Mass Media: A General Discussion
Mass media of communications occupy a central place in our lives today. No wonder it has been a subject of incessant and innumerable research for a long time. Media are omnipresent and all pervasive. This introductory section on mass media contains a general discussion on the various aspects of the mass media of communications. It describes the numerous functions performed by the media in society, attempts to analyse mass media as a society wide process, examines the process of mediation, and studies the mass media as agents of social change. This chapter sets the tone for the rest of the discussion in this study. The problem of the study has also been stated in this section. This is followed by objectives and framework; basic research questions; methodology and database; and scheme of chapters.

MASS media of communications play a significant role in society. So much so that the press has been called the fourth estate, a crucial pillar of democracy. So powerful has been the impact of the media in our lives today that present day society is increasingly being called an ‘information society’. It is a society where information has became the most crucial ingredient. Be it politics or economy, art or architecture, games or gossip, music or dance, everywhere information play a crucial role. And the channels for the transmission of this information are the mass media—press, television, and radio.

The media are a growing and changing industry, providing employment, producing goods and services and feeding related industries. Media are an institution in themselves, developing their own roles and norms, which link the institution to society, and to other social institutions. The institution of media, in turn, is regulated by society.

The mass media are a resource of power. They are a means of control, management and innovation in society. They provide a location where, increasingly, the affairs of public life and played out both nationally and internationally.
Media are often the location of developments in culture, both in the sense of art and symbolic forms, and also in manners, fashions, styles of life, and norms. They have become a dominant source of definitions and images of social reality for individuals, but also collectively for groups and societies. They express values and normative judgments inextricably mixed with news and entertainment.

Besides, the media play innumerable roles. We have taken up one of its roles—that of in political mobilization, as the subject for the present study.

**MASS MEDIA AS A SOCIETY WIDE PROCESS**

That the media operate very broadly and touch upon all the facets of society is common knowledge. As an institution, the media is engaged in the production, reproduction and distribution of knowledge in the widest sense of sets of symbols that have meaningful reference to experience in the social world. This knowledge enables us to make sense of experience, shapes our perceptions of it and contributes to the store of knowledge of the past and continuity of current understanding. Collectively, the mass media differ from other institutions like art, religion, science and education in several respects. We discuss them below.

(a) The media have a general carrier function for knowledge of all kinds.

(b) The media operate in the public sphere accessible in principle to all members of a society on an open, voluntary, unspecified and low cost basis.

(c) In principle, the relationship between sender and receiver is balanced and equal.

(d) The media reach more people than other institutions and for longer, taking over from early influences of school, parents, religion and so on.

This implies that the contours of the symbolic environment of information, ideas and beliefs, which we inhabit, are often known to us by way of the mass media and it is the media which may inter-relate and give coherence to its disparate elements. This
symbolic environment tends to be held is common, the more we share the same media sources. While each individual or group does have a unique world of perception and experience, a precondition of organized social life is a degree of common perception of reality. The mass media contribute to this, perhaps more than other institutions on a daily, continuous basis, even if the impact is very gradual and not consciously felt.

**MEDIATION**

Mass media play an important role of mediation—the mediating role between objective social reality and personal experience. The mass media are intermediate and mediating in several senses: they often lie between us (as receivers) and that part of potential experience which is outside our direct perception or contact; they may stand between ourselves and other institutions with which we have dealings—law, industry, the state etc.; they may provide a link between these different institutions; the media are also channels for others to contact us, or us to contact others; they often provide the material for us to form perceptions of other groups, organizations and events. We can know relatively little from direct experience even of our own society and our contact with government and political leaders is largely based on media-derived knowledge. In a similar way, our perception of groups in society to which we do not belong or cannot observe is partly shaped by mass media. It is rare for us to be entirely dependent on mass media for impressions or information. But in practice for most people alternative possibilities cannot be used extensively.

There are different ways in which mediation of the kind referred to can take place, varying especially in items of degree and kind of activity, purposefulness, interactivity and affections. Mediation can mean many things, ranging from direct relationship of one to another, through negotiation and persuasions to control of one by another. The relationship can be captured by the following communication images as suggested by Dennis McQuail which express different aspects of the way in which the media connect us to reality. The media are alternatively;
(i) A **window** on experience, which extends our vision and enables us to see what is going on for ourselves, without interference or bias;

(ii) An **interpreter**, which explains and makes sense of otherwise fragmentary or puzzling events;

(iii) A **platform** or carrier for information and opinion;

(iv) An **interactive link** which relates senders to receiver by way of different kinds of feedback;

(v) A **signpost**, which actively points the way and provides guidance;

(vi) A **filter**, selecting out parts of experience for special attention and closing off other aspects of experience, whether deliberately and systematically or not;

(vii) A **mirror**, which reflects back an image of society to itself usually with some distortions by accentuating what people want to see of their own society or sometimes what they want to punish or suppress;

(viii) A **screen** or barrier which conceals truth in the service of propagandist purpose or escapism. 4

Additionally, it is a legitimiser, reality constructor, signifier, enlarger, and motivator.

