I. 5.1 Harold Lasswell

• II. About Lasswell

• A. Precocious boy who read widely

• 1. Studied topics ahead of his time

• B. Inspired by Freud

• 1. Began his lifelong interest in psychoanalytic theory

• C. Advocated Marxist political theory

- 1. But critical of thinking that world proletarian revolution was the only possible outcome after age of capitalism had reached its zenith
- 2. Instead, argued that prolonged struggle between capitalist and communist nations may be so bitter only police and military could main order
 - a) Creating a garrison state in which surveillance and repression would grip society

• D. Studied at University of Chicago

• 1. Surprised to find Freud controversial

• E. Multidisciplinarity not well received from disciplinary loyalists

- 1. A little like Simmel, whose universal academic interest led to him being trivialised
- 2. Did not fit well into Chicago's Pol. Sci. Dept. or Yale's Law School
- 3. Interests not limited by place nor discipline
 - a) Travelled widely to better understand political system of other nations

• F. Radical innovator of theoretical perspectives and of research approaches

• G. Attempts to relate Freudian psychoanalytic theory and political science resisted by scholars in both camps

• 1. Academic world did not receive psychoanalytic theory well

H. But eventually founded political psychology

- 1. Focused on political leaders
 - a) Used psychoanalytic theory to explain why some became agitators while others administrators
- 2. Advocated gathering and analysing psychoanalytic biographies of political leaders
 - a) Start of his content analysis [?]

• I. Academic Interests:

- 1. Study of propaganda
- 2. Formation of public opinion
- 3. Roles of political leaders
- 4. Content analysis of the mass media

III. Propaganda

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- 1. Took on negative connotation in English
- 2. Perceived as dishonest, manipulative and brainwashing persuasive communication

• B. WW1: Committee on Public Information (Creel Committee)

- 1. Set up by U.S.; Headed by George Creel
- 2. (Propaganda by the Committee) credited to hastening the collapse of German morale
- 3. Conducted massive domestic and international propaganda effort
- 4. Both mass and interpersonal channels used
 - a) Booklets as well as corps of speakers ('four-minute men') who gave patriotic speeches

• C. Rise and fall of propaganda analysis

- <u>1. Rise</u>
 - a) 1920s/30s out of public disillusionment with U.S. & allies, and its enemies uses of propaganda
 - b) Became one of the most important early communication research
- 2. Fall
 - a) Private foundations and federal government after 1940s more interested to fund research useful to policy-makers instead of exposing questionable propaganda techniques they used
 - b) Lack of coherent theory

• IV. Lasswell & Propaganda Analysis

A. Lasswell's definition: "management of collective attitude by the manipulation of the significant symbols"

- 1. Symbols as influenced by Mead
- 2. Not inherently bad or good, depended on
 - a) One's point of view
 - b) Truthfulness
- 3. An attempt "to change other people's views in order to further one's own cause or damage an opposing one"
- 4. A method for managing public opinion

• B. Close relationship to persuasion -- intentional communication by source to change attitudes of audience

- 1. Propaganda: one-way; advantageous to source, not to audience, e.g. advertising, pr, political campaigns
- 2. Persuasion: more interactive than propaganda, but intention still one-way
- 3. Propaganda = Mass persuasion

• C. Lasswell developed Content Analysis as important communication research tool

- 1. Investigation of communication messages by classifying content to measure certain variables
 - a) Need inter-coder reliability, large quantity of mesages to make a statement about the totality of the message

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- 2. Effects of messages are *inferred*; actual data about the effects are seldom available
- 3. Method of Laswell's choice in analysing propaganda messages

• D. First study (WW1 propaganda) was qualitative [? - why was CA quali] and critical in tone

- 1. Exposed nature of techniques
- 2. Empirical: cited specific examples of techniques
- 3. Focused on **symbols**: mainly influenced by **Mead**
- 4. Showed that modern warfare = total war
 - a) Entire civilian takes on an active role
 - b) Public opinion mattered a great deal
 - c) Showed the inhumanity of warfare

