AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS ACROSS NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

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SHAN-PANG YIEN

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ABSTRACT

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS ACROSS NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

By

Shan-pang Yien

This is an attempt to explore the relationship between media participation and political participation in national elections across 33 non-communist countries.

Since some researchers have pointed out that there is a direct relationship between communications networks and awareness of responsibilities of citizenship, and that media function most effectively only in the rapidly-modernizing nations, the purposes of the study were to provide the answers with evidence.

Non-communist countries were first studied without breaking down into sub-groups and various correlational analyses were done in order to answer the first question in mind.

Then the same non-communist countries were broken down into three groups on the basis of urbanization speed; namely, high, moderate and low urbanization speed countries.

The analysis of the data shows that the two statements mentioned above do not hold for the non-communist countries included in this study. However, the findings are in accord with the directions pre-

dicted.

Another point which deserves mentioning here is that urbanization speed is a good indicator for studying, cross-nationally, the relationship between newspaper participation and political participation, with radio participation held constant.

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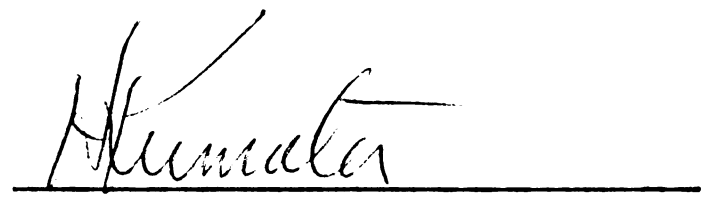

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE HYPOTHESES

Introduction

Daniel Lerner and others have indicated that developing awareness of the responsibilities of citizenship is deeply imbedded in the whole matrix of increasing literacy, greater use of the public media and movement toward industrialization and urbanization.

Following this line, research studies concerning the role of the media in developing citizenship awareness often raise such questions as :

(a) Does mass-media use facilitate an awareness of responsibilities of citizenship ? For instance, will increase use of the media be related to increased voting in a country with low previous political participation ?

(b) What are the correlations between the use of public media and level of knowledge of public affairs; i.e., local government, national politics, and international issues ?

Studies about mass communication and voting behavior have been very fruitful, but sad to say, none has answered the questions mentioned above. With some regret, most of the studies in this field have been conducted in the Western world, especially in the United States.

The current generalization is that the mass media in the Western world are relatively ineffective in producing massive changes in

opinions but at the same time may have subtle effects in molding political behavior. Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton applied to this dysfunctional aspect of mass communications the colorful label of narcotization.(1) By narcotization they mean increasing dosages of mass communications may be inadvertently transforming the energies of men from active participation into passive knowledge. Man spends so much time absorbing news that he takes little direct action; he may believe that to be an informed citizen is equivalent to being an active citizen.

This generalization may hold for Western societies, but may not apply to societies recently introduced to mass media.

In Western world, the presence of the media may be taken for granted such that some of the potential effect is attenuated sheerly by the pervasiveness of the media. Both the cultural stage of Western publics in their experience of mass media and the abundant supply of mass communication with possible satiation effects may not be found in most of the developing countries.

The evidence from technical assistance programs, conducted for some of the Latin American countries, indicates that political floudering and upheaval is often one of the consequences of technological development. (2) Technological and economic development is not equally distributed in all the countries of the world. Some countries are at the beginning stage, and are, as a result, importing the assistance from highly developed countries. Political awareness is a by-product of this importation. Since media development directly hinges on tech-

nological and economic development with the exception of radio, it is generally agreed that media open to the large masses of mankind the infinite vicarious universe. (3) Thus, it seems that political awareness in the less developed countries comes into existence by means of technological importation should be natural and beyond dispute.

Considering communication and political articulation, Lucian Pye has indicated that a direct relationship exists in all societies between the structure and organization of communication and the character, tone, and even to a degree, content of political expression. The politician's role both as articulator of the collective identity and as champion of specific interests is invariably conditioned and limited by the media of communications available to him. No leader can rise above the restrictions of the specific communications networks to which he has access, and at the same time none can escape the consequences of being surrounded by a communications system. In a broader sense, the political process as a whole is influenced by access to the means of communications. (4)

Communication researchers have examined the numerous ways in which the communication process can facilitate citizenship education and influence the process of political socialization in transitional societies. Their findings tended to suggest that in societies not saturated by the mass media these forms of communication may have a greater influence on people's conscious, cognitive learning about politics than they appear to have in the advanced countries. (5)

The Hurdles of Research

Any attempt to study the effects of media use on some type of human behavior will inevitably confront the problem of circularity--a dilemma in which one will have difficulty in telling whether the use of media leads to a certain kind of human behavior or the other way around. For instance, on the one hand, some people, based on the assumption of causality, claim that violence in the media produces delinquency; thus, the more exposure to the violent content of the media the higher the probability of becoming a delinquent. On the other hand, some people, based on the assumption of catharsis, claim that it is the violent disposition that leads to the exposure to violent content; thus, the higher the violent disposition a person has, the more the frequency for that person to use violent content of the media as ways of relieving his aggressiveness.

