the church, school and family."

Recently the proliferation and exploitation of press and interactive media has led to the creation of super media existence threatens the objective viewpoints society relies upon to keep an 'open' state if one were ever to exist. Gramsci was mainly concerned with the determinism within the state of Italy in the early part of the 20th Century. He saw the potential for manipulation and the

practice of domination growing in Mussolini Italy. Within the current theoretical climate, the theory has been adapted to include the theory of 'consent'. This allows the scope for many theorists to argue that the way society is now run, with the increasing emphasis on education, makes the leadership and decision making process less easy to quantify. The theory of consent exists to try and explain the way in which government policy, legislation and international policy are made and enforced.

12.7 Summary:

Development Communication refers to communication processes, strategies and principles within the field of international development, aimed at improving the conditions and quality of life of people struggling with underdevelopment and marginalization. Development communication is characterized by conceptual flexibility and diversity of communication techniques used to address the problem.

Some approaches in the "tool kit" of the field include: information dissemination and education, behavior change, social marketing, social mobilization, media advocacy, communication for social change, and participatory development communication.

Development Communication (sometimes called International Communication) also refers to an intellectual field that deals with issues of mass communication at a global level. This includes the history of the telegraph, submarine communication cables, shortwave or international broadcasting, satellite television, and global flows of mass media. Today it includes issues of the Internet in a global perspective and the use of new technologies such as mobile phones in different parts of the world. Communication is essential to human, social and economic development. At the heart of communication for development is participation and ownership by communities and individuals most affected by poverty and other development issues. There is a large and growing body of evidence demonstrating the value of communication for development.

Broadcasting mass media provide information following allocution patterns, with all the attendant, intrinsic disadvantages: one-way communication with few possibilities for feedback, physical distance between sender and receiver, and reinforcement of the existing power structure. Two further weaknesses of mass media broadcasts are the difficulty of retaining the information for later use and the susceptibility, at the same time, of messages to alternative interpretations.

Evaluation of communication programs, projects, and experiments have repeatedly shown that radio and television can teach; it can present new concepts and information. Mobile communications and new media technology have also been playing a major role in facilitating development in various countries.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony is born from the basic idea that government and state cannot enforce control over any particular class or structure unless other, more intellectual methods are entailed. The reason and motive behind the concept has been noted to be the way society is structured and exists on a power and class base. Gramsci defined the State as coercion combined with hegemony and according to Gramsci hegemony is political power that flows from intellectual and moral leadership, authority or consensus as distinguished from armed force. A ruling class forms and maintains its hegemony in civil society, i.e. by creating cultural and political consensus through unions, political parties, schools, media, the church, and other voluntary associations where hegemony is exercised by a ruling class over allied classes and social groups. Gramsci argues in

his Prison Notebooks (which were written whilst he was incarcerated by Mussolini in Fascist Italy) that the way society is controlled and manipulated is of direct consequence of the practice of a 'false consciousness' and the creation of values and life choices which are to be followed. Gramsci argues that the system of hegemony can be classified as "social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Workers State". It is this process which Gramsci refers to when he tries to explain the way in which organisation of people, media and information controls the thought and actions to create a state of domination through the creation of dominant ideologies. Another aspects of the theory of hegemony include the economic determination and intellectual and moral leadership, which degenerates into a domination and consensual managing of life choices. The media has a central role in this theory and the practice of the process has become more and more to the fore in study of the way the ideological media are at the centre of the struggle for consumers' minds and central views.

12.8 Technical Terms:

Development communication : Refers to communication processes, strategies and principles within the field of international development, aimed at improving the conditions and quality of life of people struggling with underdevelopment and marginalization.

Micro-commerce : Small businesses in rural areas

ICTs : Information and Communication Technologies. Eg. Computer

Hegemony : The success of the dominant classes in presenting their definition of reality, their view of the world, in such a way that it is accepted by other classes as 'common sense'.

12.9 Model Questions:

1. How can media be used in development ? Illustrate your answer with examples.
2. Discuss the role of broadcast media in development.
3. Explain the role of mobile communications and new media in societal development.
4. Discuss the theory of 'media hegemony'.

12.10 Reference Books :

White, Shirley A. (2003) Participatory Video - Images that Transform and Empower, Sage.

White, Shirley A. (2000) The Art of Facilitating Participation Releasing the Power of Grassroots Communication, Sage

Servaes, Jan (1996) Participatory Communication for Social Change, Sage.

White, Shirley A. (199) Participatory Communication Working for Change and Development, Sage

Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Unit - IV

Lesson - 13

Psychological Theories of Communication

13.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Psychological theories of Communication
- In understanding selective exposure, selective perception and retention.

Structure of The Lesson:

- 13.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 13.1 Introduction to Selective Exposure Theory**
- 13.2 Klapper's Selective Exposure**
- 13.3 Selective Exposure**
- 13.4 Selective Attention**
- 13.5 Selective Perception**
- 13.6 Selective Retention**
- 13.7 Summary**
- 13.8 References**
- 13.9 Technical Terms**
- 13.10 Reference Books**

13.1 Introduction to Selective Exposure Theory:

Selective exposure theory is a theory of communications, positing that individuals prefer exposure to arguments supporting their position over those supporting other positions. It has been discussed by communication scholars for decades. Since excessive amount of media choices are available in the 21st Century, media consumers have more privileges to expose themselves to selected medium and media contents.

Foundation of Theory:**Propaganda Study:****The Evasion of Propaganda**

When prejudiced people confront anti-prejudice propaganda involuntarily, even though they might avoid the message from the first time, the process of evasion would occur in their mind. Cooper and Jahoda (1947) studied how the anti-prejudice propaganda can be misunderstood by prejudiced people. When the prejudiced reader confronted the Mr. Biggott cartoon, which contained anti-minority propaganda, their effort to evade their feelings and understand Mr. Biggott's identification with their own identity would bring about misunderstanding. This kind of evasion occurs because individuals often have to face to accomplish uniformity in various area of his or her everyday life.

There is a fear to be isolated from what they belong and also threat for shivering their ego. Therefore, the concept of selective exposure was in the same thread with small effect studies in mass communication in 1940s.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory:

Before the selective exposure theory was put forward, Festinger(1957) published a book, Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, and explained the cognitive dissonance theory, which assumes that all human beings pursue consistency in their mind. conclusions within an individualized frame work which already exists for making sense of media stories.

Subliminal Perception:

- A. Subliminal perception involves a theory which says that people exposed to stimuli below the threshold of awareness would (still) be able to perceive a message.
- B. Vicary (1957) movie inserts to sell popcorn
- C. Byrne (1959) college students were shown the word "beef" to encourage sandwich sales, but some saw the word "beer" instead

Automatic Exposure:

- A. Automatic exposure is based on the theory that people are often exposed to a media environment while doing other things
- B. Donohew, Nair, & Finn (1984): media users' cognitive systems pay attention as needed, with attention levels varying over time.
- C. "Most media exposure is carried out in a nearly mindless state" (text 69). TV viewing, and radio use may be habitual or ritualistic. For instance, this theory says that when you do homework with the radio on, you may selectively perceive songs and mentally "tune out" commercials.

13.2 Klapper's Selective Exposure:

Klapper (1960) considered mass communication do not directly influence people, but just reinforce people's predisposition. Mass communications play a role as a mediator in persuasive communication.

Klapper's five mediating factors and conditions to affect people:

1. Predispositions and the related processes of selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention.
2. The groups, and the norms of groups, to which the audience members belong.
3. Interpersonal dissemination of the content of communication
4. The exercise of opinion leadership
5. The nature of mass media in a free enterprise society. ·

Three basic concepts:

- Selective exposure - people keep away from communication of opposite hue.
- Selective Perception - If people are confronting unsympathetic material, they do not perceive it, or make it fit for their existing opinion.
- Selective retention - Furthermore, they just simply forget the unsympathetic material.

Groups and group norms work as a mediator. For example, one cannot simply change political party to Democratic Party, if his or her family has voted for Republican for a long time. In this case, person's predisposition to the political party is already set, so he or she will not perceive information about Democratic Party or change voting behavior because of mass communication.

Klapper's third assumption is inter-personal dissemination of mass communication. If someone is already exposed by close friends, which creates predisposition toward something, it will lead increase of exposure to mass communication and eventually reinforce the existing opinion.

Opinion leader is also a crucial factor to form predisposition of someone, lead someone to be exposed by mass communication, and after all, existing opinion would be reinforced. Nature of commercial mass media also leads people to select certain type of media contents. Klapper (1960) claimed that people are selecting entertainment, such as family comedy, variety shows, quizzes, and Westerns, because of nature of mass media in a free enterprise society.



Fig 1. People only get selectively exposed to (certain) media / programs.

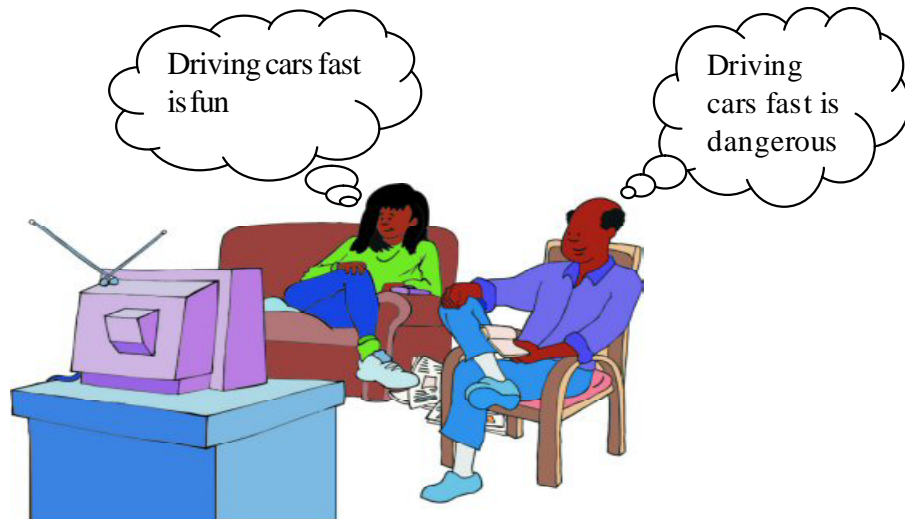


Fig 2. Two people watching the same program may differ in their perception of the programs.

13.3 Selective Exposure:

The following definitions are ordered by their degree of complexity, from the simplest to the most complex.

1. Wells, William, Burnett, John and Moriarty, Sandra:
"The ability to process only certain information and avoid other stimuli."
2. Wilkie, William L.:
"In general, we expose ourselves to situations we view as pleasant, interesting, or necessary and avoid others with unpleasant characteristics."
3. Britt, Steuart Henderson:
"People tend to seek out, see, and here communications congenial to their predispositions-in other words, what they want to see and hear and already believe or feel."
4. Bittner, John R.:
"Selective exposure means that we choose to come in contact with communication from others who we perceive to possess certain beliefs, This action can actually limit the number of people to whom we listen and can therefore reinforce and solidify our opinions and beliefs."

Examples of Selective Exposure:

1. Mortensen cited Greenburg (1965) who claimed that those voters who favored passage of school voting issues exposed themselves to significantly more campaign information than those who did not. "Interestingly enough, the more partisan the voter was, the stronger was his tendency to seek those forms of information which could be most easily screened in a selective manner.

Moreover, partisans showed a greater preference than did nonpartisans for newspaper articles, pamphlets, and other printed information; presumably, television and social gatherings offer less opportunity for selective exposure to operate".

2. "Social scientists agree that people who hold attitudes compatible with those presented in a given message often will be more likely to expose themselves to that message than audience members with differing attitudes.

This correlation between attitude and exposure has been demonstrated in a multitude of setting. Near twice as many Republicans as Democrats were found to have viewed a Republican candidate's telethon during the 1958 California gubernatorial race, for example.

The classic studies of voters and mass communication in Erie county, Ohio, and Elmira, New York, also demonstrated the relationship. In the 1940 Erie county study, about two-thirds of the respondents who did not change their voting intention during the campaign were exposed predominantly to materials favoring their side."

The following definitions are ordered by their degree of complexity, from the simplest to the most complex.

1. Zaltman, Gerald and Wallendorf, Melanie:
"Selective attention is the process which occurs when a person listens to or watches some messages and ignores others."
2. Britt, Steuart Henderson:
"Selective attending refers to the choosing of a smaller number of stimuli from a larger array of stimuli in the environment."
3. Silverman, Julian:
"Selectiveness of attention refers to responses which determine which elements in a stimulus field exert a dominant influence on the perceiver."
4. Wilkie, William L.:
"While selective exposure vastly reduces the range of stimuli available to a person, it does not decide which remaining stimuli will be perceived. This is determined by selective attention."

13.4 Selective Perception:

Definition :

1. Runyon, Kenneth E.: "A process through which we make sense out of the world (Runyon, 1977)."
2. Zaltman, Gerald and Wallendorf, Melanie: "The process of giving meaning to stimuli is referred to as perception."
3. Wells, William, Burnett, John and Moriarty, Sandra: "Perception is the process by which we receive information through our five senses and assign meaning to it."
4. Markin, Rom J. Jr.: "Perception is a complex process by which people select, organize, and interpret sensory stimulation into a meaningful picture of the world (Markin, 1974)."
5. Wilkie, William L.: "In a broad sense, the topic of perception is concerned with the translation from the external, physical world to the internal, mental world that each of us actually experiences." "There are three basic functions that are contained in the definition of perception: sensing a stimulus in the external world; selecting and attending to certain stimuli and not others; and interpreting the stimuli and giving them meaning."
6. Forgas, Ronald H. and Melamed, Lawrence E.: "The way the individual gains knowledge about his environment in this quest for adaptive behavior is of prime importance. The gaining of such knowledge necessitates the extraction of information from the vast array of physical energy which stimulates the organism's senses. Only those stimuli which have cue value, i.e., which trigger some kind of reactive or adaptive action from the individual, should logically be called information. For our purposes, perception will be defined as the process of information extraction."

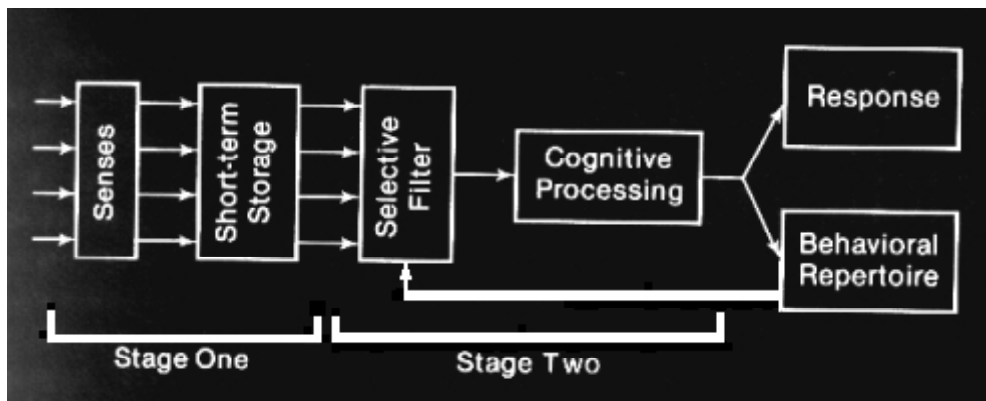


Fig 3. Information Model for Information Processing

Source : McCombs, Maxwell E. (1979), Using Mass Communication Theory, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Factors Affecting Perception:

According to Wells et al., perceptions are shaped by three sets of influences: the physical characteristics of the stimuli, the relation of the stimuli to their surroundings, and conditions within the individual. While the first two sets of influences are both related to stimuli, the last set of influences is the only reason that makes perception a personal trait. Factors that influence this frame of reference include learning experiences, attitude, personality, and self-image.

Similar to Wells and his colleagues' findings, Zaltman and Wallendorf found that there is a large body of literature on perception discussing how people's perceptions are influenced by various factors. These factors are people's moods or frames of mind, their physical abilities to experience sensation, their personalities and motivations, the social and physical context in which they were perceiving things, the social and physical context of the stimuli being perceived, and the physical composition of the stimuli.

They also claimed that: "there are few variables which do not influence whether we choose to notice things and how we interpret what we do perceive."

People in the field of marketing are especially interested in this topic. In his research on consumer behavior, Wilkie emphasized the two key factors that determine what is perceived and how it is perceived-stimulus characteristics and consumer characteristics. Wilkie stated that stimulus characteristics help us to understand what properties of a stimulus cause it to receive more attention than it otherwise might. Further, he discussed how these properties lead to particular forms of treatment by the CIP (Consumer Information Processing) system. Consumer characteristics, on the other hand, refer to the influences that our physical and conceptual systems have on what we perceive and how we perceive it.

Examples of Selective Perception:

1. "Psychologist Leon Festinger reported a similar outcome from a study of audience evaluation of the surgeon general's warning on the hazards of cigarette smoking. The more favorable each individual's attitude was toward smoking, as indexed by the number of cigarettes smoked each day, the less convinced he or her was that an actual link had been established between smoking and lung cancer ()."
2. "Imagine that you and a friend attend a speech by a leading political candidate. Both you and your friend hold very strong but different views on a key issue that the candidate touches upon in the speech. When the speech is over, you discover the you and your friend have entirely different interpretation of what the candidate said."
3. "A famous study of selective perception was reported by Hastorf and Cantril (1954). They interviewed students from Princeton and Dartmouth colleges who had been shown a film of a controversial football game that had taken place between the two college teams. Newspaper reports of the game pointed out that there had been considerable amounts of rough play by both sides but that Dartmouth had contributed more to this than Princeton."

Having watched the film of the game, the students were asked to say how many fouls each team had committed. On average, the Dartmouth students attributed about as many fouls to each team (4.3 to their own team and 4.4 to the other) while

Princeton students, on average, attributed far more fouls to their opponent's team than to their own (9.8 compared with 4.2)".

4. Foxall and Goldsmith cited Maier (1965) who stated that there was considerable variation in the perceptions of objectives and figures depending on the suggestions that shaped the observer's expectation.
5. "In one of the earlier studies, subjects deprived of food for varying lengths of time were shown blurred pictures of food-related and household-related objects. In periods of food deprivation ranging up to six hours, subjects reported they saw an increasing number of food-related objects as their hunger increased".

How Selective Perception Applies to Ads:

Factors such as the sizes, colors, and shapes of print ads as well as the sound effects, music, and intriguing plots of the ads broadcasted through electronic media may greatly affect how these ads are perceived. The size of a print ad, the amount of illustration, the location on a page, and the size and number of words in a headline are a few more of the factors which affect the perception of advertisements. For electronic media, distinctive sounds including music or sound effects, humorous plots, and popular celebrities always attract an audience's attention.

There are three important aspects that aid in eliciting attention: distinctiveness, media differences in acquiring attention, and advertisement structure.

A distinctive advertisement is one which is unique, interesting, or relevant. Zaltman and Wallendorf cited Wright (1974) who said that various forms of media differed with regard to how they affect attention. They quoted Wright, "Print and broadcast media could have very different effects, depending on the level of involvement of the consumer." Zaltman and Wallendorf also argued that the amount of structure and distinctiveness of an advertisement could draw people in and encourage them to become more active in processing information about a product or service.

13.5 Selective Attention:

The following definitions are ordered by their degree of complexity, from the simplest to the most complex.

1. Zaltman, Gerald and Wallendorf, Melanie:

"Selective attention is the process which occurs when a person listens to or watches some messages and ignores others."

2. Britt, Stuart Henderson:

"Selective attending refers to the choosing of a smaller number of stimuli from a larger array of stimuli in the environment."

3. Silverman, Julian:

"Selectiveness of attention refers to responses which determine which elements in a stimulus field exert a dominant influence on the perceiver."

4. Wilkie, William L.:

“While selective exposure vastly reduces the range of stimuli available to a person, it does not decide which remaining stimuli will be perceived. This is determined by selective attention.”

Examples of Selective Attention

1. “Imagine that we’re standing in a crowded room while friends and acquaintances are socializing all around us. The sounds of conversations, laughter, glasses clinking, and music are loud and confusing. We are attempting to carry on a reasonable conversation in our little circle but are having trouble hearing the others speak. All of a sudden, from across the room, we hear our name mentioned. Immediately, selective attention operators spring into overdrive. We now find it easier to screen out other stimuli, pick out the discussion of interest, and overhear it”.
2. The following story, which was originally published by Jack Hairston in the Gainesville Sun on June 26, 1984, is another example of selective attention: “Every four years marketers bid against each other for the right to be called an “official product” of the Olympic Games. In 1984, when the Olympics were held in Los Angeles, two sets of “official” rights were sold—one for the U.S. trials (held earlier to determine the U.S. team members) and one for the games themselves. In the film product category, the Japanese firm, Fuji, was named the official brand for the game, while the American firm, Kodak, was named the official brand for the trials.

Upon arrival in Los Angeles, Fuji sent its blimp up for a test run over the Los Angeles Coliseum. However, it happened that at this time the U.S. trials were in progress. True to the exclusive marketing agreements signed with Kodak, U.S. officials were perturbed at this sight. What should they do to minimize this disruption? An amazing decision was reached: over the loudspeakers boomed the following announcement: “WE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD NOT LOOK AT THE BLIMP PASSING OVERHEAD.” At this point, of course, everyone shifted his or her attention to the sky and watched the Fuji blimp being driven away by a helicopter”.

3. “One eye camera research study in stores showed the following facts:
 - a. Brands on an upper shelf received 35 percent greater attention than did those on a lower shelf.
 - b. Increasing the number of rows a brand (called “facings”) occupies from two to four resulted in a 34 percent increase in attention from consumers.
 - c. An ideal shelf position can result in a 76 percent increase in visibility.
 - d. The long aisles are dropped in favor of short aisles and arranged as a honeycomb then shoppers will more often encounter the aisle ends or “windows” that are eyecatchers and will demonstrate increased attention.
 - e. Installing more interior walls to organize products attracts greater attention to them.
 - f. Eliminating fixtures and signs to emphasize the products themselves”.

13.6 Selective Retention:

The following definitions are ordered by their degree of complexity, from the simplest to the most complex.

1. Wells, William, Burnett, John and Moriarty, Sandra:

“The process of remembering only a small portion of what a person is exposed to.”

2. Zaltman, Gerald and Wallendorf, Melanie:

“Selective retention occurs when a person remembers some messages and forgets others.”

3. Bittner, John R.:

“Selective retention is the same as selective remembering. We selectively retain or remember communication that we perceive as having certain qualities.”

4. Britt, Steuart Henderson:

“According to the principle of selective retention, people are more likely than not to retain affective stimuli and associated responses. Affective stimuli and associated responses that are incongruent with a person’s attitudes and opinions are less easily retained.”

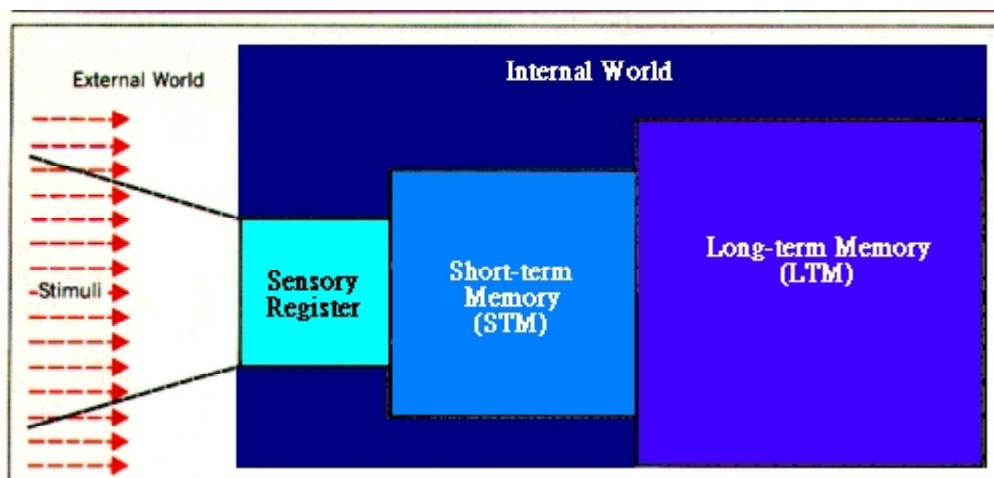


Fig 4. The Consumer Information Processing System

Source : Wilkie, William L. (1986), Consumer Behavior, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Examples of Selective Retention:

1. “We may hear a politician’s speech and remember only those things with which we are in agreement. At school, we may be having a disagreement with our study group members over the best way to write a report. When the study group leader tells us to do something, we may only remember the directions that agree with our own perceptions of the way the report should be written. At home, parents ask their children to do chores around the house. Children have an uncanny ability to remember only the chores that are the easiest to the ones they want to do. In essence, we selectively remember communication ”.
2. “In one experiment, groups of pro-Communist and anti-Communist college students were exposed weekly for a period of five weeks to both a pro-Soviet Union and anti-Soviet Union message. Their progress in learning the anti-Soviet Union passage is charted in the figure below. Clearly, the anti-Communist group, for whom the message was compatible, learnt its content more rapidly. In the second stage of the experiment, stretching over another five weeks, the two groups of students were tested weekly for their recall of the passage. Here again, the group for whom the message was compatible retained more of the message over time. Although not charted here, similar results were obtained for the pro-Soviet Union message. As we expected, the compatible message was better learnt, and in line with the idea of selective retention, the compatible message also was better retained”.

Source : http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/97_fall/theory/selective/exsere.htm

13.7 Summary:

Perception is the process by which we interpret sensory data, which comes to us through our five senses. Perception is influenced by structural and functional factors. Structural factors come from the physical aspects of the stimuli, which are being exposed. Functional factors are psychological factors that influence perception and therefore introduce some subjectivity into the process. These include cultural elements, motivation, mood, wants, needs, and attitude.

Other selective processes also operate during perception. These are selective exposure, selective perception, selective attention and selective retention. Selective exposure is the tendency for individuals to expose themselves to those communications that are in agreement with their existing attitudes and to avoid those communications that are not. Selective perception is the tendency for people’s perception to be influenced by wants, needs, attitudes, and other psychological factors. Selective attention is the tendency for individuals to pay attention to those parts of a message that are consonant with strongly held attitudes, beliefs or behaviors and to avoid those parts of a message that go against strongly held attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors. Selective retention is the tendency for information recall to be influenced by wants, needs, attitudes, and other psychological factors.

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13.9 Technical Terms:

Selective exposure — receivers choose exposure to ideas that reinforce and confirm already held beliefs and attitudes.

Selective attention— receivers choose to pay attention to ideas that reinforce and confirm already held beliefs and attitudes.

Selective retention— receivers remember ideas that reinforce and confirm already held beliefs and attitudes.

Subliminal perception - involves a theory which says that people exposed to stimuli below the threshold of awareness would (still) be able to perceive a message.

Perception - A process through which we make sense out of the world.

Automatic exposure - is based on the theory that people are often exposed to a media environment while doing other things.

13.10 Model Questions:

1. Explain the selective process of communication.
2. Discuss Selective Exposure, Attention, Perception and Retention with regard to mass media messages.

13.11 Reference Books:

Bryant J., & Davies, J. (2006). Selective Exposure Processes. In J. Bryant & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Psychology of entertainment*, p. 19. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 14

Knowledge Gap Hypothesis

14.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis
- In understanding the implications of Knowledge Gap Hypothesis in wake of new ICTs.

Structure of The Lesson:

14.0 Objectives of The Lesson

14.1 Introduction to Knowledge Gap Hypothesis

14.2 The Knowledge Gap Hypothesis

14.3 New Communication Technology and Knowledge Gap

14.4 Strategies For Bridging The Knowledge Gap

14.5 Summary

14.6 Referemces

14.7 Technical Terms

14.8 Model Questions

14.9 Reference Books

14.1 Introduction to Knowledge Gap Hypothesis:

The knowledge-gap hypothesis suggests that each new medium increases the gap between the information rich and information poor, because of differences in access to the medium, and control over its use, among other factors.

It was first proposed by Phillip J. Tichenor and his colleagues. The concept of a digital divide is linked to this hypothesis, although its development was independent.

In the article, "Mass media flow and differential growth in knowledge" that Tichenor and his colleagues proposed in 1970, it is clear to describe "knowledge gap hypothesis": As the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.

"...segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire information at a faster rate than the lower status segments so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease."

—Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, 1965

History and Orientation:

The knowledge gap theory was first proposed by Tichenor, Donohue and Olien at the University of Minnesota in the 70s. They believe that the increase of information in society is not evenly acquired by every member of society: people with higher socioeconomic status tend to have better ability to acquire information (Weng, S.C. 2000). This leads to a division of two groups: a group of better-educated people who know more about most things, and those with low education who know less. Lower socio-economic status (SES) people, defined partly by educational level, have little or no knowledge about public affairs issues, are disconnected from news events and important new discoveries, and usually aren't concerned about their lack of knowledge.

