CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Young people learn from the mass media. Of this there is no doubt. Mass media serve a social function, and many a parent faced with a request for some money to go to the movies from his young son or daughter will bemoan what he or she perceives to be the 'ill effects' of the mass media. Walk down the street and one can hear snatches of dialogue from the films, a pop song being played over the radio and one can see young boys and girls dressing in the fashion of their media made stars.

Walk into a party and the first conversation piece is "did you read what they said in the newspaper about...?" while nearer at home, the small child learns to tell time by the hour at which his favourite television programme starts—testimony to the all-pervasive impact of mass media upon modern society.

The young people of today are the decision makers of tomorrow. They are growing in a media saturated atmosphere and whether this youth force will become tomorrow's engineers, doctors, politicians, and administrators or whether the media created revolution of rising frustrations will lead to destabisation, social unrest, and a new socio-political order will be largely determined by the influences of mass media upon modern youth. One can no longer deny media influence; one can only debate on the nature of such effect.
In the Indian context, the question of media effects assumes greater significance, for the most important feature of India today is the size of her youth population. Seventy-five per cent of India's phenomenal population was born after Independence in 1947 and with a decadal growth rate of 24 per cent, half of India's population is below the age of 25 at the present time. To educate and modernise her young population, India's concentration has been on the electronic media. In a desperate attempt to cope with her problems, the Government has turned to the most sophisticated, modern and pervasive form of communication, mass communication through a direct broadcast satellite, transmitted to sets scattered throughout the country. The underlying premise of the mass communication programme in India is that media do have an effect, a beneficial one, in bringing about social change; that media represent very much powerful tools in the developmental effort and therefore, their influence must be exploited to the nation's advantage in informing and educating the people.

But knowledge of exposure precedes understanding of effect. This influence of the mass media is perhaps the most thoroughly researched area of mass communication in the Western societies, where systematic research has been carried on for the past fifty years. Debate in the West on media effects has been acrimonious, given the conflicting results of media studies; yet scholars have not hesitated in pointing to the vast influence of media in producing individual and societal changes in developing countries. A broad statement to make, especially in the face of
practically non-existent reliable research in the area of mass media use and effects in developing societies. The lack of reliable research is the result of the delayed entry of the electronic medium, television, into the society; the vested interests of the film industry preventing any useful social evaluation; or the consistent belief in the potential of mass media to bring about change; and concentration of research into the role played by media in the diffusion and adoption of innovations - leading to the neglect of the study of media behaviour of children and youth.

Why youth? The way a child or adolescent approaches his world is to a large extent a function of the information communicated to him and the link between communication and the growth process from infancy to adulthood is strong. The years between infancy and adulthood witness the formation and elaboration of a conception of reality, physical, cognitive, and social within which the child, adolescent, and later the adult will function; and the large proportion of the information transmitted to the child is from various sources, social and non-social. Through direct experience, the individual learns a great deal about his immediate reality. Through indirect experience, through instruction and exposure to many media of information, cognitive and social development takes place.

In this process, the period of adolescence, with which we are primarily concerned, is very important. The child can differentiate between right and wrong, he can make relationships
among abstract concepts. Half child, half adult, the child is at his most vulnerable and most expressive age. He is exposed to information at home and outside and that these are the ages of heaviest media consumption has been established by many studies world wide.

Mass media appear to have a potential for playing an influential role, at this stage, in the cognitive and social development of the child. By cognitive development is meant the information seeking function - learning of values, while by social development is meant the behaviour deriving from knowledge, the relating of what is learned to social relationships of what is right or relevant, what other people will think, and what is moral on the basis of peer influence.

The role of media at this stage is not a one-way process, a hypodermic needle through which information is communicated, received and ipso facto has effect. The adolescent does not arrive at the communication process with a blank mind. He already has had an interactive relationship with information from his infancy onwards. He is an active individual who puts to use the information stimuli received from the environment, keeping what he needs or wants, and discarding the irrelevant. The usefulness of the mass media as conveyors of information is in direct relationship to the satisfaction of needs or wants of the adolescent.
Media effects, whether resulting from a one-way or inter-active process can be of different kinds. Broadly defined into two categories, these are (a) medium or displacement effects and (b) content effects. Displacement refers to reorganisation of activities which take place with the introduction of a new medium - some activities may be cut down, others abandoned in order to make room for media exposure. Content effects relate to influence of particular types of broadcast material on values, attitudes, thinking, knowledge, and behaviour. These kinds of effects are further mediated by socio-economic determinants such as age, intelligence, media behaviour of parents, educational level, social class, interpersonal problems, and media availability, among others.