The same kind of controversy may exist in studying the relationship between political behavior and media consumption of people. There has been lack of empirical evidence to support whether media consumption initiates political interest or political interest elicits participation in politics via media consumption. The only suggestion in this aspect is that in the Western world, especially in the United States, where participation in politics by means of media often results in inactive political behavior--- the notion of narcotization. This narcotizing effect of mass media is not very serious because we are sure that media development in major proportion of the world is not as high as it is found in this country. Nevertheless, the controversy

about the development process is still a sensitive one.

William Stephenson has indicated that urbanization, industrialization, higher standards of education, greater political awareness, and increasing use of mass media are all interwoven. (6) To illustrate this interdependent relationship, Daniel Lerner also hinted at the possible circularity by asking such questions as: What is a necessarycondition of modernization ? ..... (and) What is necessary to start modernization ? (7) Nevertheless, Daniel Lerner has also indicated that the Western model of modernization exhibits certain components and sequences whose relevance is global. Everywhere increasing urbanization has tended to raise literacy; rising literacy has tended to increase media participation; increasing media exposure has gone with wider economic participation and political participation.(8)

Meanwhile, Daniel Lerner has also suggested that cities produce the machine tools of modernization. Accordingly, increases of urbanization tend in every society to multiply national increases in literacy and media participation. By drawing people from their rural communities, cities create the demand for impersonal communication. By promoting literacy and media, cities supply this demand. (9)

Thus, following this notion, we can easily see that Daniel Lerner has subsumed industrialization under the index of urbanization, and his viewpoint on the process of modernization can be best conceptualized as the following paradigm.

Urbanization (Industrialization) ⟶ Media Participation (Literacy Growth) ⟶ Other Types of Participation

Problem and Rationale

Such communication researchers as Daniel Lerner and William Stephenson have also suggested that mass media function most effectively only in rapidly-modernizing countries. Therefore, along with the two questions raised in the previous section, the problem this thesis intends to attack can be stated in two parts:

(1) Do mass media facilitate an awareness of responsibilities of citizenship ?

(2) Do mass media function most effectively only in the rapidly-modernizing countries ?

A careful look at the problem itself would suggest that only when we find such a relationship as the higher the media use the more the economic and/or political participation can we say that mass media facilitate an awareness of responsibilities of citizenship. To put it another way, if the use of public media does not contribute anything at all to other types of participation, then no matter what stage a society is at in terms of the development process, the relationship between media use and other participations will tend to remain unchanged.

Also, the problem itself would suggest that only when we find that the function of the media in countries with faster rate of modernization is significantly different from its function in other countries with slower rate of modernization can we have the right to say that mass media function most effectively only in rapidly-modernizing countries.

Miller Taylor and Author Jones have pointed out that societal configurations in Western societies are not the result of surreptitious planning on the part of those in power, that mass societies are neither imposed by force nor affirmed by self-corruption. Quite the contrary, mass urbanized society is the ordering of large numbers of people, most of them are in secondary communication with one another, by requiring a common loyalty to government, a support of common ideas concerning the production and distribution of goods and services, and a belief in the common ideas of the meaning of life.(10)

Daniel Lerner also sees urbanization as the transfer of population from scattered hinterlands to urban centers that stimulates the needs and provides the conditions needed for " take-off " toward widespread participation. So, it is quite apparant that urbanization is the first step toward modernization.

Definitions of what is urban differ greatly. For instance, in some countries the definition of urban may include places having a population of a few hundred, while for some others they may require a place to have several thousand people before it is designed as urban. As a result, an arbitrary standard of a population of 20,000, the figure suggested by G. Breeses and accepted by most of the researchers when conducting cross-national studies, is used for designating a place as urban in this thesis.