Core Assumptions and Statements:

The knowledge gap can result in an increased gap between people of lower and higher socioeconomic status. The attempt to improve people's life with information via the mass media might not always work the way this is planned. Mass media might have the effect of increasing the difference gap between members of social classes.

Tichenor, Donohue and Olien (1970) present five reasons for justifying the knowledge gap.

- 1) People of higher socioeconomic status have better communication skills, education, reading, comprehending and remembering information.
- 2) People of higher socioeconomic status can store information more easily or remember the topic form background knowledge
- 3) People of higher socioeconomic status might have a more relevant social context.
- 4) People of higher socioeconomic status are better in selective exposure, acceptance and retention.
- 5) The nature of the mass media itself is that it is geared toward persons of higher socioeconomic status.

Conceptual Model:

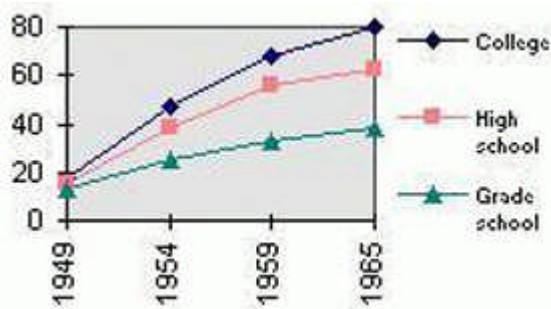


Fig.1 A Conceptual Model

Source: Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, 1970.

This example shows that education level or socioeconomic status made a difference in knowledge. The question was whether or not respondents felt astronauts would ever reach the moon. Those with high levels of education (based on three levels: grade school, high school and college) were more likely to agree that man would reach the moon than those with lower levels of education both at a certain point in time and over all four intervals. Most important was that the gap between levels widened over time in that the percentage of respondents in the high education level who agreed rose more than 60 percentage points over 16 years while those in the low level of education category rose less than 25 percentage points.

Knowledge gap researchers perform their research with a goal in mind, to find a solution to the issue of the knowledge gap. Compaine contends that no issue exists; that the knowledge gap amounts to a creation of the academic world which is largely crying wolf. The writer has reviewed academic papers and news reports on the knowledge gap and cites numerous reasons why we, or the government, shouldn't be so concerned with solving a non-issue.

First, he cites articles which have split the knowledge gap into two issues: knowledge, or textbook and current events knowledge, and information, or technological literacy. When the main issue can be sectioned off into different problems needing different solutions, it weakens the original argument in that one's argument for finding ways to combat the widening knowledge gap takes on different meanings depending on who is talking and who is listening. The issue, Compaine contends, then becomes an exercise in agenda setting, especially when referring to information gaps between the United States and other nations. Often the U.S. sets the standard in technology use and encourages developing countries to follow their lead, without considering whether or not the country can use this technology in the same way. In many cases this has been a disservice to the developing country which has found itself with expensive technology it lacks the knowledge to use effectively.

Compaine takes a diffusion theory standpoint against the knowledge gap with regards to the technology of today: computers and the internet. He cites many examples of past technological or literacy-improving innovations that were perceived as contributors to the knowledge gap, but instead became household products for nearly all Americans. See list. His main point of contention is that policy-makers, especially the U.S. government, need not legislate in order to alleviate the gap in knowledge. Market forces of supply and demand will do all the work for them; if Americans decide everyone needs a computer with an internet hookup, it will happen.

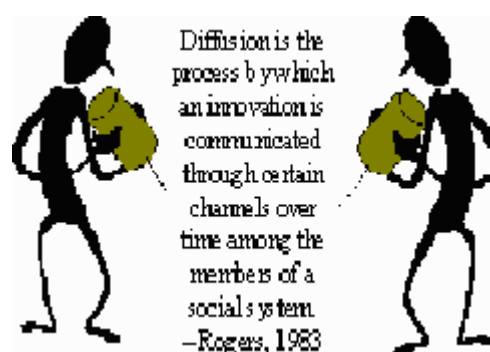


Fig.2. The Process of Diffusion

14.2 The Knowledge Gap Hypothesis:

Knowledge has been widely recognised by economists as the most important factor of production in a “new economy”. The production and utilisation of knowledge is therefore essential for development. Some countries, Malaysia among others, have embarked on an ambitious plan to use knowledge as a base for economic development, by-passing earlier stages of industrialisation. Some commentators have, in contrast, asserted “that it is doubtful that the knowledge revolution will let developing countries leapfrog to higher levels of development” as “the knowledge economy will actually expand the gap between rich and poor”.

Since the World Bank published the 1998/99 World Development Report on Knowledge and Development (World Bank 1999), narrowing the knowledge gap between and within countries has become a prime target of international development agencies as well as of some national governments.

The World Bank report distinguishes two types of knowledge: knowledge about attributes leading to information problems and knowledge about technology (i.e. know-how), including knowledge gaps. “Typically, developing countries have less of this know-how than industrial countries, and the poor have less than the non-poor. We call these unequal distributions across and within countries knowledge gaps” (World Bank 1999).

The international knowledge gap is thus defined in terms of the knowledge achieved in the OECD countries, in particular the USA. The meaning of knowledge is never clearly defined, but from the discussion on the k- gap we can deduce that education, expenditure for research and development and ICT infrastructure are seen as the crucial variables. “The debate about the welfare implications of the information revolution for developing countries has given rise to diametrically opposed views. Some believe that information and communication technologies (ICT) can be mechanisms enabling developing countries to ‘leapfrog’ stages of development. Others see the emerging global information infrastructure as contributing to even wider economic divergence between developing and industrialized countries” (Braga 1998).

In any case, closing the k-gap is regarded as a necessary step towards economic development. Knowledge is the most important factor of production and its growth is essential to propel a country into self-sustained growth. Development agencies have been the most outspoken proponents of the gap-closing strategy. World Bank President James Wolfensohn, commenting on a massive study “Voices of the Poor”, has again emphasized this view with the following words: “Poor people know as well as anybody else that what keeps them poor is lack of competitiveness and lack of knowledge” (in the Far Eastern Economic Review, June 27).

Whenever a point of view is authorized by the World Bank, it advances to the status of an ultimate truth. But exactly at this stage we should sit back, take a closer look and re-think and re-search the issue at hand. Can and should a knowledge gap be closed to achieve development?

Counter-Thesis:

For the sake of argument a counter-hypothesis may be proposed which runs as follows:

1. The k-gap is widening with the growth of a k-based economy and
2. the existence of a k-gap is a pre-condition for economic growth and development.

First we shall examine some evidence to investigate whether or not the advance of ITC has reduced the k-gap and secondly we shall analyse the k-gap itself.

The Widening K-Gap:

Knowledge gaps occur

1. between nations or groups of nations,
2. between regions, classes or communities within nations.

A k-gap denotes a significant difference between indicators, measuring the properties of knowledge societies. These indicators measure usually averages of IT infrastructure, human resources development, investments in research and development (R&D), and related fields. Indicators just “indicate” much more complex structures and institutions and have therefore to be supplemented by qualitative, analytically descriptive data. Optimistic commentators argue that the fast expansion of ICT (information and communication technology) has improved the access to knowledge. Especially the spread of personal computers and the internet has connected millions of people to the knowledge resources of the world-wide-web. In Malaysia e.g. the number of computers has risen from 37,3 per thousand people in 1995 to 103,1 in the year 2000 and the number of internet users has risen from 40 thousand to 3,7 million in the same period.

As the late Professor Ishak Shari has argued, general development policies implemented under the New Economic Policy have had a major impact on reducing income inequality in Malaysia from the late 1970s. However, since 1990 there is a trend towards rising income inequality, both overall and with inter-ethnic as well as urban-rural income disparities. He suggested that the government policy reversal towards between liberalization, deregulation and privatization since the late 1980s has contributed to this trend of increasing inequality” (Ishak 2000). More and more people gain access to global knowledge resources and a fair proportion is probably making use of them. Comparing countries critical commentators are, however, not convinced that “the knowledge revolution will let developing countries leapfrog to higher levels of development.... In fact, the knowledge gap is likely to widen the disparities between rich and poor, imprisoning many developing countries in relative poverty” (Persaud 2001) . It is equally uncertain that the new knowledge technologies will bolster democracy just on the basis of better access to information and improved knowledge of political issues.

The k-gap is widening, because some regions within countries develop faster than others and some countries are on a faster track towards a knowledge society than the less endowed. There are several arguments to back up this view:

1. When it became apparent that knowledge is the major factor of production, rich countries, the US in particular, have broadened protection of intellectual property rights, especially patents. Late-comers in the race towards a k-economy are barred from using essential knowledge or have to pay a high price for its use. In fact, “the knowledge-intensive and militarily strong developed nations have been exploiting their power to promote their economic interests beyond free-market outcomes” (Persaud 2001). The so-called “US-led war on terror” has increased this tendency.
2. Big multinational corporations have absorbed local knowledge, especially in the field of medical plants. The resulting products are patented and sold, thus devaluating local

For comparison: in the whole region (East Asia and the Pacific) the ratio was 21,7 people in 2000, putting Malaysia far above the average. Source: Development Data Group, World Bank. knowledge in developing countries. Big development agencies, among others the German GTZ, are packaging the knowledge gained in development cooperation into products that will then be sold to customers, mainly governments and international development agencies. There are no provisions to share proceeds with local experts or countries in which the experience was gained, that forms the basis of the products.

3. In an article in "Foreign Affairs" Persaud (2001) has argued that forward trading in financial markets have shown that the k-economy will increase the gap between industrialised and developing countries. From 1990 to 1994, when the k-economy had not yet started to arise, emerging stock markets yielded returns of 117 percent on invested capital. During the same period, US investors would have lost about 2 percent on their investment in markets of industrialised countries. In contrast, emerging market stocks fell 27 percent between 1995 and 2000, and those in developed markets rose 43 percent, mainly driven by technology stocks. The emerging markets, particularly the so-called tiger economies, yielded high returns during the early 1990s due to their successful industrialization, whereas the already industrialised countries gained from the increased use of knowledge as a factor of production and collected a "productivity and innovation rent" during the second half of the 1990s, while the k-gap widened. But knowledge also creates ignorance as well as virtual economies based on trust and belief. When trust is withdrawn, virtual k-economies crash, as happened in 2001-02.
4. Statistical indicators show that the knowledge gap has been widening, if we take the measurements for granted. This holds true for comparisons within as well as between countries. We shall now have a closer look at the k-gap and its creation.

The Construction of the K-Gap:

During the debate on the emergence of knowledge societies, knowledge-based economies and the widening knowledge gap, the "GAP" has become essentialised. In other words, the existence of a gap between those that possess knowledge and those that are less endowed is taken for granted, and is not deconstructed into its components or succumbed to critical evaluation. We shall therefore have a closer look at the concept itself and analyse its meaning. First of all we have to recognise that k-gaps are not evil by themselves. In fact, k-gaps are a precondition for any development of knowledge, science, research and HRD. It is obvious that adults are supposed to know more than children, a university student should know more than primary school pupils, a physicist can be expected to know more about nuclear fission than a sociologist, and an expert should know more than a laymen. These categories of people are all separated by k-gaps regarding their respective fields of specialisation. Often new knowledge is created out of the cooperation between specialists without closing the k-gap them. In fact all interdisciplinary research makes sense, if a k-gap exists between the co-operation scientists. Without k-gaps there is no progress in research and development.

But how do we deal with the gap in knowledge between industrialised k-economies and the developing countries? This, after all, is the crucial issue at hand. The concept of a "gap" indicates a hierarchy between haves and have-nots or haves and have-less. If this is the case we have to consider about which type of knowledge we are talking: knowledge about specific branches of

science, knowledge about kinship terminology, knowledge about Islamic religious ritual, knowledge about survival under harsh ecological conditions? The value of knowledge is determined by experts, mainly from the industrialised k-economies and by processes in powerful organisations like the big transnational corporations, US state department or the World Bank. They determine what knowledge is essential and what is not. They construct the knowledge gap. The k-gap is a construct in the virtual world of development cooperation (Evers 2000).

The k-gap is deliberately or inadvertently widened by the monopolisation of the application of knowledge through patents and the insistence on securing intellectual property rights by powerful organisations, especially the WTO. The TRIPS Agreement, concluded in 1995, determines rights over IP and grants temporary monopolies for their inventions. Poorer countries and people are excluded from access to vital 'knowledge goods', such as medicines, seeds, and educational materials (Oxfam 2001).

Value-Added: The Knowledge Market:

The market fundamentalism of neo-classical liberal economics decrees that only marketable knowledge with commercial value is useful. The commercialisation of knowledge is not an inevitable aspect of globalisation, but the result of strategic action (Petrella 2002). The restructuring of university education and research towards the production of marketable knowledge transfers resources from a basic pursuit of knowledge to the production of applicable knowledge in aid of the accumulation of capital. What kind of knowledge is useful is determined by the managers of large corporations and by helpful bureaucrats. Knowledge gains in value by being sold and bought. Knowledge without market value is reduced to insignificance while other forms of knowledge may be raised to prominence ("Inwertsetzung"). The resulting k-gap is the result of this process of "Inwertsetzung" and degradation of knowledge that does not profit from strong demand.

In short, the k-gap is not a natural, inevitable phenomenon but is constructed by powerful strategic groups in their pursuit of capital gains, profit and wealth. Whereas the widening k-gap is usually seen as detrimental to development, management experts have constructed another highly valued and esteemed k-gap. There is a growing gap between stock market value of companies and the book value of their assets. As the "Economist" shows, the gap is biggest for companies that have most rapidly boosted spending on research and development (R&D). "The value of a business increasingly lurks not in physical and financial assets that are on the balance sheet, but in intangibles: brands, patents, franchise, software, research programmes, ideas, expertise" (Economist 1999). Thus in 1999 the pharmaceutical giant Merck had a book value of \$ 12,6 billion, a market value of \$ 139,9 billion, and a calculated k-capital of \$ 48,0 billion. The crash of world stock markets in 2002 and 2003 with a very substantial reduction of the market value of large companies has shown that the k-economy is a constructed virtual world, in which the value of knowledge is determined by market forces.

"Commercialisation signifies that every human expression must have an 'economic value' attributed to it, if it is to have value. Economic value is defined by market price. A market price could not fail to be 'just'. The 'just' market price can be established only on the basis of the recovery by capital of the total price, thus making it possible to obtain the profit that is considered imperative" (Petrella 2002:6).

Culture and Development: The Knowledge Gap as an Issue of Development:

Having said this we hasten to emphasize that there are real and obvious differences between countries and within their populations. Some people own computers, others not, some can read and write, others cannot. Economic deregulation and the spread of a k-economy has, as Ishak has argued for the case of Malaysia, increased income disparities (Ishak 2000). The crucial questions are: How do we define the k-gap? How deep are the k-gaps? And: when and why are k-gaps detrimental to development?

There appear to be three major issues.

1. The moral issue: People have a right to know, and education is a basic human right. If people are deprived in absolute or relative terms, it is morally wrong. In terms of a specific value set common in democratic nations, a large gap in access to knowledge is not acceptable. Access to primary education and the acquisition of reading and writing skills is regarded as a basic human right and usually enshrined in a country's constitution.
2. The economic or developmental issue: As knowledge is an important factor of production, nations or regions with a low level of knowledge cannot develop or at least face a crucial obstacle to alleviate poverty, reach political stability, democratise their political system and move ahead on the path of civilisation.
3. The cultural issue: A civilisation needs "meta-narratives" as a common ground, an anchorage for basic cultural values, to avoid being torn apart by dissent, fundamentalisms of various kinds and alienation. These meta-narratives and the basic cultural values have ideally to be "known" and accepted by all members of a society. Furthermore an epistemic culture is a precondition for the production of new knowledge (Evers 2000).

Source : www.uni-bielefeld.de/soz/iw/pdf/evers_2.pdf

14.3 New Communication Technology and Knowledge Gap:

The global information revolution is highlighted in the recently published 1998/99 World Development Report, entitled "Knowledge for Development" produced by the World Bank.

It analyses the risks and opportunities that the global information revolution is creating for developing countries, and concludes that access to various types of knowledge is crucial to improving the health and living standards of the poor.

New communications technology and plummeting computing costs are "shrinking distance and eroding borders and time", states the Report. Even remote villages can tap into a rapidly expanding global store of knowledge, it adds.

However, the rapid growth of knowledge is also "raising the danger that the poorest countries and communities will fall behind more rapidly than ever before", World Bank President, Mr James D. Wolfensohn, states in the foreword to the Report.

"In our enthusiasm for the Information Super Highway we must not forget the villages and slums without telephones, electricity or safe water, the primary schools without pencils, paper or books", Mr Wolfensohn writes. "For the poor, the promise of the new information age — knowledge for all — can seem as remote as a distant star", Some of the highlights of the Report are as follows:

Knowledge Makes a Difference:

The report states that many developing countries lack the capability to acquire and adapt the economic, technical and social knowledge that has spurred many of the world’s development success stories.

Since creating this know-how is often costly, industrial countries have greater opportunities to use knowledge to obtain better health and rising prosperity for their populations.

Fortunately, states the Report, countries can narrow the knowledge gap by putting in place policies to acquire and adapt knowledge from abroad, and by making the most of indigenous knowledge. Countries that do this can greatly improve the living standards of their citizens, it claims, giving as an example a comparison between the Republic of Korea and Ghana. Forty years ago, Ghana had the same per capita income as the Republic of Korea. By the early 1990s, Korean per capita income was six times higher than Ghana’s.

Some development experts claim that at least half that disparity can be explained by the Republic of Korea’s greater success in acquiring and using knowledge.

Poor countries also differ from rich ones in their pursuit of knowledge by having fewer public institutions to safeguard the quality and truth of the information people need to lead healthy, more affluent lives. Often there is no capacity in poor countries to certify the quality of products or services, enforce standards and performance, and gather and disseminate key information.

“Knowledge can make the difference between sickness and health, between poverty and wealth” says Mr Carl Dahlman, Director of this year’s World Development Report team. “Governments that adopt policies to make the most of knowledge will have major advantage in improving the lives of their citizens”.

The ingredients of knowledge:

The Report focuses on two types of knowledge and two types of problems that are critical for developing countries: how-to knowledge, such as nutrition and birth control, is the first type. Typically, developing countries have less know-how than industrial countries, and poor people have less know-how than wealthier people.

The Report argues that closing these knowledge gaps — for example, through education, better telecommunications systems and openness to exchanges with foreign countries — can do much to help the world’s poorest people to improve their lives. The second type of knowledge is about attributes or characteristics, such as the quality of a product or the diligence of a worker, for example. The Report describes this lack of knowledge as “information problems” and argues that this in turn leads to market failures.

Priorities to bridge the gap:

The Report recommends the following three types of actions to enable developing countries make the most of knowledge: first, developing countries should adopt policies to narrow the knowledge gaps that separate them from rich countries. For example, by investing in education, including technical training, and removing barriers to competition in the telecommunications sector, as well as building on and applying indigenous knowledge, among other measures.

Second, the Report recommends that governments, multilateral institutions, non-governmental organizations and the private sector must work together to strengthen the mechanisms needed to resolve information problems.

Third, governments must recognize that knowledge gaps and information problems cannot be eliminated, but by recognizing that knowledge is at the core of development efforts, policy makers can sometimes discover unexpected solutions to seemingly intractable problems.

The Report also highlights the World Bank's drive to become a "knowledge bank" a commitment first announced in 1996 to become the world's premier clearinghouse for development knowledge. The Bank's knowledge management system will not only be an online corporate memory bank of best practices, but also a gatherer and disseminator of successful development knowledge from outside organizations as well.

By 2000, according to plan, relevant parts of the system will be made externally accessible so that clients, partners and stakeholders around the world can tap into the Bank's know-how.

Success Stories:

The Report offers many examples of how the effective use of knowledge has improved economic growth and people's lives. Often simply narrowing the knowledge gap — improving education and bringing knowledge to bear on the problems of daily life — can improve the quality of people's lives. For example: in Viet Nam, people living in households headed by someone with no education have a poverty rate of 68 per cent. Primary education for the household head brings the rate down to 54 per cent, secondary education to 41 per cent, and university education to 12 per cent.

It is now widely recognized that the level of a woman's education is an important factor in the health of her children. In the Philippines, for example, infant mortality rates are two to three times higher for the children of women who have no education than they are for the children of women who have a secondary education or higher.

Recent evidence points to the power of the joint impact of education and the media. Many studies have shown that mothers' education has a strong, positive effect on child health, but very little is known about how this effect is achieved.

Recent work indicates that a mother's education improves child health by increasing the mother's ability to obtain and process information.

One study found that parents who regularly made use of mass media, for example who read a newspaper, had healthier children (as measured by height for age). In fact, when these variables are added to the analysis, a mother's years of schooling no longer have a significant independent effect on child height.

One interpretation of this finding is that both maternal education and information are essential for improved child health: education is necessary for mothers to process information, but access to relevant information through the mass media is necessary for education to have an effect.

Although much can be achieved by tackling information problems, these problems can never be entirely eliminated, the Report warns.

Source : <http://www.worldbank.org/wdr>

14.4 Strategies For Bridging The Knowledge Gap:

In the closing decade of this century, a dramatic change has come about with the global economy becoming increasingly knowledge-based. Knowledge is now widely regarded as the key to sustained development and growth of economies as well as individuals. Capital accumulation is no longer seen as the main determinant of growth – knowledge is. Knowledge is not merely regarded as central to the process of development – it is development. More than ever before, information is the lifeblood of every economy.

In some ways this is not radically different because even ancient civilizations recognized that knowledge is power. Knowledge was very closely held and zealously guarded. Power was wielded by the simple stratagem of not sharing knowledge and by controlling its usage. But today, we live in a very different world. The revolution brought about by modern Information and Communication Technology (ICTs) enables us to share vast amounts of information on a global scale almost instantaneously. These spectacular advances in ICTs and the convergence of these technologies together with the advent of the Internet have also resulted in the creation of a huge global knowledge pool from which anyone can drink, at least in theory. In this world, power and opportunity come from having access to relevant knowledge or information wherever and whenever needed, instantaneously.

These ever-evolving and increasingly powerful information and communication technologies have fundamentally changed the nature of global relationships, sources of competitive advantage and opportunities for economic and social development. Technologies such as the Internet, personal computers and wireless telephony have turned the globe into an increasingly interconnected network of individuals, firms, schools and governments communicating and interacting with each other through a variety of channels.

A good indicator is the number of Internet users, which is expected to grow five-fold between mid-1998 and the 2001. The ongoing explosion of this technologically mediated global network has resulted in a world in which virtually everyone, everywhere, has the potential to reap the benefits of connectivity to the network. But there are also causes for deep concern. The great divide between rich and poor countries, long observed with regard to economic wealth and social and economic conditions, is equally prevalent and worrisome in the realm of ICTs.

While the growth of the Internet and the continuing ‘digitalization of society’ are much heralded events in more developed countries, many developing nations are searching for ideas on how they can effectively participate in the rapidly evolving globally networked society.

For developing countries, the global explosion of knowledge contains both opportunities and challenges. For example, poorer countries can appropriate and adapt the knowledge available for free or at very low cost in industrial countries. There is no need to re-invent the wheel or re-create existing knowledge and waste time, effort and money in the process.

With communication costs plummeting, transferring knowledge is cheaper than ever. So there now exists a unique opportunity for developing countries to tap the vast resources of the global information networks to propel them to greater wealth and prosperity and leapfrog over knowledge gaps that have accumulated over centuries. Developing countries can take advantage of the large stock of global knowledge only if they develop the technological competence to grab it, to search for appropriate technologies/knowledge and to select, absorb and adapt imported

technology/knowledge. In the absence of a concerted effort by the developing world to get ready for the global networked economy however, the gaps in living standards between developed and developing countries will only grow wider. In such a situation the productive use of these technologies will remain a phenomenon that is largely confined to the richest parts of the world.

The G-8 Summit identified certain priorities to bridge the knowledge gap between countries and made due recommendations that are presented here :

- Recommendation - 1: Create awareness of the issues involved in good governance and the positive role it can play in economic and social development. This could be done by creating channels for experience and information sharing, evolution of norms and standards wherever applicable and a forum for experts, academicians, business representatives and Government policy makers to meet periodically on a Regional basis. To foster Regional cooperation, a project could be launched by a body like the UN to enable experience sharing among countries in the region on preparing for the digital era. ICT (Web-sites, Bulletin Boards, data bases, etc.) should be used for this purpose, but Workshops, Conferences and Round Tables would also be needed to enable direct interaction periodically. This forum could become a mechanism to address regional issues like legal framework, norms and standards. Suitable modalities would need to be worked out for creation and maintenance of the data/information base.
- Recommendation - 2: Assistance to countries to improve connectivity, increase access, lower cost by encouraging innovative solutions and utilising all the resources including those of the private sector. This can be done through the following by improving access facilities for:
 - information infrastructure and basic tele-communication infrastructure
 - Internet availability and affordability
 - Network speed and quality – bandwidth availability
 - Availability of hardware, software, services and support in local market
 - Education and training facilities
 - Networking of the society – incorporation of ICTs into the way things are done in the society, economy and government and proliferation of on-line communities
 - Network policy – supportive policy environment including telecommunications policy and cyber laws Evolution of appropriate ownership and management models of network resources
 - Evolution of appropriate business models that spur the flow of private investment into the digitalization of the society and economy
 - Degree of optimization of costs by full use of economies afforded by convergence of technologies – scope for cost reduction and increasing spread and reach of network access.

- Recommendation - 3: Encourage successful innovation in community and private sector participation in integrating ICT into the economy and society and in evolving creative models of Government-private sector-NGO partnership that Technology and cost are not the only issues relevant to the digitalization of societies and economies. Encouraging and selectively funding experiments, particularly in socially useful and relevant areas like rural education, agriculture, medical services and employment, that aim to creatively optimize cost, technology, ownership and management pattern and business models in an integrated fashion is necessary to speed up diffusion of ICT globally.
- Recommendation - 4: Encourage policy advice to promote a pro-competitive, flexible and socially inclusive policy with appropriate regulatory environment to enable a level playing field for release of full potential. This can be done through pro-competitive community environment targeting areas such as :
 - Education on demand particularly in rural areas
 - Health for all particularly in rural areas
 - Environment education
 - Traditional knowledge dissemination and sharing
 - Government services
 - Rural employment through IT-enabled services
 - Community Entertainment facilities

In addition there is need to undertake special programmes to exploit the opportunities afforded by ICTs to SMEs to compete on an equal footing with MNCs on the global market place. ICTs have created a level playing field for big and small companies alike in the global market place. No longer does a company need to have a physical presence globally (which is expensive). A presence in cyberspace is good enough to provide access to global markets. Many SMEs with good, globally competitive products languish because of ignorance of how to use ICTs to plug into the global marketplace. A special programme to create the requisite awareness,

Source: <http://www.mit.gov.in/11/2002>

14.5 Summary:

The knowledge-gap hypothesis suggests that each new medium increases the gap between the information rich and information poor, because of differences in access to the medium, and control over its use, among other factors.

It was first proposed by Phillip J. Tichenor and his colleagues. The concept of a digital divide is linked to this hypothesis, although its development was independent.

In the article, "Mass media flow and differential growth in knowledge" that Tichenor and his colleagues proposed in 1970, it is clear to describe "knowledge gap hypothesis": As the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.

In the 21st century, the emergence of the knowledge society becomes pervasive (UNESCO, 2005). The transformations of world's economy and of each society have a fast pace. Together with information and communication technologies (ICT) these new paradigms have the power to reshape the global economy (Information Society Commission, 2002). In order to keep pace with innovations, to come up with new ideas, people need to produce and manage knowledge. This is why knowledge has become essential for all societies.

The information and ICT systems that support knowledge are very important. This is why digitization is viewed closely related to knowledge. If scientists agree that there is a digital divide, recently different reports showed the existence of knowledge divide (Information Society Commission, 2002; UNESCO, 2005).

On the one hand, the existence of knowledge is more and more related with the development of an ICT infrastructure. Without ICT, it is impossible to have an infrastructure able to process automatically the huge flow of information that is required in an advanced economy. In particular, without an adequate technical support, e-learning and electronic documents are impossible to be developed, in order to overcome time and space constraints.

On the other hand, knowledge is distinct from ICT and its physical support of information. According with the UNESCO's report from 2005, knowledge is related also with many other aspects outside ICT world such as:

- Freedom
- Democracy
- Plurality of information
- The infrastructure of economy
- The existence of a successful educational process.

For instance, a poor grid of electricity makes less improbable the existence of computers networks or the existence of higher education institutions. The absence of freedom might diminish or delay the pursuits of acquiring new knowledge. Also, the poor development of educational institutions from a society affects the creativity of people belonging to that society.

