

## **The Prince and The Warrior**

### **Schramm and Jussawalla—Competing Development Paradigms and the Global Impact of UH Research**

I begin with an apology and a preamble

#### **An Apology**

How many here knew Schramm? How many knew Jussawalla? How many of you knew both? To you, I offer a Mexican proverb that translates roughly as, “Each child has different parents.” (Cada Niño tiene sus propios padres.)

I speak today from my own experiences as I knew Wilbur Schramm and Meheroo Jussawalla. We may differ in how we each experienced the Prince and the Warrior.

#### **A Preamble**

Social Scientists usually live in the present, perhaps as protection from the crises of the past. Now that I am in the final chapters of my career, I lament the lack of respect for the past that accompanies the evolution of the social sciences.

When I began the journey of this lecture, I began from the vantage point of two of the intellectuals who shaped my field of communication and telecommunications policy and economics. But, I soon realized that these two figures, one an advisor, and the other a friend, stood in for one of the great debates of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This is not a story of symmetrical opposition—no (Thomas Henry) Huxley vs. (Samuel) Wilberforce, no (Stephen) Douglas vs. (Abraham) Lincoln, no Hector vs. Achilles. Schramm and Jussawalla navigated distinct fields and contributed to cohesive, though overlapping, literatures. They intersect in my mind because of the questions I’ve asked and continue to ask.

## **Schramm and Jussawalla: Origins and Influences**

### The Prince

The setting for his story is Marietta, Ohio on the Ohio River.

Wilbur Schramm was a summer baby, born on August 5, 1907 to a family descended from German immigrants. His childhood evokes the old label, “stolid”—secure, aspiring to be cultivated, civic-minded, musical, strong for education. Wilbur's father, Arch, played the violin, his mother Louise the piano. From them, from school, and from the family Victrola, Wilbur absorbed music. He took up the flute.

However, Schramm's birthmark is not his musical ear, but his stutter. His own body blocked his language and ideas, especially when he wanted them to come out as he surveyed the strained patience of all those around. (I feel for Schramm) It is a genuine torture. His family sought remediation from experts, and, Schramm struggled against it his entire life. In class, he spoke slowly and deliberately, sometimes pausing.

Marietta, Ohio, was a small river town. One imagines it at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as proper, optimistic, in love with America, and in love with itself. Young Wilbur excels in his grades, at the music stand, and—somewhat surprisingly—on the baseball diamond. While attending Marietta College, he plays first base for a semipro, minor league team connected to the Pittsburgh Pirates, and he writes for the local newspaper.

One of those Midwesterners who travels east, he is accepted to study for a Masters Degree in Literature and Philosophy at Harvard. In Boston, he waits tables, plays semipro basketball (yes basketball), and plays flute for the Boston symphony. Then, in a decision that forebodes the specialization of our own age, His advisor at Harvard tells him to choose Harvard or the flute. The gap in the record doesn't tell us how Schramm broke the news to Arthur Fiedler, then conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra (The Boston Pops).

Schramm is now on an academic track. In 1930, he departs Boston for Iowa and a PhD in literature. At Iowa, he climbs the ladder swiftly from graduate student to full professor, and in the process founds the Iowa Writers Workshop, publishes short stories, and wins the O.

Henry Prize for a short story titled, “Windwagon Smith”, which Disney produces as an animated feature in 1961. But, by then, Schramm has been embarked on a new and lasting pathway.

When the Empire of Japan sinks the American Battle Fleet at Pearl Harbor, the sons and daughters of Marietta rise to the call. Schramm joins the Office of War Information (OWI) where his questions are welcome: “Why are the mass media so powerful? How does propaganda succeed? Who is most vulnerable? What can we do?” But first, he gets the assignment to write the texts for some of FDR’s Fireside Chats. Just one more remarkable experience along the way. At OWI, he works on campaigns to persuade Americans to buy war bonds, plant Victory Gardens, conserve rubber tires, and drive less. Yet, the big experiences for Schramm are his encounters with the leading theorists of midcentury communication studies: Harold Lasswell; Carl Hovland, and Paul Lazarsfeld. Predictably, Schramm immerses himself in the complexities of the human psyche and how messages influence.

When George Stoddard, Dean of Graduate Studies at Iowa, becomes President of the University of Illinois, he calls Schramm to come to Champaign-Urbana “to help get the university moving again.” One of Schramm’s first projects becomes the Institute of Communications Research. Even at the height of the “Red Scare”, Schramm does not impose ideological litmus tests and recruits Herb Schiller and Dallas Smythe—two leftist economists—to the Institute.