Following the arbitrary standard, countries all over the world are found to differ from one another in two aspects. Some countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Israel, and New Zealand

show higher percentages in terms of urbanization of the population in cities over 20,000 than other countries do in cities of comparable size. Some countries such as Venezuela, West Germany,and Japan show higher rates of increase of urbanization of the population in cities over 20,000. It is the second notion, that of rate of increase, that draws the attention and will be discussed in this thesis.

Urbanization movement, however, is not a form of human behavior which will grow continuously at the same speed. Geographical limitations as well as some socio-economic conditions, such as transportation facilities, may quite often reduce this movement after a nation has reached some sort of level. This is to say that as soon as a nation has reached a certain point of urbanization the speed for her population in moving into the cities over 20,000 inhabitants will tend to slow down. For instance, statistics indicate that the annual increase of population in cities over 20,000 for the countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Canada is much slower than that for the ones like Venezuela, New Zealand, Japan, and Israel.

Nevertheless, it is also very important to point out that even if the percentage of annual increase of population in cities over 20,000 for two or more countries is exactly the same, such an equal increase does not necessarily infer that these countries share the same urbanization speed. The above is due to the fact that countries are found different in terms of their urbanization level; for the countries with a high urbanization level, a further increase of their

population in cities of over 20,000 might be more difficult, if not impossible, than that in the countries with a low urbanization level. Therefore, the concept of urbanization speed of a country should take her existing urbanization level into consideration. The higher the existing urbanization level a nation indicates, the lower the possibility for that nation to have further urbanization. Whenever, two countries have the same percentage of annual increase of population in cities over 20,000 the one with higher urbanization level would have higher urbanization speed than the other, for higher urbanization level would simultaneously mean lower possibility of further urbanization for that nation. Thus, urbanization speed in this study is operationally defined as a ratio between the annual increase of population in cities over 20,000 and the probability of further urbanization in that particular country. Namely,

$$\text{Urbanization Speed} = \frac{\text{Percentage of annual increase of population in cities over 20,000}}{\text{Probability of further urbanization}}$$

where probability of further urbanization for a particular country was computed as the result of total probability for urbanization minus existing urbanization level --- 100 % - present urbanization level.

Problem and Assumption

With the above discussion concerning the justification of employing urbanization speed as an index of development process, and together with the understanding of the fact that there is some relation-

ship between the use of public media and political awareness, the consideration of the problem in this thesis becomes more specific.

Generally speaking, this thesis was intended to find the relation between media participation and political participation in the non-communist countries under the assumptions that media participation represents the use of public media and that political participation reflects political awareness of the people in these countries.

Before we go into the establishment of the hypothesis for testing two notions should be clarified first. From the beginning of the thesis the term public media has been mentioned again and again. By definition, public media use refers to the media used by the mass in societies. Therefore, the use of public media implies the participation of the population in such media as newspapers, radios, televisions, etc. When nations are treated as units for comparison media participation means the consumption of the population in terms of newspapers, radios, and televisions. However, for a major proportion of the world television is still a new device and is not being so popularly used as either newspapers or radios. Consequently, media participation in this thesis particularly excludes the consideration of television as one of the public media.

Operationally defining, newspaper participation is the percentage of daily newspaper circulation per 100 population, and respectively, radio participation means radios per 100 population. Media parti-

cipation as a whole is the combination of both newspaper and radio participation.

Another aspect in which we are interested is the level of knowledge of public affairs. Several methods are available to detect human behavior in this dimension. For instance, we can obtain the result by asking the people what are the most important issues, locally or nationally; we can obtain the data by voting participation records. For the sake of national comparisons the latter method would seem more convenient and more objective.

Limited to availability of data for cross-national study this paper would only use voting participation in national elections as an index of the level of knowledge of public affairs. It is assumed that the more the population knows about public affairs the more they will approach to politics; hence, participation in national elections should reflect the level of knowledge of public affairs to a great extent. As a result, this assumption excludes the consideration of communist countries, for the voting behavior in those countries would be nothing but voluntary ones and empirical evidence suggests that voting participation in those countries are often times higher than they are in non-communist countries.

To sum up, political participation in national elections was operationally defined as the percentage of actual votes over the percentage of a population beyond the voting age. To put it another way, if the percentage of a population beyond the voting age is 65% , and the political participation of that nation as a whole is 40%, then the

' new ' political participation which would be used here is about 62%; e.g., political participation in national elections for that particular nation should be 40% out of 65% rather than 40% out of 100% because there is only 65% of the population qualified to attend the election.