The knowledge gap theory was first proposed by Tichenor, Donohue and Olien at the University of Minnesota in the 70s. They believe that the increase of information in society is not evenly acquired by every member of society: people with higher socioeconomic status tend to have better ability to acquire information.

KG leads to a division of two groups: a group of better-educated people who know more about most things, and those with low education who know less. Lower socio-economic status (SES) people, defined partly by educational level, have little or no knowledge about public affairs issues, are disconnected from news events and important new discoveries, and usually aren't concerned about their lack of knowledge.

The knowledge gap can result in an increased gap between people of lower and higher socioeconomic status. The attempt to improve people's life with information via the mass media might not always work the way this is planned. Mass media might have the effect of increasing the difference gap between members of social classes.

Tichenor, Donohue and Olien (1970) present five reasons for justifying the knowledge gap. 1) People of higher socioeconomic status have better communication skills, education, reading, comprehending and remembering information. 2) People of higher socioeconomic status can store information more easily or remember the topic from background knowledge 3) People of higher socioeconomic status might have a more relevant social context. 4) People of higher socioeconomic status are better in selective exposure, acceptance and retention. 5) The nature of the mass media itself is that it is geared toward persons of higher socioeconomic status.

The knowledge gap was used in a research for presidential campaigns. The knowledge gap hypothesis holds that when new information enters a social system via a mass media campaign, it is likely to exacerbate underlying inequalities in previously held information. Specifically, while people from all strata may learn new information as a result of a mass media campaign, those with higher levels of education are likely to learn more than those with low levels of education, and the informational gap between the two groups will expand. The results of the analysis show that knowledge gaps do not always grow over the course of presidential campaigns and that some events, such as debates, may actually reduce the level of information inequality in the electorate.

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14.7 Technical Terms:

The knowledge-gap hypothesis : each new medium increases the gap between the information rich and information poor, because of differences in access to the medium, and control over its use, among other factors.

14.8 Model Questions:

1. Explain the Knowledge Gap hypothesis.
2. What are the reasons for knowledge gap between countries ?
3. Do you think the new communication technology has broadened the knowledge gap between countries ? Critically evaluate your opinion with examples.

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 15

Hieder's Balance Theory

15.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the
- In understanding the

Structure of The Lesson:

15.0 Objectives of The Lesson

15.1 Introduction to Hieder's Balance Theory

15.2 Balance Theory and Compound Relations

15.3 Application of Balance Theory to Advertising - An Example

15.4 Problems of Hieder's Balance Theory

15.5 References

15.6 Summary

15.7 Technical Terms

15.8 Model Questions

15.9 Reference Books

15.1 Introduction to Hieder's Balance Theory:

Balance Theory is a motivational theory of attitude change proposed by Fritz Heider, which conceptualizes the consistency motive as a drive toward psychological balance. Heider proposed that "sentiment" or liking relationships are balanced if the affect valence in a system multiplies out to a positive result.

For example: a Person who likes an Other person will be balanced by the same valence attitude on behalf of the other. Symbolically, $P (+) > O$ and $P < (+) O$ results in psychological balance.

This can be extended to objects (X) as well, thus introducing triadic relationships. If a person P likes object X but dislikes other person O, what does P feel upon learning that O created X? This is symbolized as such:

- $P (+) > X$
- $P (-) > O$
- $O (+) > X$

Multiplying the signs shows that the person will perceive imbalance (a negative multiplicative product) in this relationship, and will be motivated to correct the imbalance somehow. The Person can either:

- Decide that O isn't so bad after all,
- Decide that X isn't as great as originally thought, or
- Conclude that O couldn't really have made X.

Any of these will result in psychological balance, thus resolving the dilemma and satisfying the drive. (Person P could also avoid object X and other person O entirely, lessening the stress created by psychological imbalance.)

Balance Theory is also useful in examining how celebrity endorsement affects consumers' attitudes toward products. If a person likes a celebrity and perceives (due to the endorsement) that said celebrity likes a product, said person will tend to liking the product more, in order to achieve psychological balance. However, if the person already had a dislike for the product being endorsed by the celebrity, she may like the celebrity less in addition to liking the product more, again to achieve psychological balance.

To predict the outcome of a situation using Heider's Balance Theory, one must weigh the effects of all the potential results, and the one requiring the least amount of effort will be the likely outcome.

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balance_theory"

My friend's friend is my friend

my friend's enemy is my enemy

my enemy's friend is my enemy

my enemy's enemy is my friend

Heider's Balance Theory (1958)

Relations among individuals characterize interactions occur in a social system. One important component among social agents in the relation is sentiment – sentiments can result a social mitosis defined as the emergence of two groups, disliking exists between the two subgroups within liking agents (Wang and Thorngate, 2003).

The overall sentiments among agents show the balance of a social system. Social psychologist, Fritz Heider (1946), shows the balance on the relationship between three things: the perceiver, another person, and an object (Keisler, 1969:157); while the third can also be a person. Commonly, sentiment relations can be categorized into two: positive or like and negative or dislike.

The concept proposed by Heider's Balance Theory discusses the relations among individuals based on sentiment. Balance state over two people (dyad) will occur if the two like each other or dislike each other, meanwhile, if one has a different sentiment relation, thus the relation is imbalance (Taylor, 1967). In three individual relations or triad, balance state between the three can be found if the algebraic multiplication of signs in the triad relation has the value of positive.

It is believed that the social (sentiment) relations tend to be its balance state. A social group consisted of more than two or three agents have balance state(s), too. This is the main focus of the paper, to join dyad and triad sentiment relation in balance theory based on Heider's balance theory (1946, 1958) and group balance as a whole which is based on structure theorem of Cartwright and Harary (1956).

In this perspective, the social balance state is emerged from the sentiment relations among agents. This is similar to the macro-micro linkage: sentiment relations among agents (localized as triad and dyad) emerges the collective balance of the group (Situngkir, 2003). In other words, the task is about to investigate the micro foundation (at dyadic/triadic level) from the global patterns (collective balance) (Macy and Miller, 2001).

Heider's Balance Theory:

The Heider's balance theory is one of cognitive consistency theory which dominated social psychology in 1960's (Greenwald et al, 2002). Furthermore, the balance theory is laid on people's "naive theory of action" - the conceptual framework by which people interpret, explain, and predict others' behavior. In this framework, intentional concepts (e.g., beliefs, desires, trying, purpose) played a central role. This is the "surface" area of the psychology and the "deep" area for sociology: the common sensical of an individual's guiding behavior towards others; how an individual perceives and analyze her conditions, other people, and their relations (Goldman, 1993). One's behavioral change from liking to disliking is based on one of Heider's propositions stating that an individual tends to choose balance state in her interpersonal relation. This is caused by pressure or tension that resulting from the imbalance state in her interpersonal relations, which enforces someone to change her sentiment relation toward balance formation or to lesser force/tension (Zajonc, 1960, Taylor, 1967, Hummon and Doreian , 2003).

15.2 Balance Theory and Compound Relations:

A compound relation is a tie between people consisting of a sequence of intermediate ties. For example, let aPb mean that a is the parent of b, and let bMc mean that b is married to c. Neither P nor M is reflexive or transitive, but M is symmetric. aPMc means that a and c are connected by two successive relations; a is b's parent and b is married to c. In other words, aPMc means that a is c's parent in-law. aPMPd would mean that a is d's parent's parent in-law.

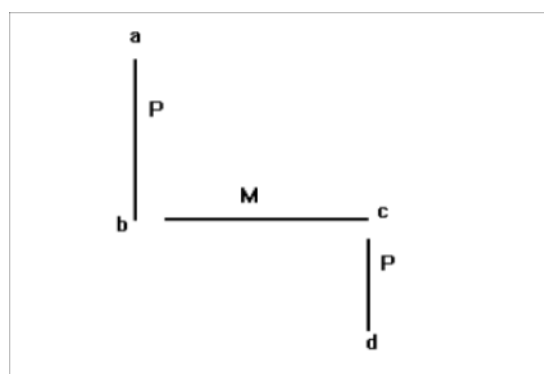


Fig 1 : Compound Relations between a,b,c,d

Balance theory was developed by a Fritz Heider, a social psychologist. Heider examined systems consisting of two people, Person and Other, and some third object X about which they both had opinions. This third object could be anything: a political party, an idea, a rock group, a country, another person.

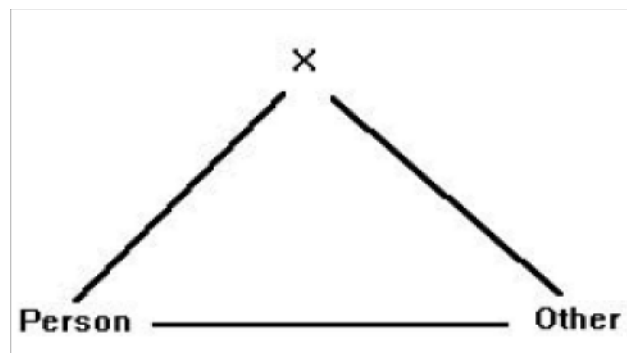


Fig 2 : Relations between people

Each line represents an attitude, and those attitudes can be either positive (e.g. person likes other, other has favorable attitude toward object, and so on) or negative (person dislikes other, person disapproves of object, and so on). There could be a number of configurations based on the sign (positive or negative) of these attitudes. For example, person and other might be friends and both disapprove of X. A little thought will show that there are eight possible configurations.

Heider suggested that some of these patterns were fraught with tensions that made them unstable, particularly if the attitudes were strong. For example, suppose that Person and Other had opposite attitudes toward something that was very important to both of them. In the movie "Born on the Fourth of July" Ron Kovics and his family initially have similar attitudes toward the war in Vietnam. He volunteers and they are proud of him. Because of his experiences, Ron and his family come to have very different attitudes toward the war. This is an unstable situation. They each try to persuade the other. Neither side changes. They become angry and frustrated and Ron becomes alienated from his family. The following pattern was unstable.

Let us look at another example from a very different area. Before the second world war the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were mutually antagonistic and Germany and the U.S.S.R. were weak allies, having agreed not to invade each other.

Figure 3 The initial pattern

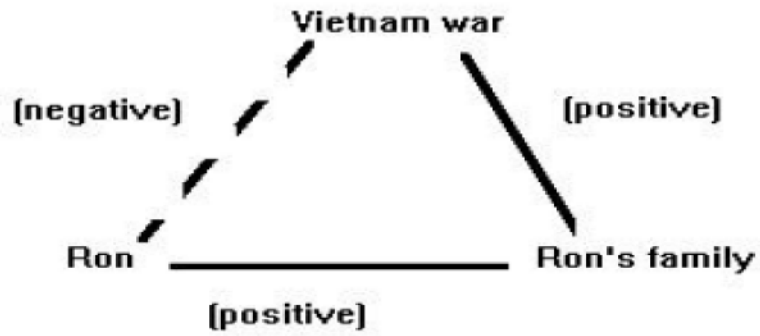
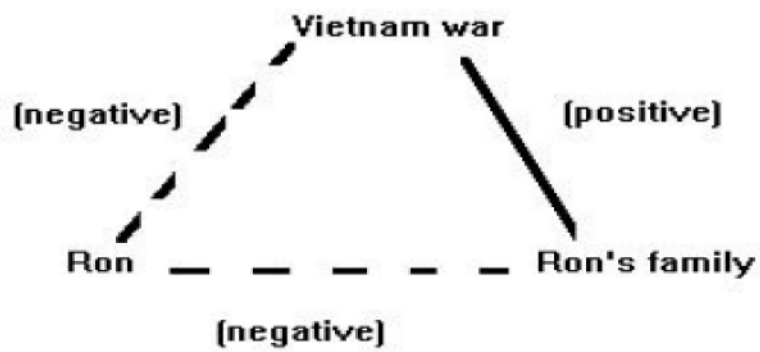
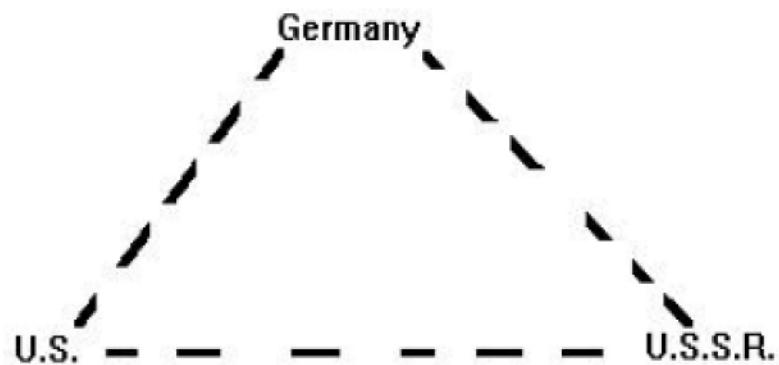


Figure 4 The final pattern



Then, in June, 1941 Germany invaded the Soviet Union in a surprise attack, and the configuration changed.

Figure 6



In December, 1941, the U.S. declared war on Germany, so the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. shared an enemy. As a consequence, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. became allies. We sent them a tremendous quantity of arms. Russians got very favorable treatment in the U.S. media, including the movies. The Communist party in the U.S. became patriotic, and for a few short years it was not completely a bad thing to be an American Communist. The situation changed into the following.

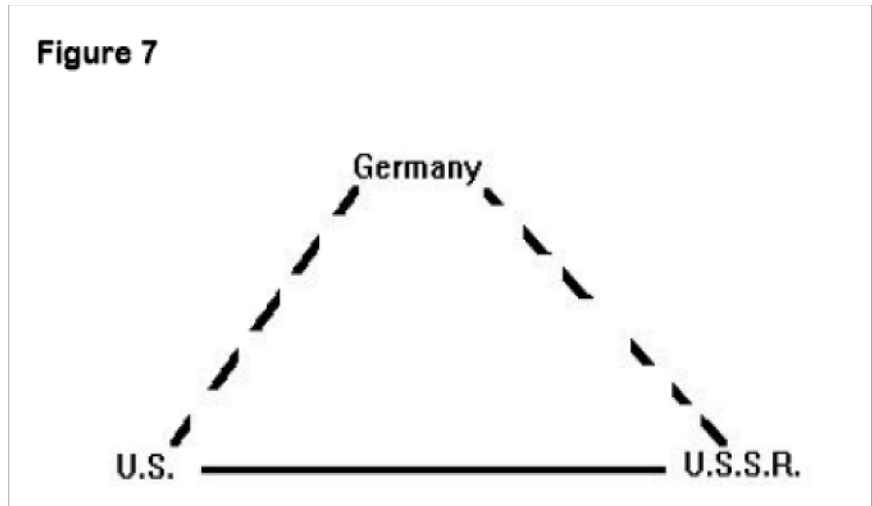
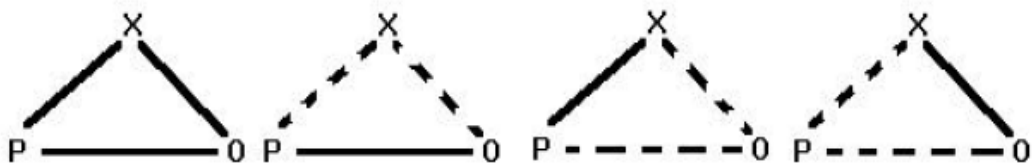
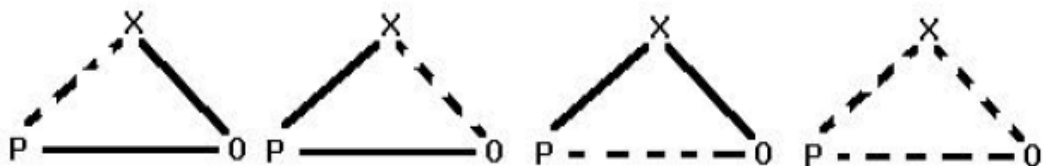


Figure 8

Four Balanced Patterns



Four Imbalanced Patterns



According to Heider's theory, the bottom unstable patterns should turn into the top stable patterns. What stable "balanced" patterns have in common is that people who like each other agree and people who dislike each other disagree. Agreement reinforces the liking and disagreement reinforces the disliking, so everything is cool. In the four "imbalanced" patterns, two people who like each other disagree or two people who dislike each other agree. But, disagreement can produce disliking and agreement can produce attraction, so these situations are less stable or even unstable. It should be clear that X can be another person. What about systems involving more than three people? Consider, for example, the following two diagrams of positive and negative relations between people.

15.3 Balance Theory in the Persuasion Context:

Balance theory states that when tensions arise between or inside people, they attempt to reduce these tensions through self-persuasion or trying to persuade others.

Individuals have certain attitudes which can be represented by a plus sign (like) or a minus sign (dislike). Every individual has their own opinions therefore people do not always agree on the same things which creates a feeling of discomfort or imbalance. Two people may feel the same about an idea and therefore agree on it so they have a feeling of comfort or balance.

Metatheoretical Assumptions:

Balance theory is Humanistic. Epistemologically this theory has multiple truths in that humans try to reduce tension through self-persuasion or persuading others. Ontologically this theory represents free will in that people choose whether or not they like or dislike something. Axiologically, this theory is more value-laden in that the theoretical propositions are subjective and biased.

Critique:

Balance theory presents analytic consistency in that the theoretical assumptions fit together. The method of investigation in this theory is timely. The theory is practical, and has heuristic value in that it can be applied other places.

Ideas and Implications:

Balance theory proposes that there are three ways in which a person can feel balance. First the source and receiver can both dislike something and at the same time like each other, so they experience comfort and balance. Second, the source and receiver can have a positive attitude toward an object or idea and display positive feelings toward one another, therefore experiencing comfort and balance. Third, the source and the receiver can disagree about an idea or object and also dislike each other, therefore experiencing comfort because they know that they disagree about the values of certain objects or ideas.

Example:

Adam likes to watch football on television, and Jenah does not like to watch football. Yet Jenah likes Adam, and values their relationship therefore this system is now in imbalance. If Jenah would change her attitude about football, this system would be in balance.

15.4 Application of Balance Theory to Advertising - An Example:

Advertisers commonly believe that a little positive exaggeration in product promotion favorably influences a consumer's judgment of product quality. However, Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell suggested that overstatement or understatement maybe a poor strategy, citing a study by Cardozo as evidence that "a negative disconfirmation of an expectancy produced an unfavorable product evaluation."

The Consumer is a complex, reasoning, information-processing organism. In short, he is a cognitive animal. In every problem or situation he faces, he must contend with his own cognitive predilections. His values, attitudes, personality, role, group influences, culture, family, and so on are all products of his cognitive mechanism. The consumer reconciles and reduces cognitive inconsistencies, undergoes attitude changes, alters his role, restructures his own self-image and personality.

From the viewpoint of Advertising people, the relevant question is, how can cognitive consistency be applied and used to explain consumer behavior? In order to answer this question, many studies have been conducted so far.

An application of Balance Theory:

The balance theory recognizes implicitly the need for turning to person one is accustomed to trust. This may seem to be the important factor in considering the cognitive set relevant to seeking new products. Jacoby (1970) concerned about the nonobvious advertising strategy suggested by the balance-theory model for generating consumer preference, especially for new or unknown products.

In this study, subjects were told that a disliked source (by them) had made statements indicating dislike for a set of products. The subjects were then asked to indicate how they felt about that particular product and, given such a situation, were they likely to buy the product. Results of this study indicate that negatively valenced sources stating their dislike for novel consumer items will generate increased preferences and intent to buy for that item.

Cognitive Congruity in Buying Situation:

Considerable amounts of empirical supports are available in the social-psychological literature for the congruity theory. It is said that the congruity theory will be more relevant in the case of new products. However, while implications of this theory for consumer behavior have gained wide currency in the literature, very limited empirical work can be found to test it. The following statement provided by Roberston (1970) is reflective of the type of application that could be envisaged:

"Assume a consumer has a balanced set of attitudes regarding food products. Let us further assume that this consumer has favorable attitude toward General Foods and its coffee brands (+) and an unfavorable attitude toward new coffee products, which she perceives as inferior substitutes (-). General foods then introduces Maxim Freeze-dried coffee, stressing its superiority (+). Under these conditions, attitudinal imbalance is obvious and change is likely to occur.

The following is the more usual situation: The buyer's attitude is favorable toward the source (brand). The source (manufacturer) will most likely make positive or favorable assertions about its new product. The consumer has already a set of dispositions toward the source and the concept,

in this case the product class. If a new product of the same brand is introduced, and if his attitude toward the new product is positive, no incongruity is aroused; if his attitude toward the new product category is negative, it will change in the positive direction in the face of positive assertion by the source and he might then seek the new product. If his attitude toward the source was negative, even if his attitude toward the product category is positive, the change will be in the negative direction.

Cognitive Dissonance in Advertising:

According to dissonance theory, an individual has cognitive elements about his past behavior, his beliefs and attitudes, and his environments. Consumers continually receive various kinds of product information from their own experience, associates, advertisements, and salesmen.

These bits of information are cognitions which consumer likes to have consistent with one another. When an individual receives two ideas, which are psychologically dissonant, he attempts to reduce this mental discomfort by changing one or both of the cognitions to make them more consonant. The stronger the cognitive dissonance, the more motivated he is to reduce dissonance by changing the cognitive element.

Of the three cognitive consistency theories, cognitive dissonance has been most often used to answer the following questions: "How does dissonance influence the repurchase rate? Do certain products create more dissonance than other products? What role does advertising play in dissonance reduction? Does dissonance occur even when the outcome exceeds expectancy?" . Engel pointed out that "dissonance occurs even when actual performance exceeds expected performance". Another question is whether "puffy" advertising tends to create dissonance when product performance is less than promised performance.

There are certain conditions under which one would expect cognitive dissonance to operate.

Cognitive dissonance is a post-decisional state, different from cognitive conflict which is pre-decisional uncertainty. Cognitive dissonance is viewed as a rationalization process for justifying the decision one has already made and which cannot be reversed without accepting one's mistake; thus, cognitive dissonance would be expected to operate to the extent that the decision is irreversible.

Dissonance theory states that any discrepancy between expectations for a product and objective performance of that product will be assimilated by the consumer through the adjustment of his evaluations of the product congruent with his prior expectation. In other words, in this situation, the consumer is stimulated to reduce the psychological tension generated by changing his perception of the product to bring it to more into line with his expectations.

Thus, there is the possibility that a dissonant consumer may turn to advertising to reinforce his purchase decision by seeking information to confirm his choice, and if dissonance does exist, the advertiser should direct a portion of his advertising to the needs of the customers. Therefore, the promotional mix for a product should substantially lead expectations above product performance to obtain a higher consumer evaluation or perception of the company's product.

Support for dissonance theory would suggest that an advertiser may be able to overstate the benefit of his product without leading to unfavorable product evaluation by the consumer, thus providing a rationale for "puffery," an activity of questionable legal and ethical ramifications.

Dissonance vs. Involvement:

Several past studies in the psychology literature have stressed the role of involvement in understanding cognitive dissonance mechanisms. High involvement on the part of an individual exerts a powerful force to reconcile the discrepancy between the behavior itself and the prior cognitions that the individual may hold. Bowen also suggests that for highly involving issues attitude precedes and shapes behavior due to cognitive dissonance mechanisms.

Similarly, past studies in the consumer behavior area provide support for the cognitive dissonance theory in the instances of major purchases. On the other hand, contrast theory implies that a consumer who receives a product less valuable than he expected would magnify the difference between the product received and the product expected. A study by Sherif and Hovland (Sherif and Hovland, 1961) supports this argument.

- For high involvement products, there is a positive relationship between expectations and performance evaluations.
- For low involvement products, there is a negative relationship between expectations and performance evaluations.

To the marketers of involving products, those studies suggest the use of a promotional mix designed to create high expectations. The quality of an important product contributes to a more favorable evaluation and understatement contributes to a less favorable evaluation. Consumers do exaggerate or understate the actual performance on their prior expectations. Thus, the marketer may be better off understanding the performance of the product rather than overstating.

The differences in the consumer evaluations of high vs. low involvement product suggest that advertising strategy should be different for the two situations. For example, for high involvement products such as automobile, consumers have huge interest and show the ability to assimilate information.

Thus, a proper advertising campaign in this case will be rather overstating the benefits of his product since creating high expectations will have an effect. In contrast, since consumers are not involved, and learn passively in a low involvement case, it is important to keep the brand visually in front of the consumers. Thus in-store display, packaging and branding are important advertising tool.

Retrieved : http://www.ciadvertising.org/studies/student/97_fall/theory/cognitive_coc/Application.htm

15.4 Problems of Hieder's Balance Theory:

The balance theory asserts that balanced states will be preferred over imbalanced states, and imbalanced states will lead to activities to change them to balanced states. While the basic idea was persuasive, the theory was vague and incomplete. Here are some problems of balance theory.

- Unsymmetric relations. Should all relations be conceived as symmetric? The answer is that they should not; it is possible for P to like O while O dislikes P. Theoretical discussions of balance have sometimes recognized this possibility - Heider, for example, states that unsymmetric liking is unbalanced - but there has been no general

definition of balance which covers unsymmetric relations. The empirical studies of balance have assumed that the relations are symmetric (Cartwright and Harary, 1956).

- Two directions of relationship. The three-entity relationship did not take into account the fact that liking and disliking usually flow in two directions (with only two people involved, mutual liking or disliking represents balance). Though in many situations there are both positive and negative feelings toward a person or object and though affects vary greatly in intensity (both “like” and “adore” are positive, but they are hardly equivalent), there was no way to assess the relative or absolute strength of sentiments.
- Units containing more than three entities. Nearly all theorizing about balance has referred to units of three entities. While Horowitz, Lyons, and Perlmutter studied units with four entities, they did not define balance for such cases. It would seem desirable to be able to speak of the balance of even larger units (Suedfeld, 1971).
- Negative relations. Is the negative relation the complement of the relation or its opposite? All of the discussions of balance seem to equate these, but they seem to be quite different, for the complement of a relation is expressed by adding the word “not” while the opposite is indicated by the prefix “dis” or its equivalent. Thus, adding the word “not” while the opposite is indicated by the prefix “dis” or its equivalent expresses the complement of a relation. Thus, the complement of “liking” is “not liking”; the opposite of “liking” is “disliking.” In general, it appears that ~L has been taken to mean “dislike” (the opposite relation) while ~U has been used to indicate “not associated with” (the complementary relation). Thus, for example, “specifically, ‘+L’ symbolizes a positive attitude, ‘-L’ symbolizes a negative attitude, ‘+U’ symbolizes the existence of unit formation, and ‘-U’ symbolizes the lack of unit formation” (Jordan, 1953).
- Cognitive fields and social systems. “Heider’s intention is to describe balance of cognitive units in which the entities and relations enter as experienced by a single individual. Newcomb attempts to treat social systems which may be described objectively. In principle, it should be possible also to study the balance of sociometric structure, communication networks, patterns of power, and other aspects of social systems”(Cartwright and Harary, 1956).

15.5 Summary:

Balance Theory is a motivational theory of attitude change proposed by Fritz Heider, which conceptualizes the consistency motive as a drive toward psychological balance. Heider proposed that “sentiment” or liking relationships are balanced if the affect valence in a system multiplies out to a positive result.

For example: a Person who likes an Other person will be balanced by the same valence attitude on behalf of the other. Symbolically, $P (+) > O$ and $P < (+) O$ results in psychological balance.

This can be extended to objects (X) as well, thus introducing triadic relationships. If a person P likes object X but dislikes other person O, what does P feel upon learning that O created X? This is symbolized as such:

- $P (+) > X$
- $P (-) > O$
- $O (+) > X$

Multiplying the signs shows that the person will perceive imbalance (a negative multiplicative product) in this relationship, and will be motivated to correct the imbalance somehow. The Person can either:

- Decide that O isn't so bad after all,
- Decide that X isn't as great as originally thought, or
- Conclude that O couldn't really have made X.

Any of these will result in psychological balance, thus resolving the dilemma and satisfying the drive. (Person P could also avoid object X and other person O entirely, lessening the stress created by psychological imbalance.)

Balance Theory is also useful in examining how celebrity endorsement affects consumers' attitudes toward products. If a person likes a celebrity and perceives (due to the endorsement) that said celebrity likes a product, said person will tend to liking the product more, in order to achieve psychological balance.

However, if the person already had a dislike for the product being endorsed by the celebrity, she may like the celebrity less in addition to liking the product more, again to achieve psychological balance. To predict the outcome of a situation using Heider's Balance Theory, one must weigh the effects of all the potential results, and the one requiring the least amount of effort will be the likely outcome.

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balance_theory"

Balance theory was developed by a Fritz Heider, a social psychologist. Heider examined systems consisting of two people, Person and Other, and some third object X about which they both had opinions. This third object could be anything: a political party, an idea, a rock group, a country, another person.

Heider suggested that some of these patterns were fraught with tensions that made them unstable, particularly if the attitudes were strong. For example, suppose that Person and Other had opposite attitudes toward something that was very important to both of them. Balance theory states that when tensions arise between or inside people, they attempt to reduce these tensions through self-persuasion or trying to persuade others.