This event marks the formal genesis of communications studies. In the east the academic tradition is to cobble together programs, but not confer departmental status until the field of study demonstrates staying power. But, in the Midwest, thinking differs. Illinois steps up and boldly establishes the first Department of Communications. In 1955, Schramm moves on to Stanford University, and founds the Institute for Communications Research, and the Department of Communications.

Schramm’s time at Stanford marks the height of his renown, but also brings contention. More than once, he has to defend the Institute against bureaucratic poaching.

Schramm’s retirement is bitter sweet. He departs Stanford with an

unsurpassed record of accomplishments, but without emeritus status.

However much Schramm felt wronged by Stanford, he looked forward to finally settling in at the East-West Center (1977). The word among us at the Institute at Stanford was that Schramm had great affection for the Center and the University of Hawaii, and would finally make them his home. At the East-West Center, he founded his third institute, the Communications Institute, which he directed (1973-1975). In actuality, he ran a great salon for thinkers in a setting that spanned both the Center and the University of Hawaii.

As a young doctoral student, the Schramm I knew was dignified and remote, constructive and ambiguous, generous and demanding, always thought provoking.

## The Warrior

### Jussawalla – A Life of Triumph over Adversities

Meheroo Jussawalla was born on Bastille Day (perhaps appropriately), 1923, in British India, the (I suspect favorite) daughter of an attorney. We can imagine where she learned her debating skills. But, her father died when she was 14 years old. We can imagine the trauma and the impact on her sense of making her own way. He leaves her with a love of poetry.

Her nuclear family relates to a large and extended clan of Parsees, descendants of Zoroastrian Persian refugees who came to India sometime between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. She sometimes referred to her Zoroastrian childhood as the root of her tolerance and open mindedness. She is a star student in all of her subjects, and reaches the highest ranks in national exams, which are scored at Cambridge University. She decides and declares that she will study economics to, “help my country to attain economic development.” She is 14 years old.

She enters Madras University at 14, and as the only woman studying economics. One imagines the microaggressions of her daily life—too young to be at university, and female. Nonetheless, she graduates while securing a First Rank, and Gold Medal. She goes on to earn an MA from Madras, and then a PhD at Osmania University.

Madras University (1857), founded by the British, is one of the first modern, secular, Indian universities. To win a first rank and gold medal in the 1940s speaks to her brilliance, but also to her competitiveness.

She joins the faculty of Osmania in 1947, the year of independence and partition. The year in which she is settling into an academic career is rife with displacement, anxiety, and violence, all intensifying uncertainty over India’s future. People around her are predicting that India will collapse without the British.

Like Schramm, she works her way up the ranks, eventually attaining the Deanship of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Her advancement prevails against fierce resistance from male colleagues. At that time, she was the only female professor at Osmania.

She embarks on a series of visiting appointments to the US and other countries, which greatly expands her network, and brings new opportunities. Indeed, I could cite a long list of accomplishments to which we can attach, “She was the only woman.” I’m sure it was lonely, but we can also sense her determination. Like Schramm, Jussawalla shapes her story, forces her professional arc always in ascendance. Then, the axe falls.

It is 1975. Indira Gandhi is Prime Minister, she declares an emergency and sets out to purge those with capitalist leanings. I can’t imagine the stress.

Meheroo is Dean at Osmania. Gandhi purges Indian universities in order to establish a more left-leaning curriculum. Jussawalla is confronted with a demand to stop teaching “Capitalist Economics.” But she refuses, knowing that her academic position is at stake. In this atmosphere, anything seems possible. She fears for her property, her family, even her own person, as she comes under deeper suspicion for capitalist leanings as a professor of economics.

All of this happens quickly, in June 1975, she leaves India with \$6.00 in her pocket, the amount allowed by Indian law. She arrives with some books, lecture notes, a few items of clothing. Her cousin drives down from Utica, NY, to meet her at the airport.

And, she rebounds. First, a position at St. Mary’s College in Maryland (1975 to 1977), then the East-West Center.

What was Meheroo like? We each get to know a public individual on the private turf of our relationship. In that context, I knew Meheroo as a warm, engaging individual who always made time to sit and chat, no matter the venue or available time. She was thoughtful and blunt, introspective and outspoken, tolerant and impatient.

## Peace Without War and War Without Peace

World War II ends in the Pacific. The Cold War begins in Berlin, but soon explodes across the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel in Korea. It is here that American leaders confront the propaganda gauntlet thrown down by Soviet Russia and Red China.