Hypotheses

If there is a direct relationship in all societies between the structure and organization of communications and the character, tone, and even to a degree, content of political expression, then we expect the correlation coefficients between media participation and political participation to differ from a chance fluctuation. Now, since the media participation here is composed of both newspaper participation and radio participation this hypothesis should be re-stated as follows.

Hypothesis 1 : The multiple-correlation coefficient between the combination of newspaper participation and radio participation, and political participation in national elections should be significantly different from a chance fluctuation for all non-communist countries.

It has been generally recognized that in societies not saturated by the mass media these forms of communication may have a greater influence on people's conscious, cognitive learning about politics than they appear to have in advanced countries. Specifically, Daniel Lerner and William Stephenson have indicated that mass media function most

effectively only in rapidly modernizing nations. Also, the rise of cities has been accepted as an important index of modernization. Thus, a rapid modernization for a nation would mean that in that very nation the speed of her population to move into cities over 20,000 is rapid, too.

Based on the above discussion, if urbanization speed is taken into consideration we would then expect that mass media function most effectively only in rapidly-urbanizing nations. In terms of correlation, the correlation coefficient between media participation and political participation should be highest in the countries where urbanization speed is most rapid. In a word, the second hypothesis should be stated as follows.

Hypothesis 2 : The multiple-correlation coefficient between the combination of newspaper and radio participation, and political participation should be highest for the countries which have the most rapid urbanization speed. This relationship will become weaker as the urbanization speed decreases.

CHAPTER II

THE METHOD

As the previous chapter has indicated the population for this study should ideally include all the countries in the world, for we are interested in the relationships between two types of human behavior--- media participation and political participation---in all societies. However, sociologists as well as political scientists have come to the conclusion that in societies with strong central governments an unregulated press tended to grow only very slowly. (11)

In general, the greater the extent to which a form of government is actually dependent upon favorable public opinion, the more likely it is to support a free press. That is, in societies where the common man plays significant roles in the determination of his own political destiny, the participation in media and formation of public opinions are highly related and strongly maintained. (12)

Statistics in terms of voting participation in national elections also indicate that the percentage for the top five nations are Russia (99.6 per 100 population), Bulgaria (99.2), Czechoslovakia (98.1), Romania (97.9) and East Germany (97.3). Communist countries, as they are commonly recognized as societies with other forms of highly centralized power, do not require active public discussion of issues about which every citizen must reach an informed decision. Even if they do, the political expression by means of voting in national elections will be nothing but a voluntary behavior. Consequently, the scope of population should be limited to non-communist countries only.

Sampling Procedures

Since an individual nation is our unit of measurement and due to the fact that media participation and political participation are the two phenomena in which we are interested, the collection of data should be able to provide us with adequate information for each of the non-communist countries in the aspects of newspaper consumption, radio consumption, and voting attendance in national elections.

The satisfaction for the requirements cited above, unfortunately, reduced the number of the countries to 33. In the order of urbanization level, i.e., the percentage of total population in places of 20,000 or more inhabitants, these non-communist countries are listed as follows.

Table I*

Media Participation and Political Participation, by Nation (up to 1960)

Nation	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100	Voting Attendance Per 100
United Kingdom	50.6	28.9	78.0
Israel	21.0	19.4	88.0
New Zealand	38.9	24.2	86.4
West Germany	30.7	31.9	86.9
United States	32.6	94.8	64.4
Denmark	34.5	36.5	84.0
Venezuela	9.6	18.6	83.8
Chile	13.4	13.1	37.4

Table I (Continued)

Nation	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100	Voting Attendance Per 100
Japan	41.6	10.7	71.2
Sweden	47.7	37.8	83.1
Austria	20.8	28.8	90.4
Canada	23.1	45.1	74.2
Greece	12.5	8.9	73.3
Ireland	22.5	17.6	71.3
Panama	10.4	15.9	56.2
South Africa	6.1	6.6	10.4
Finland	35.8	28.9	72.8
Luxembourg	44.5	31.9	71.1
Italy	10.1	17.0	92.9
Belgium	28.5	29.8	87.6
France	25.2	28.2	89.4
Mexico	8.3	9.7	34.6
Switzerland	37.4	27.2	28.0
Brazil	5.4	6.4	34.4
Nicaragua	6.6	6.7	92.7
Malaysia	6.7	3.7	54.8
Turkey	4.5	5.3	72.5
British Guiana	7.9	7.2	52.1
Portugal	8.1	9.8	18.5
India	1.1	.5	52.6
Honduras	2.5	6.6	36.5

Table I (Continued)

Nation	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100	Voting Attendance Per 100
Dominican Republic	2.7	3.3	63.6
South West Africa	1.4	3.7	11.0

* Table I is mainly after Tables 9, 24, 31, and 35 in World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators.