Individuals have certain attitudes which can be represented by a plus sign (like) or a minus sign (dislike). Every individual has their own opinions therefore people do not always agree on the same things which creates a feeling of discomfort or imbalance. Two people may feel the same about an idea and therefore agree on it so they have a feeling of comfort or balance.

Balance theory is Humanistic. Epistemologically this theory has multiple truths in that humans try to reduce tension through self-persuasion or persuading others. Ontologically this theory represents free will in that people choose whether or not they like or dislike something. Axiologically, this theory is more value-laden in that the theoretical propositions are subjective and biased.

Balance theory presents analytic consistency in that the theoretical assumptions fit together. The method of investigation in this theory is timely. The theory is practical, and has heuristic value in that it can be applied other places.

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15.7 Technical Terms:

Balance Theory : is a motivational theory of attitude change proposed by Fritz Heider, which conceptualizes the consistency motive as a drive toward psychological balance.

Compound relation : a tie between people consisting of a sequence of intermediate ties.

15.8 Model Questions:

1. Explain Hieder's Balance theory with the help of illustrations.
2. Explain Hieder's Balance theory in the context of persuasion.
3. How is Hieder's Balance theory used in advertising?
4. What are the demerits of Hieder's Balance theory ?

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 16

Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance and Comstock's Psychological Model of TV

16.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory
- In understanding the Comstock's Psychological Model of TV.

Structure of The Lesson:

- 16.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 16.1 Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance**
- 16.2 Applications of Cognitive Dissonance**
- 16.3 Comstock's Psychological Model of TV**
- 16.4 Summary**
- 16.5 References**
- 16.6 Technical Terms**
- 16.7 Model Questions**
- 16.8 Reference Books**

16.1 Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance:

Cognitive dissonance is a psychological term describing the uncomfortable tension that may result from having two conflicting thoughts at the same time, or from engaging in behavior that conflicts with one's beliefs, or from experiencing apparently conflicting phenomena.

In simple terms, it can be the filtering of information that conflicts with what you already believe, in an effort to ignore that information and reinforce your beliefs. In detailed terms, it is the perception of incompatibility between two cognitions, where "cognition" is defined as any element of knowledge, including attitude, emotion, belief, or behavior. The theory of cognitive dissonance states that contradicting cognitions serve as a driving force that compels the mind to acquire or invent new thoughts or beliefs, or to modify existing beliefs, so as to reduce the amount of dissonance (conflict) between cognitions. Experiments have attempted to quantify this hypothetical drive. Some of these have examined how beliefs often change to match behavior when beliefs and behavior are in conflict.

Social psychologist Leon Festinger first proposed the theory in 1957 after the publication of his book *When Prophecy Fails*, observing the counterintuitive belief persistence of members of a UFO doomsday cult and their increased proselytization after the leader's prophecy failed.

The failed message of earth's destruction, purportedly sent by aliens to a woman in 1956, became a disconfirmed expectancy that increased dissonance between cognitions, thereby causing most members of the impromptu cult to lessen the dissonance by accepting a new prophecy: that the aliens had instead spared the planet for their sake. Studies have not so far detected any gender or cross-cultural differences.

Justification:

Justification is the result of acting against set beliefs. The relative strengths of the forces, external and internal, play a large role in whether or not belief change is experienced. This is done in order to dampen the side effects of cognitive dissonance.

Overjustification:

The phenomenon of not experiencing a belief change when forced to act against one's beliefs with high external justification.

Overjustification Effect:

The overjustification effect (also called the undermining effect) is the effect whereby giving someone an incentive (monetary or otherwise) to do something that they already enjoy doing decreases their intrinsic motivation to do it. As a result of the extrinsic incentive, the person views his or her actions as externally motivated rather than intrinsically appealing. In general, intrinsic motivation decreases in response to tangible but not verbal rewards (praise) for behaviour (Deci, Koestner and Ryan, 1999). According to Self-perception theory, people undergo overjustification effect because by observing what they do and why they did it, the extrinsic motivation appears to be the main cause and so undermines their intrinsic motivation.

Insufficient Justification:

The phenomenon of experiencing a belief change when forced to act against one's beliefs with low external justification.

Empirical Research Into Cognitive Dissonance:

Several experimental methods were used as evidence for cognitive dissonance. These were:

- Induced compliance studies, where people are asked to act in ways contrary to their attitudes (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959; Harmon-Jones, Brehm, Greenberg, Simon, & Nelson, 1996);
- Postdecisional studies, where opinions of rejected alternatives after a decision are studied (Brehm, 1956; Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2002);
- Studies of how people seek out information that is consonant rather than dissonant with their own views, so as to avoid cognitive dissonance (Frey, 1986);

- Studies of how people respond to information that is inconsistent with their firmly-held beliefs, attitudes, or commitments (Festinger, Riecken, & Schachter, 1956; Batson, 1975; Burris, Harmon-Jones, Tarpley, 1997).

Induced Compliance Studies:

Origins and One of The First Experiments Testing The Theory:

In Festinger and Carlsmith's classic 1959 experiment, students were made to perform tedious and meaningless tasks, consisting of turning pegs quarter-turns and, another one, putting spools onto a tray, emptying the tray, refilling it with spools, and so on. Participants rated these tasks very negatively. After a long period of doing this, students were told the experiment was over and they could leave. This is an example of an induced compliance study.

However, the experimenter then asked the subject for a small favor. They were told that a needed research assistant was not able to make it to the experiment, and the participant was asked to fill in and try to persuade another subject (who was actually a confederate) that the dull, boring tasks the subject had just completed were actually interesting and engaging. Some participants were paid \$20 for the favor, another group was paid \$1, and a control group was not requested to perform the favor.

When asked to rate the peg-turning tasks later, those in the \$1 group rated them more positively than those in the \$20 group and control group. This was explained by Festinger and Carlsmith as evidence for cognitive dissonance. Experimenters theorized that people experienced dissonance between the conflicting cognitions "I told someone that the task was interesting", and "I actually found it boring". When paid only \$1, students were forced to internalize the attitude they were induced to express, because they had no other justification. Those in the \$20 condition, it is argued, had an obvious external justification for their behavior. Behavior internalization is only one way to explain the subject's ratings of the task. The research has been extended in later years. It is now believed that there is a conflict between the belief that "I am not a liar", and the recognition that "I lied". Therefore, the truth is brought closer to the lie, so to speak, and the rating of the task goes up.

The researchers further speculated that with only \$1, subjects faced insufficient justification and therefore "cognitive dissonance", so when they were asked to lie about the tasks, they sought to relieve this hypothetical stress by changing their attitude. This process allows the subject to genuinely believe that the tasks were enjoyable.

Put simply, the experimenters concluded that many human beings, when persuaded to lie without being given sufficient justification, will carry out the task by convincing themselves of the falsehood, rather than telling a bald lie.

This study has been criticized, on the grounds that being paid twenty dollars may have aroused the suspicion of some participants. In subsequent experiments, two common alternative methods of "inducing dissonance" were used. In one, experimenters used counter-attitudinal essay-writing, in which people were paid varying amounts of money (e.g., one or ten dollars) for writing essays expressing opinions contrary to their own. The other method was to ask subjects to rate a number of different objects according to their desirability. The subject is then offered a choice between two objects s/he had rated equally, with the knowledge that choosing any one of the two would mean "missing out" on the possible positive features of the unchosen object, thus inducing dissonance.

Forbidden Toy Study:

In a later experiment Aronson and Carlsmith (1963) viewed cognitive justification to forced compliance in children.

The experimenter would question the child on a set of toys to gauge which toys the children liked the most and which they found the least tempting. The experimenter then chose a toy that the child really liked, put them in a room with said toy and left the room. Upon leaving the room the experimenter told half the children that there would be a severe punishment if they played with the toy and told the other half that there would be a moderate punishment.

Later, when the punishment, whether severe or moderate, was removed, the children in the moderate punishment condition were less likely to play with the toy, even though now it had no repercussion. When questioned, the children in the moderate condition expressed more of a disinterest in the toy than would be expected towards a toy that they had initially ranked high in interest. Alternatively, the desirability of the toy went up for the children in the severe punishment condition.

This study laid out the effect of overjustification and insufficient justification on cognition. In overjustification, the personal beliefs and attitudes of the person do not change because they have a good external reason for their actions. The children threatened with the severe punishment had a good external reasoning for not playing with the toy because they knew that they would be badly punished for it. However, they still wanted the toy, so once the punishment was removed they were more likely to play with it. Conversely, the children who would get the moderate punishment displayed insufficient justification because they had to justify to themselves why they did not want to play with the toy since the external motivator, the degree of punishment, was not strong enough by itself. As a result, they convinced themselves that the toy was not worth playing with, which is why even when the punishment was removed they still did not play with the toy.

Postdecisional Dissonance Studies:

Jack Brehm's famous experiment looked at how 225 female students, after making a decision, favored the alternatives which they had selected more strongly (Brehm, 1956). This can be explained in dissonance terms — to go on wishing for rejected alternatives would arouse dissonance between the cognitions "I chose something else" and "I preferred that option".

Basic Theory:

Cognitions which contradict each other are said to be "dissonant," while cognitions which agree with each other are said to be "consonant." Cognitions which neither agree nor disagree with each other are said to be "irrelevant." (Festinger, 1957).

The introduction of a new cognition that is dissonant with a currently held cognition creates a state of "dissonance," the magnitude of which relates to the relative importance of the involved cognitions. Dissonance can be reduced either by eliminating dissonant cognitions, or by adding new consonant cognitions. The maximum possible dissonance is equal to the resistance to change of the less resistant cognition; therefore, once dissonance reaches a level that overcomes the resistance of one of the cognitions involved, that cognition will be changed or eliminated, and dissonance will be reduced.

This leads some people who feel dissonance to seek information that will reduce dissonance and avoid information that will increase dissonance. People who are involuntarily exposed to information that increases dissonance are likely to discount that information, either by ignoring it, misinterpreting it, or denying it.

Challenges and Qualifications:

Elliot Aronson (1969) challenged the basic theory by linking it to the self-concept. He said that cognitive dissonance did not arise because people experience dissonance between conflicting cognitions; rather, it surfaced when people saw their actions as conflicting with their self-concept. Thus, in the Festinger and Carlsmith study, Aronson would interpret the dissonance as between "I am an honest person" and "I lied to someone about finding a task interesting". Thus, according to Aronson, a person would not experience dissonance in this situation if his self-concepts involved perception of himself as a liar.

It should be noted however, that Festinger did acknowledge the powerful impact of central, self-relevant cognitions. He did imply that in spite of the strong drive to seek consistency between cognitions and behavior, there may be situations where the original cognitions are so central to the person's self-concept that they may be resistant to change towards greater consistency. Indeed, several scientists in the literature have shown how individuals who are provided with performance feedback that is discrepant from original beliefs about the self will tend to strengthen their original beliefs and attitudes further through other behaviors when given the opportunity to do so (BDG, 2007).

More recently, Tedeschi has argued that maintaining cognitive consistency is a way to protect public self-image (Tedeschi, Schlenker & Bonoma, 1971). From 1965, Daryl Bem (1965; 1967) has proposed self-perception theory as an alternative to cognitive dissonance theory. This states that people do not have inner access to their own attitudes - let alone whether they are in conflict. Bem interpreted people in the Festinger and Carlsmith study as inferring their attitudes from their behaviour. Thus, when asked "Did you find that task interesting?" they would judge that, as they told someone they did, they must have done. This self-perception theory was based largely on the behaviorism of B.F. Skinner. Bem interprets those paid twenty dollars in the Festinger and Carlsmith study as being able to interpret their vocal behaviour as an example of what behaviorists such as B.F. Skinner call "mands" - that is, elements of speech that are commands and demands rather than mere statements. Consequently, these people would have not seen their vocal behaviour as an utterance describing their behaviour.

In many experimental situations, Bem's theory and Festinger's theory make similar predictions, and so it has been very difficult for experimental social psychologists to design a conclusive experiment that will provide more evidence for one rather than the other of these two theories. However, advocates of dissonance theory sometimes argue that of these two theories, only Festinger's theory predicts that certain processes in social cognition will increase arousal, although there is some dispute about how much Festinger's original theory really did imply that cognitive dissonance increased arousal. Therefore, from 1970 onwards, some psychologists have investigated whether being faced with situations where one's cognitions are likely to conflict, arousal is likely to increase, and have found experimental evidence that this is the case.

Scope/Application:

Dissonance theory applies to all situations involving attitude formation and change. It is especially relevant to decision-making and problem-solving.

Example:

Consider someone who buys an expensive car but discovers that it is not comfortable on long drives. Dissonance exists between their beliefs that they have bought a good car and that a good car should be comfortable. Dissonance could be eliminated by deciding that it does not matter since the car is mainly used for short trips (reducing the importance of the dissonant belief) or focusing on the car's strengths such as safety, appearance, handling (thereby adding more consonant beliefs). The dissonance could also be eliminated by getting rid of the car, but this behavior is a lot harder to achieve than changing beliefs.

Principles:

1. Dissonance results when an individual must choose between attitudes and behaviors that are contradictory.
2. Dissonance can be eliminated by reducing the importance of the conflicting beliefs, acquiring new beliefs that change the balance, or removing the conflicting attitude or behavior.

16.2 Applications of Cognitive Dissonance:

1. Selective Exposure
2. Post-Decision Dissonance
3. Minimal Justification

Selective Exposure:

Tendency to avoid information that is inconsistent with one's beliefs and attitudes

Eg : Attention to particular religious programs on TV.

Can be counteracted by three factors :

Perceived usefulness of information

Perceived norm of fairness

Curiosity/interest value of information

Application : Persuading a hostile audience.

Post-Decision Dissonance:

Dissonance after making a difficult decision

Eg : Buyer's remorse.

Factors that increase dissonance :

Importance of decision

Difficulty of decision

Irreversibility of decision

Application : Countering buyer's remorse.

Minimal Justification:

Counter attitudinal action, freely chosen with little incentive or justification, leads to a change in attitude.

Factors that increase dissonance :

Inconsistency of action with attitudes

Lack of incentive/reward

Free choice (personal responsibility)

Application : Should a new product be introduced at a special new price.

Dissonance and consonance are relations among cognitions that is, among opinions, beliefs, knowledge of the environment, and knowledge of one's own actions and feelings. Two opinions, or beliefs, or items of knowledge are dissonant with each other if they do not fit together; that is, if they are inconsistent, or if, considering only the particular two items, one does not follow from the other (Festinger 1956: 25).

16.3 Comstock's Psychological Model of TV:

It is an acknowledged fact there is a lot of violence on the little and big screen as well as in life. There is a special emphasis on scenes of sex, violence and crimes in the mass media. So much so that television today provides one of the most debilitating forms of narcotic addiction yet devised. This is done through daily dose of hypnosis containing an abundance of direct and indirect suggestion, mostly of a negative type and since it is absorbed subconsciously, it is likely to have unpredictable consequences. Resultantly both TV and cinema today have become the most pernicious and pervasive influences on the growth and upbringing of children as citizens of tomorrow.

A number of researchers have been studying the impact of televised violence on viewers, especially children and the fact whether the violence on screen gets translated into real life violence.

In summarizing the extent of the effects of the televised violence on children, Comstock (Comstock & Paik, 1991) found multiple ways in which television and film violence influence the viewer. Comstock pin points four dimensions:

1. **Efficacy:** It relates to whether the violence on the screen is rewarded or punished;
2. **Normativeness:** It refers to whether the screen violence is justified or lacks any consequences;
3. **Pertinence:** It describes the extent to which the screen violence has some similarity to the viewer's social context; and
4. **Suggestibility:** It concerns the predisposing factors of arousal or frustration.

The report by the National Institute of Mental Health (1982), underlines the fact that there is a consensus developing among members of the research community that "...violence on television does lead to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers who watch the programs.

This conclusion is based on laboratory experiments and on field studies. Not all children become aggressive, of course, but the correlations between violence and aggression are positive. In magnitude, television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any other behavioral variable that has been measured. The research question has moved from asking whether or not there is an effect, to seeking explanations for the effect."

Television Violence and Children's Behavior:

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) position statement on media violence and children (1990) reports that violence in the media has increased since 1980 and continues to increase, particularly since the Federal Communication Commission's decision to deregulate children's commercial television in 1982. The NAEYC statement cites the following examples:

- Air time for war cartoons increased from 1.5 hours per week in 1982 to 43 hours per week in 1986.
- In 1980, children's programs featured 18.6 violent acts per hour and now have about 26.4 violent acts each hour.
- According to an American Psychological Association task force report on television and American society (Huston, et al., 1992), by the time the average child (i.e., one who watches two to four hours of television daily) leaves elementary school, he or she will have witnessed at least 8,000 murders and more than 100,000 other assorted acts of violence on television. Indicating growing concern regarding the issue of television violence, recent commentaries in the Washington Post (Harwood, 1993; Will, 1993; "Televiolence," 1993) highlight:
- a paper by Centerwall (1993) that examines several studies and argues that television violence increases violent and aggressive tendencies in young people and contributes to the growth of violent crime in the United States; and
- a Times Mirror poll, reported in March 1993, that found that the majority of Americans feels that "entertainment television is too violent...that this is harmful to society...that we as a society have become desensitized to violence."

This digest describes the overall pattern of the results of research on television violence and behavior. Several variables in the relationship between television violence and aggression related to characteristics of the viewers and to the portrayal of violence are identified. Finally, concerns regarding the effects of television violence are summarized.

Research Findings:

The overall pattern of research findings indicates a positive association between television violence and aggressive behavior. A Washington Post article (Oldenburg, 1992), states that "the preponderance of evidence from more than 3,000 research studies over two decades shows that

the violence portrayed on television influences the attitudes and behavior of children who watch it.” Signorielli (1991) finds that: “Most of the scientific evidence...reveals a relationship between television and aggressive behavior. While few would say that there is absolute proof that watching television caused aggressive behavior, the overall cumulative weight of all the studies gives credence to the position that they are related. Essentially, television violence is one of the things that may lead to aggressive, antisocial, or criminal behavior; it does, however, usually work in conjunction with other factors. As aptly put by Dorr and Kovaric (1980), television violence may influence ‘some of the people some of the time’” (pp. 94-95).

Characteristics of Viewers:

The following characteristics of viewers, summarized by Clapp (1988), have been shown to affect the influence of television violence on behavior.

Age:

“A relationship between television violence and aggression has been observed in children as young as 3 (Singer & Singer, 1981). Longitudinal data suggest that the relationship is much more consistent and substantial for children in middle childhood than at earlier ages (Eron and Huesmann, 1986). Aggression in early adulthood is also related to the amount of violence watched in middle childhood, although it is not related to the amount watched in early adulthood (Eron, Huesmann, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1972). It has been proposed that there is a sensitive period between ages 8 and 12 during which children are particularly susceptible to the influence of television violence (Eron & Huesmann, 1986)” (pp. 64-65).

Amount of Television Watched:

“Aggressive behavior is related to the total amount of television watched, not only to the amount of violent television watched. Aggressive behavior can be stimulated also by frenetic, hectic programming that creates a high level of arousal in children (Eron & Huesmann, 1986; Wright & Huston, 1983)” (p. 65).

Identification With Television Personalities:

“Especially for boys, identification with a character substantially increases the likelihood that the character’s aggressive behavior will be modeled (Huesmann & Eron, 1986; Huesmann, Lagerspetz, & Eron, 1984)” (p. 65).

Belief That Television Violence Is Realistic:

“Significant relationships have been found between children’s belief that television violence is realistic, their aggressive behavior, and the amount of violence that they watch (Huesmann, 1986; Huesmann & Eron, 1986)” (p. 65).

Intellectual Achievement:

- Children of lower intellectual achievement generally
- watch more television,
- watch more violent television,
- believe violent television reflects real life, and
- behave more aggressively (Huesmann, 1986)” .

Comstock and Paik (1987, 1991) also identify the following factors that may increase the likelihood of television influence:

Viewers who are in a state of anger or provocation before seeing a violent portrayal.

Viewers who are in a state of frustration after viewing a violent portrayal, whether from an extraneous source or as a consequence of viewing the portrayal.

Portrayal of Violence:

The following are factors related to how the violence is portrayed which may heighten the likelihood of television influence. Research on these factors is summarized by Comstock and Paik (1987, 1991):

- Reward or lack of punishment for the portrayed perpetrator of violence.
- Portrayal of the violence as justified.
- Cues in the portrayal of violence that resemble those likely to be encountered in real life. For example, a victim in the portrayal with the same name or characteristics as someone towards whom the viewer holds animosity.
- Portrayal of the perpetrator of violence as similar to the viewer.
- Violence portrayed so that its consequences do not stir distaste or arouse inhibitions.
- Violence portrayed as real events rather than events concocted for a fictional film.
- Portrayed violence that is not the subject of critical or disparaging commentary.
- Portrayals of violent acts that please the viewer.
- Portrayals in which violence is not interrupted by violence in a light or humorous vein.
- Portrayed abuse that includes physical violence and aggression instead of or in addition to verbal abuse.
- Portrayals, violent or otherwise, that leave the viewer in a state of unresolved excitement.

Comstock and Paik (1991) argue that “these contingencies represent four dimensions:

efficacy (reward or lack of punishment);

normativeness (justified, consequenceless, intentionally hurtful, physical violence);

pertinence (commonality of cues, similarity to the viewer, absence of humorous violence);
and

susceptibility (pleasure, anger, frustration, absence of criticism)”

Concerns:

Three major areas of concern regarding the effects of television violence are identified and discussed by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (1990):

- Children may become less sensitive to the pain and suffering of others.
- They may be more likely to behave in aggressive or harmful ways toward others.
- They may become more fearful of the world around them.

Of these, Signorielli (1991) considers the third scenario to be the most insidious: "Research...has revealed that violence on television plays an important role in communicating the social order and in leading to perceptions of the world as a mean and dangerous place. Symbolic victimization on television and real world fear among women and minorities, even if contrary to the facts, are highly related (Morgan, 1983). Analysis also reveals that in most subgroups those who watch more television tend to express a heightened sense of living in a mean world of danger and mistrust as well as alienation and gloom" (p. 96).

Another concern addressed by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (1990) is the negative effect on children's play of viewing violent television: "In short, children who are frequent viewers of media violence learn that aggression is a successful and acceptable way to achieve goals and solve problems; they are less likely to benefit from creative, imaginative play as the natural means to express feelings, overcome anger, and gain self-control"

Paik and Comstock (1994), in a comprehensive updating of Hearold's assessment of the relationship between exposure to television violence and aggressive and antisocial behavior, included 82 new studies for a total of 217 that produced 1,142 coefficients between the independent and dependent variables.

These analyses make it irrefutably clear that children and teenagers who view greater amounts of violent television and movie portrayals are more likely to behave in an aggressive or antisocial manner. In every instance, effect sizes are positive and statistically significant. The case for causation rests on the convergence of the outcomes for experimental and survey designs with no convincing evidence in behalf of an alternative explanation.

The "reverse hypothesis" (aggressive youths seek out violent ntertainment) fares badly. Girls as well as boys are affected (contrary to early experiments and many texts). Socioeconomic status does not provide an alternative explanation with scores on the independent and dependent variables both inversely associated with SES (despite the claims of some). Young people are particularly vulnerable to the influence of television and film violence when they have attributes that predicts greater exposure to violent portrayals or greater likelihood of engaging in aggressive or antisocial behavior (Comstock & Scharrer, 1999; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

Three such attributes are low socioeconomic status, being black, and stressful circumstances as represented by unsatisfactory social relationships or low psychological well-being. Two others are rigid or indifferent

Berkowitz, L. (1984). Some effects of thoughts on anti- and prosocial influences of parenting and a predisposition for anti-social behavior. Thus, violent entertainment is most likely to add to the burdens of those who face considerable challenges in coping with everyday life, and this becomes particularly clear when it is acknowledged that the kind of behavior likely to be increased by violent portrayals is also the kind likely to lead to conflicts with others and clashes with the law.

16.4 Summary:

Cognitive Dissonance theory was proposed by Festinger. According to cognitive dissonance theory, there is a tendency for individuals to seek consistency among their cognitions (i.e., beliefs, opinions). When there is an inconsistency between attitudes or behaviors (dissonance), something must change to eliminate the dissonance. In the case of a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior, it is most likely that the attitude will change to accommodate the behavior.

Two factors affect the strength of the dissonance: the number of dissonant beliefs, and the importance attached to each belief. There are three ways to eliminate dissonance: (1) reduce the importance of the dissonant beliefs, (2) add more consonant beliefs that outweigh the dissonant beliefs, or (3) change the dissonant beliefs so that they are no longer inconsistent.

Dissonance occurs most often in situations where an individual must choose between two incompatible beliefs or actions. The greatest dissonance is created when the two alternatives are equally attractive. Furthermore, attitude change is more likely in the direction of less incentive since this results in lower dissonance. In this respect, dissonance theory is contradictory to most behavioral theories which would predict greater attitude change with increased incentive (i.e., reinforcement).

Dissonance theory applies to all situations involving attitude formation and change. It is especially relevant to decision-making and problem-solving.

The two principles of the theory are that :

1. Dissonance results when an individual must choose between attitudes and behaviors that are contradictory.
2. Dissonance can be eliminated by reducing the importance of the conflicting beliefs, acquiring new beliefs that change the balance, or removing the conflicting attitude or behavior.

It is an acknowledged fact there is a lot of violence on the little and big screen as well as in life. There is a special emphasis on scenes of sex, violence and crimes in the mass media. So much so that television today provides one of the most debilitating forms of narcotic addiction yet devised. This is done through daily dose of hypnosis containing an abundance of direct and indirect suggestion, mostly of a negative type and since it is absorbed subconsciously, it is likely to have unpredictable consequences. Resultantly both TV and cinema today have become the most pernicious and pervasive influences on the growth and upbringing of children as citizens of tomorrow.

A number of researchers have been studying the impact of televised violence on viewers, especially children and the fact whether the violence on screen gets translated into real life violence.

In summarizing the extent of the effects of the televised violence on children, Comstock (Comstock & Paik, 1991) found multiple ways in which television and film violence influence the viewer. Comstock pin points four dimensions:

1. Efficacy: It relates to whether the violence on the screen is rewarded or punished;
2. Normativeness: It refers to whether the screen violence is justified or lacks any consequences;

3. Pertinence: It describes the extent to which the screen violence has some similarity to the viewer's social context; and
4. Suggestibility: It concerns the predisposing factors of arousal or frustration.

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16.6 Technical Terms:

Cognitive dissonance : a psychological term describing the uncomfortable tension that may result from having two conflicting thoughts at the same time.

The overjustification effect : (also called the undermining effect) is the effect whereby giving someone an incentive (monetary or otherwise) to do something that they already enjoy doing decreases their intrinsic motivation to do it.

16.7 Model Questions:

1. Discuss Festinger's Cognitive dissonance theory. Give examples.
2. What are the factors that lead to dissonance ?
3. What is overjustification ?
4. Explain the forbidden toy story ?
5. Discuss Comstock's perspective of the effects of televised violence on children.

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 17

Agenda Setting Theory and Learning Theory

17.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Agenda Setting Theory
- In understanding the Learning Theory

Structure of The Lesson:

- 17.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 17.1 Agenda Setting Theory**
- 17.2 Agenda Setting and The Media**
- 17.3 Social Learning Theory**
- 17.4 Albert Bandura on Social Learning and Self-Efficacy**
- 17.5 Summary**
- 17.6 Technical Terms**
- 17.7 Model Questions**
- 17.8 Reference Books**

17.1 Agenda Setting Theory:

The Agenda-setting theory is the theory that the mass-news media have a large influence on audiences by their choice of what stories to consider newsworthy and how much prominence and space to give them. Agenda-setting theory's central axiom is salience transfer, or the ability of the mass media to transfer importance of items on their mass agendas to the public agendas.

Foundation:

The Media agenda is the set of issues addressed by media sources and the public agenda which are issues the public consider important (Miller, 2005). Agenda-setting theory was introduced in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in their ground breaking study of the role of the media in 1968 presidential campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The theory explains the correlation between the rate at which media cover a story and the extent that people think that this story is important. This correlation has repeatedly been shown to occur.

In the dissatisfaction of the magic bullet theory, many researchers began to study not how the media directly shaped individuals, but how the media shaped issues, particularly concerning political issues (Miller, 2005). Agenda-setting theory gave way that the press has some power, but individuals still are free to make their own decisions.

Journalist Walter Lippman in his 1922 book *Public Opinion* raised the idea that the mass media create images of events in our minds, calling them “the pictures in our heads.” Theodore White, a political analyst, studied how the media shaped political campaigns and concluded that the media shaped the way the public talk and think about political campaigns.

Years later, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw introduced agenda-setting theory in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The theory was derived from their study that took place in Chapel Hill, NC, where the researchers surveyed 100 undecided voters during the 1968 presidential campaign on what they thought were key issues and measured that against the actual media content. The ranking of issues was almost identical. The conclusions matched their hypothesis: The mass media positioned the agenda for public opinion by emphasizing specific topics (Hamm, 1998).