Thus the role of the media as the mediating channels in society can be termed as connecting, pointing the way, interpreting etc. There have been various attempts to systematize the main functions _intended or unintended purpose or effects, beginning with Lasswell. Lasswell presented a summary statement of the basic communication function in the following form; surveillance of the environment; correlation of the parts of the society in responding to its environment; the transmission of cultural heritage. 5 These refer respectively to (a) the provision of information, (b) the giving of comment and interpretation to help make sense of the fragments of information and also the formation of consensus, (c) the expression of cultural values and symbols
which are essential to the identity and continuity of society. Wright developed this basic scheme to describe many of the effects of media and added entertainment as the fourth key function of media. This may be part of the transmitted culture but it has another aspect that of providing reward, relaxation and reduction of tension, which makes it easier for people to cope with real life problems and for societies to avoid breakdown.

**FUNCTIONS OF THE MASS MEDIA**

With these, materials we are in a position to specify the main functions of mass media from the point of view of society as a whole. However, we need to add one more idea that of the mobilizing function of media. Nearly everywhere the media are expected to advance national interests and promote certain key values and behaviour patterns. And in certain developing societies, as well as in many socialist states, a mobilizing role is formally allotted to the media.

The overall result is the following set of basic ideas about media purpose in society.

(i) **Information**

- Providing information about events and conditions in society and the world.
- Indicating relations of power.
- Facilitating, innovation, adaptation and progress.

(ii) **Correlation**

- Explaining, interpreting and commenting on the meaning of events and information.
- Providing support for established authority and norms.
- Socializing.
• Coordinating separate activities.

• Consensus building.

• Setting orders of priority and signaling relative status.

(iii) **Continuity**

• Expressing the dominant culture and recognizing subcultures and new cultural developments.

• Forging and maintaining commonality of values.

(iv) **Entertainment**

• Providing amusement, diversion, and means of relaxation.

• Reducing social tension.

(v) **Mobilization**

• Campaigning for societal objectives in the sphere of politics, war, economic development, work and religion.

We cannot give any general rank order to these items, nor say anything about their relative frequency of occurrence. The correspondence between function and precise content is not exact, for one function may overlap with another and some purposes extend more widely than others over the range of media activities. In general, entries I and V, i.e. information and mobilization have to do with change; entries II (correlation), III (continuity) and IV (Entertainment) are associated with stability and integration.
MASS MEDIA AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

While stability and integration are the crucial functions relived by the mass media, change is crucial for national development. And as Wilbur Schramm puts it “mass media are agents of social change. The specific kind of social change they are expected to help accomplish is the transition to new customs and practices and in some cases, to different social relationships. Behind such changes in behavior must necessarily lie substantial changes in attitude, beliefs, skills, and social norms.”

In the discussion that follows, we borrow the arguments from Schramm as to how such changes are brought about, what are the factors propelling such changes and the processes associated with them.

Schramm begins the discussion from a basic question: How do changes like transition to new customs and practices etc. take place? “They may come about slowly,” points out Schramm, “in the ordinary course of history, by continuing contact with another culture that leads to the borrowing of the customs and beliefs. They may come about more quickly (although perhaps less permanently) by force for example, when a conqueror and ruler imposes new patterns of behavior. The kind of change most developing countries are seeking today is neither of there. It is intended to be faster than the measured rhythm of historical change, less violent than the process of enforced change. It aims of a voluntary development in which many people will participate, and the better informed will assist the less. In place of force, it prefers persuasion and the provision of opportunity; in place of the usual rhythm of acculturation, a heightened flow of information.”

Basically the mechanism of such a change is simple. First, the population must become aware of a need that is not satisfied by present customs and behavior. Second, they must invent or borrow behaviour that comes closer to meeting the need. A nation that wants to accelerate this process, as all developing nations do today, will try to make its people more widely and quickly aware of needs and of the opportunities for meeting them, will facilitate the decision process, and will help the
people put the new practices smoothly and swiftly into effect. The same applies to socio-political movements.