Other sources are : (a) U.N. Compendium of Social Statistics, 1963

(b) U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1962

(c) Review of Elections, 1962

As far as the purpose of this thesis is concerned this kind of categorization will only answer part of the problem indicated previously. In other words, a correlational analysis on the basis of this type of categorization will provide empirical evidence for the part of the problem which asks the relationships between use of public media and level of knowledge of public affairs across 33 non-communist countries. A statistical significance for such a relationship would then indirectly indicate that media use does facilitate an awareness of the responsibilities of citizenship, assuming that voting turn-outs in national elections reflect the awareness of the responsibilities to some extent.

However, the second part of the problem --- media function most

effectively only in the rapidly-modernizing nations --- remains unsolved. This inadequacy leads to the consideration and data collection for the concept of urbanization speed. As explained in the previous chapter urbanization speed, by definition, is synonymous with modernization. Thus, rapidly-modernizing nations refer to the nations where people are rapidly urbanizing. Also, urbanization speed should take the present urbanization level of a nation into consideration. To be brief, countries indicating high urbanization speed do not conside with countries indicating high urbanization level. Computational procedure and the rationale behind it will not be repeated here. The following three tables will indicate media participation and political participation according to the order of urbanization speed. With the purpose to test the second hypothesis, 33 countries have been arbitrarily categorized into three groups; namely, high speed, moderate speed, and low speed.

Table II (a)

Media Participation and Political Participation in High Urbanization Speed Countries

Nation	Urbanization Speed (ratio)	Voting Attendance	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100
Venezuela	2.44	83.8	9.6	18.6
New Zealand	1.62	86.4	38.3	24.2
Panama	1.59	56.2	10.4	15.9
West Germany	1.49	86.9	30.7	31.9
Japan	1.18	71.2	41.6	10.6
Ireland	1.16	71.6	22.5	17.6

Table II (a) --- Continued

Nation	Urbanization Speed (ratio)	Voting Attendance	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100
Greece	.99	73.3	12.5	8.9
Israel	.99	88.0	21.0	19.4
Nicaragua	.92	92.7	6.6	6.6
Chile	.88	37.4	13.4	13.0
Mexico	.85	34.6	8.3	9.7
Finland	.85	72.8	35.8	28.9

Table II (b)

Media Participation and Political Participation in Moderate Urbanization Speed Countries

Nation	Urbanization Speed (ratio)	Voting Attendance	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100
Brazil	.65	34.4	5.4	6.4
Sweden	.62	83.1	47.7	37.8
Denmark	.62	84.0	34.5	36.5
South Africa	.58	10.4	6.1	6.6
Honduras	.44	36.5	2.5	6.6
Malysia	.44	54.8	6.7	3.6
United States	.38	64.4	32.6	94.8
Dominican Republic	.37	63.6	2.7	3.3
Canada	.36	74.2	23.1	45.1
France	.35	89.4	25.2	28.2

Table II (b) --- Continued

Nation	Urbanization Speed (Ratio)	Voting Attendance	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100
Italy	.33	92.9	10.1	17.0
Turkey	.33	72.5	4.5	5.3
United Kingdom	.30	78.0	50.6	28.9

Table II (c)

Media Participation and Political Participation in Low Urbanization Speed Countries

Nation	Urbanization Speed (ratio)	Voting Attendance	Newspapers Per 100	Radios Per 100
India	.20	52.6	1.1	.5
Switzerland	.15	28.0	37.4	27.5
Luxembourg	.11	71.1	44.5	31.9
South West Africa	.10	11.1	1.4	3.7
Portugal	.06	18.5	8.1	9.8
Bristish Guiana	.003	52.1	7.9	7.2
Belgium	-.04	87.6	28.5	29.8
Austria	-.13	90.4	20.8	28.8

Data Analysis and Statistics

The measurement instruments employed in this thesis are: (1) Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient; (2) Multiple-correlation coefficient, and (3) Partial-correlation coefficient.

The simple-correlation coefficient technique was employed to compute the relationship between newspapers circulation per 100 population and radios per 100 population, newspapers circulation per 100 population and voting attendance in national elections per 100 population, and between radios per 100 population and voting attendance per 100 population.