Given media influence and governments belief in the media's ability to bring about awareness and social change, an examination of the role played by media becomes of crucial importance. The absence of reliable research, either of baseline information to enable programming or of evaluation of existing programmes creates a serious lacuna. Substantial investments of finances, technology, and manpower are being made in India today partly on the basis of a blind belief in media potential. Independent investigation into media use and influence is crucial if only to serve as a pointer to programmes and decision makers. The present study is small effort in that direction, and it is hoped that the results of
this study will show what our young people, the target audiences for educational broadcasts, like or dislike about the mass media and their content. What are individual patterns of media use? How much do youth use which media? What content do they select? What factors determine media use? Are these factors purely of a socio-economic kind, or are there other psychological factors which influence use and satisfaction gained from media? These questions form the focus of this study which from descriptive data, hopes to draw inferences on the relationship between media use and youth.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Basic information on the relationship between media and social behaviour would permit an initial understanding of the forces and factors that are shaping the thinking of the present and future generations of Indians and would throw light on the importance of the role of the mass media in the cognitive and social development of the youth.

As we have already pointed out earlier, media exposure is a necessary pre-condition of any effects and exposure is a function of a number of environmental, social and psychological conditions that influence the availability and types of mass media content. As such, the purpose of this study is to examine the media use and effect patterns among adolescents (the third
stage of child development). Adolescents are chosen because of the critical growth period they are at and on the basis of worldwide findings on heavy media use among teenagers.

Mass media are defined as newspapers, magazines, books, comic books, radio, television (where available) and films.

The focus of this study is on the exposure and use patterns while the specific objects of the study would be to ascertain:

I. Patterns of access, availability of mass media among adolescents in terms of:

A. Where media exposure takes place

B. What media are available

C. How often and to what kind of media adolescents are exposed to

D. What are content preferences in each medium.
II. The influence of socio-economic factors on each of the above. These factors would consist of:
   A. Age
   B. Sex
   C. Household income
   D. Mother Tongue
   E. Family structure and Viewing patterns
   F. Parental approval or disapproval.

III. The uses and gratifications served by mass media in terms of the functions performed by them, i.e.

   A. Entertainment function:
      1. Time filling
      2. diversion from routine
      3. relaxation

   Social utility function:
      1. because of friends, peer bek
      2. as a conversation piece.

   C. For psychological reasons:
      1. escapism
      2. substitute companionship
      3. emotional release

   D. Information seeking:
      1. to know more about general knowledge, current events, practical advice
      2. curiosity, reality orientation
IV. The influence of socio-economic factors on gratification served by media in terms of the functions performed by them, i.e. the relationship, if any, between sex, and income and the various functions served by the media.

It bears mention at this stage, that we are concerned with the study of 'effects' of mass communication and not "effectiveness", the former referring to any of the consequences of mass media operation, whether intended or not, the latter to the capacity of the mass media to achieve given objectives, whether these be attracting large audiences or influencing opinions and behaviour. Our level of analysis is at the individual level, i.e., individual patterns of use and gratification.

SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Piaget and Bruner, two leading figures in the study of cognitive development posit three major stages through which the child's intelligence passes (Piaget, 1952; Bruner, 1964). During the first stages from infancy to 18 months, the child's dominant relational operation is active. He touches and grasps and learns to distinguish between himself and the other subjects.
The second stage from 18 months to about 12 years can be broken up into two periods: the first until seven years, the second until twelve, and is a period characterised by symbolic communication and the learning of relationships between concrete elements. At home exposed to primary groups, in school and at play, the child is exposed to various sources of information. He is also exposed to mass media, to comic books, story books, and more important to television and films, where available. In short, this period witnesses the unfolding of many of the cognitive capacities necessary for adult thought; the ability to represent, to symbolise, to combine and recombine various concrete cognitions.

It is only during the third stage of adolescence years (Piaget's period of formal operations and Bruner's symbolic period) that children become capable of engaging propositional thinking, of moving from the real to the possible from the concrete to the abstract. Formal operations enable consideration not only of relationships among concrete elements, but of hypothetical relations. It is at this stage that information and exposure are the highest and these are the ages of heaviest media consumption and (Schramm, Lyle and Parker, 1961; Himmelweit, 1958; Furu, 1973; Von Felitzen, 1976). Most of the media research has been among children in the first two stages of cognitive development.
General work on Mass Media Effects

Since World War II, social scientists have concentrated on the individual and societal effects of mass media both in order to discern a pattern of effects and to enable a theoretical understanding of the interaction between media and individuals. Two broad categories of effects have been identified by scholars and depending on the theoretical orientation of the scholar, debate on media effects has been heated and has ranged from a position of no effects to that of an all pervasive effect on audiences. Further, while scholars have had no hesitation in describing the agenda setting and opinion formation role of mass media as important, they have shied away from any categorical statements regarding the influence of media upon the psychological and social development of the child or adolescent.

Without a doubt, media effect on children has been the most extensively studied aspect of communication in developed countries, and bibliographical listings of impact studies exceed 2,500 during the last forty years. The results of these studies are conflicting; and only from looking at these studies within a historical context can we attempt to build a typology of the various schools of mass media effects (De Fleur, 1970; Gitlin, 1981).
Wartella and Reeves (1982) have identified the three distinct eras of studies in mass media effects, as the (a) the direct effects era, as exemplified by Lasswell's hypodermic needle model of media effects; (b) the indirect influence model, as proposed by Lazarfeld and Katz (1955); and (c) the most recent middle range era of the uses and gratifications model as suggested by Katz, Blumler, McLeod and others (1974).

