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AN APPLICATION OF THE THEORY OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION
TO ARKANSAS

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The purpose of this paper is to apply to Arkansas the theory of social mobilization developed by Dr. Karl W. Deutsch of Yale University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. First, I wish to briefly summarize the theory, then discuss difficulties encountered in applying it to an intranational region and, finally, illustrate its use in regard to Arkansas.

The theory of social mobilization.¹ The concept of social mobilization is employed in connection with Professor Deutsch's communicative approach to nationalism. While this approach is not my concern today, an understanding of its salient points is required as background.

Dr. Deutsch contends that communication plays a major role in molding divergent peoples into a modern nation-state; conversely, groups disunite because of a communicative rupture. "Communication" is interpreted broadly and includes more than spoken and written messages (such as exchanges of mail, diplomatic correspondence, newspapers, and listening to radio broadcasts). The term also denotes commercial intercourse, visits by heads of state, reciprocal tourist travel and other activities which expose one group to the other. Communication reinforces other factors which also create national consciousness (such as race, culture, geography, fear of common enemies). The citizens begin to experience the mystical spirit of brotherhood and take pride in their common heritage. Thus, Hans Kohn rightly describes nationalism as a "state of mind."²

¹The writer's knowledge of social mobilization comes from Dr. Karl W. Deutsch's book, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1953), his mimeographed essay entitled "Social Mobilization and Political Development" and his lectures at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

²Hans Kohn, Nationalism -- Its Meaning and History (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1955), p. 9.

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How is the theory of social mobilization relevant to this development? Deutsch contends that communication influences only a particular segment of the population: The mobilized citizenry. As a country transverse the path from primitive to advanced status and traditional ways of life are jettisoned, the mobilized population multiplies. The workings of this process is described by Professor Deutsch as "major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior."³ Citizens engaged in this process are the mobilized population and become the nucleus for a modern nation-state.

What are the characteristics of this process? Deutsch turns to statistics to describe -- and measure -- social mobilization. He lists several indices: urban population; population engaged in occupations other than agriculture, forestry and fishing; literate population; student population; various economic indicators (e.g., gross national product and per capita income); and, of course, total population. Other time series are included, but these should serve for illustration purposes.

At this point, Deutsch assumes (and there is no reason to question this assumption) that a literate, urbanized citizen engaged in industry is more receptive to mass communication than the illiterate farmer of the hinterland. The literate industrial worker living in the city will be more interested in his government and directing his own country's destiny. He represents the socially mobilized sector of the population. Obviously, the intelligencia is included in this sector.

Therefore, the concept of social mobilization can be summarized as follows: a primitive society will undergo various changes as it develops into one that is advanced; these modifications allow communication to be effective in fusing divergent groups together into a modern nation-state; and it is possible to study statistically the characteristics of this development. Needless to say, the theses of Deutsch are controversial

³Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," mimeographed, p. 3.

among social scientists.⁴

Difficulties in applying social mobilization to Arkansas. The difficulties encountered in applying social mobilization to Arkansas are summarized under three headings.

(1) Application of a concept of international relations to an intranational region.

This attempt is not the first endeavor to apply a concept of international relations to Arkansas.⁵ Nor is social mobilization exclusively used by Deutsch to study independent nation-states, but is employed in analyses of international regions as well.⁶

However, the Arkansas historian who finds social mobilization unpalatable may borrow the mechanics of the theory while rejecting the spirit. By this I mean that Deutsch's indices could be employed to supplement the traditional approach of the study of Arkansas history. Statistical time series would bring to light trends occurring decades preceding a historical happening. These trends are usually imperceptible changes

⁴Two critics of Deutsch are David Potter and Stanley Hoffman. Potter, the author of People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), mildly points out that culture is still basic: communication can be studied only as an outgrowth of the "culture concept." Furthermore, he correctly states that measurement of communication in primitive societies is a difficult task. On the other hand, Hoffman scathingly attacks the "systems theory" of international politics in his book, Contemporary Theory in International Relations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960). He contends that the methods of the sciences cannot be readily applied to international relations; that models are a "strange form of parlor games;" that predictions are impossible for international politics. He singles out Deutsch for criticism and declares that some communications are more important than others (e.g., diplomatic correspondence verses daily newspaper clippings). But Hoffman is impartial in his lashings: he is equally as harsh with other approaches to the study of international relations.