The multiple-correlation coefficient method was employed to compute the combined predictability of media participation toward voting participation. In other words, this technique was employed to obtain the variability of voting participation explainable by media participation.

Finally, the partial-correlation coefficient technique was employed because we wanted to know which one of the media was more closely related to voting participation if one of them did not have a chance to boost, either positively or negatively, the relationship.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

Correlational Analyses and Tests for Significance

The data were analyzed in two ways. Tables III, IV, and V give correlational analyses without breaking the non-communist countries into sub-groups. Tables VI, VII, and VIII give the corresponding analyses after the non-communist countries were categorized into high, moderate, and low urbanization speed groups. Chi square, Student's t, and F tests were used to test the significance of obtained correlation coefficients.

Correlates of Political Participation

Table III

Simple Correlation Coefficient, Across 33 Countries

Correlation Between Newspaper and Radio Participation	Correlation Between Radio and Political Participation	Correlation Between Newspaper and Political Participation
.63	.29	.33
t= 4.5*	t= 1.71	t= 1.94

* $t > 2.04$ $p < .001$ $df = 31$ s.

The use of t-test for significance of simple correlations indicated that only newspaper participation and radio participation

were significantly related with each other. Thus, an increase in newspaper participation appeared to parallel an increase in radio participation in the countries studied. However, neither radio nor newspaper participation was significantly related to political participation.

Table IV

Multiple Correlation Coefficient: Correlation between Media Participation and Political Participation, across 33 Countries

33 Non-Communist Countries

Media Participation & Political Participation	.35

$F = 2.09 \quad df_1 = 2 \quad df_2 = 30 \quad p > .05$

The interpretation of the multiple-correlation coefficient and F value computed as a test of significance led us to conclude that there was no significant relationship between media and political participation across 33 non-communist countries. In other words, the media participation of the people in these countries would explain little of the turn-out in their national elections.

It should be noted that the correlation obtained in the sample was moderate in size, and in the direction predicted. Thus, the lack

of a statistically significant relationship between media participation and political participation may have been due to an inadequate sample size rather than an inherent absence of such a correlation. It would require another study, with a larger sample of countries to verify this possibility, of course.

Table V

Partial-Correlation Coefficient, across 33 Countries

Partial-Correlation Coefficient between Newspaper and Political Participation with Radio Participation Held Constant	Partial-Correlation Coefficient between Radio and Political Participation with Newspaper Participation Held Constant
.20	.11
t= 1.18 df=31 p> .10	t= .64 df= 31 p> .10

As was mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, the purpose of the partial-correlation technique was to examine whether the inclusion of one type of medium participation would make any contribution to the relationship between another type of medium participation and political participation. A comparison between Table III and **Table V** shows that when radio participation is held constant the relationship between newspaper participation and political participation across the 33 non-communist countries decreases from .33 to .20. Further, when newspaper participation is held constant the re-

lationship between radio participation and political participation for these countries decreases from .29 to .11.

The t-test for significance here indicated that neither of the two partial correlation coefficients were statistically significant. That is, for the 33 non-communist countries, the relationship between one type of medium participation and political participation, without the possible contribution from another type of medium participation, was attributed to a chance fluctuation.

Urbanization Speed and Political Participation

Table VI

Simple Correlation Coefficient, by Urbanization Speed

Correlation between :	High Urbanization Speed Countries N= 12	Moderate Urbanization Speed Countries N= 13	Low Urbanization Speed Countries N= 8
Newspaper & Radio	.57	.64	.92
		X^2= 2.98 df= 2	p > .05
Newspaper & Voting	.62	.54	.43
		X^2= .23 df= 2	p > .05
Radio & Voting	.35	.34	.62
		X^2= .53 df= 2	p > .05

Table VI gives us the simple correlation coefficients between newspaper and radio participation, between newspaper and political

participation , and between radio and political participation for three groups of different urbanization speeds. Here, the relationship between newspaper and radio participation appears to increase as urbanization speed decreases; that is, the higher the urbanization speed, the less the relationship between these two participations. Unfortunately, the X^2 test did not verify this interpretation. The obtained X^2 value suggested that these three correlations were homogeneous and could be considered as estimates of the same population value.

Similar findings and interpretation may apply to the three simple correlations between radio and political participation. However, the relationships between radio and political participation failed to show a progressive increase or decrease as a function of urbanization speed. Such a progressive change was noticeable in the relationships between newspaper and radio participation and between newspaper and political participation.