Subsequent research on agenda-setting theory provided evidence for the cause-and-effect chain of influence being debated by critics in the field. One particular study made leaps to prove the cause-effect relationship. The study was conducted by Yale researchers, Shanto Iyengar, Mark Peters, and Donald Kinder. The researchers had three groups of subjects fill out questionnaires about their own concerns and then each group watched different evening news programs, each of which emphasized a different issue.

After watching the news for four days, the subjects again filled out questionnaires and the issues that they rated as most important matched the issues they viewed on the evening news (Griffin, 2005). The study demonstrated a cause-and-effect relationship between media agenda and public agenda. Since the theory’s conception, more than 350 studies have been performed to test the theory. The theory has evolved beyond the media’s influence on the public’s perceptions of issue salience to political candidates and corporate reputation (Carroll & McCombs, 2003).

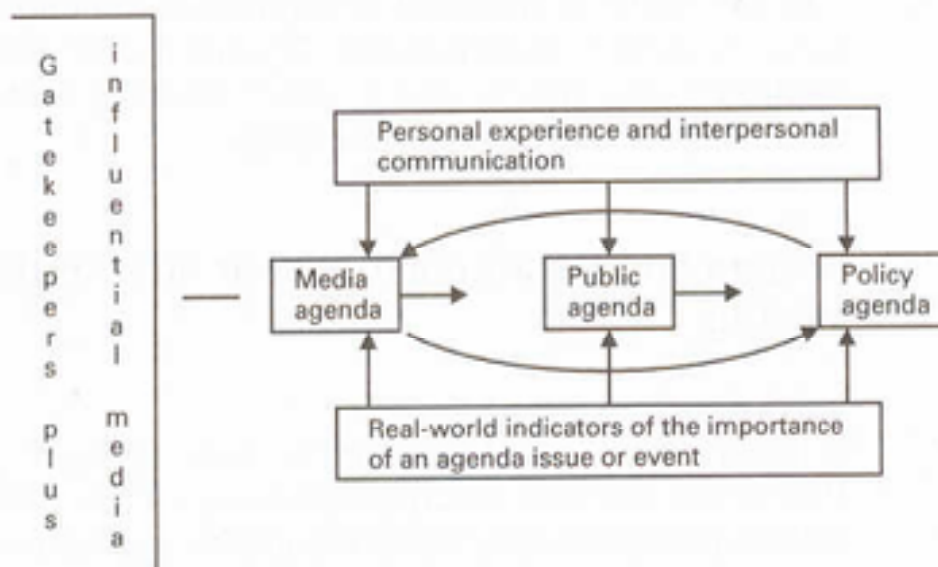


Fig 1. Media Agenda Setting
Source : McQuail & Windahl (1993)

Functions of Theory:

The agenda-setting function has multiple components

1. Media Agenda - issues discussed in the media (newspapers, television, radio)
2. Public Agenda - issues discussed and personally relevant to members of the public
3. Policy Agenda - issues that policy makers consider important (legislators)
4. Corporate Agenda - issues that big business and corporations consider important (corporate)

These four agendas are interrelated. Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting: (1) The press and the media do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

Characteristics:

Characteristics: research has focused on characteristics of audience, the issues, and the media that might predict variations in the agenda setting effect.

- **Need for Orientation:** Research done by Weaver in 1977 suggested that individuals vary on their need for orientation. Need for orientation is a combination of the individual's interest on the topic and uncertainty about the issue. The higher levels of interest and uncertainty produce higher levels of need for orientation. So the individual would be considerably likely to be influenced by the media stories (psychological aspect of theory) (Miller, 2005).
- **Issue Obtrusiveness:** Research performed by Zucker (1978) suggested that an issue is obtrusive if most members of the public have had direct contact with it, and less obtrusive if audience members have not had direct experience. This means that agenda setting results should be strongest for unobtrusive issues because audience members must rely on media for information on these topics (Miller, 2005).

Various Levels of Agenda Setting:

- **First-level agenda setting** This is the level that is most traditionally studied by researchers. In this level the media use objects or issues to influence the public. In this level the media suggest what the public should think about (amount of coverage).
- **Second-level agenda setting.** In this level the media focuses on the characteristics of the objects or issues. In this level the media suggest how the people should think about the issue. There are two types of attributes: cognitive (substantive, or topics) and affective (evaluative, or positive, negative, neutral).
- **Intermedia agenda setting (salience transfer among the media)** (Coleman and Banning 2006; Lee 2005; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Important Concepts:

- Gatekeeping — Control over the selection of content discussed in the media; what the public know and care about at any given time is mostly a product of media gatekeeping.
- Priming — Effects of particular, prior context on retrieval and interpretation of information. The media's content will provide a lot of time and space to certain issues, making these issues more accessible and vivid in the public's mind (Miller, 2005).
- Framing — Framing is a process of selective control over media content or public communication. Framing defines how a certain piece of media content is packaged so it will influence particular interpretations. This is accomplished through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. This is central to second-level agenda setting.

Usage of Theory:

- political advertising
- political campaigns and debates
- business news and corporate reputation (Carroll & McCombs, 2003)
- business influence on federal policy (Berger, 2001)
- legal systems, trials (Ramsey & McGuire, 2000)
- role of groups, audience control, public opinion
- public relations (Carroll & McCombs, 2003)

Strengths of Theory:

- It has explanatory power because it explains why most people prioritize the same issues as important.
- It has predictive power because it predicts that if people are exposed to the same media, they will feel the same issues are important.
- It can be proven false. If people aren't exposed to the same media, they won't feel the same issues are important.
- Its meta-theoretical assumptions are balanced on the scientific side.
- It lays groundwork for further research.
- It has organizing power because it helps organize existing knowledge of media effects.

17.2 Agenda Setting and The Media:

Mass Communication plays an important role in our society its purpose is to inform the public about current and past events. Mass communication is defined in "Mass Media, Mass Culture" as the process whereby professional communicators use technological devices to share messages over great distances to influence large audiences. Within this process the media, which can be a newspaper, a book and television, takes control of the information we see or hear.

The media then uses gatekeeping and agenda setting to “control our access to news, information, and entertainment” (Wilson 14). Gatekeeping is a series of checkpoints that the news has to go through before it gets to the public. Through this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard. Some gatekeepers might include reporters, writers, and editors. After gatekeeping comes agenda setting.

Agenda Setting as defined in “ Mass Media, Mass Culture” is the process whereby the mass media determine what we think and worry about. Walter Lippmann, a journalist first observed this function, in the 1920’s. Lippmann then pointed out that the media dominates over the creation of pictures in our head, he believed that the public reacts not to actual events but to the pictures in our head.

Therefore the agenda setting process is used to remodel all the events occurring in our environment, into a simpler model before we deal with it. Researchers Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw have then followed this concept.

McCombs and Shaw as pointed out by Littlejohn have best described the agenda setting function in their book *Emergence of American Political Issues*. In this book the authors point out that there is abundantly collected evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important part as they go through their day to day tasks in deciding and publicizing news.

“This impact of the mass media- the ability to effect cognitive change among among individuals, to structure their thinking- has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication. Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.” (McCombs and Shaw, 5)

The common assumption of agenda- setting is that the ability of the media to influence the visibility of events in the public mind has been apart of our culture for almost half a century. Therefore the concept of agenda setting in our society is for the press to selectively choose what we see or hear in the media.

Agenda Setting has two levels. As mentioned in *Theories of Communication*, the first level enacts the common subjects that are most important, and the second level decides what parts of the subject are important. These two levels of agenda setting lead path into what is the function of this concept. This concept is process that is divided into three parts according to Rogers and Dearing in their book *Agenda Setting Research*. The first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public thinks, this is referred as public agenda. Ultimately the public agenda influences the policy agenda. Furthermore “ the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda.” (Littlejohn, 320)

Other factors that affect agenda setting these may be the combination of gatekeepers, editors and managers, and external influences. These external influences may be from nonmedia sources, government officials and influential individuals. These factors affect the agenda setting process to an extent that depending what power each factor may have will eventually influence the media agenda. For example “f the media has close relationship with the elite society, that class will probably affect the media agenda and the public agenda in turn” (Littlejohn,321).

Limitations:

- Media users may be as ideal as the theory assumes. People may not be well-informed, deeply engaged in public affairs, thoughtful and skeptical. Instead, they pay casual and intermittent attention to public affairs, often ignorant of the details.
- For people who have made up their minds, the effect is weakened.
- News cannot create and conceal problems. The effect can merely alter the awareness, priorities and salience people attached to a set of problems.

Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media – the ability to tell us what issues are important. As far back as 1922, the newspaper columnist Walter Lippman was concerned that the media had the power to present images to the public. McCombs and Shaw investigated presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976.

In the research done in 1968 they focused on two elements: awareness and information. Investigating the agenda-setting function of the mass media, they attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues and the actual content of the media messages used during the campaign. McCombs and Shaw concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign.

Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Two basis assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting:

- (1) The press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it;
- (2) Media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda-setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this phenomenon. In addition, different media have different agenda-setting potential. Agenda-setting theory seems quite appropriate to help us understand the pervasive role of the media (for example on political communication systems).

Bernard Cohen (1963) stated: “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.”

Favorite Methods : Content-analysis of media, interviews of audiences.

Scope and Application : Just as McCombs and Shaw expanded their focus, other researchers have extended investigations of agenda setting to issues including history, advertising, foreign, and medical news.

Example: McCombs and Shaw focused on the two elements: awareness and information. Investigating the agenda-setting function of the mass media in the 1968 presidential campaign, they attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues and the actual content of media messages used during the campaign.

McCombs and Shaw concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign.

- I. The original agenda: not what to think, but what to think about.
 - A. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw regard Watergate as a perfect example of the agenda-setting function of the mass media.
 - B. They believe that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda.
 - C. The basic theoretical issue had been addressed earlier by Walter Lippman, Bernard Cohen, and Theodore White.
- II. A theory whose time had come.
 - A. Agenda-setting theory contrasted with the prevailing selective exposure hypothesis, reaffirming the power of the press while maintaining individual freedom.
 - B. It represented a back-to-the-basics approach to mass communication research, with a focus on election campaigns.
 - C. The hypothesis predicts a cause-and-effect relationship between media content and voter perception, particularly a match between the media's agenda and the public's agenda later on.
- III. Media agenda and public agenda: a close match.
 - A. In their groundbreaking study, McCombs and Shaw first measured the media agenda.
 - B. They established the position and length of story as the primary criteria of prominence.
 - C. They disregarded articles about matters extrinsic to the issues.
 - D. The remaining stories were divided into five major issues and ranked in order of importance.
 - E. Rankings provided by uncommitted voters aligned closely with the media's agenda.
- IV. What causes what?
 - A. McCombs and Shaw believe that the hypothesized agenda-setting function of the media causes the correlation between the media and public ordering of priorities.
 - B. However, correlation does not prove causation.
 1. A true test of the agenda-setting function must show that public priorities lag behind the media agenda.
 2. McCombs and three other researchers demonstrated a correlational time-lag between media coverage and the public agenda during the 1976 presidential campaign.
 - C. To examine whether the media agenda and the public agenda might just reflect current events, Ray Funkhouser documented a situation in which there was a strong relationship between media and public agendas. The twin agendas did not merely mirror reality, but Funkhouser failed to establish a chain of influence from the media to the public.

- D. Shanto Iyengar, Mark Peters, and Donald Kinder's experimental study confirmed a cause-and-effect relationship between the media's agenda and the public's agenda.
- V. Who sets the agenda for the agenda setters?
 - A. Some scholars target major news editors or "gatekeepers."
 - B. Others point to politicians and their spin doctors.
 - C. Current thinking focuses on public relations professionals.
 - D. "Interest aggregations" are becoming extremely important.
- VI. Who is most affected by the media agenda?
 - A. Those susceptible have a high need for orientation or index of curiosity.
 - B. Need for orientation arises from high relevance and uncertainty.
- VII. Framing: transferring the salience of attributes.
 - A. Throughout the last decade, McCombs has emphasized that the media influence the way we think.
 - B. This process is called framing.
 - 1. A media frame is the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.
 - 2. This definition suggests that media not only set an agenda but also transfer the salience of specific attributes to issues, events, or candidates.
 - C. There are two levels of agenda setting.
 - 1. The transfer of salience of an attitude object in the mass media's pictures of the world to a prominent place among the pictures in our heads.
 - 2. The transfer of salience of a bundle of attributes the media associate with an attitude object to the specific features of the image in our minds.
- VIII. Not just what to think about, but how to think about it.
 - A. Two national election studies suggest that framing works by altering pictures in the minds of people and, through the construction of an agenda with a cluster of related attributes, creating a coherent image.
 - B. Salma Ghanem's study of Texans tracked the second level of agenda setting and suggested that attribute

Agenda Building of The Press:

- 1. The press highlights some events or activities and makes them stand out.
- 2. Different kinds of issues require different kinds and amounts of news coverage to get attention.

3. The events and activities in the focus of attention must be frame, or given a field of meanings within which they can be understood.
 4. The language used by the media can affect perception of the importance of an issue.
 5. The media link the activities or events that have become the focus of attention to secondary symbols whose location on the political landscape is easily recognised. frames have a compelling effect on the public.
- C. Framing is inevitable.
- D. McCombs and Shaw now contend that the media may not only tell us what to think about, they also may tell us who and what to think about it, and perhaps even what to do about it.
- IX. Beyond opinion—the behavioral effect of the media's agenda.
- A. Some findings suggest that media priorities affect people's behavior.
- B. Although it has yet to be tested, Shaw and McCombs have suggested an important agenda-melding function of the media that significantly affects the way people identify with groups and join them.
1. We have a high need for affiliation.
 2. The mass media expand our knowledge of agenda options and help us find other people who share them.
- X. Critique: are the effects too limited, the scope too wide?
- A. McCombs has considered agenda setting a theory of limited media effects.
- B. Framing reopens the possibility of a powerful effects model.
- C. Gerald Kosicki questions whether framing is relevant to agenda-setting research.
1. McCombs' restricted definition of framing doesn't address the mood of emotional connotations of a media story or presentational factors.
 2. Although it has a straightforward definition within agenda-setting theory, the popularity of framing as a construct in media studies has led to diverse and perhaps contradictory uses of the term.
- D. Agenda-setting research shows that print and broadcast news prioritize issues.
- E. Agenda-setting theory reminds us that news stories are inherently artificial

Source : www.tcw.utwente.nl/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20clusters/Mass%20Media/Agenda-Setting_Theory.doc/

Funckhouser (1973) has suggested five mechanisms in addition to the flow of actual events that operate to influence the amount of media attention an issue might receive:

1. Adaptation of the media to a stream of events. As the same pattern of events persists, it may be perceived as "just more of the same" and cease to be considered news.

2. Over reporting of significant but unusual events. Some events, such as a major oil spill, are important but receive exaggerated coverage because of their unusualness or sensationalism.
3. Selective reporting of the newsworthy aspects of otherwise nonnews worthy situations.
4. Pseudoevents, or the manufacturing of newsworthy events. Protests, marches, and publicity stunts are examples of pseudoevents that might help to move issues onto the press agenda.
5. Event summaries, or situations that portray newsworthy events in a newsworthy way.

4. Summary

The power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms.

The principal outlines of this influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which began with a chapter titled "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads."

As he noted, the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is "out of reach, out of sight, out of mind."¹ What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

Social scientists examining this agenda-setting influence of the news media on the public usually have focused on public issues. The agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, an entire year. Over this period of time, whatever it might be, a few issues are emphasized, some receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned. It should be noted that the use of term "agenda" here is purely descriptive. There is no pejorative implication that a news organization "has an agenda" that it relentlessly pursues as a premeditated goal. The media agenda presented to the public results from countless day-to-day decisions by many different journalists and their supervisors about the news of the moment.

The public agenda – the focus of public attention – is commonly assessed by public opinion polls that ask some variation of the long-standing Gallup Poll question, “What is the most important problem facing this country today?”.

Comparisons of the media agenda in the weeks preceding these opinion polls measuring the public agenda yield significant evidence of the agenda-setting role of the news media. When Chapel Hill, North Carolina, voters were asked to name the most 2 important issues of the day – in the very first empirical study of this agenda-setting influence – their responses closely reflected the pattern of news coverage during the previous month in the mix of newspapers, network television news, and news magazines available to them.²

Since that initial study during the 1968 U.S. presidential election, more than 300 hundred published studies worldwide have documented this influence of the news media. It should be noted that this evidence encompasses a wide variety of research designs, including numerous panel studies, time-series analyzes, and controlled laboratory experiments.

To summarize the extent of this influence – and to facilitate comparisons from one research setting to another – social scientists frequently calculate the correlation between the ranking of issues on the media agenda and the ranking accorded those same issues on the subsequent public agenda. This quantitative measure provides a substantial degree of precision for our comparisons, much as a thermometer’s precise numbers are better than simply saying it seems cooler today than it was yesterday.

The vast majority of comparisons between how issues are ranked on the media agenda and how the public ranks the importance of these same issues yield correlations of $+0.50$ or better.³ That reflects a substantial degree of influence.

The agenda-setting influence of the news media is not limited to this initial step of focusing public attention on a particular topic. The media also influence the next step in the communication process, our understanding and perspective on the topics in the news.

If you think about the agenda in abstract terms, the potential for a broader view of media influence on public opinion becomes very clear. In the abstract, the items that define the agenda are objects. For all the agendas we have discussed, the objects are public issues, but they could be other items or topics, such as the agenda of political candidates during an election. The objects are the things on which the attention of the media and the public are focused.

In turn, each of these objects has numerous attributes, those characteristics and traits that describe the object. For each object there also is an agenda of attributes because when the media and the public think and talk about an object, some attributes are emphasized, others are given less attention, and many receive no attention at all.

This agenda of attributes is another aspect of the agenda-setting role of the news media. To borrow

Walter Lippmann's phrase, "the pictures in our heads," the agenda of issues or other objects presented by the news media influence what the pictures in our heads are about. The agenda of attributes presented for each of these issues, public figures, or other objects literally influences the pictures themselves that we hold in mind.

Images held by the public of political candidates and other public figures are the most obvious examples of attribute agenda-setting by the news media. During the 1996 general election in Spain, the descriptions by voters in Navarra of the three major party leaders showed considerable correspondence with the media's presentation of these men.¹⁰ For the local newspapers, the median match with the local voters' descriptions was +.70; for the national newspapers, +.81; for national television, +.54.

Similar matches between the imagery of the news media and the images in the public mind have been found in U.S. national elections. Comparison of New York Democrats' descriptions of the contenders for their party's presidential nomination in 1976 with the agenda of attributes presented in Newsweek's early January sketches of these 11 men found significant evidence of media influence.¹¹ Especially compelling in this evidence is that the correspondence between the news agenda of attributes and the voter agenda of attributes increased from +.64 in mid-February to +.83 in late March. Voters not only learned the media's agenda, but with some additional exposure over the weeks of the primaries they learned it even better.

Which aspects of an issue are covered in the news – and the relative emphasis on these various aspects of an issue — makes a considerable difference in how people view that issue. From the pattern of the total news coverage, the public learns what journalists consider the important issues are and who the prominent public figures of the day are. From the details of this coverage – the agenda of attributes presented by the news media – the public forms its images and perspective about these issues and public figures.

Influencing the focus of public attention is a powerful role, but, arguably, influencing the agenda of attributes for an issue or political figure is the epitome of political power. Determining the way that an issue is framed – setting the ground rules for deliberation, if you will – can significantly influence the ultimate outcome.

Although the influence of the media agenda can be substantial, it alone does not determine the public agenda. Information and cues about object and attribute salience provided by the news media are far from the only determinants of the public agenda.

This substantial influence of the news media has no way overturned or nullified the basic assumption of democracy that the people at large have sufficient wisdom to determine the course of their nation, their state, and their local communities.

In particular, the people are quite able to determine the basic relevance – to themselves and to the larger public arena – of the topics and attributes advanced by the news media. The media set the agenda only when citizens perceive their news stories as relevant.

17.5 Technical Terms:

The Agenda-setting theory : is the theory that the mass-news media have a large influence on audiences by their choice of what stories to consider newsworthy and how much prominence and space to give them.

17.6 Model Questions:

1. Discuss the Agenda Setting Theory.
2. What is the Agenda Setting function of the mass media ? Give examples.

17.7 Reference Books:

Griffin, Em. (2006). A First Look at Communication Theory. (6th ed.) New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Hamm, Bradley J. (1998). Agenda Setting. History of the Mass Media in the United States, 30.

Miller, K. (2005). Communication theories: perspectives, processes, and contexts.(2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

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Shaw, Donald L., & McCombs, Maxwell (Eds.). (1977). The emergence of American political issues. St. Paul, MN: West.

Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 18

Spiral of Silence and Cultivation Theory

18.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the the Spiral of Silence
- In understanding the Cultivation Theory

Structure of The Lesson:

- 18.0 Objectives of The Lesson**
- 18.1 Spiral of Silence**
- 18.2 Concept of Silence**
- 18.3 Cultivation Theory**
- 18.4 Cultivation Analysis**
- 18.5 Summary**
- 18.6 References**
- 18.7 Technicl Terms**
- 18.8 Model Questions**
- 18.9 Reference Books**

18.1 Spiral of Silence:

The spiral of silence is a political science and mass communication theory propounded by the German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. The theory asserts that a person is less likely to voice an opinion on a topic if one feels that one is in the minority for fear of reprisal or isolation from the majority (Anderson 1996: 214; Miller 2005: 277).

Central Assumptions:

- One's perception of the distribution of public opinion influences one's willingness to express opinions.
- The spiral of silence demonstrates why people are unwilling to express their opinions (publicly) when they are not believed to be in the majority.
- People feel an increasing pressure to conceal their views and opinions when they believe they are in minority.
- Individuals perceptions of the opinions of others is a critical factor in determining their willingness to express those opinions.

Key Concepts:

- Fear of Isolation
- Climate of Opinion
- Hard Cores
- Quasi-statistical Sense
- Willingness to Speakout and Tendency to Remain Silent

Fear of Isolation:

- Individuals will alter their behavior (ie, speaking out on an issue) due to innate fear of social isolation.
— Perry Gonzenbach
- “Fear of Isolation” is a key determinant of what the public (people) will talk about, which in turn shapes public opinion.
- Individuals who fear isolation, because their own opinions may not be accepted tend to remain silent on the issue.

Climate of Opinion:

- Because of the fear of isolation, people continuously scan their environment to try to assess the climate of opinion at all times.

Includes:

- Current distribution of opinion
- Future prospects for the distribution of opinion (i.e., who will win the debate on an issue)
—Noelle-Neumann

Hard Cores:

- The minority that remains at the end of a spiral of silence process in defiance of threats of isolation.
- A hard core can turn its back to the public, can close itself off completely when it finds itself in public, with strangers.

Quasi-statistical Sense:

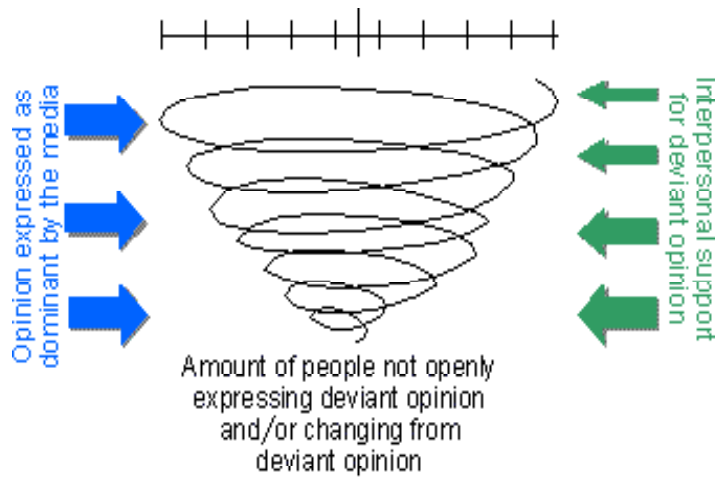
- The process by which people sense moods and changes in public opinion.
- We use this to determine “which opinions and modes of behavior are approved or disapproved of in their environment, and which opinions and forms of behavior are gaining or losing strength.”
—NoelleNeumann
- Individuals constantly monitor their environment to check on the distribution of opinions and the future trend of the opinion.
—Scheufele & Moy

Willingness to Speakout and Tendency to Remain Silent:

- Individuals tend to publicly express their opinions and attitudes when they perceive their view to be dominant or on the rise.

—Scheufele & Moy
- “I have never found a spiral of silence that goes against the tenor of the media, for the willingness to speakout depends in part upon sensing that there is support and legitimization from the media.”
- The media provide people with the words and phrases they can use to defend a certain point of view. If people find no current, frequently repeated expressions for their point of view, they lapse into silence; they become effectively mute.

—Noelle-Neumann



Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence

Fig.1. Spiral of Silence

Example:

This example shows an effect of the theory where during the 1991 Gulf War the U.S. support for the war was measured. Either it is a consensus view or did media coverage contribute to a spiral of silence that dampened opposition to the war? In a survey that asked about people's opinions, respondents were clearly less supportive of the war than the popular support depicted by the media. Those who watched television and perceived that the public supported the war, were more likely to support the war themselves. This study supports the spiral of silence and suggests that people are swayed by bandwagon effects rather than fearing social isolation.

18.2 Concept of Silence:

“Silence is to speech as the white of this paper is to this print” said Bruneau (1973), in an effort to capture the ubiquity and the centrality of silence in communication, while also acknowledging that silence is treated by most people as an insignificant background, a meaningless default, and a

useless emptiness. Like other forms of nonverbal communication, silence is central to communication since how something is said communicates at least as much as what is being said.

Like the empty page, which carries little meaning without graphic symbols, and the graphic symbols which can't exist without a substrate, so do silence and speech coexist in a mutual dependence, each one providing the context, and thus the meaning, to the other. In addition to the speech that surrounds it, silence need also be understood in other contexts, such as other nonverbal signs as well as in the context of culture.

Because it is so context dependent, silence can express and be interpreted as expressing a wide range of meanings. The scope is so wide that actually silence can, in different contexts, mean opposites. Jaworski (1999) gives as an example Jensen's work (Jensen, 1973) where five functions of silence which can have contrasting, positive and negative values are described:

A linkage function: Silence may bond two (or more) people or it may separate them.

An affecting function: Silence may heal (over time) or wound.

A revelation function: Silence may make something known to a person (self exploration) or it may hide information from others.

A judgmental function: Silence may signal assent and favor or it may signal dissent and disfavor.

An activating function: Silence may signal deep thoughtfulness (work) or it may signal mental inactivity.

Another example Jaworski gives is the work of Lebra (1987) where on the one hand reticence is interpreted as a sign of honesty, sincerity and straightforwardness, but on the other hand it is associated with concealing the truth. Silence amongst young spouses in the Japanese culture is an expression of affection, while in the same society silence is used to express social defiance, disagreement with a person, anger and hatred. In

Bruneau's work (1973) one can find additional examples of contrasting meanings of silence: as an empowering as well as an oppressive tool, as a promoter of interpersonal closeness, as well as a sign of aggressive alienation, as a respectful act, as well as a way to signal disrespect. Silence can signal the end of an interaction with a clear finality, as well as represent closeness and intimacy. The polite behavior of a person joining an English group is to join in silence, while the same behavior will be considered inappropriate and impolite in a Mediterranean country like Greece.

In educational settings silence can be a sign of active learning and concentration, as well as of idleness and ignorance. In an organizational context, silence can be attributed to lack of motivation and isolationism, while it actually originates in stress and ambiguous communication (Jenkins, 2000).

The many possible interpretations of silence, compounded by the fact that many of these possible interpretations are at odds with each other, make silence a topic which is difficult to categorize and define, and consequently difficult to research. A definition is elusive and quite futile since "We are likely...to sense the strangeness, frustrations, and ambiguities of silence no matter how we define the concept. Since silence is a sort of absence of something, it suggests a potential..."

Concepts of the sort of silence, then, may be peculiarly difficult if one's purpose is to objectify the state, that is, to say that it is something. Even language itself is an obstacle to clearly defining silence, since the English language does not distinguish between two important types of silence, which are described by at least two words in some languages.

The first definition the Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 1989) gives to silence is

- (1a) "The fact of abstaining or forbearing from speech or utterance (sometimes with reference to a particular matter); the state or condition resulting from this; muteness, reticence, taciturnity". In German this type of silence would be "schweigen", and in Hebrew "shtika". The second definition provided is
- (2a) "The state or condition when nothing is audible; absence of all sound or noise; complete quietness or stillness; noiselessness. In German this type of silence would be "stille, and in Hebrew "dmama" or "dumia". Its closest equivalent in English is "stillness". Definition 3b which we will later propose to adopt for the purpose of the present research is "Neglect or omission to write (about something); failure to communicate or reply", and would also be translated in German into "schweigen" and in Hebrew into "shtika".