• E. Second study (WW2 propaganda) was mainly quantitative and statistical (see viii)

• V. Lasswell & Rockefeller Communication Seminar

• A. Lasswell left Chicago after 14 years of teaching pol. science

- 1. Hoping to start an interdisciplinary institute
- 2. But funding fell through, so he "freelanced"

• B. RCS Objectives changes with WW2

- 1. Initial objective to provide general theoretical guidance about CR so Rockefeller Foundation
 - a) So as to make informed decisions about future projects to fund
- 2. WW2: Focused on how to help government use communication to cope with the approaching war
 - a) Hitler's fascism in Europe united American scholars in a community of effort

• C. John Marshall and Rockefeller Foundation critical in launching field of communication

• 1. CR was not even in common use before RCS

VI. Lasswell developed five-questions model in seminar

- A. "Who, says what, to whom, in what channel, with what effects?"
 - 1. Became basic framework in seminar

• B. Became dominant paradigm defining the scope and problems of American communications research

• C. Communication restricted to a ACT of persuasion

- 1. Failed to include "why"
- 2. Gave coherence to study on media effects; but steered away from other important topics

• D. Assumed:

- 1. A communicator is present
- 2. Communication is intentional
 - 3. Messages flow unidirectionally from source to receiver, without feedback

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- 3. Messages flow unidirectionally from source to receiver, without feedback
- E. Communication seen as act, not process
 - 1. One-way, intentional, oriented towards achieving a desired effect

VII. Functions of communications

- A. Surveillance of environment
 - 1. Understand environment to reduce uncertainty
- B. Correlation of society's response to events in the environment
 - 1. Media help individual make sense of what is going on in the world (how to think about?)
- C. Transmission of cultural heritage
 - 1. History, values, etc.
- D. Entertainment as fourth function
 - 1. Added by communication scholars after Lasswell
- VIII. Lasswell's Study of WW2 Propaganda
 - A. Conducted massive content analysis of Allied and Axis propaganda
 - 1. Funded by Rockefeller Foundation
 - a) Roosevelt was campaigning for reelection, telling people US will keep out of the war
 - 2. Selected Allied and Axi newspapers, domestic and foreign radio broadcasts
 - B. Trained U.S. DoJ on carrying out content analysis of 39 foreign newspapers
 - 1. Beyond those studied by the War-Time Communications Project
 - 2. So as to detect foreign propaganda in United States to use as courtroom evidence
 - C. Laswell Served as expert witness testifying against propagandist of fostering domestic propaganda
 - D. Not just analysing propaganda; Laswell also helped create it
 - 1. Criticised by some, (e.g. Christopher Simpson) on deceitful manipulation of public attitudes
 - E. Developed improved methodologies for propaganda analysis
 - 1. Contributed far more to content analysis methodology than to substantive understanding of enemy then
 - F. Role of propaganda studies changes
 - 1. From reformist pre-WW2 to 'neutral observer' in WW2
 - a) But the WTC project was involved in creating propaganda
 - G. Lasswell's WTC Project held at Library of Congress
 - 1. Good collection of various newspapers to analyse
 - 2. Librarian MacLeish was superpatriot
- IX. Policy Sciences & The Hoover studies
 - A. Stanford's Hoover Institution study of major pol. and soc. changes from 1890 1950s
 - B. Lasswell developed 'policy science' as important by-product of study
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- 1. An integrated approach of social sciences on public choice and decision making
- 2. Lasswell credited Dewey as inspiration

• C. Advocated policy sciences as means to resolve certain pol. and soc. problems facing modern societies

- 1. Ameliorative vision common among social science
- D. Lasswell participated directly in the ameliorative actions
- E. Lasswell to Yale Law School (1946)