⁵Vance Q. Alvis, "Some Problems in the Construction of a Balance of Payments for an Intranational Region," Arkansas Academy of Science Proceedings, V (1952), 103-106.

⁶Here I have particularly in mind Professor Deutsch's study of Bohemia, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York: John Wiley, 1953), pp. 107-108, 116-122, 183-196.

transpiring below the surface of history and emerging as civil wars, policy changes, or outcome of strategic elections. While historians are well acquainted with time series, Deutsch's combination of indices and their correlation presents a new tool for research in the social sciences.

It is unfortunate indeed that political scientists and historians have allowed other fields, such as economics and psychology, to monopolize the statistical approach to research.⁷

(2) The necessity of a multidisciplinary outlook.

A second difficulty in applying social mobilization to Arkansas is the demand placed on the student to be multidisciplinary in his thinking. He must be acquainted with fundamentals of economics and sociology in addition to history and political science as statistics are gathered and interpreted.

(3) Availability of statistics on Arkansas.

Arkansas statistics are on the proverbial feast and famine basis.

The drought exists with economic data. Per capita income and personal income statistics for Arkansas are available only since 1929 and the figures are not expressed in constant dollars but in current dollars which are distorted by inflation. Unfortunately, a state's equivalent of national income and gross national product figures do not exist.⁸

Population statistics present a different story, thanks to the Bureau of the Census. Some evaluation of this material has been published.⁹

⁷A concise introduction to the statistical approach is V. O. Key, Jr., A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1954).

⁸Evidently a beginning has been made as evidenced by Robert M. Soldofsky, "Methods and Problems in the Measurement of Economic Changes in States," Arkansas Academy of Science Proceedings, V (1952), 99-102. Also, see Richard A. Easterlin, "Long Term Regional Income Changes: Some Suggested Factors," Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, IV (1958), 313-325. However, economists at the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission and the Industrial Research and Extension Center were not aware of extensive research in this area.

⁹For background knowledge, consult John B. Mitchell, "An Analysis of Arkansas' Population by Race and Nativity, and Residence," The Arkansas Historical Quarterly, VIII (Summer, 1949), 115-132.

Arkansas and social mobilization. Attached to this paper is a three-cycle semi-logarithmic graph on which the following indices of social mobilization are plotted: total population, white and Negro population, total student enrollment, white and Negro student enrollments, and rural and urban population. Some of the time series begin in 1880, others at later dates.

A detailed study of the cause-and-effect relationship between these indices and historical events would be interesting. However, as an international politician, I must give deference to the specialist acquainted with the niceties of Arkansas history. Examples of the questions an Arkansas historian would seek to answer are: What government policies influenced, or were influenced by, the development of a mobilized population? How does the mobilized population of Arkansas compare with neighboring states? Has the increase in mobilized population resulted in more interest and participation in politics? Does an extrapolation of social mobilization trends yield a glimpse of future events? (For instance, the increasing urban population and the decreasing rural population indices will intersect before 1970. An Arkansas population which is over 50 percent urbanized will, no doubt, leave its mark on the political and economic framework of the state.)

Additional questions are usually raised in using Deutschian analysis. To illustrate, the three-cycle semi-logarithmic graph portrays Arkansas' well-known loss of population, a loss which prompted that famous tongue-in-cheek remark by Business Week: ". . . in the long run, Arkansas' most significant export of all may prove to be people."¹⁰ Indubitably, part of the drain is out-migrating Negroes not counterbalanced by Negroes moving into Arkansas.¹¹ Also, young whites are leaving, as a recent study by economists Brown and Peterson of the Industrial Research and Extension Center shows: "Most of the migrants from Arkansas . . . have been young adults and very young children."¹² As yet no recognition has been given to the undetermined number of whites who are moving into the

¹⁰"Why Do Arkansans Vanish?," Business Week (April 12, 1958). 96.

¹¹"Census Portrays Shift of Negroes," New York Times, March 8, 1961, p. 26.

¹²Phillips H. Brown and John M. Peterson, "The Exodus from Arkansas," The Arkansas Economist, II (Winter, 1960), 11.

state; evidently these are older citizens, most of whom are retiring. This has resulted in a pronounced aging trend for Arkansas which can be measured by two statistical indicators.