The direct effects era

Reeling from the propaganda blitzes of the First World War and after the introduction of radio in the 1920's, the direct effects of mass media or the 'hypodermic needle' theory stemmed from the belief that mass communications "inject" ideas, attitudes, and dispositions towards behaviour into passive, atomised, extremely vulnerable individuals (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

This process rested on the general assumptions of the learning theory and simple stimulus-response models in behaviourist psychology popular at the time. The dominant influence mechanism was thought to be simple learning through repetitive messages and the direct effects model was prominent until 1948, when the studies of mass media in elections were carried out by Lazarsfeld and others.

Earlier a series of studies carried out in 1933 and one later in 1949 challenged the Lasswellian hypothesis of uniform and undifferentiated impact especially among children and
youth. The Payne Fund Studies, (Blumer, 1933; Dysinger and Ruckmick, 1933) conducted by some of the most prominent psychologists, sociologists, and educators of the time, represented a detailed look at the effects of films on such diverse topics as sleep patterns, knowledge about foreign cultures, attitudes toward violence and delinquent behaviour.

One of the major conclusions of the report was that the same film would affect children differently depending on the child's age, sex, pre-dispositions, perceptions, social environment, past experience, and parental influence. (Dysinger and Ruckmick, 1933).

There were many other aspects of media effects studied in the Payne Fund studies, but the bulk of this earlier work on children and media suggested that children are unique people without adult qualities and they can be expected to have different responses.

The Indirect effects era

The dominant paradigm for two decades, the indirect effects or the personal influence model, (Lazarsfeld and Katz, 1958) argued that media have differing impact on different audiences; that these effects can be of a short or long term variety, and that information passes through two or more steps before reaching the general audiences.
Mass media are only one of several variables that influence attitudes and researchers of the indirect effects school were concerned with "measurable effects" especially in comparison with other variables such as "personal contact". Katz and Lazarsfeld allowed that interpersonal relations was only one part of five intervening variables of interest, i.e., media exposure, channel characteristics, content, and psychological predispositions.

A major impetus to research relating to children during this era was the introduction of commercial television in the western developed countries. Wolf and Fiske (1949) had already shown that children received certain "listener gratifications" from comics as they progressed through three different stages of sophistication, but concern about print media was immediately transformed into an overwhelming interest in the impact of television upon children. This concern has not lessened over time; television continues to be the most studied medium among communication researchers.

For research on children and the mass media, the indirect effects research suggested that it was factors such as interpersonal relationships and psychological structure of the child that determined the extent of media influence. Two pioneering studies on mass media effect on children were published in Britain and the United States respectively. (Himmelweit, Openheim, and Vince, 1958; Schramm, Lyle, and Parker, 1961).
Two aspects of media effect were studied here, displacement effects and content effects. Displacement effects refer to changes in observable behaviour, to a reorganisation of activities which take place with the introduction of a new medium; an activity or entertainment will be displaced by a newer one provided the latter serves the same needs as the established activity but does so more cheaply or conveniently. Content effects are the influence of content e.g., impact of violent content on aggressive behaviour (Himmelweit, 1971).

Himmelweit, et al. (1958) studying a large number of children in all ages in Britain found that children between the ages of 10 and 14 usually spent more time on television than on any other activity. Factors which reduced time spent on viewing were intelligence, personality and life before the arrival of television. Television owed its popularity as a medium to its easy availability and value as a time filler.

Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961) concluded a detailed study of the media use patterns of North American children and found that between the ages of three and sixteen, all media combined accounted for more than 40 per cent of the leisure time of children between the ages of five and eight; and over 50 per cent of leisure time for children aged twelve years.
Children were also exposed to books, often before the introduction of television. Comic book reading also started early but declined over the years. Use of print media depended to a large extent on the child's reading ability, but on the whole increased steadily during the school years. Magazine reading followed a similar pattern as did newspapers, the use of which increased with age. Finally movie and radio use, with which even young children were familiar, increased abruptly with age partly because the movie theatre itself served a social function for teenagers. Radio, because it could be listened to while engaging in other activities and because of its high influence, was immensely popular among adolescents.

Intelligence was found to be the single most important factor predicting television viewing among adolescents in Britain (Himmelweit, 1958) but the Schramm study showed that in early adolescents, the more intelligent children tended to disappear from the ranks of heavy viewers (Schramm, et. al. 1961).

Relationship between the family socio-economic status and media exposure was also found to be important in the American studies, showing that lower SES (Socio-Economic Status) families turn more to the pictorial media more than their higher SES counterparts.
Content preference was also studied by the Schramm group at Stanford (1961). They distinguished between two general kinds of content - reality content and entertainment or fantasy content. The former constantly refers the user to the real world, working chiefly through realistic materials, while the latter invites the user to take leave of real world problems, appealing to emotion, stressing fantasy and often escape from reality. Age was also found to influence content preference, reality or fantasy.