Some of the confusion over the meaning of silence stems from the fact that silence has been researched within the confines of a few different disciplines. Jaworski (1997) looks at silence in a multidisciplinary manner, as a linguistic, discursal, literary, social, cultural, spiritual and meta-communicative phenomena. Each of the disciplines looks at silence with a different toolset, and the resulting confusion adds to the difficulty of comprehending this essentially ambiguous subject. Despite the risk of inconsistency stemming from these difficulties, we would like to present a few classification systems suggested for categorizing various types of silence.

Bruneau (1973) defines three forms of silence:

Psycholinguistic Silence,

Interactive Silence and

Socio-cultural Silence.

Psycholinguistic Silence, such as pauses which slow down speech while it is being created, are a result of either the need of the speaker for extra time to perform the linguistic tasks, or to give the listener time to process the speech effectively. Interactive Silences, such as the pauses that allow turn-taking in dyads or in small groups, are mutual silences shared by the members of the dyad or of the small group, until one or more of the parties chooses to break the silence.

Socio-cultural Silence, such as the silence during acts of religious worship, is silence used by entire social and cultural orders in specific situations. Poyatos (2002) lists and categorizes many forms of silence (and stillness) at the human level (language, paralinguistic, audible kinesics, other body sounds, direct/indirect acts upon objects/substances), animal, cultural environment and natural environment. Every form of silence is presented as a silent alternative to a specific sound, and next to its corollaries of movement and stillness. For example, silent footsteps can alternatively be noisy, and feet may either move or remain still. Kurzon (1995) looks at silence in the context of "the right of silence" and analyses it from the point of view of "intention" and "ability".

A silent response could be a result of the lack of ability to speak (either due to ignorance or to psychological disabilities such as shyness or embarrassment) or of the “ability not to speak”, or “ability not to say anything”: intentional silence. An interesting and diverse list of “types of silence” can be extracted from the index to Jaworski’s interdisciplinary book (Jaworski, 1997) and consists of the following types: absolute, acoustic, antecedent, anterior, arbitrary, contemplative, displayed, gustatory, inter and intra turn, olfactory, spiritual, static, surrogate, tactile, temporal and visual.

The controversial “spiral of silence” theory was developed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1991), claiming that people who hold a minority view are less likely to express it in public, due to fear of isolation. This reticence results in a spiral resulting in silencing minority views, a process which is accelerated by mass media.

18.3 Cultivation Theory:

Cultivation theory, developed by Professor George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, derived from several large-scale projects “concerned with the effects of television programming (particularly violent programming) on the attitudes and behaviors of the American public” (Miller, 2005, p. 281) in the 1960s and 1970s.

Miller (2005) says, “The widespread influence of television...was a concern for many scholars and policy makers. In the late 1960s, civil unrest, the assassinations of Bobby Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other events convinced many that we had to know more about how television affects us” (p. 282).

Gerbner and his colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania took a large role in the research projects, which included the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1967 and 1968 and the Surgeon General’s Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior in 1972.

Definition:

“In gathering data for these research investigations...Gerbner and his colleagues developed a theory that posits that television should not be studied in terms of targeted and specific effects (e.g., that watching Superman will lead children to attempt to fly by jumping out the window) but in terms of the cumulative and overarching impact it has on the way we see the world in which we live” (Miller, 2005. p. 282).

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli (1986) said that instead of religion or education, now, “Television is the source of the most broadly shared images and messages in history...Television cultivates from infancy the very predispositions and preferences that used to be acquired from other primary sources...The repetitive pattern of television’s mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of a common symbolic environment” (pp. 17 - 18).

Cultivation theory in its most basic form, then, suggests that exposure to television, over time, subtly “cultivates” viewers’ perceptions of reality. This cultivation can even have an impact on light viewers of TV because the impact on heavy viewers has an impact on our entire culture. Gerbner and Gross (1976) say “Television is a medium of the socialization of most people into standardized roles and behaviors. Its function is in a word, enculturation” (p. 175).

Gerbner et al. (1986) go on to say the impact of television on its viewers is not unidirectional, that the “use of the term cultivation for television’s contribution to conception of social reality... (does not) necessarily imply a one-way, monolithic process. The effects of a pervasive medium upon the composition and structure of the symbolic environment are subtle, complex, and intermingled with other influences. This perspective, therefore, assumes an interaction between the medium and its publics” (p. 23).

Testing Cultivation Theory:

Research about the effects of TV began with the investigation in the studies mentioned above and has been most often tested “through a comparison of the content of television and the beliefs people hold about the nature of the world” (Miller, 2005, 283).

Gerbner et al. (1976) say “Instead of asking what communication ‘variables’ might propagate what kinds of individual behavior changes, we want to know what types of common consciousness whole systems of messages might cultivate” because “the world of TV drama consists of a complex and integrated system of characters, events, actions, and relationships whose effects cannot be measured with regard to any single element or program seen in isolation” (p. 181).

Gerbner et al. (1976) say, “We believe that the key to the answer rests in a search for those assumptions about the ‘facts’ of life and society that television cultivates in its more faithful viewers. That search requires two different methods of research” (p. 181). They are content analysis and cultural indicators analysis.

Content Analysis:

The first step in cultivation research is content analysis: in short, the process of studying the subject matter on TV. For example, in 1969, Gerbner and his colleagues “began to chart the content of prime-time and weekend children’s television programming, and Gerbner et al (1986, p. 25) noted that 2,105 programs, 6,055 major characters, and 19,116 minor characters had been analyzed by 1984. Significantly, Gerbner et al. (pp. 25 - 26) noted the following patterns: “ (Miller, 2005, pp. 283 - 284)

- Men outnumbered women three to one on television
- Older people and younger people are underrepresented on television
- Blacks and Hispanics are underrepresented on television
- Seven percent of television characters are “middle class”
- Crime is 10 times as rampant in the “television world” as it is in the real world

Cultural Indicators Analysis:

The second step in cultivation research is the cultural indicators analysis: the process of “assessing individuals’ beliefs about what the world is like” (Miller, 2005, p. 284). This analysis involves surveys of individuals using factual questions about the world. “For example, an analysis of perceptions about violence might ask respondents about the likelihood of being a victim of violent crime. The forced-choice answer to these questions would include both a ‘television response’ (e.g., a 1 out of 10 chance of being a victim) and a ‘non-television response’ (e.g., a much smaller chance closer to the actual likelihood of being a victim)” (Miller, 2005, 284).

Miller (2005) says a separate measure (often at a different point in time) would be used to assess the overall viewing habits of the individual (p. 283).

Cultivation Analysis:

The final step in cultivation research is cultivation analysis: “a comparison between light television viewers and heavy television viewers. If heavy television viewers tended to provide answers that were more in line with the television response, researchers would have support for the cultivation hypothesis” (Miller, 2005, p. 283).

Critiques and Extensions of Cultivation Theory:

The main critiques of cultivation theory include:

Weak and Limited Effects:

“Some of the earliest (and continuing) critiques of cultivation theory noted the relatively small effects that were found for cultivation processes and the fact that these effects were further diminished when controlling for a number of relevant demographic variables (e.g., age, gender, education). For example...Hirsch (1980) concluded that ‘across most of the attitude items reported by the Annenberg group...the effect of television viewing is clearly minimal when the responses of nonviewers and extreme viewers are analyzed separately’...(and) a recent analysis of cultivation research (Morgan Shanahan, 1997) found an average effect size for cultivation effects to be only .01” (Miller, 2005, p. 286).

Gerbner et al. (1986) respond by saying, “If, as we argue, the messages are so stable, the medium is so ubiquitous, and accumulated total exposure is what counts, then almost everyone should be affected. Even light viewers live in the same cultural environment as most others who do watch television. It is clear, then, that the cards are stacked against finding evidence of effects. Therefore, the discovery of a systematic pattern of even small but pervasive differences between light and heavy viewers may indicate far-reaching consequences” (p. 21).

Gerbner et al. (1986) continue by suggesting that evidence of even the smallest effects can make a difference when he says “after all, a single percentage point difference in ratings is worth millions of dollars in advertising revenue...” (p. 21).

Two ways “in which cultivation theorists have extended their theory to account for small effects and differences in effects among subgroups” (Miller, 2005, p. 286) are the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance, added to the theory.

- **Mainstreaming** “means that television viewing may absorb or override differences in perspective and behavior that stem from other social, cultural, and demographic influences. It represents the homogenization of divergent views and a convergence of disparate viewers (p. 31)” (Miller, 2005, 286).
- **Resonance** “is another concept proposed to explain differential cultivation effects across groups of viewers. The concept suggests that the effects of television viewing will be particularly pronounced for individuals who have had related experience in real life. That is for a recent mugging victim or someone

who lives in a high crime neighborhood, the portrayal of violence on television will resonate and be particularly influential” (Miller, 2005, 286).

Nature of Television Viewing:

Critics also question the part of the theory that says “Compared to other media, television provides a relatively restricted set of choices for a virtually unrestricted variety of interests and publics. Most of its programs are by commercial necessity designed to be watched by nearly everyone in a relatively nonselective fashion” (Gerbner, 1986, p. 19).

This suggestion has been met with opposition, especially since the widespread use of cable television, TiVo and the like.

Several critics have suggested that changes in these assumptions might lead to better predictions about the cultivation effect. (Miller, 2005)

The Cultivation Effect:

Miller (2005) says “Several critics have been levied against the link between viewing patterns and resultant views of the world” (p. 287). They have suggested the extension of cultivation theory by differentiating between first-order and second-order cultivation effects.

- “First-order cultivation effects refer to the effects of television on statistical descriptions about the world” (Miller, 2005, p. 287). For example, “a first-order effect would suggest that heavy viewers would overestimate the likelihood of being the victim of a crime” (Miller, 2005, p. 287).
- “Second-order cultivation effects refer to effects on beliefs about the general nature of the world” (Miller, 2005, p. 287). For example, “a second-order effect would suggest that heavy viewers would be more likely to view the world as a mean or scary place” (Miller, 2005, p. 287).

“Cultivation theorists have appreciated this distinction but never developed the implications of the distinctions on a theoretical level” (Miller, 2005, p. 287).

“In more recent years, the discussions regarding cultivation theory have been somewhat more measured and more concerned with extending the theory in a useful way (e.g., Hawkins & Pingree, 1980; Potter, 1993) (Miller, 2005, p. 286).

18.4 Cultivation Analysis:

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli define Cultivation as “the independent contributions television viewing makes to viewer conceptions of social reality. The ‘cultivation differential’ is the margin of difference in conceptions of reality between light and heavy viewers in the same demographic subgroups” (p23). The theory suggests that people who watch television for many hours a day cultivate a view of society and the world consistent with the patterns of television’s pseudo-reality (Nacos, 2000). This can lead to an exaggerated belief in the amount of violence in society, racial stereotyping, a belief about who is victimized by crime more, beliefs about what it means to be a certain age, gender, or ethnic affiliation in society, and various other beliefs that can be reflected in television programming. Cultivation analysis tries to measure how much television influences a viewer’s perception of reality—to what extent does television programming cultivate our understanding of the world (Stossel, 1997).

“**Mainstreaming** refers to the homogenization of people’s divergent perceptions of social reality into a convergent view” (Cohen and Weimann, 2000). By watching television, viewers learn about facts about the real world. There are only a limited number of television programs available to the public, and choosing from those available decreases the number of differing images seen by audiences. As viewers are all exposed to similar images and ideologies, it creates a mainstream, or commonality for perceiving the ‘real world.’ Once viewers have learned the ‘facts’ about the world from the programming they have observed, they then turn outward and compare those perceptions with the ones they experience in the ‘real world’ on a daily basis. The extent to which the pseudo world in television programming and the ‘real world’ are consistent in patterns, images, ideologies, and the structures that support them, **resonance** occurs. Resonance reinforces in the viewer the images and facts learned by watching television.

“Thus, real world experiences interact with mediated experiences to create an image of the world” (Cohen and Weimann, 2000). Cultivation theorists hypothesize that television programming cultivates a mainstream world view that reflects and perpetuates the interests of social and political elites and their stakes in maintaining the status quo, as well as caters to a commercial society whose advertisers try to reach the masses through programming that is very middle-of-the road in an attempt to appeal to larger segments of the population and their shared needs and ideals (Nacos, 2000).

Television programming over-represents violent behavior, crimes, and people in general. Heavy television viewers, according to cultivation theory, use the patterns and images in television to help create their perception of the world. With so much violence in programming, these viewers tend to see the world as a more violent place than do light viewers. This is known as the “**mean world**” **syndrome**. Heavy viewers tend to be overly frightened and cautious of the real world. The quantity of violence on television encourages the idea that aggressive behavior is normal (Stossel, 1997).

Studies have shown direct correlations of the amount of television watched to the fearfulness of the real world. Most heavy viewers are in low-income, low-education families, consequently living in poorer, more dangerous neighborhoods. These are the people who are more readily exposed to real crime, and so their perception of the world is far nastier than that of a light viewer living in a safer neighborhood. The ‘TV world’ and the ‘real world’ violence these heavy viewers are surrounded by resonate, and reinforce the cultivation learned through the patterns and images observed on TV (Stossel, 1997).

Crime coverage’s “prevalence in the news bestows an unwarranted importance on it that deflects attention from noncrime issues. It may also unduly enhance the public’s fear of crime and the socially harmful consequences of that fear” (Graber, 1980). One might argue that if television can have such a strong influence on a viewer’s negative perception of the world, then it should work in reverse as well. First, television contains so much sex and violence because that is what sells in a global market.

Studies Supporting Cultivation Analysis:

- A 1956 study compared the behavior of twelve four-year-olds who watched a Woody Woodpecker cartoon containing many violent episodes with that of twelve other four-year-olds who watched “The Little Hen,” a nonviolent cartoon. The Woody watchers were much more likely than the Hen watchers to hit other children, break toys, and be generally destructive during playtime. (Stossel, 1997)

- In 1981 Brandon Caldwell, a professor of epidemiology at the University of Washington, hypothesized that the sharp increase in the murder rate in North America beginning in 1955 was the product of television viewing. Television sets had been common household appliances for about eight years by that point — enough time, he theorized, to have inculcated violent tendencies in a generation of viewers. He tested his hypothesis by studying the effects of television in South Africa, where the Afrikaaner-dominated regime had banned it until 1975. He found that twelve years after television was introduced there, murder rates skyrocketed. (Stossel, 1997)
- In 1960, Leonard Eron, a professor of psychology at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, studied third-graders in Columbia County in semi-rural New York. He observed that the more violent television these eight-year-olds watched at home, the more aggressive they were in school. Eron returned to Columbia County in 1971, when the children from his sample were nineteen. He found that the boys who had watched a lot of violent television when they were eight were more likely to get into trouble with the law when older. Eron returned to Columbia County a third time in 1982, when his subjects were thirty. He discovered that those who had watched the most television violence at age eight inflicted more violent punishments on their children, were convicted of more serious crimes, and were reported more aggressive by their spouses than those who had watched less violent television. (Stossel, 1997)
- Children who watch the violent shows, even cartoons that appear to be funny, are more likely to hit other children, argue, disobey rules, leave tasks unfinished, and are more impatient according to Dr. Aletha Huston. (APA Online)

18.5 Summary:

The spiral of silence is a political science and mass communication theory propounded by the German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. The theory asserts that a person is less likely to voice an opinion on a topic if one feels that one is in the minority for fear of reprisal or isolation from the majority (Anderson 1996: 214; Miller 2005: 277).

The Spiral of Silence is a model of why people are unwilling to publicly express their opinions when they believe they are in the minority. The model is based on three premises:

- people have a “quasi-statistical organ,” a sixth-sense if you will, which allows them to know the prevailing public opinion, even without access to polls,
- people have a fear of isolation and know what behaviors will increase their likelihood of being socially isolated, and
- people are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated.

The closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they are willing to openly disclose that opinion in public. Then, if public sentiment changes, the person will recognize that the opinion is less in favor and will be less willing to express that opinion publicly. As the perceived distance between public opinion and a person's personal opinion grows, the more unlikely the person is to express their opinion.

Consider the case of Dennis Rodman, one of the stars of the Chicago Bulls basketball team. Mr. Rodman has consistently been an incredible competitor and rebounder for the Detroit Pistons, San Antonio Spurs, and Chicago Bulls. Over the years he attracted a large fan base, but watched it fall in recent years as he got “weirder” or more “individualistic” (depending on how you interpret his behavior).

Fans in San Antonio welcomed Mr. Rodman when he first arrived, but vocal supporters were hard to find just before he was traded to Chicago. At the start of the 1996-1997 season Mr. Rodman’s stock was high in Chicago, falling off somewhat after the “kick the cameraman” incident. I wish him well, but if the public becomes displeased with him the Spiral of Silence will strike his supporters once again.

Based on the work of George Gerbner in the 1970s, cultivation analysis looks at the relationship between audiences and how they perceive reality, based on what they have seen or continue to watch on television (Borchers, 47). Gerbner created cultivation theory from his cultivation hypothesis, which states his attempts to understand how “heavy exposure to cultural imagery will shape a viewer’s concept of reality”, in reference to the viewing of television commercials and programming. Gerbner continued his research in cultivation theory over the years, and at one point served as Dean at The Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.

Although this theory is based on research concerning fictional television programs, such as soap operas or sitcoms, it is still applicable to how crime and justice are portrayed on television, not only on the nightly news, but also in the form of crime talk shows or small-case trials, such as Judge Judy or Celebrity Justice, which border the lines of fiction and non-fiction. The cultivation theory can be related to the television news in the way that news events, such as crime stories, are transformed into narratives in order to be better understood by mass audiences.

Keep in mind as you continue to explore this website the main argument of Gerbner’s cultivation theory, and how it may apply to the representation of crime in the media.

Does the media shape your opinions on how you think of crime in your local area? In regards to high profile celebrity cases?

- Watching TV may tend to induce a general mindset about violence in the world.
- Gerbner argues that the mass media cultivate attitudes and values which are already present in a culture: the media maintain and propagate these values amongst members of a culture, thus binding it together.
- Cultivation research looks at the mass media as a socializing agent and investigates whether TV viewers come to believe the television version of reality the more they watch it.
- Cultivation theory presents TV as “not a window or reflection of the world, but a world in itself.”

Heavy viewers tend to believe the world is a nastier place than do light viewers

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18.7 Technical Terms:

The spiral of silence : is a political science and mass communication theory propounded by the German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann.

Quasi-statistical Sense : The process by which people sense moods and changes in public opinion.

Cultivation Theory :Concerned with the effects of television programming (particularly violent programming) on the attitudes and behaviors of people

18.8 Model Questions:

1. Explain the Spiral of silence and its application to mass media.
2. Discuss Gerbner's Cultivation Theory.

18.9 Reference Books:

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Lesson - 19

Uses and Gratifications Model

19.0 Objectives of The Lesson:

The objectives of this lesson is to introduce you to

- In understanding the Uses and Gratifications Model
- In understanding the Application of Uses and Gratifications Model

Structure of The Lesson:

19.0 Objectives of The Lesson

19.1 Uses and Gratifications - Introduction

19.2 Uses and Gratifications Model of Communication

19.3 Uses and Effects Model

19.4 Summary

19.5 Reference

19.6 Technical Words

19.7 Reference Books

19.1 Uses and Gratifications - Introduction:

Uses and gratifications, also known as usage and gratifications or needs and gratifications, is not a single approach but a body of approaches to media analysis that developed out of many varied empirical studies, beginning in the mid 20th century.

The basic theme of uses and gratifications is the idea that people use the media to get specific gratifications.

The basic tenet of Uses and Gratifications (called UG for short) is that people are not helpless victims of all powerful media, but use media to fulfil their various needs. These needs serve as motivations (gratifications sought) for using media. Gratifications obtained should correspond with gratifications sought for the media to be able to meet the needs of the users.

Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz devised their uses and gratifications model in 1974 to highlight four areas of gratification in media texts for audiences. These include:

- Diversion — a media text which provides escapism. When a media text temporarily partially covers one's senses. For example playing a video game.

- Personal relationships — People create personal relationships with the characters in a media text, they start to feel they know them. This can become dangerous if people start to trust them as well, for example if one trusted a news reporter too much they may take everything they say at face value and not question it, this trust could then be abused.
- Personal identity — When a person creates part of their own identity from things they find attractive in people from media texts, for example someone may have a haircut because they liked the look of a similar one in a magazine. This can go a long way in shaping people and people's ideas of values, norms, ideologies and fashions.
- Surveillance — the audience gain an understanding of the world around them by consuming a media text, for example print and broadcast news.

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uses_and_gratifications"

Central Tenets And Assumptions:

The first assumption of uses and gratifications theory is that a change in one part of the system, will of necessity, cause a change in another part of the system. Much as VCRs changed television viewing, the internet is now changing the way we interact with all other forms of media. Two examples of this are ABC's Enhanced TV, and MTV's Direct Effect, both of which combine television with interactive web sites.

The second assumption of this theory is that audiences use the media to fulfill expectations. Media use is a means to satisfy wants or interests.

The third assumption of uses and gratifications theory is that audience members are aware of and can state their own motives for using mass communication.

Objectives of The Research:

Uses and gratifications looks at the ways individuals use mass communication to gratify their needs. Are the individuals fantasy seeking, looking for an escape from their everyday lives; or, are they reality seeking, using media as a learning instrument? Uses and gratifications asks who is using media, how much these individuals consume, what type of media they use, and when they are using it. From these basic questions, researchers such as Alan Rubin were able to discover the various reasons people might use media (1979). What Rubin found, in his research of children and television, is that people use TV for learning, passing time, companionship, escape, arousal, and relaxation. In his book *Media Analysis Techniques*, Arthur Berger (1998) identified a list of twenty-four even more specific reasons why people use mediums such as television. Using both the objectives of the research and the findings therein, theorists were able to formulate both the positive and negative consequences of individual media use, such as: interpersonal effects, physical effects, emotional effects, cognitive effects and behavioral effects.

Critique of The Theory:

First of all, uses and gratifications relies too heavily on self reporting. Individuals responding about their own behavior is not always reliable or valid. Secondly, uses and gratifications does not represent a single theory. Because it is so broad in scope, it is more of an umbrella theory. Finally, uses and gratifications pays too much attention to the individual. It ignores both the social context and role of media.

19.2 Uses and Gratifications Model of Communication:

The mass media is a huge phenomenon. Through the various different platforms, print or broadcast, the media is able to reach millions of people like no other force. Without the media, powerful speeches by politicians would affect no one, local events would remain local, and performances by great actors would be seen only by the people in the immediate audience. The media overcomes distances, and builds a direct relationship with the audience. Many sociologists have attempted to explore what effects this has on society, and how the media fits in to our social network. Through many programmes of research, including focus groups, surveys, questionnaires, clinical studies and plain hypothesising, a number of models describing the media's relationship with audiences have been drawn up.

Initially, researchers approached the subject from the angle of how the media is able to manipulate audiences, injecting messages into their minds. This 'hypodermic' model, as it was later termed, became rejected after closer examination. The 'Uses and Gratifications' model represented a change in thinking, as researchers began to describe the effects of the media from the point of view of audiences. The model looks at the motives of the people who use the media, asking why we watch the television programmes that we do, why we bother to read newspapers, why we find ourselves so compelled to keep up to date with our favourite soap. The underlying idea behind the model is that people are motivated by a desire to fulfil, or gratify certain needs. So rather than asking how the media uses us, the model asks how we use the media.

The model is broken down into four different needs.

Surveillance:

The surveillance need is based around the idea that people feel better having the feeling that they know what is going on in the world around them. One of the genres this is often applied to is news. By watching or reading about news we learn about what is happening in the world, and as the news is usually bad news, this knowledge leaves us feeling more secure about the safety of our own lives. This idea might seem a bit strange, that the more we know about tragedies the safer we feel, but sociologists argue that ignorance is seen as a source of danger, and so the more knowledge we have the safer we feel. When looking at the news it's easy to spot news items that give us this reaction. For example if it wasn't for watching the news we might be unknowingly left with five pound notes that are worthless, or become vulnerable to the latest computer virus, or end up in a hospital with an awful track record.

It's not just news that fulfils the surveillance model however, the theory can also be seen in many consumer and crime-appeal programmes such as Watchdog⁴, Rogue Traders and CrimeWatch. These appeal directly through the idea that they are imparting information that people need to know. The programmes talk far more directly to the viewer, and even try to get the viewer involved in the programme. Because these programmes deal purely with national and local concerns, without such vagaries as world news, the issues ostensibly have the potential to affect the viewer directly. By watching the programme we are finding out about which particular insurance companies are a con, how mobile phone muggings are taking place and the tricks plumbers use to charge us through the roof. This knowledge of life's potential pitfalls gives us the feeling that we are more able to avoid them (though in reality it's hard to see how this actually happens).

The surveillance model then is all about awareness. We use the mass media to be more aware of the world, gratifying a desire for knowledge and security.

Personal Identity:

The personal identity need explains how being a subject of the media allows us to reaffirm the identity and positioning of ourselves within society. This can most be seen in soaps, which try to act as a microcosm of society as a whole. The characters in soaps are usually designed to have wildly different characteristics, so that everyone can find someone to represent themselves, someone to aspire to, and someone to despise. For example you might feel close to a character who is always falling victim to other people, and this connection might help you to understand and express your own feelings. You may also really like a character who seems 'cool' and leads a lifestyle you'd like to lead. This relationship could act as a way to channel your own life, helping you to set goals to work to. Finally there may be a character you really can't stand. By picking out their bad characteristics and decisions ('oh, she shouldn't have done that'), it helps you to define your own personal identity by marking out what you're not like...

The use of the media for forming personal identity can also be seen outside soaps. Sports personalities and pop stars can often become big role models, inspiring young children everywhere (which is why there's such an outcry when one of them does something wrong). Even the 'seriousness' of news can lend itself to gratifying personal identity, by treating news anchors as personalities, rather than simply figureheads relaying information: Watching the news with my grandma is a nightmare. She's always commenting on the newsreader's clothing, hairdo or mannerisms.

Personal Relationships:

This section comes in two parts. We can form a relationship with the media, and also use the media to form a relationship with others.

Relationships with the Media:

Many people use the television as a form of companionship. This may seem sad, but think about how many times you've watched the TV on your own, or with other people but sitting in silence. The television is often quite an intimate experience, and by watching the same people on a regular basis we can often feel very close to them, as if we even know them. When presenters or characters in a soap die, those who have watched that person a lot often grieve for the character, as if they have lost a friend. Some events can even cause media outcries, such as the imprisonment of Deirdre from the TV soap Coronation Street, which caused many national newspapers to campaign for her release. We also talk to the TV a lot. Not many football fans can sit through a televised match without shouting at the players or the referee, and many people tell characters what to (or not to do) next. Don't go down the stairs in your nightie! No don't open the door! No...!!!

The more we watch the same personalities, the more we feel we get to know them. Reality TV shows such as Big Brother give us such a feeling of intimacy with the participants that they can become part of our lives. Even though the relationship is completely one-sided, it's easy to see how we can fall in love with TV personalities.

Using the Media Within Relationships:

Another aspect to the personal relationships model is how we can sometimes use the media as a springboard to form and build upon relationships with real people. The EastEnders strapline 'Everyone's talking about it', despite being a clever marketing tactic, does hold up when

looking at social uses of the media. Having a favourite TV programme in common can often be the start of a conversation, and can even make talking to strangers that much easier. There's also some studies that suggest that some families use sitting around watching the television as a stimulus for conversation, talking to each other about the programme or related anecdotes while it is on. This kind of use (as well as some of the others), is heavily satirised in the BBC sit-com *The Royle Family*.

Diversion:

The diversion need describes what's commonly termed as escapism - watching the television so we can forget about our own lives and problems for a while and think about something else. This can work with positive programmes, such as holiday shows or the constant happy endings in the Australian soap *Neighbours*, which help to cheer us up and forget our own problems, and with negative programmes, such as the bleak *EastEnders* or a tragic film, which help to put our own problems into perspective ('At least my life's not that bad!').

The diversion model also accounts for using the media for entertainment purposes, such as a good spy film, and for relaxation (slumping in front of the telly, don't care what's on).

Altogether, the Uses and Gratifications model outlines the many reasons we have for using the mass media, and the kind of functions that the media can play within our lives. A new approach to the dynamics of audience/text relationship was suggested in the Uses and Gratification model. In this model, theorists were not asking how the media effects audiences, but how were the audiences using the media.

They suggested that audiences had specific needs and actively turned to the media to consume various texts to a satisfaction of these needs. The audience in Uses and Gratifications were seen as active, as opposed to passive audience in the Effects model. Uses and Gratifications acknowledged that the audience had a choice of texts from which to choose from and satisfy their needs.