• X. Contributions of Lasswell to Communication Research

- A. Five-questions model led to emphasis on determining effects
 - 1. Lazarsfeld to crystalise focus on communication effects
- B. Pioneered content analysis methods
 - 1. Inventing methodology of qualitative and quantitative measurements of communication messages
- C. Study of pol. and wartime propaganda as important early type of communication research
- D. Introduced Freudian psychoanalytic theory to social sciences in America
 - 1. Using id-ego-superego via content analysis to political science problems
- E. Helped create policy sciences, an interdisciplinary movement to integrate social sci. with public action
 - 1. Though soc sci. generally resisted attempt at integration and application to public policy problems
- XI. Walter Lippmann
 - A. Influential newspaper columnist
 - 1. Most influential nonacademic
 - a) No graduate degree, did not teach at university, did not adopt research methods or theoretical perspectives of social science
 - B. Lasswell's colleague in propaganda analysis and public opinion
 - C. Lippmann and propaganda
 - 1. Defined propaganda as situation in which 1) communication flows are restricted, and 2) a set of individuals wish to distort news
 - 2. Some barrier between public and event must be present for propaganda to occur
- XII. Best known for his 1922 book Public Opinion
 - A. "The pictures in our heads and the world outside"
 - 1. Media as the principal connection between an event in real world and images in our minds of the event
 - B. Role of stereotypes
 - 1. Saw stereotypes as key factor in public opinion process
 - a) Stereotype as code that simplifies reality to facilitate transmission to others
 - 2. Need for stereotypes (simplified codes) to give meaning to confusion of world
 - a) Pseudo-environment conveyed by media as result of high degree of gatekeeping in news process

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- C. Highlights power of propaganda from WW1 to WW2
- D. Pioneered what is now called agenda-setting process
 - 1. Process by which a news topic is given priority concern by the mass media, public and policy elites

XIII. Agenda Setting

• A. Media help people determine what is important

- 1. Transfer of salience
- 2. Influenced by placement and frequency
- 3. Contrasted with agenda building: creation of agenda

• B. Indirect effect of the media

• C. In contrast with limited effects model

- 1. Promising alternative to scholarly search for direct media effects on overt behaviour change, which was found to have limited effects
- 2. Studies shifted from powerful effects (magic bullet) to not so powerful when contrasted with interpersonal communication (limited effects) to powerful under some circumstances

• D. Media affect knowledge > attitudes

- 1. What to think about (knowledge) vs What to think (attitude)
- 2. Less capable of changing directly attitudes and opinions, but can tell us what to think about
- 3. Difficult to change behaviour (of which attitude is linked to)

• E. Very rich research tradition

- 1. Conceptualisation furthered by pol. sci. Bernard Cohen
- 2. McCombs and Shaw's study of 1968 presidential election campaign in Chapel Hill
 - a) Almost perfect correspondence between *frequency of issue* (e.g. foreign policy, inflation) mentioned *in mass media* with *measured public agenda* of 100 undecided voters
 - b) Seminal article lead to proliferation of investigations on agenda-setting process
 - (1) Kuhn's phase of "normal science": each empirical study builds incrementally on previous work

• F. Agenda-setting process encompasses

- 1. Media agenda setting
 - a) Relative amount of coverage determined by media gatekeepers, impact of news and audience interests
 - b) Usually measured by Lasswell's content analysis

• 2. Public agenda setting

• a) Public decies which issues are of relatively greatest importance

• 3. Policy agenda setting

- a) Process by which issue agenda of government/officials is determined
- 4. Assumed that media influence public agenda, which in turn influences policy agenda

G. Agenda-setting effect result of aggregate impact of a very large number of messages

- 4. Assumed that media influence public agenda, which in turn influences policy agenda
- G. Agenda-setting effect result of aggregate impact of a very large number of messages
 - 1. Not just one or few messages
 - 2. Have different content but all deal with same general issue

• H. Importance of Agenda-Setting Paradigm

- 1. Came along when mass comm. scholars dismayed with previous model of direct effects
- 2. Kuhnian's notion of scientific revolution
 - a) How can media have few direct effects but strong indirect effects in setting public agenda