The war that killed nearly 80 million people haunts world leaders. With the unforeseen eruption of the war in Korea, the potential for unforeseen consequences of military confrontation cause all of the players to hesitate, lest they unwittingly unleash a nuclear cataclysm that would eclipse the devastation of World War II. The possibility that initial fighting in Korea might provoke the flinging of nuclear warheads terrorizes world leaders. Then, in October 1950, armies of the People's Republic of China launch a devastating offensive against UN forces. US/UN commander Douglas MacArthur's suggests that nuclear weapons would turn back the Chinese, he is relieved by President Truman.

Nuclear confrontation escalates as the armories of the two super powers add nuclear weapons and develop a strategy of detente. Both sides seek a new more productive arena in which to compete. And, so both sides evolve a complex strategy emphasizes ideas and communications.

The perceived success with which the communists project their message creates consternation among American leaders and media. "Why do they succeed in winning people over?" "What can we do?"

About this time, John Riley and Schramm, *The Reds Take a City*, Rutgers Press, 1951.

At Illinois, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press*, U Illinois, 1956.

The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do.

Schramm wants to go beyond the mass media wars to contribute proactively to American success in this battle for the hearts and minds.

At Stanford, he explores approaches to the development of what were thought of as underdeveloped societies, and realizes that there is a role for media, especially after conversations with his friend Daniel Lerner (Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Free Press, 1958.).

A passing note. One of the last collaborations among these founders of communications studies.

- Lerner, Daniel, Lyle M. Nelson, and Wilbur Lang Schramm. (1977) *Communication Research: A Half-Century Appraisal*. Published for the East-West Center by University Press of Hawaii.
- Lasswell, Harold Dwight, Daniel Lerner, and Hans Speier. *The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times*. East-West Center, 1979.

Americans returning from WWII and Korea bring back stories from the locations of their service, and describe them in terms such as “primitive”, “backward”, “poor”, “traditional”, and “underdeveloped”. And, some support aid to make these countries better. At the same time, many of these countries are gaining independence and do so with their own aspirations to achieve the material level of life denied them by the colonial powers.

But, in the chess match of international relations, the possibility that these new nations might fall into the Communist orbit puts a larger context on their aspirations.

For her part, Jussawalla refuses to play this political game, and writes in her autobiography of her intense desire to use her knowledge of economics to reduce poverty and bring India, and the underdeveloped world, to an economic status in the first rank of nations.

Nonetheless, Jussawalla and Schramm plunge into a debate that reverberates in the halls and classrooms of the world’s universities—  
The Contest of Paradigms

## The Contest of Paradigms

I've traveled this long road to get to the Contest of Paradigms, in order to illustrate that this academic debate emerges out of a momentous struggle that spanned academic theories of democracy and autocracy, but also genuine existential fears of annihilation.

Think of images of children cowering under their school desks waiting for a nuclear bomb to fall, and you have a sense of what we all believed was at stake.

In Europe, Americans implement the Marshall Plan to rebuild post-war Europe, but also to ward off the Communists. It is a great success. Then, both sides expand the arena of nonmilitary competition.

In the 1950s Americans, believing that they should share their know-how with the rest of the world, transfer technology to poorer nations in order to help them rise up out of their poverty...

But, unlike the Marshall Plan, efforts at stimulating development prove difficult and fail to show great advances. And, sometimes, outcomes overcome the goals.

Here, we encounter, another player, Everett Rogers—also from Iowa, a brilliant rural sociologist; and, like Schramm, fascinated by the power of media to achieve social change. Nonetheless, Rogers approaches the arena of development with a critical eye, in this illustration of his ambivalence with what came to be referred to as the old paradigm.

### Tractors in Brazil.

Brazil [a huge country with vast acres of arable land and a large class of farmers] seemed a likely choice for this first experiment in foreign assistance...

In an early media campaign, Americans set out to convince Brazilian farmers that upgrading from oxen to tractors will improve their incomes and quality of life, thereby transform these backward, farming areas into modern agricultural economies.

The US government sends tractors to the farmers of Brazil... After all, what can be simpler than the substitution of a tractor for a mule-drawn plow?...

Because of the economies of scale of the tractor, only farmers with farms above a certain size could effectively use the tractor...

Those farmers increase their yields dramatically... And their profits go up...

They use their new profits to buy more land... And that land comes from the small farmers...

Some of the displaced farmers become hired hands... But mechanized agriculture needs fewer farm workers than hand farming...