Blumler and Katz (1974) suggested that there were four main needs of television audiences that are satisfied by television. These included – Diversion (a form of escaping from the pressures of every day), Personal Relationships (where the viewer gains companionship, either with the television characters, or through conversations with others about television), Personal Identity (where the viewer is able to compare their life with the lives of characters and situations on television, to explore, re-affirm or question their personal identity) and Surveillance (where the media are looked upon for a supply of information about what is happening in the world).

While acknowledging that the audience are active and chose what to watch, the Uses and Gratifications model as a model for understanding audiences also has its limitations. The model still implies that messages are packages of information that all the audience will read as the same. It does not consider how the messages are interpreted or any other factors affecting the audience's interpretation.

Another criticism is that of the tendency to concentrate solely on why audiences consume the media rather than extending the investigation to discover what meanings and interpretations are produced and in what circumstances, i.e. how the media are received. (O'Sullivan, Dutton & Rayner 1994, 131)

The Uses and Gratification model assumes that the audience's wish for satisfaction results in a media output to fulfil their desire, rather than acknowledging that audiences have to enjoy whatever is produced by the media.

Both the Effects and the Uses and Gratifications model ignore to some extent the audience and their social backgrounds, how they form their interpretations of the media messages and their specific relationship with the media text. In the 70s, the academic journal *Screen* suggested that audiences were positioned by the media text. Theorists started to take an approach influenced by semiotics and structuralism, to discover what meanings were made from texts and how this meaning was achieved. Great emphasis was placed on the text, particularly film.

Screen thought that the position of the viewer of Hollywood film was determined for them through the use of camera shots. For example, the shot/reverse shot commonly used during dialogue enabled the viewer to position themselves as one of the characters. Another example is a close up of somebody who then looks offscreen. The next shot of the object that the character is looking at is shown, again placing the viewer in the position of the character. Writers, such as Laura Mulvey considered the "gaze" in Hollywood film to be a masculine gaze, where the camera shots adopt the male gaze and constructing the female as the object of that gaze.

Uses and Gratifications: Current Relevance:

One may ask, what relevance does the Uses and Gratifications Theory have today? Well, surprisingly, this theory has formed itself to the modern media age of the last half of the 20th century. A development in the study of Uses and Gratifications is moving away from conceptualizing audiences as "active" or "passive" to treating individuals' activities as a variable. Examples may include: reading magazines, using the Internet or watching television (Severin and Tankard, 1997).

Another shift of interest for Uses and Gratification is its focus on media use for satisfying particular needs. An example of this is the ability of mass media to relieve loneliness. A study found that the heaviest use of the media was used to relieve situational or temporary loneliness (Severin and Tankard, 1997).

Blumler seems to envision a marriage between cultural studies and the Uses and Gratifications approach, but he is not clear on what terms. Instead of asking, "What are your reasons for watching this program?," Blumler would ask, "What about it do you find true to life?," or "What picture of the world does it seem to convey?" (Blumler, 1979).

The current status of the Uses and Gratifications Theory is still based on Katz's first analysis, people still use media for many different purposes — but the Uses and Gratifications approach is still extremely valid as technology moves the universe into an electronic information age. People have more options now, and they will continue to have the pick of the media to satisfy their specific needs. Advances in media technology, such as video-cassette recording (VCR), cable programming and the Internet (world wide web, e-mail, chat-rooms) have allowed consumers to be in more control of the media. Specific research in these areas is crucial for media planners as they should be monitoring the position and direction of the audiences (Severin and Tankard, 1997).

Uses and Gratifications: Recent Studies

In October 1997, a study was conducted on 219 university students to discover the origins of mass media exposure by linking personality traits to television, radio, print and film use. The five

personality traits pursued included key links in a basic Uses and Gratifications model: neuroticism, extroversion, openness, agreeableness and conscientiousness.

The strongest relationships for mass media use were between openness and pleasure reading, extroversion and negative pleasure reading, and openness and negative television viewing. Individuals who scored higher on extroversion and agreeableness exhibited a preference for non-mediated activities, especially conversation.

“In view of the results that demonstrate an inverse relationship between openness and television viewing, Blumler may have speculated correctly that a ‘fascination with television’ has diverted researchers attention from the gratifications served by ‘more focused forms of media’...in which possessors of certain social identities are more likely to find reflection and confirmations of their own roles (Finn, 1997).

Finally, as a matter of research strategy, these results validate the importance of recognizing that one cannot solve the puzzle of linking personality traits to patterns of raw media use without accounting for alternative sources of gratification in the interpersonal domain.

The results suggest that much of the difficulty in demonstrating significant relationships between individual differences and mass media use are attributed to an intersecting plane of personality-based preferences, which differentially favor, in the case of extroverts and highly agreeable individuals and, interpersonal rather than mediated sources of gratification. Those same personality-based preferences are bound to shape an individual’s adoption of new communication technologies as well (Finn, 1997).

In 1995, Arnett, Larson and Offer investigated adolescents and their media choices. They took the Uses and Gratifications approach which emphasizes that people make choices about the media they consume and that people differ in individual interpretations of media content. In 1993, Walt Disney movie “The Program” launched their inquiry about adolescents and their decisions based on media use. This movie depicted college football players proving their masculinity by laying down in traffic on a busy highway. Within a week after the movie premiered, three adolescent boys in Pennsylvania enacted the scene with frightening results.

The movie premiered in 1,220 theaters to more than 100,000 persons, with only three persons falling victim to the media effects. It is difficult to make a cause-and-effect relationship as the percentage of accidents were too few to the total number of movie viewers. However, this incident illustrates both the potentially profound effects of the media on adolescents and the complexity involved in tracing the effect (Arnett, Larson, Offer, 1995).

Many adolescents growing up in industrialized countries use media virtually every day of their lives, and this is increasingly true in developing countries as well. Consequently, understanding the meaning and uses of media is important to a comprehensive understanding of adolescent development in our time. To this point, virtually all of the research on adolescents’ uses of media has been performed by scholars in communication and journalism. We present this special issue with the goal of stimulating conversation and collaboration between scholars in these fields and scholars in adolescent development.

The combination of these perspectives offers promise for promoting new insights into the complex, multifaceted significance of media in the lives of adolescents (Arnett, Larson, Offer, 1995).

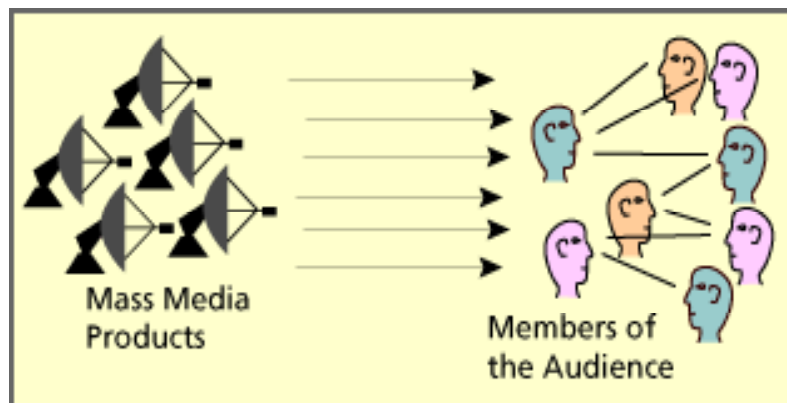


Fig 1: Uses and Gratifications Theory places emphasis on people as consumers of media

Uses and Gratification: Problems

- “The nature of the theory underlying Uses and Gratifications research is not totally clear,” (Blumler, 1979).
- “Practitioners of Uses and Gratifications research have been criticized for a formidable array of shortcomings in their outlook — they are taxed for being crassly atheoretical, perversely eclectic, ensnared in the pitfalls of functionalism and for flirting with the positions at odds with their functionalist origins,” (Blumler, 1979).
- The biggest issue for the Uses and Gratifications Theory is its being non-theoretical, being vague in key concepts, and being nothing more than a data-collecting strategy (Severin and Tankard, 1997).
- It seems that using this sociologically-based theory has little to no link to the benefit of psychology due to its weakness in operational definitions and weak analytical mode. Also, it is focused too narrowly on the individual and neglects the social structure and place of the media in that structure (Severin and Tankard, 1997).
- This theory has also been blasted by media hegemony advocates who say it goes too far in claiming that people are free to choose the media fare and the interpretations they want (Severin and Tankard, 1997).
- Other motives that may drive people to consume media may involve low level attention, a habit or a mildly pleasant stimulation. Uniform effects are not the kind of factor the Uses and Gratifications approach would predict (Severin and Tankard, 1997).

19.3 Uses and Effects Model:

Media effects theory is the sociological or media studies theory that exposure to representations of violence in any of various media causes (or tends to cause) increased aggression or violence in the audience / consumer. It appears in ‘folk wisdom’ and newspaper editorials as the claim that x or y media product must be banned in order to avoid the violence it depicts being acted out in society, notably by young people. Some argue that it is not really a theory, as it lacks a meaningful theoretical grounding; instead it is more like a hypothesis.

The most influential studies on the debate around media studies have usually been headline-grabbing 'proofs' of Effects theory. Subsequent attempts to replicate, modify, refine or reject these headline studies have proven of less interest to the mass media. Examples of direct effect theories on violence in the mass media Bobo Doll

This classic study (Bandura et al, 1961) exposed two groups of nursery children to a new play area, containing a selection of toys with which they were unfamiliar. One of the toys was a threefoot inflatable Bobo Clown with a weighted base, designed as a self-righting 'punchbag' toy. As they played, the non-aggression (control) set observed an adult playing quietly with certain toys and ignoring Bobo. In the aggression set, the adult 'model' performed a distinctive set of violent moves on Bobo, such as sitting on its head and punching its nose, striking it with a toy mallet, and kicking it into the air, while uttering aggressive phrases such as Punch him in the nose!. Independent observers later scored children's behaviour for aggression when left alone to play with these toys. Those exposed to the 'aggressive' adult demonstrably imitated many of the adult's moves.

Supporters of effects theory contend that commercials, advertising and voter campaigns prove that the media influences people's behavior. In the 20th century aggressive media attention and negative depictions of trials revolving around celebrities as Roscoe Fatty Arbuckle or Michael Jackson have influenced the general public's opinion, before the trials effectively started. However, these critics do point out that while the media could have an effect on people's behaviour this isn't necessarily always the case.

There are however, several drawbacks in the model :

1. The effects model tackles social problems 'backwards':

To explain the problem of violence in society, researchers should begin with that social violence and seek to explain it with reference, quite obviously, to those who engage in it: their identity, background, character and so on. The 'media effects' approach, in this sense, comes at the problem backwards, by starting with the media and then trying to lasso connections from there on to social beings, rather than the other way around.

This is an important distinction. Criminologists, in their professional attempts to explain crime and violence, consistently turn for explanations not to the mass media but to social factors such as poverty, unemployment, housing, and the behaviour of family and peers. In a study which did start at what I would recognise as the correct end - by interviewing 78 violent teenage offenders and then tracing their behaviour back towards media usage, in comparison with a group of over 500 'ordinary' school pupils of the same age - Hagell &

Newburn (1994) found only that the young offenders watched less television and video than their counterparts, had less access to the technology in the first place, had no particular interest in specifically violent programmes, and either enjoyed the same material as non-offending teenagers or were simply uninterested. This point was demonstrated very clearly when the offenders were asked, 'If you had the chance to be someone who appears on television, who would you choose to be?':

'The offenders felt particularly uncomfortable with this question and appeared to have difficulty in understanding why one might want to be such a person... In several interviews, the offenders had already stated that they watched little television, could not remember their favourite programmes

and, consequently, could not think of anyone to be. In these cases, their obvious failure to identify with any television characters seemed to be part of a general lack of engagement with television' (p. 30). Thus we can see that studies which take the perpetrators of actual violence as their first point of reference, rather than the media, come to rather different conclusions (and there is certainly a need for more such research). The point that effects studies take the media as their starting point, however, should not be taken to suggest that they involve sensitive examinations of the mass media. As will be noted below, the studies have typically taken a stereotyped, almost parodic view of media content. In more general terms, the 'backwards' approach involves the mistake of looking at individuals, rather than society, in relation to the mass media. The narrowly individualistic approach of some psychologists leads them to argue that, because of their belief that particular individuals at certain times in specific circumstances may be negatively affected by one bit of media, the removal of such media from society would be a positive step.

This approach is rather like arguing that the solution to the number of road traffic accidents in Britain would be to lock away one famously poor driver from Cornwall; that is, a blinkered approach which tackles a real problem from the wrong end, involves cosmetic rather than relevant changes, and fails to look in any way at the 'bigger picture'.

2. The effects model treats children as inadequate:

The individualism of the psychological discipline has also had a significant impact on the way in which children are regarded in effects research. Whilst sociology in recent decades has typically regarded childhood as a social construction, demarcated by attitudes, traditions and rituals which vary between different societies and different time periods (Ariés, 1962; Jenks, 1982, 1996), the psychology of childhood - developmental psychology - has remained more tied to the idea of a universal individual who must develop through particular stages before reaching adult maturity, as established by Piaget (e.g. 1926, 1929). The developmental stages are arranged as a hierarchy, from incompetent childhood through to rational, logical adulthood, and progression through these stages is characterised by an 'achievement ethic' (Jenks, 1996, p. 24).

In psychology, then, children are often considered not so much in terms of what they can do, as what they (apparently) cannot. Negatively defined as non-adults, the research subjects are regarded as the 'other', a strange breed whose failure to match generally middle-class adult norms must be charted and discussed. Most laboratory studies of children and the media presume, for example, that their findings apply only to children, but fail to run parallel studies with adult groups to confirm this. We might speculate that this is because if adults were found to respond to laboratory pressures in the same way as children, the 'common sense' validity of the experiments would be undermined.

In her valuable examination of the way in which academic studies have constructed and maintained a particular perspective on childhood, Christine Griffin (1993) has recorded the ways in which studies produced by psychologists, in particular, have tended to 'blame the victim', to represent social problems as the consequence of the deficiencies or inadequacies of young people, and to 'psychologize inequalities, obscuring structural relations of domination behind a focus on individual "deficient" working-class young people and/or young people of colour, their families or cultural backgrounds' (p. 199). Problems such as unemployment and the failure of education systems are thereby traced to individual psychology traits. The same kinds of approach are readily observed in media effects studies, the production of which has undoubtedly been dominated by psychologically-

oriented researchers, who - whilst, one imagines, having nothing other than benevolent intentions - have carefully exposed the full range of ways in which young media users can be seen as the inept victims of products which, whilst obviously puerile and transparent to adults, can trick children into all kinds of ill-advised behaviour.

This situation is clearly exposed by research which seeks to establish what children can and do understand about and from the mass media. Such projects have shown that children can talk intelligently and indeed cynically about the mass media (Buckingham, 1993, 1996), and that children as young as seven can make thoughtful, critical and 'media literate' video productions themselves (Gauntlett, 1997).

3. Assumptions within the effects model are characterised by barely-concealed conservative ideology

The systematic derision of children's resistant capacities can be seen as part of a broader conservative project to position the more contemporary and challenging aspects of the mass media, rather than other social factors, as the major threat to social stability today. American effects studies, in particular, tend to assume a level of television violence which - as Barrie Gunter shows in this volume - is simply not applicable in other countries such as Britain. George Gerbner's view, for example, that 'We are awash in a tide of violent representations unlike any the world has ever seen... drenching every home with graphic scenes of expertly choreographed brutality' (1994, p. 133), both reflects his hyperbolic view of the media in America and the extent to which findings cannot be simplistically transferred across the Atlantic. Whilst it is certainly possible that gratuitous depictions of violence might reach a level in American screen media which could be seen as unpleasant and unnecessary, it cannot always be assumed that violence is shown for 'bad' reasons or in an uncritical light. Even the most obviously 'gratuitous' acts of violence, such as those committed by Beavis and Butt-Head in their eponymous MTV series, can be interpreted as rationally resistant reactions to an oppressive world which has little to offer them (see Gauntlett, 1997).

The condemnation of generalised screen 'violence' by conservative critics, supported by the 'findings' of the effects studies - if we disregard their precarious foundations - can often be traced to concerns such as 'disrespect for authority' and 'anti-patriotic sentiments' (most conspicuously in Michael Medved's well-received *Hollywood vs. America: Popular Culture and the War on Traditional Values* (1992)). Programmes which do not necessarily contain any greater quantity of violent, sexual or other controversial depictions than others, can be seen to be objected to because they take a more challenging socio-political stance (Barker, 1984, 1989, 1993). This was illustrated by a study of over 2,200 complaints about British TV and radio which were sent to the Broadcasting Standards Council over an 18 month period from July 1993 to December 1994 (Gauntlett, 1995c). This showed that a relatively narrow range of most complained-of programmes were taken by complainants to characterise a much broader decline in the morals of both broadcasting in particular and the nation in general.

This view of a section of the public is clearly reflected in a large number of the effects studies which presume that 'antisocial' behaviour is an objective category which can be observed in numerous programmes and which will negatively affect those children who see it portrayed. This dark view is constructed with the support of content analysis studies which appear almost designed to incriminate the media.

Even today, expensive and avowedly 'scientific' content analyses such as the well-publicised US National Television Violence Study (Mediascope, 1996; run by the Universities of California, North Carolina, Texas and Wisconsin), for example, include odd tests such as whether violent acts are punished within the same scene - a strange requirement for dramas - making it easier to support views such as that 'there are substantial risks of harmful effects from viewing violence throughout the television environment'. Much is made of the finding that 'violence goes unpunished (73%) in almost three out of four scenes' (point repeated on p. x, p. 15, p. 25; my emphasis)]. This study also reflects the continuing willingness of researchers to impute effects from a count-up of content.

4. The effects model inadequately defines its own objects of study:

The flaws numbered four to six in this list are more straightforwardly methodological, although they are connected to the previous and subsequent points. The first of these is that effects studies have generally taken for granted the definitions of media material, such as 'antisocial' and 'prosocial' programming, as well as characterisations of behaviour in the real world, such as 'antisocial' and 'prosocial' action. The point has already been made that these can be ideological value judgements; throwing down a book in disgust, smashing a nuclear missile, or - to use a Beavis and Butt-Head example - sabotaging activities at one's burger bar workplace, will always be interpreted in effects studies as 'antisocial', not 'prosocial'.

Furthermore, actions such as verbal aggression or hitting an inanimate object are recorded as acts of violence, just as TV murders are, leading to terrifically (and irretrievably) murky data. It is usually impossible to discern whether very minor or extremely serious acts of 'violence' depicted in the media are being said to have led to quite severe or merely trivial acts in the real world. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that this is rarely seen as a problem: in the media effects field, dodgy 'findings' are accepted with an uncommon hospitality.

5. The effects model is often based on artificial studies:

Since careful sociological studies of media effects require amounts of time and money which limit their abundance, they are heavily outnumbered by simpler studies which are usually characterised by elements of artificiality. Such studies typically take place in a laboratory, or in a 'natural' setting such as a classroom but where a researcher has conspicuously shown up and instigated activities, neither of which are typical environments. Instead of a full and naturally-viewed television diet, research subjects are likely to be shown selected or specially-recorded clips which lack the narrative meaning inherent in everyday TV productions. They may then be observed in simulations of real life presented to them as a game, in relation to inanimate objects such as Bandura's famous 'bobo' doll, or as they respond to questionnaires, all of which are unlike interpersonal interaction, cannot be equated with it, and are likely to be associated with the previous viewing experience in the mind of the subject, rendering the study invalid.

Such studies also rely on the idea that subjects will not alter their behaviour or stated attitudes as a response to being observed or questioned. This naive belief has been shown to be false by researchers such as Borden (1975) who have demonstrated that the presence, appearance and gender of an observer can radically affect children's behaviour.

6. The effects model is often based on studies with misapplied methodology:

Many of the studies which do not rely on an experimental method, and so may evade the flaws mentioned in the previous section, fall down instead by applying a methodological procedure wrongly, or by drawing inappropriate conclusions from particular methods. The widely-cited longitudinal panel study by Huesmann, Eron and colleagues (Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder & Huesmann, 1972, 1977), for example, has been less famously slated for failing to keep to the procedures, such as assessing aggressivity or TV viewing with the same measures at different points in time, which are necessary for their statistical findings to have any validity (Chaffee, 1972; Kenny, 1972).

The same researchers have also failed to adequately account for why the findings of this study and those of another of their own studies (Huesmann, Lagerspetz & Eron, 1984) absolutely contradict each other, with the former concluding that the media has a marginal effect on boys but no effect on girls, and the latter arguing the exact opposite (no effect on boys, but a small effect for girls). They also seem to ignore that fact that their own follow-up of their original set of subjects 22 years later suggested that a number of biological, developmental and environmental factors contributed to levels of aggression, whilst the mass media was not even given a mention (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1984). These astounding inconsistencies, unapologetically presented by perhaps the best-known researchers in this area, must be cause for considerable unease about the effects model. More careful use of the same methods, such as in the three-year panel study involving over 3,000 young people conducted by Milavsky, Kessler, Stipp & Rubens (1982a, 1982b), has only indicated that significant media effects are not to be found.

Another misuse of method occurs when studies which are simply unable to show that one thing causes another are treated as if they have done so. Correlation studies are typically used for this purpose. Their finding that a particular personality type is also the kind of person who enjoys a certain kind of media, is quite unable to show that the latter causes the former, although psychologists such as Van Evra (1990) have casually assumed that this is probably the case. There is a logical coherence to the idea that children whose behaviour is antisocial and disruptional will also have a greater interest in the more violent and noisy television programmes, whereas the idea that the behaviour is a product of these programmes lacks both this rational consistency, and the support of the studies.

7. The effects model is selective in its criticisms of media depictions of violence:

In addition to the point that 'antisocial' acts are ideologically defined in effects studies (as noted in section three above), we can also note that the media depictions of 'violence' which the effects model typically condemns are limited to fictional productions. The acts of violence which appear on a daily basis on news and serious factual programmes are seen as somehow exempt. The point here is not that depictions of violence in the news should necessarily be condemned in just the same, blinkered way, but rather to draw attention to another philosophical inconsistency which the model cannot account for. If the antisocial acts shown in drama series and films are expected to have an effect on the behaviour of viewers, even though such acts are almost always ultimately punished or have other negative consequences for the perpetrator, there is no obvious reason why the antisocial activities which are always in the news, and which frequently do not have such apparent consequences for their agents, should not have similar effects.

8. The effects model assumes superiority to the masses:

Surveys typically show that whilst a certain proportion of the public feel that the media may cause other people to engage in antisocial behaviour, almost no-one ever says that they have been affected in that way themselves. This view is taken to extremes by researchers and campaigners whose work brings them into regular contact with the supposedly corrupting material, but who are unconcerned for their own well-being as they implicitly 'know' that the effects will only be on 'other people'. Insofar as these others are defined as children or 'unstable' individuals, their approach may seem not unreasonable; it is fair enough that such questions should be explored. Nonetheless, the idea that it is unruly 'others' who will be affected - the uneducated? the working class? - remains at the heart of the effects paradigm, and is reflected in its texts

George Gerbner and his colleagues, for example, write about 'heavy' television viewers as if this media consumption has necessarily had the opposite effect on the weightiness of their brains. Such people are assumed to have no selectivity or critical skills, and their habits are explicitly contrasted with preferred activities: 'Most viewers watch by the clock and either do not know what they will watch when they turn on the set, or follow established routines rather than choose each program as they would choose a book, a movie or an article' (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986, p.19). This view, which knowingly makes inappropriate comparisons by ignoring the serial nature of many TV programmes, and which is unable to account for the widespread use of TV guides and VCRs with which audiences plan and arrange their viewing, reveals the kind of elitism and snobbishness which often seems to underpin such research. The point here is not that the content of the mass media must not be criticised, but rather that the mass audience themselves are not well served by studies which are willing to treat them as potential savages or actual fools.

9. The effects model makes no attempt to understand meanings of the media:

A further fundamental flaw, hinted at in points three and four above, is that the effects model necessarily rests on a base of reductive assumptions and unjustified stereotypes regarding media content. To assert that, say, 'media violence' will bring negative consequences is not only to presume that depictions of violence in the media will always be promoting antisocial behaviour, and that such a category exists and makes sense, as noted above, but also assumes that the medium holds a singular message which will be carried unproblematically to the audience. The effects model therefore performs the double deception of presuming (a) that the media presents a singular and clear-cut 'message', and (b) that the proponents of the effects model are in a position to identify what that message is.

The meanings of media content are ignored in the simple sense that assumptions are made based on the appearance of elements removed from their context (for example, woman hitting man equals violence equals bad), and in the more sophisticated sense that even in context the meanings may be different for different viewers (woman hitting man equals an unpleasant act of aggression, or appropriate self-defence, or a triumphant act of revenge, or a refreshing change, or is simply uninteresting, or any of many further alternative readings). In-depth qualitative studies have unsurprisingly given support to the view that media audiences routinely arrive at their own, often heterogeneous, interpretations of everyday media texts (e.g. Buckingham, 1993, 1996; Hill, 1997; Schlesinger, Dobash, Dobash & Weaver, 1992; Gray, 1992; Palmer, 1986). Since the effects model rides roughshod over both the meanings that actions have for characters in dramas and the meanings which those depicted acts may have for the audience members, it can retain little credibility

with those who consider popular entertainment to be more than just a set of very basic propaganda messages flashed at the audience in the simplest possible terms.

10. The effects model is not grounded in theory:

Finally, and underlying many of the points made above, is the fundamental problem that the entire argument of the ‘effects model’ is substantiated with no theoretical reasoning beyond the bald assertions that particular kinds of effects will be produced by the media. The basic question of why the media should induce people to imitate its content has never been adequately tackled, beyond the simple idea that particular actions are ‘glamorised’. (Obviously, antisocial actions are shown really positively so infrequently that this is an inadequate explanation). Similarly, the question of how merely seeing an activity in the media would be translated into an actual motive which would prompt an individual to behave in a particular way is just as unresolved. The lack of firm theory has led to the effects model being based in the variety of assumptions outlined above - that the media (rather than people) is the unproblematic starting-point for research; that children will be unable to ‘cope’ with the media; that the categories of ‘violence’ or ‘antisocial behaviour’ are clear and self-evident; that the model’s predictions can be verified by scientific research; that screen fictions are of concern, whilst news pictures are not; that researchers have the unique capacity to observe and classify social behaviour and its meanings, but that those researchers need not attend to the various possible meanings which media content may have for the audience. Each of these very substantial problems has its roots in the failure of media effects commentators to found their model in any coherent theory.

Future for research on media influences?

The effects model, we have seen, has remarkably little going for it as an explanation of human behaviour, or of the media in society. Whilst any challenging or apparently illogical theory or model reserves the right to demonstrate its validity through empirical data, the effects model has failed also in that respect. Its continued survival is indefensible and unfortunate. However, the failure of this particular model does not mean that the impact of the mass media can no longer be considered or investigated.

The studies by Greg Philo and Glasgow University Media Group colleagues, for example, have used often imaginative methods to explore the influence of media presentations upon perceptions and interpretations of factual matters (e.g. Philo, 1990; Philo, ed., 1996). I have realised rather late that my own study (Gauntlett, 1997) in which children made videos about the environment, which were used as a way of understanding the discourses and perspectives on environmentalism which the children had acquired from the media, can be seen as falling broadly within this tradition. The strength of this work is that it operates on a terrain different from that occupied by the effects model; even at the most obvious level, it is about influences and perceptions, rather than effects and behaviour. However, whilst such studies may provide valuable reflections on the relationship between mass media and audiences, they cannot - for the same reason - directly challenge claims made from within the ‘effects model’ paradigm (as Miller & Philo (1996) have misguidedly supposed). This is not a weakness of these studies, of course; the effects paradigm should be left to bury itself whilst prudent media researchers move on to explore these other areas.

Any paradigm which is able to avoid the flaws and assumptions which have inevitably and quite rightly ruined the effects model is likely to have some advantages. With the rise of qualitative studies which actually listen to media audiences, we are seeing the advancement of a more forward-

thinking, sensible and compassionate view of those who enjoy the mass media. After decades of stunted and rather irresponsible talk about media 'effects', the emphasis is hopefully changing towards a more sensitive but rational approach to media scholarship.

Source : David Gauntlett in Roger Dickinson, Ramaswani Harindranath & Olga Linné, eds (1998), *Approaches to Audiences – A Reader*, published by Arnold, London.

19.4 Summary:

Uses and gratifications, also known as usage and gratifications or needs and gratifications, is not a single approach but a body of approaches to media analysis that developed out of many varied empirical studies, beginning in the mid 20th century.

The basic theme of uses and gratifications is the idea that people use the media to get specific gratifications. The basic tenet of Uses and Gratifications (called UG for short) is that people are not helpless victims of all powerful media, but use media to fulfil their various needs. These needs serve as motivations (gratifications sought) for using media. Gratifications obtained should correspond with gratifications sought for the media to be able to meet the needs of the users.

Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz devised their uses and gratifications model in 1974 to highlight four areas of gratification in media texts for audiences. These include:

Diversion — a media text which provides escapism. When a media text temporarily partially covers one's senses. For example playing a video game.

Personal relationships — People create personal relationships with the characters in a media text, they start to feel they know them. This can become dangerous if people start to trust them as well, for example if one trusted a news reporter too much they may take everything they say at face value and not question it, this trust could then be abused.

Personal identity — When a person creates part of their own identity from things they find attractive in people from media texts, for example someone may have a haircut because they liked the look of a similar one in a magazine. This can go a long way in shaping people and people's ideas of values, norms, ideologies and fashions.

Surveillance — the audience gain an understanding of the world around them by consuming a media text, for example print and broadcast news.

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uses_and_gratifications"

Thus, communication theorists have used uses and gratifications theory in an attempt to explain how individuals use mass media to satisfy their needs. These needs range from relaxation to companionship to information. Uses and gratifications theory has three objectives: what people do with media, the underlying motives in using media, and consequences of that use. The theory posits that audience members actively seek out mass media to satisfy personal wants and that they make conscious decisions on what they see, hear, or read..

While uses and gratifications theory does shed more light on why people select certain media over others, it still does not address current patterns of media use. In psychology, communication theory and sociology, media influence or media effects refers to the theories about the ways in which the mass media affect how their audiences, think and behave.

The growth of media as an industry has accelerated over the past few years with new forms such as [DVD]and the [internet]changing the way we, the audience, [(consumption)(economics)(consume)] and receive media. This has caused some media theorists to call into question the influence that the media have over our [(attitude) (psychology)(attitude)s and (belief)]s.

Urbanization, industrialization and modernization have created the societal conditions for the development of mass media. The bulk of the content of the mass media is not designed to challenge or modify the social and political structure of a nation, either in a one party state or in a democratic society. The mass media plays a crucial role in forming and reflecting public opinion: it communicates the world to individuals, and it reproduces modern society's self-image. Critiques in the early-to-mid twentieth century suggested that the media destroys the individual's capacity to act autonomously - sometimes being ascribed an influence reminiscent of the telescreens of the dystopian novel 1984.

Later empirical studies, however, suggest a more complex interaction between the media and society, with individuals actively interpreting and evaluating the media and the information it provides. The consequences and ramifications of the mass media relate not merely to the way newsworthy events are perceived (and which are reported at all), but also to a multitude of cultural influences which operate through the mass media. Thus Lang and Lang claim that "The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about."

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19.6 Technical Terms:

Gratification : satisfaction.

Surveillance need : is based around the idea that people feel better having the feeling that they know what is going on in the world around them.

The personal identity need : explains how being a subject of the media allows us to reaffirm the identity and positioning of ourselves within society.

Uses and Effects model : Media effects theory is the sociological or media studies theory that exposure to representations of violence in any of various media causes (or tends to cause) increased aggression or violence in the audience / consumer.

19.7 Model Questions:

1. Explain the Uses and Gratifications theory of communication.
2. Detail the uses and effects model.
3. What are the defects in the uses and effects model ?

19.8 Reference Books:

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Lesson Writer

B.N.NEELIMA

Lesson - 20

Social Learning Theory

20.0 Objective of The Lesson:

The objective of this lesson is to introduce you

- In understanding the Social Learning Theory

Structure of The Lesson:

20.0 Objective of The Lesson

20.1 Social Learning Theory

20.2 Application of Social Learning Theory - The case of Media Violence

20.3 Summary

20.4 Model Questions

20.5 Reference Books

20.1 Social Learning Theory:

Social learning theory focuses on the learning that occurs within a **social context**. It considers that people learn from one another, including such concepts as observational learning, imitation, and modeling. Among others **Albert Bandura** is considered the leading proponent of this theory.

General principles of social learning theory are as follows:

1. People can **learn by observing** the behavior of others and the outcomes of those behaviors.
2. Learning can occur **without a change** in behavior. Behaviorists say that learning has to be represented by a permanent change in behavior, in contrast social learning theorists say that because people can learn through **observation alone**, their learning may not necessarily be shown in their performance. Learning may or may not result in a behavior change.
3. Cognition plays a **role** in learning. Over the last 30 years social learning theory has become **increasingly cognitive** in its interpretation of human learning. Awareness and expectations of future reinforcements or punishments can have a major effect on the behaviors that people exhibit.
4. Social learning theory can be considered a bridge or a **transition** between behaviorist learning theories and cognitive learning theories.

How the environment reinforces and punishes modeling:

People are often reinforced for **modeling** the behavior of **others**. Bandura suggested that the **environment also reinforces** modeling. **This is in several possible ways:**

1. The observer is reinforced **by the model**. For example a student who changes dress to fit in with a certain group of students has a strong likelihood of being accepted and thus reinforced by that group.
2. The observer is reinforced by a **third person**. The observer might be modeling the actions of someone else, for example, an outstanding class leader or student. The teacher notices this and compliments and praises the observer for modeling such behavior thus reinforcing that behavior.
3. The imitated **behavior itself leads** to reinforcing consequences. Many behaviors that we learn from others **produce satisfying** or reinforcing results. For example, a student in my multimedia class could observe how the extra work a classmate does is fun. This student in turn would do the same extra work and also receive enjoyment.
4. Consequences of the model's behavior affect the observers behavior **vicariously**. This is known as vicarious reinforcement. This is where in the **model is reinforced** for a response and then the **observer shows an increase** in that same response. Bandura illustrated this by having students watch a film of a model **hitting a inflated clown doll**. One group of children saw the model being praised for such action. Without being reinforced, the group of children began to also hit the doll .

Contemporary social learning perspective of reinforcement and punishment:

1. Contemporary theory proposes that both reinforcement and punishment have **indirect effects** on learning. They are not the sole or main cause.
2. Reinforcement and punishment **influence** the extent to which an individual exhibits a behavior that has been learned.
3. The **expectation** of reinforcement **influences cognitive** processes that promote learning. Therefore attention plays a critical role in learning. And attention is influenced by the expectation of reinforcement. An example would be, where the teacher tells a group of students that what they **will study next** is not on the test. Students will not pay attention, because they do not expect to know the information for a test.

Cognitive factors in social learning:

Social learning theory has cognitive factors as well as behaviorist factors (actually operant factors).

1. Learning without performance: Bandura makes a distinction between learning through **observation** and the actual **imitation** of what has been learned.
2. Cognitive processing during learning: Social learning theorists contend that **attention** is a critical factor in learning.

3. Expectations: As a result of being reinforced, people form expectations **about the consequences** that future behaviors are likely to bring. They expect certain behaviors to bring reinforcements and others to bring punishment. The learner needs to **be aware** however, of the response reinforcements and response punishment. Reinforcement increases a response only when the learner is aware of that connection.
4. Reciprocal causation: Bandura proposed that behavior can influence both the environment and the person. In fact each of these **three variables**, the person, the behavior, and the environment can have an influence on each other.
5. Modeling: There are different **types** of models. There is the **live model**, and actual person demonstrating the behavior. There can also be a **symbolic model**, which can be a person or action portrayed in some other medium, , such as television, videotape, computer programs.

Behaviors that can be learned through modeling:

Many behaviors can be **learned**, at least **partly, through** modeling. Examples that can be cited are, students can watch parents **read**, students can watch the demonstrations of **mathematics** problems, or seen someone acting bravely and a fearful situation. **Aggression** can be learned through models. Much research indicate that children become more aggressive when they observed aggressive or violent models. Moral thinking and **moral behavior** are influenced by observation and modeling. This includes **moral judgments** regarding right and wrong which can in part, develop through modeling.

Conditions necessary for effective modeling to occur:

Bandura mentions **four conditions** that are necessary before an individual can successfully model the behavior of someone else:

1. Attention: the person must first **pay attention** to the model.
2. Retention: the observer must be able to **remember** the behavior that has been observed. One way of increasing this is using the technique of rehearsal.
3. Motor reproduction: the third condition is the **ability to replicate** the behavior that the model has just demonstrated. This means that the observer has to be able to replicate the action, which could be a problem with a learner who is not ready developmentally to replicate the action. For example, **little children** have difficulty doing complex physical motion.
4. Motivation: the final necessary ingredient for modeling to occur is **motivation**, learners must want **to demonstrate** what they have learned. Remember that since these four conditions vary among individuals, different people will reproduce the same behavior differently.

Effects of modeling on behavior:

Modeling teaches **new** behaviors.

Modeling influences the **frequency** of previously learned behaviors.

Modeling may **encourage** previously **forbidden** behaviors.

Modeling increases the **frequency** of **similar** behaviors. For example a student might see a friend excel in basketball and he tries to excel in football because he is not tall enough for basketball.

Self efficacy:

People are **more likely** to engage in certain behaviors when they believe they are **capable** of executing those behaviors **successfully**. This means that they will have high self-efficacy. In layman's terms self-efficacy could be looked as self confidence towards learning.

How self-efficacy affects behavior:

Joy of activities: individuals typically **choose** activities they feel they will be successful in doing.

Effort and **persistence**: individuals will tend to put more effort end activities and behaviors they consider to be successful in achieving. Learning and **achievement**: students with high self-efficacy tend to be better students and achieve more. "Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action."

Albert Bandura, Social Learning Theory:

"Self-efficacy is the belief in one's capabilities to organize and execute the sources of action required to manage prospective situations."

From Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory, 1986.

"A theory that denies that thoughts can regulate actions does not lend itself readily to the explanation of complex human behavior."

From Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory, 1986.

"If efficacy beliefs always reflected only what people can do routinely they would rarely fail but they would not set aspirations beyond their immediate reach nor mount the extra effort needed to surpass their ordinary performances."

From Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 1994.

"Self-belief does not necessarily ensure success, but self-disbelief assuredly spawns failure."

From Self-efficacy: The exercise of control, 1997.

"People not only gain understanding through reflection, they evaluate and alter their own thinking."

From Social Foundations of Thought and Action, 1986.

"By sticking it out through tough times, people emerge from adversity with a stronger sense of efficacy."

From Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 1994.

"People who regard themselves as highly efficacious act, think, and feel differently from those who perceive themselves as inefficacious.

They produce their own future, rather than simply foretell it."

From Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A social Cognitive Theory., 1986.

"People with high assurance in their capabilities approach difficult tasks as challenges to be mastered rather than as threats to be avoided."

From Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 1994.

"We are more heavily invested in the theories of failure than we are in the theories of success."

From APA address, 1998.

"Once established, reputations do not easily change."

From Encyclopedia of Human Behavior, 1994.

Factors in the development of self efficacy:

In general students typically have a good sense of what they can and cannot do, therefore they have fairly accurate opinions about their own self-efficacy. In **my multimedia** program, the **challenge** is to increase student self-efficacy. There are many factors which affect self efficacy. Some of these factors can be; previous successes and failures, messages received from others, and successes and failures of others. Note **example** of ACS and Cliff & Vanessa.

Self regulation:

Self-regulation has come to be more emphasized in social learning theory. Self-regulation is when the individual has his **own ideas** about what is **appropriate** or inappropriate behavior and **chooses** actions accordingly. There are several aspects of self regulation:

- Setting standards and goals
- Self observation
- Self judge
- Self reaction

Promoting self-regulation can be an important technique. This is usually done by **teaching** the individual to **reward himself** after doing the needed behavior. For example, a graduate student will tell himself to complete a certain chapter before taking a break and relaxing.

Self instructions:

An effective strategy is to teach learners to **give themselves instructions** that guide their behavior. There are five steps to achieve this goal:

- Cognitive modeling:
- Overt external guidance

Overt self guidance

Faded, overt self guidance

Covert self instruction

Self monitoring and self reinforcement:

These are two ways that people can control their own behavior. First they monitor and observe their own behavior, sometimes even scoring behavior. Secondly, people are also able to change their behavior by reinforcing themselves, by giving or withholding reinforcement.

Educational implications of social learning theory:

Social learning theory has numerous implications for classrooms.

1. Students often **learn a great** deal simply by **observing** other people.
2. **Describing the consequences** of behavior can effectively increase the appropriate behaviors and decrease inappropriate ones. This can involve discussing with learners about the rewards and consequences of

The processes underlying observational learning are as Kearsley (1994c) explains:

attention

retention (including cognitive organization and motor rehearsal)

motor reproduction (including physical capabilities, self-observation of reproduction, and accuracy of feedback)

motivation (including external and self reinforcement)

observer characteristics (such as sensory capacities, arousal level, perceptual set, and past reinforcement).

various behaviors.

3. Modeling provides an **alternative to shaping** for teaching new behaviors. Instead of using shaping, which is operant conditioning, modeling can **provide a faster, more efficient** means for teaching new behavior. To promote effective modeling a teacher must make sure that the four essential conditions exist; attention, retention motor reproduction, and motivation.
4. Teachers and parents must **model appropriate behaviors** and take care that they do not model inappropriate behaviors.
5. Teachers should **expose** students to a **variety** of other **models**. This technique is especially important to break down traditional stereotypes.
6. Students must **believe** that they are **capable** of accomplishing school tasks. Thus it is very important to develop a sense of **self-efficacy** for students. Teachers can promote such self-efficacy by having students receive confidence-building messages, watch others be successful, and experience success on their own. .

7. Teachers should help students set **realistic expectations** for their academic accomplishments. In general in the **class** teachers must make sure that expectations are not set **too low**. Teachers must realistically challenge their students.
8. Self-regulation techniques provide an **effective** method for **improving** student **behavior**.

20.2 Application of Social Learning Theory - The case of Media Violence:

Bandura's major premise is that we can learn by observing others. He considers vicarious experience to be the typical way that human beings change. He uses the term modeling to describe Campbell's two midrange processes of response acquisition (observation of another's response and modeling), and he claims that modeling can have as much impact as direct experience.

Social learning theory is a general theory of human behavior, but Bandura and people concerned with mass communication have used it specifically to explain media effects. Bandura warned that "children and adults acquire attitudes, emotional responses, and new styles of conduct through filmed and televised modeling." George Gerbner was concerned that television violence would create a false climate of fear. Albert Bandura cautioned that TV might create a violent reality that was worth fearing.

Bandura's warning struck a responsive chord in parents and educators who feared that escalating violence on TV would transform children into bullies. Although he doesn't think this will happen without the tacit approval of those who supervise the children, Bandura regards anxiety over televised violence as legitimate.

That stance caused network officials to blackball him from taking part in the 1972 Surgeon General's Report on Violence. It is doubtful whether TV sets will ever bear an inscription similar to that on packs of cigarettes: "Warning: The Surgeon General has determined that TV violence may turn your child into an insensitive brute." But if Bandura had been picked as a member of the research team, the report would have been more definitive in pointing out the causal link between television violence and aggressive behavior.

Consider the case of Tyler Richie, a shy 10-year-old boy who has been raised on a Saturday-morning diet of superheroes. After school he's absorbed for an hour in helping Nintendo's Mario Brothers fight their way out of danger. He then catches the last half of a Rockford Files rerun on a local station and sees that even mild mannered James Garner regards violence as the best option when his Pappie is in trouble. After dinner, Ty laughs at the fake fighting of roller derby and wrestling on sports cable. He then slips a cassette of Dirty Harry into the VCR and settles back for some hard-core violence. "Go ahead and make my day," he drawls as Clint Eastwood appears on the screen.

The combined four hours that Ty spends in front of the screen represent a typical day for boys in his class at school. Bandura considers "gentle" Ty a likely candidate to someday clobber his sister, shoot a prowler, or use criminal force to get his own way. Social learning theory postulates three necessary stages in the causal link between television violence and actual physical harm to another: attention, retention, and motivation.

Attention: "I Never Thought of That Before"

Because advertising rates are tied directly to a program's share of the market, television professionals are experts at gaining and holding attention. Practitioners are committed to the drawing power of dramatized personal injury and physical destruction. According to Bandura, televised violence will grab Ty's attention because it is simple, distinctive, prevalent, useful, and depicted positively.

1. **Simple.** There's nothing very subtle about punching someone in the face. Drawn-out negotiations and attempts at reconciliation are complicated, but even a child can understand a quick right to the jaw. In order to avoid confusion, the good guys wear white hats.
2. **Distinctive.** The characters on the screen take risks that don't fit the ordered pattern of Ty's life. That's why Action Jackson pays his own way on commercial stations, while Mr. Rogers' ten-minute sweater change requires a subsidy on public television. Prosocial behavior like sharing, sympathy, control of anger, and delayed gratification appears dull when compared with violent action sequences.
3. **Prevalent.** Bandura cites Gerbner's index of violence to show that television portrays "the big hurt." Over 80 percent of prime-time programs contain violent acts. That figure rises to over 90 percent for weekend cartoon shows. With Nintendo sweeping America and more than half of the nation's families owning a VCR, violence on demand is easy to arrange.
4. **Useful.** Social critics decry the gratuitous violence on television, but Bandura denies that aggression is unrelated to the story line. The scenes of physical force are especially compelling because they suggest that violence is a preferred solution to human problems. Violence is presented as a strategy for life.
5. **Positive.** On every type of program, television draws in viewers by placing attractive people in front of the camera. There are very few overweight bodies or pimply faces on TV. When the winsome star roughs up a few hoods to help the lovely young woman, aggression is given a positive cast.

Using violence in the race for ratings not only draws an attentive audience, it transmits responses that we, as viewers, might never have considered before. The media expand our repertoire of behavioral options far beyond what we would discover by trial and error and in ways more varied than we would observe in people we know. The unthinkable no longer is.

Retention: "I Figured Out What I Was Doing Wrong"

Bandura says it's fortunate that people learn from vicarious observation, since mistakes could prove costly or fatal. Without putting himself at risk, Ty is able to discover that a knife fighter holds a switchblade at an inclined angle of forty-five degrees and that he jabs up rather than lunging down. Ty can pick up this bit of "street smarts" from an admired Harry or a despised Scorpio, and learning takes place whether the fictional model is rewarded or punished for his action. We hope that Ty will never have an occasion to put his knowledge into practice. It's certainly unlikely that he'll walk out of the house and immediately mimic the action he has learned; instantaneous reproduction is uncommon. In contrast to classical learning theory, Bandura says we can learn novel behavior without any practice or direct reinforcement for its consequences. The action will lie dormant, available for future use, as long as we remember it.

Memory is a cognitive function, so Bandura's theory moves beyond mere behaviorism. Like most other communication theorists, he believes that the ability to use symbols sets humans apart from the limited stimulus-response world of animals. "Humans don't just respond to stimuli, they interpret them."

Bandura says that we store events in two ways—through visual images and through verbal codes. Ty may have a vivid picture in his mind of Clint Eastwood leveling an unswerving Colt .45 Magnum revolver. If so, repeated instant mental replays (with Ty in the role of enforcer) will ensure that he remembers how to point a gun in the future. The more he exercises the image, the stronger the memory will be in the future.

Bandura is convinced, however, that major gains in vicarious learning come when the observer develops a conscious awareness of the technique involved. These insights are stored verbally. Ty will take a giant step toward becoming a dead shot when he can sort out the visual image of Clint Eastwood into generalized principles:

"Hold the weapon with both hands."

"Don't jerk the trigger; squeeze it."

"Aim six inches low to compensate for the recoil."

Bandura says that learning through modeling is more a matter of abstracting rules than mimicry. It's not simply "monkey see, monkey do."

The entire acquisition process described by Bandura is a spectator sport. That's why television teaches violence so well. Ty doesn't have to actually do the aggressive behavior; fantasy rehearsal in his mind will keep the act a live option for the future. If he ever does point a gun in anger, the act of force, after years of mental role-playing, will set his acquired behavioral disposition into granite. "The highest level of observational learning is achieved by first organizing and rehearsing the modeled behavior symbolically, and then enacting it overtly."

Motivation: "Why Not Do It? It Worked Out Fine for Them"

We observe many forms of behavior in others that we never perform ourselves. Without sufficient motivation, Ty may never imitate the violence he sees on TV. Bandura uses the term motivation to refer to the rewards and punishments Ty imagines will accompany his use of physical force. Would he go to jail for blowing away an enemy, remain anonymous if he dropped a brick from a highway overpass, or gain status for punching out a jerk who was hassling a friend? Note that these questions concern potential outcomes rather than sanctions already experienced. Bandura cautions that "the widely accepted dictum that behavior is governed by its consequences fares better for anticipated than for actual consequences."

Most reinforcement theorists recognize that Ty's expectations for future rewards or punishment come in part from external sources such as parents, friends, and teachers. Bandura says that the effects of TV violence will be greatly diminished if a youngster's parents punish or disapprove of aggression. He contends that unconditional love and approval merely encourage self-actualized tyrants.

Yet Ty also shares a responsibility for his own actions. The latest version of social learning theory places increasing emphasis on self-regulation. Bandura is uncomfortable with any form of determinism. He doesn't believe that people are "buffeted by environmental stimuli," nor does he accept the notion that they are "driven by inner forces." He sees external and internal rewards working together in a "reciprocal determination" to influence behavior. But social learning theory focuses on vicarious reward as a third factor which causes acquired responses to break out into action.

Television models do more than teach novel styles of conduct. When people on television are punished for being violent, that punishment reinforces society's sanctions against acting above or outside the law. But when other characters in the story accept or applaud the use of force, that approval weakens inhibitions the viewer may have about hurting people. Producers, writers, and directors are quick to argue that action sequences end up by showing that crime doesn't pay. Armed robbers, rapists, murderers, and terrorists are brought to justice by the final fade-out. But Bandura isn't worried about the bad guys glorifying violence. It's the aggression of the good guys that troubles him. Crime may not pay on television, but physical force does.

Consider the potential encouragement of violence offered by the 1989 motion picture *Batman*. In the first week of its release in the United States, over 10 million patrons watched the Joker's creative sadism amid squeals of delight in the theaters. While the average young male in the audience might have difficulty identifying with the bizarre Jack Nicholson, Michael Keaton looked like Everyman in his low-key portrayal of the wealthy young avenger.

The producer, Jon Peters, wanted a story line that would provide "a great opportunity to have this guy kick some ass," which *Batman* does. In the end, Bruce Wayne gets the satisfaction of avenging his parents' murder, praise from the grateful mayor of the city, and the adoration of the adorable Kim Basinger. These vicarious rewards would seem to justify almost any vigilante action. The filmmakers would claim that *Batman* is mere fantasy; Bandura would probably call it an effective classroom for life.

"YOU BIG BULLY, STOP BOTHERING THAT CLOWN"

Bandura and his students ran a series of experiments to study social learning of aggression through television. He used a three-foot-high inflated plastic Bobo doll as the potential victim. The clown figure had a heavy sand base that made it pop back up after being knocked down. Nursery school boys and girls saw a film in which an adult male or female model assaulted the clown. The kids themselves then had a chance to "play" with the Bobo doll without adult supervision.

Since children in the control group didn't normally say and do these things, the experiment demonstrated that the youngsters had acquired the new, aggressive behavior by watching the film.

Some children saw a version in which the adult model was rewarded with candy, soda pop, and praise for being a "strong champion." Others heard the model scolded: "Hey there, you big bully, you quit picking on that clown." As the adult retreated, he or she tripped and fell, and then received a humiliating spanking with a rolled up magazine.

Consistent with social learning theory, Bandura found that children exhibited more aggression when the adult models were rewarded for their attack on the Bobo doll than when they were punished. Yet given enough inducement by the experimenter, most children were able to copy the hostile actions. Bandura concludes that reinforcement doesn't affect the learning of novel responses, but it does "determine whether or not observationally acquired competencies will be put into use."

He discovered that the same antisocial learning took place when the aggressor was a cartoon character (Herman the Cat), rather than a human model. In other studies he discovered that removal of restraint is greatest for boys when the model is male and greatest for girls when the model is female. Consistent with traditional gender-based roles, boys were more violent than girls.

AROUSSED OR DRAINED: TWO ALTERNATIVES TO IMITATION

Although Bandura discusses television violence in terms of modeling, there are alternative interpretations of the effect that dramatized aggression has on an audience. Dolf Zillmann and other instigation theorists agree with Bandura that viewers are aroused when they see simulated violence on the screen. But arousal researchers note that people also get excited watching suspense, comedy, or sexy bedroom scenes. If a viewer turns on the set feeling somewhat angry, the emotions these programs stir up can fuel a full-blown hatred that may spill over into physical aggression.

According to instigation theorists, it's the arousal in the violent programs that stimulates aggression, not the imitation processes Bandura emphasizes. Instigation is an idea which sounds plausible, but an appeal to arousal fails to explain how viewers learn new techniques. Nor can it account for a violent action breaking out years after it was modeled on television.

Favored by media apologists, catharsis theory, on the other hand, suggests that the depiction of physical force actually reduces aggression. The theory maintains that many viewers are filled with pent-up anger, hostility, and tension. Like excess steam vented from a boiler, these destructive impulses are safely drained off through exposure to fantasy violence. (The catharsis theory sees Rambo and psychiatric counselors as serving the same function.)

The notion that violent drama can be healthy traces back to Aristotle's belief that Greek tragedy served to purge feelings of grief and fear. The problem with the catharsis claim is that there is no evidence to support it. Most efforts to demonstrate that a heavy dose of televised violence reduces aggression end up showing the opposite. People may feel better, but they get worse.

CRITIQUE: A POSITIVE, BUT WEAK, CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP

Bandura states that "theories must demonstrate predictive power." Social learning theory's claim that fantasy violence teaches and encourages real aggression tests out splendidly in the laboratory, where other factors can be held constant, but only passably in the field. One ten-year study tracked 460 third-grade boys until they were 19 years old.

The young men in the study who had watched a great amount of televised violence as children were more aggressive than those who had been occasional viewers. However, those who were more aggressive as kids showed no tendency to watch more televised violence when they grew up. The twin findings support Bandura's claim that fantasy aggression leads to the real thing. But childhood viewing habits accounted for only 10 percent of the difference in later aggression.

Although this 10 percent figure may sound rather small, even a small effect from media violence can add up to a significant social problem when a program has an audience of 30 million people. If only 1 out of every 10,000 viewers imitates an act of violence, the fictional drama had produced at least 3,000 new victims.

Evaluation and Criticism of Bandura's Social Learning Theory

Studies who show children imitate violent behaviour seen on television are consistent with social learning theory. Critics of social learning theory point out the distinction between Bobo the doll and other children. Whilst children are quick to replicate aggression when the object is a doll, it is very rarely the case with another child.

Much of the aggression could have been seen as playfighting, rather than "authentic" aggression. Indeed, some suggest that the children were often playing rather than aggressing. **Cumberbatch (1990)** reports that children who were unfamiliar with the doll were five times more likely to imitate aggression than those who were familiar with the doll.

Others point out that the experiment seems artificial. **Durkin (1995)** points out that very rarely will an adult demonstrate how to attack something and then allow a child to have a go.

Finally, other psychologists suggest that aggression is more complex than social learning theory would have us believe. There are many other factors, such as "negative affect" and environment that can have an impact on the level of aggression exhibited.

20.3 Summary:

Social learning theory is a theory to explain how people learn behavior. People learn through observing others' behavior. If people observe positive, desired outcomes in the observed behavior, they are more likely to model, imitate, and adopt the behavior themselves.

Social learning theory is derived from the work of Gabriel Tarde (1912: 322) which proposed that social learning occurred through four main stages of imitation:

- close contact,
- imitation of superiors,
- understanding of concepts
- role model behaviour

Julian Rotter moved away from theories based on psychoanalysis and behaviorism, and developed a social learning theory. In *Social Learning and Clinical Psychology* (1954), Rotter suggested that the effect of behavior has an impact on the motivation of people to engage in that behaviour. People wish to avoid negative consequences, while desiring positive results or effects. If one expects a positive outcome from a behavior, or thinks there is a high probability of a positive outcome, then they will be more likely to engage in that behaviour. The behaviour is reinforced, with positive outcomes, leading a person to repeat the behaviour. This social learning theory suggests that behaviour is influenced by these environmental factors or stimuli, and not psychological factors alone.

Albert Bandura (1977) expanded on the Rotter's idea, as well as earlier work by Miller & Dollard (1941), and is related to social learning theories of Vygotsky and Lave. This theory incorporates aspects of behavioral and cognitive learning. Behavioral learning assumes that people's environment (surroundings) cause people to behave in certain ways. Cognitive learning presumes that psychological factors are important for influencing how one behaves. Social learning suggests a combination of environmental (social) and psychological factors influence behavior. Social learning

theory outlines four requirements for people to learn and model behavior include attention: retention (remembering what one observed), reproduction (ability to reproduce the behavior), and motivation (good reason) to want to adopt the behavior.

20.4 Model Questions:

1. Explain the salient features of the Social Learning Theory.
2. What are the criticisms of the theory?

20.5 Reference Books:

Akers, Ronald L. (1973). *Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Approach*. CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Akers, Ronald L. (1998). *Social Learning and Social Structure: A General Theory of Crime and Deviance*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.