The most important contribution of these early studies was the change in perspective. Audiences were no longer seen as passive recipients of television content, rather the orientation was essentially interactionist, seeing usage and response to the media as a dynamic process to be studied in context (Himmelweit, 1977). Exposure, a necessary precondition for any media effect, was now considered a function of a number of environmental, social, and psychological conditions influencing the availability of various types of media and media content, the communication skills of the individual, and his or her information needs (Roberts & Bachen, 1982).

**Uses and Gratifications Approach**

Thus, with the assumptions of interactive and conscious choice behaviour, the examinations of mass media effects began to change, moving through the cognitive theories of the 1960's to the 'uses and gratifications approach' of the 1970's.
The uses and gratifications approach takes the media consumer rather than the producer as the starting point. There is no direct relationship between messages and effects. Instead, members of the audience put messages to use and this use acts as an intervening variable in the process of effect. Exposure to mass media constitutes a set of functional alternatives for satisfaction of needs and motivations which should be compared with the function of other alternatives available to the individual (Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitz, 1974).

The emphasis is upon individual motivation in the uses and gratifications approach, based on "humanistic" motivations, stemming from Maslow's hierarchical theory of human motivation (1954) with its emphasis on cognitive, aesthetic, and self-actualisation needs (McGuire 1974). During the 1960's research on media uses and gratifications stressed the person's cognitive need for information processing and the attainment of ideational states while the affective motives stress the need for the person's feeling and emotional states. The theories of consistency and motivation suggested that mass media content offered numerous choices for the individual to fulfil the needs for consistency. The emphasis on children is on how a child confronts reality with a gradually developing cognitive structure, finding gratification from assimilating information from varied sources and accommodating the cognitive structures toward the new reality.
The early studies in uses and gratifications came up with a list of functions served either by some specific media content or by the medium in question, focusing on the link between different patterns of exposure conceived as patterns of media use, especially those of psychological and social integration and isolation (Schramm et al., 1961; Himmelweit, et al., 1958). Here, relationships were inferred rather than explicitly stated, and the significance of the early studies lies in that they highlighted the importance of the relationship between media and socio-psychological variables. Differences in effect result from differing psychological needs, from there to differing patterns of selection of media and media exposure, and implicitly, to the gratifications derived from media (Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitz, 1974).

Four forces are at an interplay in the relationship between mass media and individuals: (a) the changes in the capabilities, needs and interests of the user; (b) changes in the medium; (c) the close inter-dependence of the media and the competition to survive; and (d) changes in the availability and attractiveness of the accessible alternatives (Himmelweit, 1977). Based on this interplay, there has been a revival in the last few years of investigations of media uses and gratifications in the United States and worldwide, especially in European countries such as Britain, Sweden, Israel, and Japan (Lyle and Hoffman, 1972; Dembo and McCron, 1976; Greenberg, 1976; Von Feilitzen, 1976; Crammond, 1976; Muru, 1972 and McQuail, 1972).
These studies have been concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs which generate (3) expectations of (4) mass media or other sources which lead to (5) differential patterns of media exposure resulting in (b) needs gratifications or (7) other consequences (mostly unintended ones). (Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitz, 1974).

Theoretical Assumptions and Issues of Gratification and Effects

There are five basic assumptions upon which the uses and gratifications approach is based. These are first, that the audience is active and that media use is goal-directed. Thus, such media response is interpreted as a response to needs felt by audience members. Given psychological dispositions and social roles, the individual viewer, listener, or reader experiences some form of need satisfaction or gratification.

Second, the choice of linking individual need and gratification with media choice rests with the individual audience member who will bend the media to his needs rather than vice versa. Choice of media will be based upon which media meet the specific need.

Third, media compete with other sources of need satisfaction, both media or non-media sources. That is, given the limited time in a day available to media exposure, newspapers and television compete for the individual's attention at the same time while also competing with person-to-person interaction.
Fourth, many of the goals of mass media use can be derived from data supplied by the individual audience members themselves. Research in this approach is necessarily based on self-report data, although this may be a limitation to the problems of validity.

Finally, all value judgements about the cultural significance of mass communication should be suspended while audience orientations are explored on their own terms. The focus is one of deriving theoretical understanding based on empirical evidence, and until and unless the socio-cultural environment is taken as constant with media availability being the norm rather than the exception, the hypotheses of the uses and gratifications school cannot be tested.

McQuail, Blumler, and Brown (1972) have put forward a typology consisting of four types of needs or desires which mass media can serve. These are:

(a) diversion (including escape from constraints of routine, escape from burden of problems and emotional release)
(b) personal relationships (substitute companionship and social utility)
(c) personal identity (personal reference, reality exploration, and value reinforcement)
(d) surveillance of the environment (information seeking and knowledge).

An effort to encompass all these needs was made by Katz, Gurevitz and Hass (1973) by pointing out the central notion that mass communication are used by individuals to connect or disconnect themselves through instrumental, affective, or integrative relations with different social entities such as self, family, friends and neighbours.

Although a relevant theory of social and psychological needs and drives other than Maslow's hierarchy, is currently absent from any study of mass media use and gratifications, three distinct sources of media gratification are identified by proponents of this approach i.e. exposure to the medium per se; media content; and the social context of exposure. Each medium seems to offer a unique combination of content, characteristics and typical exposure situations (at home, in a theatre, etc.). For example, the need to relax or to kill time can be satisfied by exposure to television while the need for information or the need to spend time in a worthwhile way can be associated with reading a book.