Superficially, therefore, the process is simple. In reality, it is far from that.

One reason why it is not simple is that any custom and practice that is to be replaced or introduced will be closely linked with existing customs and beliefs. Social organization is an interrelated whole. A change in any part of it will be felt in other parts, and a change in any aspects of man's behaviour will be reflected in other aspects of his behaviour. Therefore, when we think of social change we must think of it in terms of the change it will bring about in the whole society and the whole man. Thus any item of social change must be considered on a very broad basis, in order to anticipate the secondary effects and the resistances and smooth the process of transition. In order to do that, it is important to understand the culture well, and to follow the whole pattern of life of which the proposed change is a part.

Group relationship is another factor that makes introducing change a complicated task. Individuals must change, but these individuals live in groups, work and play in groups, and share many other experiences in groups. Many of the beliefs and values they hold most strongly are group norms_commonly held and mutually defended. It is very difficult for an individual to go against a strong group norm, for in that case either the whole group must change or he/she must find a new group.

We infer from this that social change is much easier if it is not contrary to group norms. But many of the group norms in almost all traditional societies are inimical to modernization. Among such norms are the religious beliefs about fatalism and man's inability to do anything about nature, the taboos against killing living things, no matter how dangerous to health and crops etc.

To sum up, we can say that mass media carry the risk of being ineffective and even counterproductive if they are used without adequate knowledge of the local culture. This is true of any communication, mass or interpersonal, but it is particularly true of the mass media because they cover larger areas, operate from a distance, and get less
feedback from their audiences. A village level worker talking to a cultivator about contour plowing can immediately tell whether he is being understood. The same village level worker lecturing over radio to several hundred villages, many of which he has never seen, may never know whether his listeners have understood, and certainly he will not learn in time to make a change in the talk he is broadcasting. Therefore, an efficient use of the mass media for economic and social development and mobilization implies that they should be as local as possible. Their programmers should originate no farther than necessary from their audiences, the programmes should be prepared by persons who understand the cultures to which they are speaking, and channels should be available to the audiences to provide their feedback to media.

Gandhi in India and Martin Luther King in America succeeded in their efforts in mobilizing people through the effective use of mass media largely because they understood the local cultures and aspirations well.

On the other hand, there have been campaigns, which have failed because the campaigners misunderstood the local situation. A village in India rejected an opportunity to install new and inexpressive smokeless stoves, although without such stoves people had to cook on the floor of the house. Each house soon filled with smoke, which gradually filtered through the thatched roof. People had sore eyes and upper respiratory infections. But the smoky house had one great advantage, which the campaigners had not known. The smoke kept down the white ants, which infested the roof. Without the smoke, the ants soon ate all the thatch, and the roof had to be replaced at considerable costs. This is an example of unforeseen consequences of campaigns, which failed because of lack of local knowledge.

Localness is an even more important aspect of the decision process, which underlies most community change. One important ingredient in the change process is local example or demonstration. Ataturk used to visit as many villages as possible while he was introducing sweeping changes in Turkish life. When he was preparing to forbid the fez, he would visit the villages wearing a hat. Similarly, Gandhi demonstrated his
skills in capturing the local essence of a particular group of people or a village or a town. In an Andhra Pradesh village he was asked to stop and deliver a speech. Untouchability was quite rampant in this village and Gandhi knew about it. Rather than delivering a speech Gandhi performed two acts which had a long lasting impact for the locals. He asked from the crowd for a harijan who lived close by. He accompanied that harijan to his house, with the crowd in tow, asked for a glass of water to drink. Secondly he took all the harijans to the local temple, which was otherwise prohibited for them, and performed prayers. Gandhi left immediately thereafter but not without creating a deep and long lasting impact on that particular community.

Thus the communication task behind social changes and socio-political mobilization are of three kinds. Firstly, the population must have information about the issues involved. Their attention must be focused on the need of change, the opportunities linked with change and the means and methods of bringing about this change. Secondly, people must participate in the decision process. The dialogue must be broadened to include all those who must decide to change. The leader should be in a position to lead and the common people to be heard. The issues of change must be clear and alternatives discussed, and information must flow both up and down the hierarchy. And lastly the needed skills must be taught, adults must be taught to read; children should be made literate, farmers must learn the lessons in modern farming; teachers, doctors and engineers must be trained; workers must master technical skills.