The excess, displaced farmers migrated to Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and other cities... Where they live in favelas and become unemployed urban poor...

Along with the tractors, an enormous transformation takes place in Brazilian agriculture...

Brazil's agricultural production really does go up... But in some ways Brazil does not become better off...

••Old Paradigm Stage 1. First "paradigm" assumed that if the information was disseminated... From the top down... [eg. Broadcast] then anybody could use it... Because they assumed that all information was value free...

But information is closely linked with power and ability to understand it in order to connect it with other knowledge to form operational lessons...[knowledge of the stock market is especially useful if you own stock and work with a stockbroker]...

Simply broadcasting information on farming served to increase the gap between the poor and rich farmers...

And as with the Brazilian example, this first assumption of the use of information demonstrably failed...

••Old Paradigm Stage 2. Development planners now recognized that simple communications was relatively ineffective... They recognized that communication occurs in a social system that actually gives it is meaning...

So they advocated making use of the social system of the intended audience...

They recommended using marketing techniques to communicate ... From the top down... To get the peasants to convert to new methods of agriculture or health behaviors...

They assumed that the central government, with its associated elites, would wish to initiate the changes to substantially reduce poverty in the backcountry...

But this "marketing technique" resulted in unforeseen, secondary consequences of the campaigns that questioned the wisdom of the approach...

[further erosion of land ownership among peasant farmers...

Migration to the cities where conditions might be worse...

Mothers with dry breasts from switching to canned milk...]

••New Paradigm assumes that development would follow for the poor

if they were able to control some of the communication systems which they would need to change their circumstances...

Paolo Freire initiates literacy through conscientisation [conscientização]...

"people learn to read best when they identify themselves the words they wish to read."... They invariably choose words that are powerful for them [eg. Plow, seed, soil, child, taxes, union, jesus, mary, joseph]

The goal is for peasants to take control of their own education, gain confidence through it, and convert that confidence into political power...

Conscientisation is related to liberation theology, as you can see, and that is why paolo freire was eventually banished from brazil... [he now lives in switzerland.]

Conscientisation is only one example of attempts to establish development projects that broke the pattern of control from the top down and established some control at the bottom...

## The Coda

As I said early in this presentation, this exploration does not lead to a synchronous debate—this is no Douglas vs. Lincoln, Huxley vs. Wilberforce.

Yet, appreciating Schramm's and Jussawalla's ideas—and the world in which those ideas emerged—grounds us for questions we confront and ask today.

Each pointed us in a distinct direction, and they are directions that still resonate today. Two far flung examples.

For example, the old paradigm continues to hold sway in military thinking. The US Army in Iraq seeks to win hearts and minds with strategies reminiscent of the Old Paradigm in Vietnam. Schramm would recognize the language of this strategy.

The Pope takes a Christian message, to both skeptical and receptive audiences, that is rooted in Liberation Theology, itself grounded in the New Paradigm. Jussawalla would approve.

## The Hawaiian Opportunity

If indeed this is the Asian century, then Hawaii, America's window on Asia holds great potential. Communication, quality of life, distance, time, and cultural diversity—concepts that help define Hawaii—will take on new meanings in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the spirit of Schramm and Jussawalla, the University of Hawaii and the East-West Center can give shape to those meanings.

But now, I suggest that there is more to the academy in Hawaii than a century-old window on Asia. The University of Hawaii and the East-Center hold the potential to become a potent Window on America. The very mosaic of populations and values that defines Hawaiian culture also offers a window on mainland America.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century will pose questions that would surely resonate with Schramm and Jussawalla, and should also resonate here.

- How does a multicultural society create safe spaces, so that individuals can experience “comfort”, and “renewal”?
- How do Hawaiians balance free speech and civility? What can mainland Americans learn from this Hawaiian experiment?
- What should we teach our students to prepare them to become valued leaders in this new, multicultural world?
- Can the Hawaiian experience teach us as we build a 21<sup>st</sup> century America that is culturally pluralistic?

Perhaps the “New Paradigm” for 21<sup>st</sup> century America begins here.

In some the part of my mind Schramm and Meheroo continue to exist as vibrant teachers and special people. My coda is a poem.

The poet Robert Frost was an acquaintance of Schramm's, and his poetry was special to Meheroo. So, I end with a stanza from a simple poem by Frost that, I believe, captures the essence of each.

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,

But I have promises to keep,

And miles to go before I sleep,

And miles to go before I sleep.

-Robert Frost, from *Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening*,  
1923