Three kinds of effects require study here. Medium or displacements effects, content effect and audience effects.

Medium Effects

Medium or displacement effects refer to the reorganisation of activities which take place with the introduction of television
or any other new medium. In simple terms, this means the reallocation of time given to media and other activities. As media use depends to a large extent on available leisure time, so time spent with the media may in itself lead to a variety of effects such as reducing the amount of time spent on other activities, possibly affecting such things as school work and play (Crammond, 1976).

Among adolescents, the effects of television's displacement of daily activities was found to be greatest on school life and play as also on home work and school performance. Crammond (1976) has suggested that the viewer spends less time out of doors and younger viewers show the greatest discrepancy. Unorganised activities such as walks with friends were reduced even more. Television reduced informal socialising activities at a crucial time in the mental development of the teenager.

Similar findings were reported by the U.S. Surgeon General (1972) by Von Feilitzen in her study among Swedish children (1976) and by Furu (1972) in his study of Japanese children and adolescents.

Similar findings were also reported by Rubin (1977) and by Robinson (1972) who examined the use of time and mass media in fourteen countries in North and South America, East and West Europe before and after television was introduced and reiterated that the presence of television has a definite effect upon the allocation of time.
Research has also shown that time given to one medium is usually time taken away from another medium or from those activities which serve the same function but in a less effective or gratifying manner suggesting a principle of functional equivalence (Himmelweit, 1977). Thus, watching movies on television may take the place of the effort of going to the cinema theatre to see a favourite film. Media exposure may also be a choice behaviour—it does not require that a medium be liked, only that it is marginally more satisfactory than other media, e.g., news on television taking the place of news on radio.

Content Effects

Socio-economic factors are the best predictors of media content preference and effect. Studies have indicated that, among children, the perceived reality of a programme is inversely related to age (Helloran, 1969) and to socio-economic class (Greenberg and Dominick, 1968). There is also evidence about the influence of sex on content preferences with young boys choosing the dashing, the hero image they identify with and young girls preferring the more romantic themes (Srivastava, 1981).

All learning from the mass media content need not be negative or of an aggressive kind. Print media form the backbone of school experience and the audiovisual media are
fast being used in educational programmes. Any number of studies in the use of educational media have shown that under the proper learning conditions, learning through the mass media is very successful. And in the developing countries, any number of controlled experiments in educational use of mass media have yielded significant results (NCERT studies and the SITE experiment in India are cases in point).

However, most of the mass media to which the children expose themselves and the conditions of such exposure do not meet the controlled criteria, partly because typically, the mass media do not programme to teach in the developed countries. Thus, while there is evidence that television or movies teach children about the world in which they live and that information from the print media sometimes helps them with school work, much of this kind of learning is seen as incidental or informal learning (Greenberg and Dominick, 1968; Schramm, et al., 1961).

Given the amount of time spent with mass media and the often vicarious experience with the medium, it would be surprising if learning of facts, attitudes, and behaviour without actively seeking them is not taking place, and we can argue that the greater the access and exposure to media, the greater the learning of media transmitted values.
While socio-economic and age related differences in degree of learning, socialisation, cognitive development, needs and expectations do occur, the bulk of research has shown strong positive relationships between the mass media and youth, especially in the case of informal, incidental, and observational learning, with media serving the function of information and education for the youth.

Socio-economic Factors and Media Use

There has been a thread throughout this discussion that the variables of socio-economic status (SES) are perhaps the best predictors of the use of the medium and the displacement effects, these being factors such as the age, education or intelligence of the viewer, sex, personality, social norms, social class, among others. It bears emphasis that children from different backgrounds bring different experiences and expectations to the media, use them for different things, and take different things from them. Moreover, media in different cultures offer different contents, thereby influencing use and displacement patterns and effects of media.

Summarizing the Relationship between SES and Youth

Some generalisations can be drawn from world-wide studies to throw light on the relationship between media, children and adolescents.
I. Children and adolescents from lower social classes show more amount of media exposure than those of the upper classes in both Western and Eastern societies. In the West, the Schramm and Himmelweit studies, the Lyle and Hoffman, the McCleod and Chaffee, Greenberg, von Feilitzen, Crammond studies have all established negative relationships between social class and media exposure. Furu studies (between 1962 and 1972) in Japan have also shown similar patterns while in India, Yadava (1979), ORG (1972) and Srivastava (1981) also showed that in the case of the less expensive media—film and radio, youth with a middle class background were more exposed than those with an upper class background.

II. Age has already been mentioned as a major predictor of media use, throughout worldwide studies, showing that amount of viewing reaches a peak during early adolescents and decreasing during later adolescents. However, Furu (1972) and Wang (1982) have argued that because of the pressure on Japanese and Chinese adolescents to perform well in competitive examinations during their middle adolescence, their exposure to media is curtailed for a time being and thereby falls in amount of exposure.