It is pertinent here to take a look at what the media can do and what they can help to do in the three great communication tasks.

*The media can act as watchman...* For almost 350 years the printed word in the form of books, newspapers, journals has been the strong right arm of public education. Wherever newspapers have been available, they have become the key informers of environment beyond the reach of one's own senses. Whole generation of people have formed their ideas of the outer world largely on what they have learned form newspaper, radio, television, films, and magazines. In brief, all our experiences with
the mass media illustrate how convenient it has been, voluntarily or involuntarily, to learn from them.

**The mass media can widen horizons...** Many people in a traditional society perceive a quality of magic in the media when they first encounter them. They are like magic because they can take a man up to a hill higher than any we can see on the horizon and let him look beyond. They are, to use Stevenson's phrase, the 'magic multiplier'. They act like magic also because they can let a man see and hear where he has never been and know people he has never met. And even after the aura of magic has dissipated still they can help people, live and consequently to look at their own lives with new insight. They are like a liberating force because they can break the bonds of distance and isolation and transport people from a traditional society to the great society, where all eyes are on the future and the faraway. Daniel Lerner made a similar observation in his study of the Middle East countries.

**The mass media can focus attention...** In modern society, much of the picture of distant environment comes from the mass media. As traditional society moves towards modernity, it too begins to rely on the mass media. Consequently, a large share of the ideas as to who is important, who is dangerous, what's interesting, and so forth necessarily derives for the media. The newspaper, radio, magazine, serving as watchman on the hill, must decide what to report back. This act of choice, choosing whom to write about, whom to focus the camera on, whom to quote, what events to record, determines in large degree what people know and talk about.

**The mass media can raise aspiration...** The history of advertising, the success of mail order catalogues, and many cases in which families have worked hard to reach a standard of life they have seen others enjoy or to acquire on article they have only read or heard about or seen pictures of, encourages us to believe that the mass media may be able to raise their audiences aspirations in developing countries as well as in highly developed ones. McLelland and Learner in their separate studies found that the mass media can raise the aspirations of the people of developing countries.
The mass media can feed the interpersonal channels... The influential persons whose advice and viewpoints are important in the interpersonal decision process of society are typically heavy users of the mass media. For example, the influential person in a village with a very good rapport with the farmers usually reads more and bears more broadcasts about forcing than does the average farmer. The man whose advice about politics is respected usually takes high doses of political media. The young film critique, who is regarded an authority on which nation pictures are worth seeing, usually reads much more than the average person about movies and himself sees more movies. In fact, the information obtained from the media, though not a sole and sufficient cause is certainly a contributing factor in the influence rested. This is further proved by the fact that communication is a symbolic process where by reality is produced, maintained repaired and transformed, as noted by James W. Carey. Communication, further notes Carey, is the most wonderful thing because it is the basic of human fellowship; it produces the social bounds that tie men together and make associated life possible. Society is possible because of the binding forces of shared information circulating is an organic system.\textsuperscript{18} This observation is important for the point we raised above-media can feed the interpersonal channels of communication.

The mass media can confer status... If helps enhance an individual's or an organization's reputation to be endorsed or praised by a well-regarded newspaper or radio. In fact, merely to be noticed by the media contributes to the status of an individual and credibility of an organization. This ability of the media has been described by Lazarsfeld and Merton thus, "the mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of individuals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large anonymous, masses that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice."\textsuperscript{19}
The mass media can broaden policy dialogue... In the village, the people concerned with local policy matters are close enough to talk about them face to face if they want to and if custom permits. So far as the traditional village is concerned, this is usually sufficient because the village is usually not much interested in policy at higher levels, and the higher levels are not much interested in sharing policy with the village. But when a country begins to develop it has an immediate need to widen the horizon of political discussion and policy making. The ordinary people need to overhear the national policy debates so that they can form opinions and act on those opinions. The policy makers need to understand more closely than before the needs and wishes of villages so that they can take account of them in making their larger policies. To accomplish these things in a nation if any size, without the mass media would be almost out of question.

As the country develops, the mass media begin to cover news local problems and local aspiration. The more the local press and radio develop the better the coverage. These items are seen or heard by audiences in other parts of the country and by national policy makers. At the same time, the media cover the national news, the national problems and the statements and arguments of leaders as to what policies should be adopted. Thus the theater of policy discussion is widened until it begins to be as large as the nation. As this happen during development, the conditions of national participation are set up, national empathy is encouraged, and all the requirements for developing a nation are brought within reach. This has implications for other processes like socio-political mobilization also.