Briefly speaking, the nonsignificant X^2's in Table VI indicate that different urbanization speeds did not significantly change the simple correlation coefficients for the three variables. Thus, the contribution resulting from the break down of the non-communist countries, on the basis of urbanization speed, was not useful as far as the simple-correlation coefficients were concerned.

Table VII

Multiple Correlation Coefficient, by Urbanization Speed

	High Urbanization Speed Countries	Moderate Urbanization Speed Countries	Low Urbanizatio Speed Countries
	N = 12	N = 13	N = 8
Multiple Correlation between Media and Political Participation	.62	.54	.72

$X^2 = .27$ df= 2 $p > .05$

Table VII indicates that, individually speaking, for both high and low urbanization speed countries the combined predictability of newspaper and radio participation on political participation is statistically significant from a chance fluctuation ($p < .05$). However, when compared to one another, the three multiple-correlation coefficients are similar regardless of differences in urbanization speed. Therefore, the nonsignificant X^2 indicates that the function of the media in countries with high urbanization speed is not significantly different from its function in other countries with slower speeds of urbanization. Namely, the second hypothesis that media function most effectively only in rapidly-urbanizing nations was not supported by the study.

Finally, the question of whether the inclusion of newspaper participation would change the relationship between radio and political participation, and whether the inclusion of radio participation

would change the relationship between newspaper and political participation if urbanization speed of the countries was taken into consideration. In other words, would one type of medium participation make any contribution to the relationship between political participation and another type of medium participation if we held urbanization speed constant ? Since newspaper participation requires certain degree of literacy while radio participation does not, this question is of importance.

Table VIII

Partial Correlation Coefficient, by Urbanization Speed

	High Urbanization Speed Countries	Moderate Urbanization Speed Countries	Low Urbanization Speed Countries
	N = 12	N = 13	N = 8
Newspaper and Political Participation with Radio Held Constant	.55	.45	-.46
		X^2= 2.41 df= 1	p < .05
Radio and Political Participation with Newspaper Held Constant	-.01	-.01	.63
		X^2= 1.93 df=1	p > .05

In Table VIII, the partial-correlation coefficients for three groups of countries show that when radio participation was held constant the relationship between newspaper and political participation

was not homogeneous. Thus, the three partial correlations could not be considered as estimates of the same population value. In other words, classification of the countries on the basis of urbanization speed resulted in a significant finding indicating that radio participation contributed unequally to the relationship between newspaper and political participation when such a relationship was compared on levels of urbanization speed. Further, Table VIII shows that in countries with a low rate of urbanization, newspaper and political participation (with radio use held constant) are far more negatively related than in countries with a faster speed of urbanization. Comparing this correlation (-.46) against the rather large positive correlation between radio consumption and political participation (with newspaper use held constant) of +.63 in the same low speed urbanization countries, one sees a far greater discrepancy than is present in similar comparison in countries with faster urbanization. This point will be discussed in detail later.

Finally, Table VIII shows that in countries with high and/or moderate urbanization speed, newspaper and political participation (with radio use held constant) are not too much different from radio and political participation (with newspaper use held constant), though radio are found unrelated to political participation. This points out that literacy does play an important role in the relationship between media and political participation, for literacy tends to be higher in high and moderate urbanization speed

countries than in countries with a low rate of urbanization.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The effects of media use have been widely discussed and the conclusion reached are controversial. When the researchers approach the problem within the societies where public media have already been developed and the people there have been habitually supplied with abundant media, the findings tend to underestimate the effects of these informative devices. However, when the researchers see the problem within the societies not saturated with mass media, the findings tend to overestimate their effects.

The problem becomes more difficult to deal with when the purposes of a study are to find some generalization which will then be applicable to further studies in other places of the world. The difficulty exists because of the fact that, for any society in the world, the growth of media is more or less accompanied by the growth of other human behaviors. For instance, the question that whether political interest leads to an increase of media use or media use results in increasing political interest is the question which will never be satisfactorily answered. However, the difficulty does not necessarily mean that the problem concerning the possible influence of media use is unapproachable. The point should be that how we look at the media when we are looking for such an influence.

Media are part of the products of the modern world, and media use, which occupies a fairly short time span in man's history, is

one of human behaviors. Taking a glance at the countries included in this study, one sees that the development of one type of medium participation is closely related to the development of another type of medium participation. That is, for 33 non-communist countries, the higher the participation in one medium, the more the participation in another medium. However, this evidence did not satisfy and answer the other questions in our mind.