III. Sex has not been found important as a predictor of media use patterns in the Western studies. However, Furu (1972) reported that in Japan, without exception.
boys have higher rates of exposure than girls during their teenage years. As the age of girls increases, television viewing goes down. While the reasons for such deviation from the Western norm has not been reported, Furu has suggested that the household responsibilities for young girls increases as they grow older, leaving them less time for media exposure. No clear evidence of such a pattern is available for India although it can be expected that given the similarities of Japanese and Indian culture, the same experiences would prevail in India.

IV. Intelligence – Findings are not consistent on the relationship between intelligence and media exposure. Schramm, et. al., found that the more intelligent youth find time to combine large amounts of television with higher than average use of the other media, while Himmelweit has suggested that high ability, good education and a middle class background led to selective use of the most popular medium, television.

V. Reference groups. The structure of the family and subsequently the media exposure situation can have an influence on the viewing habits of children and adolescents. In large families, consisting of the traditional structure of the joint family system in India, or in families of relatives living in close proximity to each other, there can be a family environment of the kind called "socio-orientation" by Lull (1980). In such a situation, and Furu (1972) has also suggested it takes place in Japan, there
is a sense of give and take, of repressing argument, and avoiding controversy. If added to the traditional concepts of respect to elders and obedience, the viewing pattern in the family can be substantially of influence in determining the viewing patterns of adolescents. The uses of media also change, with every member of the family being exposed to the same content. The "concept oriented" family (Lull, 1980) is one in which there is encouragement for the expression of ideas and arguments. In such a situation, the quality of media exposure changes, evident most frequently in the varying pattern of exposures.

VI. Media access. In the developing countries, variations in media access are likely to be the single most important predictors of media exposure, use, and effect, leading to the "knowledge gap" as posited by Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien (1970). This hypothesis proposed that socio-economic factors are the crucial determinant in identifying citizens who are more likely to be knowledgeable about public affairs. The implication for media exposure is that children and adolescents from more economically advantaged families will have better exposure to mass media, will be able to absorb more than their less advantaged peers, and will derive different gratifications from the same media, if exposure is held constant. Thus, any study of media use in developing countries must study access, a factor that has been taken for granted in the West.
Audience Effects. The most important and widely accepted assumption of the uses and gratifications approach, is that audiences attend to the mass media as a conscious decision to devote a specific amount of time to this activity; a decision taken in the face of competing alternatives.

Lyle (1972) has reported that children become purposeful viewers of television, having regular viewing times long before they even start school. Television viewing also takes place in company and is not a passive activity. Children usually do something while watching, eating, playing, or talking. As children become purposeful viewers of television, their preferences become well-defined, with the younger children frequently preferring cartoons, comedies by sixth grade, their preferences focus on adventure and situation comedies. Teenagers prefer adventure, music, variety and dramas.

From entertainment, the function of television shifts to that of surveillance of the environment (information seeking function). Learning from television is not curriculum oriented as the general rule, it can better be called social learning-awareness and the learning of social values and norms.

Most studies done of young people, specially in their teenage years have shown that adolescents are very purposeful and extensive users of the mass media. With the physical
changes at puberty, changes result in the adolescents' attitudes toward themselves and toward their peers, combining to form a "positive body image" (Faber, Brown and McLeod, 1979) and entertainment television may play an important role in helping adolescents work through this task. Adolescents who are already aware of their appearance pay attention to hair styles, make-up, physical build, and walking styles as depicted in the mass media and that they adapt new dress fashions from films has been established by Srivastava (1981).

Teenagers already have some knowledge of values of the society and they expose themselves to the various media to compare specific options (Faber, et.al., 1979). Sex roles can also be learned from the media as also inter-sex relationships along with a learning of independence from the family and future roles. Entertainment media presentation of the reasoning behind the action in decision-making situations can help or hinder social development. Lorimer (1971) has shown that exposure to films can produce these changes, although there may be external constraints such as varying personal experience, varying cognitive and social ability and cultural contexts.

Cultural context of the adolescent can influence the relationship between media exposure and task resolution; thus the media exposed to in one country may differ from the media in another cultural context and differing media content may also influence media use among adolescents.
Media use among adolescents was found to be of a certain type by Johnstone (1974) and movie going, radio listening, record collecting were positively associated with integration into the peer culture context for the adolescent. Linked to this Faber, et al., (1979) have suggested three types of media use among adolescents; (a) for direct learning of relevant information; (b) escape through stimulation of fantasies, to forget or relax; (c) as a stimulus for interpersonal discussion and consideration of options relevant to adolescence. We can add interpersonal relationships to these three because movie going is a social activity which takes place in the company of friends or sometimes with a person of the opposite sex. In the last case, it is not the media content that is of any importance, the act of going to the movies can symbolise behaviour accepted and relevant to the youth, a sense of belonging, a feeling of companionship.

In summary, we have returned to the Mcquail (1972) and von Feilitzen (1976) functions of the mass media for adolescents; these being, entertainment, social utility, personal identity and information seeking. We have also identified medium and content effects and the socio-economic variables that play a role in the relationship between media and children and adolescents. Thus any study based on the uses and gratifications approach must consider initially patterns of access, availability and content
preferences of media in relation to the socio-economic variables significant within a given society, prior to any study of the functions served by the mass media for adolescents.