The mass media can enforce social norms... John Dewey once said, “there is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things that they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to posses things in common. What they must have in common are aims, belief, aspirations, knowledge and common understanding or like-mindedness as sociologists say. Such things cannot be passed
physically from one to another like brick; they cannot be shared as persons would share a pie by dividing it into physical pieces. Consensus demands communication."^{20}

**The mass media can help form tastes...** People learn to like what they hear and see. This is true especially in the area of music and art. In some highly developed countries the success of popular songs and dances depends largely on their being introduced and made familiar by the mass media. Throughout history there have been repeated instances when new music or new paintings have been rejected because they were unfamiliar, although later they have become great classics. The mass media play a significant role here by speeding up the familiarization process and thus creating an impact on the forming of tastes. Carey succinctly puts it, "reality is brought into existence, is produced, by communication by, in short, the construction, apprehension and utilization of symbolic forms."^{21}

This has great significance for developing countries. Culture is one of the best bridges between people. If people A like the music, dance or paintings of people B, they are predisposed to like people B. If peoples A and B like each others’ art they are predisposed to feel a bond between them and to understand each other better. Developing countries can use this powerful mechanism to build the sense of nationness. If a national art or music or dance exists, it can be emphasized as a rallying point for all the people of that nation.

**The mass media can affect lightly held attitudes and slightly canalise stronger attitudes...** As we have noted earlier mass communication is not very effective by itself in changing attitudes that are strongly held and deeply anchored. Klapper also noted in similar view that mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through nexus of *mediating factors.*^{22} But its quite possible through mass communication to have some effect on positions that are not strongly held or on new questions concerning which there has been neither time nor information to build up strong attitudes. It is easier to win on a new battlefield than an old one with the help of the mass media.
The mass media can make a very small change, or a slight redirection in existing attitudes... Klapper provides a straight formula to describe this situation. "Media as influences working and other influences in a total situation."23 For example as advertisers have discovered, once people have decided that a toothbrush is a good thing, then it is relatively easy to convince them that this or that kind of toothbrush is a good thing. If people have become convinced that it is a good thing to learn to read, then it is much easier to convince them of the desirability of going to a class or listening to a broadcast or doing something else to learn to read. Sociologists have noted how development activities are affected owing to the traditional belief and customs of people in the Indian villages. If a new agriculture or health practice can be presented as merely one instance of an old honored custom, then it is likely to be accepted.
THE PROBLEM

Thus we see that the media play a wide variety of roles in a society. While all of the above arguments have a direct bearing on social change, many affect the process of social mobilization as well. However, the latter need to be explored further, given the importance of the mass media of communications in the present times, which has been rightly termed as the ‘information society’. As the chapter on review of literature will show, despite many pioneering works on the functions of media in society there are large gaps. Role of press in political mobilization is one such area where not much investigation has been done. Besides, most of the studies on press have concentrated on the mainstream media. There has been little reference to the political or activist presses that constitute an important segment of the Indian press with significant reach, appeal and effect. The present study derives its strength from the fact that it has chosen the political and activist press for an evaluation. Most of the arguments of the previous section have been based on an analysis of the mainstream press, which despite being relevant for any study of the present kind does not portray a complete picture.

The preceding section, however, does give us a good starting point in identifying the objectives of our study.

OBJECTIVES AND FRAMEWORK

The Press constitutes an important media of communication. Press is one of the dominant institutions of any democratic society. It performs the important function of mediation between the various institution of the society. The press facilitates a constant dialogue between these institutions and creates a web of interacting individuals and groups. Additionally, it creates space for expression of opinions, dissent and protest. It also acts as a platform for organizing similar yet divergent ideas and gives them the shape of movements and revolutions. The role of press in political mobilization is certainly a crucial one, and that precisely is the broader objective of
the present study. The press that is being referred to in this study is not the mainstream press, but the political one, mostly used for certain specific ends and which have very little commercial interests.

We are particularly concerned with a study of the role that the press has played in political mobilization in India. The present study takes politically and socially fervent time periods of the colonial and post-colonial India for the same. While for the colonial period we take the case study of Gandhi, who used the press as a potent weapon in his fight against the mighty British Raj, Jayaprakash Narayan is our frame of reference for the post-colonial period. The period of J.P. Movement in the mid-1970s is rated as one of the most politically volatile decades of the Independent India. The press played a vital role in the movement that led to a historic reversal of the Indira Gandhi government at the centre and establishment of the first non-Congress government in 30 years of Indian history. Needless to mention, it was an important event and today qualifies itself as a challenging subject for research.