We wanted to see whether a single medium participation could tell us anything about voting attendance in national elections. We wanted to see whether the combined information about newspaper and radio participation could improve this predictability to some extent. Also, we wanted to see whether the control of one medium participation would make any difference for the relationship between political participation and another medium participation.

Two approaches were employed to see the problem.

The first approach dealt with the problem by viewing the non-communist countries without breaking them down into sub-groups. The findings thus obtained showed that neither radio nor newspaper participation was found significantly related to political participation (the criterion variable). Further, the combined predictability resulted from newspaper and radio participation as a predictor toward political participation was found not significantly different from a chance fluctuation, either. Besides, when radio participation was eliminated from the relationship between newspaper and political participation , and when newspaper participation was eliminated from

radio and political participation, the partial-correlation coefficients were found not statistically significant.

The above findings led us to the following interpretations.

First, the sheer information about one type of medium participation failed to explain political participation. In other words, either newspaper circulation per 100 population or radios per 100 population (as two predictive independent variables) was only related to voting participation in national elections (as the criterion variable) by chance.

Secondly, the combined information of radio consumption and newspaper circulation also failed to explain the political participation in these 33 non-communist countries.In a word, the first hypothesis was not supported by the study. However, as mentioned before, the failure to support this hypothesis might be attributed to an inadequacy of the sample size. Should we have a larger sample, we might have had the finding which is in accord with the rationale behind the establishment of the hypothesis.

Thirdly, the nonsignificant partial-correlation coefficients for the relationships between newspaper and political participation without the contamination of radio participation and between radio and political participation without the contamination of newspaper participation showed that neither one of the media alone was a good index to explain political participation.

To sum it up, the above discussion seems to suggest the following two phenomena: the growth of media participation is not related

to the growth of political participation in these non-communist countries, but the growth of one medium participation is accompanied by the growth of another medium participation.

The second approach dealt with the problem by viewing the relationship between media and political participation in the non-communist countries after they were broken down into three groups. Urbanization speed was used as a basis to classify the countries, for the evidence suggested that urbanization level (percentage of population in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants) and urbanization speed (rate of a country to be further urbanized) was not related ($r=.20$; $p>.05$). Besides, the test for the second hypothesis required the classification of the non-communist countries on the basis of urbanization speed.

The results of simple-correlation coefficients indicated that as the urbanization speed decreased the relationship between newspaper and radio participation increased though the test for homogeneity of the simple correlations led us to conclude that these correlation coefficients were not significantly different. The results of simple correlation coefficients between radio and political participation, and between newspaper and political participation, however, did not provide such an implication. Thus, one may say that urbanization speed seems to provide a noticeable trend for the relationship between newspaper and radio participation, but it fails to do so for the relationship between media participation and political participation.

When the relationship between political and media participation was compared for three groups, the findings indicated that the function of the media in countries with high urbanization speed was not significantly different from its function in other countries with slower speeds of urbanization. Thus, as far as the data in this study were concerned, the second hypothesis that media function most effectively only in rapdily-urbanizing nations was not supported.

The involvement of literacy in newspaper participation was mentioned. This question is important especially when countries were considered on the basis of urbanization speed.

Following Daniel Lerner's notion about modernization process, the growth of cities promotes the demand for literacy and media. Should this be the fact, the faster the urbanization speed a nation has, the more the demand for literacy and media will be. Comparing the two media mentioned in this thesis, an increase of newspaper participation is a direct function of literacy, but an increase of radio participation is not. Thus, if low urbanization speed implies low increase in literacy growth the elimination of radio participation from the relationship between newspaper and political participation should affect countries with low urbanization speed the most. It is because the relationship between newspaper and political participation in these countries may likely be due to the contamination of radio participation, which does not require literacy.

The findings in Table VIII indicated that if radio participation was held constant, the relationship between newspaper and poli-

tical participation varied significantly different from a chance fluctuation for three groups of countries. To put it another way, the partial correlation coefficients computed for the three groups were no longer the estimates of the same population value. In a word, urbanization speed is a good indicator for studying the relationship between newspaper and political participation, with radio participation held constant.

Although the findings failed to support both of the two hypotheses about the relationship between media use and such human behavior as political participation in national elections, the descriptive data provide evidence that is in accord with the rationale behind the hypotheses.

The biggest problem this thesis seems to have confronted was data-collection. If all the data required for this study were available for all the non-communist countries, the sample size for this thesis should have exceeded 50 instead of 33 countries. The findings, as a result of larger sample, may likely have supported the hypotheses raised here.

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