A Note on the Youth and Review of Indian Literature on Media Effects

Every seventh person on earth is an Indian. According to the 1981 Census, the population of India registered at a phenomenal 684 million people. Of these, 75 per cent or 513 million persons were born after independence in 1947, and with a decadal growth rate of 24 per cent, half of India's population is below the age of 25 at the present time, making it the single most important group in India. This youth group can be further divided into the urban and rural youth, growing up in two different socio-cultural conditions, but suffering all the pains, dreams and problems of growing up in a country which can hardly cope with the size of this group.

There has been, in research, considerable variation and ambiguity in the use of the term 'youth' which varies from a short duration in simple rural societies to a length period in the industrial countries, because of the relative pressures on the young to assume responsible economic roles in the former society.
We can speak of a definition of youth as that related to the time of physical maturity, the years between twelve and twenty, when changes in the body herald the approach of adulthood. It is at this time that the youth is at the most vulnerable and expressive age, half child, half adult. The youth can differentiate between what is real and fantasy, between right and wrong and can make relationships among abstract concepts. A social definition of youth depends to some extent upon society, but it definitely includes the period when the youth takes on some economic responsibility and marries (Gore, 1977).

On the psychological dimension, youth is a time for autonomy and search for self identity, a time when an individual is capable of making his or her own decisions and taking the consequences for them (Gore, 1977).

In modern societies, religion has yielded place to education and mass media as the principal agents of socialisation and there is a greater emphasis on information, ideas, philosophies, and skills, and mass media communicate these in a variety of ways. However, in more traditional societies, especially those in the developing countries, other factors also play a key role, and the Indian society is an excellent example of the important influence of family and culture on youth.
The 'Indian Culture' is a highly complex kaleidoscope of fourteen major languages, at least five major religions and races, different music and dance forms. This, as Nehru said, the Indian culture is one of manifest diversity and infinite variety, with a long cultural history and a common outlook which develops a spirit. The framework is broad enough to encompass this diversity, thus Indian character and culture is an encompassing system where logically opposites peacefully co-exist, where diverse religions and ethnic elements are held together but not merged and where actions do not necessarily follow thoughts and emotions nor do they conflict.

This then is the culture within which the young grow, diverse in forms and faces, full of dichotomies and contradictions, where the individuals link is to family, caste and locality without a strong sense of overall society. Side by side with a hierarchical and authoritarian society, demanding loyalty and conformity, a puritanical morality, a sense of other worldliness is a general hungering or imitation of the West with a materialistic outlook where lip service is paid to the spirit and the general outlook and expression of the culture is practical and materialistic with little trace of the spiritual basis of the society (Kirpal, 1976).

The needs and problems of youth in India can be divided into five categories; the developmental needs,
such as health, clothing; the need for independence in a life of structured dependence; the need for status and recognition; the need for security, freedom from poverty, and the acceptance of new values of right and wrong, desirable and the undesirable which are in consonance with the modern society (Sudershan Kumari, 1978).

While the developmental needs are taken care of by the family, the problems of education are more severe. The aspirations and hopes that education produces are not met by the availability of jobs or the securing of jobs and there are serious obstacles in the selection of occupation or career such as the lack of competence, facilities, and institutional rigidities. The result is frustration, apathy and anomie, often leading to active and passive forms of social unrest and conflict.

That young people learn from the mass media and that media have an important influence in the development of the youth is supported by so many studies that we can take it as a fait accompli. There are variations, however, between media and their effects, i.e. the most influential medium in the west, may be television, this is not necessarily so in other parts of the world where radio may be a more important influence.
If we were to identify the three most important media in terms of reach and influence we would have to speak of film, radio and the print media. With television still in its nascent stages in terms of its reach, film and radio are the transmitters of popular culture. However, television is fast developing in the urban and semi-urban areas, and while its influence is limited in the rural areas, we cannot underestimate its growing influence on the youth and children in the urban centres.

Literature on the effects of communication on the diffusion and adoption of innovations is abundant in India (Lent, 1976). But the same cannot be said of research on the relationship between mass media and youth or children. Sadly, although educators, parents, and politicians alike constantly bemoan what they perceive to be the ill and harmful effects of mass media on children and youth, there is no readily available study on the exposure patterns of youth to mass media. While exposure is a precondition to effect, studies have concentrated on the impact of mass media, especially on the impact of media content on the preferences of audiences.

The National Council for Educational Training and Research (NCERT) and the Space Applications Centre (SAC) in India have carried out extensive evaluations of the impact of educational television programmes on children and youth of all ages. Almost invariably, the studies
have concentrated on specific programme content, and have used the experimental method to determine effect. Results of these studies have shown that educational television's impact on children has been positive, and children do learn from the media, although the nature of this learning may be more of a social awareness variety than of curriculum oriented learning (Agrawal, 1978). The SAC studies also showed that children are heavier users of television than adults.