One indicator¹³ is the percentage of total population over 65 years of age. In the United States, this percentage has doubled between 1890 and 1950 while it has quadrupled in Arkansas for the same period of time.

Another indicator¹³ is median age for white population. In Arkansas, the white's median age rose from 17.4 years in 1880 to 27.6 years in 1950: an increase of 58.6 percent. For the United States, an increase of 43.9 percent was recorded with the median age rising from 21.4 to 30.8 years. A social scientist could formulate interesting observations of the impact of this aging trend on future economic and political developments in Arkansas.

(1) Economically, new demands will be placed on the state government by a growing segment of the population wanting more services for the aged. At the same time, this segment will not contribute current goods and services to the state's economy since its primary source of income is transfer payments (an economist's term which includes social insurance and other retirement income). An adverse effect on the state's economy will not be felt until ten percent of the total population is forced to retire.¹⁴ Arkansas presently has 7.9 percent of her total population (white and non-white) aged 65 and over although it is doubtful that all are fully retired.

(2) Politically, an increase in older citizens will probably strengthen the conservative viewpoint on politics. This conclusion is based on the assumption that elders are less liberal than younger people which is a conjecture not yet proven by sociological studies.¹⁵

Conclusion. What has been attempted in this paper is to briefly describe the theory of social mobilization, which is

¹³A time series of ten-year intervals for each of these indices has been attached to this paper.

¹⁴Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), pp. 261-262.

¹⁵T. Lynn Smith, a sociologist, declares that this assumption has not been substantiated, "although a few studies have been suggestive." T. Lynn Smith and associates, Social Problems (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956), p. 120.

part of Karl W. Deutsch's communicative approach to nationalism. As a nation's population is "mobilized," transformations occur within society which are measured statistically.

It is my opinion that this theory can be profitably applied to the study of Arkansas history. The difficulties encountered in this application are (a) the problem of employing a concept designed primarily for international politics to an intranational region, (b) collecting adequate statistical data on Arkansas, and (c) the demands placed on the student to be multidisciplinary in his approach.

Because the writer's field of study is international relations, the analysis of the statistical material attached to this paper must be left in the hands of the Arkansas historian. However, exploratory questions were raised and the use of social mobilization analysis illustrated by Arkansas' aging trend.

It is my sincere hope that specialists in Arkansas history will employ this tool in their study of this state's rich historical heritage.

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STATISTICS ON ARKANSAS

(Thousands)

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
Total									
Population	802	1,128	1,312	1,574	1,752	1,854	1,949	1,910	1,786
White									
Population	591	818	944	1,131	1,279	1,375	1,466	1,481	1,397
Negro									
Population	210	309	366	442	472	478	482	426	388
Rural									
Population				1,371	1,461	1,472	1,517	1,292	1,020
Urban									
Population				202	290	383	432	617	766
Total Student									
Enrollment	79	205	314	395	483	456	472*	425	424
White Student									
Enrollment		154	230	295	360	351	356*	322	317
Negro Student									
Enrollment		51	84	100	122	105	115*	102	106

*Effective in 1942 ages enumerated were changed from 6-20 to 6-17, both inclusive.

Sources: Statistical Abstract of the United States; Statistical Summary for the Public Schools of Arkansas,

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	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
<u>Median Age</u>								
Arkansas All Classes	17.2	17.6	18.7	19.8	20.7	22.2	24.8	26.9
Arkansas White	17.4	17.6	18.7	19.6	20.3	22.0	24.9	27.6
Arkansas Non-White	16.8	15.5	18.9	20.2	21.6	22.9	24.5	24.1
United States All Classes	20.9	22.0	22.9	24.1	25.3	26.5	29.0	30.2
United States White	21.4	22.5	23.4	24.5	25.6	26.9	29.5	30.8
<u>Percentage of Population Over 65 Years of Age</u>								
Arkansas All Classes	1.7	1.9	2.4	2.9	3.6	4.1	5.5	7.9
Arkansas White	1.6	2.1	2.5	2.9	3.8	4.3	5.6	7.8
Arkansas Non-White	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.7	3.1	5.1	7.8
United States All Classes		3.8	4.1		4.7	5.5	6.8	8.1

Sources: T. Lynn Smith and Associates, Social Problems (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956), pp. 43-44; Statistical Abstract of the United States; and Census of Population -- Arkansas (Volume II, Part 4).