Impact of television is limited because of problems of access resulting from the high cost of television sets. However, film is a more accessible medium in urban and semi-urban areas, but studies on films have been few and far apart. An early study was conducted by Agarwal (1953) on adolescent girls studying in the 10 to 12 classes aimed to determine the effect of cinema on them. Data collected from 300 students from four schools showed that girls were more interested in emotional and social themes in films. Another similar study by Chak (1956) which sought to investigate cinema and its influence and post-graduate girls found that the frequency of viewing was low. Social, musical, and humorous films were preferred by the girls who felt that films had helped improve their character, knowledge, and way of living. Bhatt (1957) found similar findings in a survey in northern India and added that the influence of films could also be noticed in the dress, manners, ambitions and facial expressions of adolescents.
A more recent and wide ranging survey was conducted by the All India Radio, Audience Research Unit (1970) to ascertain views on sex, violence, kissing, human body, censorship, and artificiality in films. Conducted on a random sample of over 2000 persons in medium and large cities, the survey showed that the Indian audiences dislike the sex and violence on the screen.

Aggarwal (1960) studied high and low exposure adolescents to determine if exposure to films had any impact on the personality of students. His study showed that frequent cinema goers were truants, slow in their studies, and had no realistic vocation plans.

A more comprehensive study by Srinivastava (1981) dealt specifically with the concepts of communication, mass media and adolescents and with the visible impact of a mass medium, i.e. films, on adolescents. Based on a sample of 150, the survey showed that adolescents adapt new dress fashions because there is a relation between the changing mode of dress in films and among college-going boys and girls. Boys also felt that sex behaviour in real life should be as we see in films" while less than half the girls like the behaviour of their favourite movie hero. Boys also preferred the "James Bond" type of hero while girls preferred the more romantic and social themes. Srivastava concluded that mass media definitely influence the youth in the country.
Studies on broader aspects of mass media, i.e. including print, broadcast, and film together have been scarce in the country although All India Radio has in a regular manner been conducting audience surveys to determine the impact of specific programme content on selected audiences. The AIR (1969) survey to ascertain youthful listening habits which was conducted among 200 youths living in Delhi showed that a majority of youth listen to radio, the commercial services being the most popular. Similar findings were reported by the National Readership Survey conducted by Operations Research Group (1972) which showed that the largest exposure to press, films and radio takes place among youth between the ages of 15 and 24. Exposure is greater among males, according to the findings of the study which also showed that age has an inverse effect upon media exposure.

The socio-economic factors which have an influence upon media use patterns among youth were studied by Leddy and Bhat (1977) who specifically investigated the time use patterns and exposure to mass media among out of school youth, a very large and often neglected segment of the society. Results from a sample of 900 in two urban centres showed that a vast majority of non-school youth were exposed to films on a regular basis. Majority of these youngsters were exposed to radio and mostly to film music on radio; secondly to information oriented programmes. Listening took place at such places as restaurants, shops, and neighbour's houses.
Reddy and Bhatt also found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and readership of magazines and newspapers. Lack of motivation was the most important reason for not reading the print media.

Similar findings were reported by Vajpeyi (1979) who found that individuals in the middle socio-economic categories were far more exposed to mass media than those in the high or low categories. Over a period of ten years, however, from 1966 to 1976, Vajpeyi found that there was higher exposure among the respondents with lower socio-economic status.

Yadava (1979) sought to find out the extent of access and exposure of youth to different mass media as also their content preferences and to examine if there was any relationship between socio-economic background of the youth and their media consumption patterns. From a sample of 294, Yadava deduced that the overwhelming majority of respondents claimed that they were exposed to radio, with film songs and news as their most preferred programmes. Similar patterns of exposure were found for newspapers and magazines.

While access to the various mass media was positively related to the family background of the youth, exposure to mass media was higher among the youth with middle class backgrounds, except in the case of films where exposure
was higher among the lower class of youth. In other words, youth with 'poorer' family backgrounds see films more often than those coming from 'rich' families. Comparatively speaking, youth with the lower socio-economic status also prefer more entertainment programmes as compared with those of a higher socio-economic status who prefer programmes with higher information and educational components.

Essentially, the study revealed that the mass media in India are class media. Access and exposure to mass media are related to the family background of the youth as much as to class background. Yadava suggests that this is perhaps indicative of greater drive and desire to improve status amongst the middle and upper classes in general.

In summary, however, one can argue that the Indian studies have concentrated to some extent on patterns of exposure with reference to given groups; e.g. Reddy and Bhat studying out of school youth, Yadava studying only the youth of one of the largest media saturated urban centres. While there is little dispute on the urban nature of media availability in India, many of the Indian studies have not gone beyond studying media exposure in urban settings. Nor have they attempted to understand the underlying motivations for media exposure, which in world wide literature have formed the basis for the study of media effects in recent years. Such analysis of effect in terms of the reasons
for media use are necessary, particularly because of the emphasis in India on Satellite based instructional and informational programmes. India's major investment in educational television would be wasted if profiles of uses and effects were unavailable, and we would continue groping in the dark. This present study is a small attempt in the direction of filling the prevailing gap by studying media effect both in terms of exposure as in terms of derived gratifications from media use.