Press is one of the most important, and probably the most enduring means of communications. It is the vehicle of public opinion and the bulldozer of democracy. It performs various functions, as has been shown in the previous section. Looking at the press in the historical perspective one can infer that it has played a determined role in various forms of mobilization. However, how did the press achieved this, what were the tools and methods it adopted, and how it organized disparate elements to give a coherent voice for mobilization are some of the pertinent issues that we aim the exploring in this study.

In Indian context, the press certainly played an important role during the freedom struggle. A major weapon in the hands of nationalist leaders, the press was instrumental in arousing public opinion against the colonial rule. The fiery writings reached the masses through various channels, word of mouth being the most effective and helped them form opinions on various issues that confronted them. All the controversies of the day were conducted through the press. It also played an instrumental role in opposing the colonial government. Almost every Act and every
policy of the government was subjected to sharp criticism. ‘Oppose, oppose, oppose’ was the motto of the Indian press. Regarding the role of the nationalist press, Viceroy Lord Dufferin wrote as early as March 1886: “Day after day hundreds of sharp-witted babus pour forth their indignation against their English oppressors in very pungent and effective diatribe.’ He wrote again in May: “In this way there can be no doubt there is generated in the minds of those who read the newspapers ...a sincere conviction that we are all of us the enemies of mankind in general and India in particular.”

Dufferin’s fear was true. Many leaders of the freedom struggle used the press for conveying their ideas. However, it was Gandhi who utilized the press in the most effective manner. Gandhi edited many journals and newspapers like the Indian Opinion, Young India and Harijan during his lifetime. No wonder, Gandhi is said to have produced two millions English words alone. The main anchor of the Indian freedom struggle, Gandhi scripted the demise of the mighty British Raj. The press was perhaps one of the most important tools that Gandhi used for this. The present study attempts at finding out how Gandhi did it and with what effect.

A comparison between the two time periods and in effect, the two leaders Gandhi and Jayaprakash Narayan, and how they used the press for political mobilization, is attempted at the end. This is important, given the difference of variables of the two time periods. To mention a few, we can think of the reach of the mass media, in the first instance. While Gandhi was operating at a time when there was very little reach of the mass media, the decades of JP saw a rapid growth in the press, both regional and mainstream. The literacy rate too was high during JP’s time and there was no alien government, as during the time of Gandhi. A peep into the prelude indicates that the comparison may turn out to be a sound enough to justify the present endeavour. However, that remains guesswork till we actually find the conclusions.

Having sketched the broader objective, we propose the basic research questions for this study:
The findings of studies of the impact of communications are strongly influenced by the research methodologies that are employed. The three basic approaches are:

(i) experimental studies, both laboratory and quasi-laboratory experiments;

(ii) surveys based on interviews and questionnaires; and

(iii) intensive case studies employing participant observation, informal and group interviews, personal documents, and other sources of documentation.

However, the above methods are not directly relevant for studies based on secondary sources of data, like the present one. However, the present study did include certain interviews.

Content analysis forms an important methodological tool for this study. Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

Content analysis is a methodologically sophisticated version of the common sense
technique of finding out how an author of a book has treated a particular subject. This can be found out easily enough by the common sense technique of looking at the index of the book as we well know, the number of references and the space devoted to a particular subject give a fair indication of the importance attached to it by the author. This common sense technique was gradually improved upon and in 1930 the first full analysis along these lines were published. The topic happened to be the amount of space devoted to foreign news in American morning newspapers. The value of this technique three years later was enhanced and confirmed in Hornell Hart's analysis of trends in the space devoted to various subjects in American periodicals and books. The next important step was an adaptation in 1973 by Harold Lasswell of the technique of content analysis for the systematic study of recorded psychoanalysis interviews. Subjects covered in these interviews were systematically classified and as a result much of the same system of categories could be used in a variety of other contexts. With the outbreak of war in Europe, Lasswell undertook the direction of an officially sponsored World Attention Survey based on content analysis for foreign newspapers. Apart from certain immediate functions, this technique was found to provide an intellectual weapon of some consequence. For example, the content analysis indicated that Germany was clearing the path for a sudden change in diplomatic orientation. This surmise came out to be true subsequently.

A survey of the field by Berelson brings to light the specific purposes for which documents of communications contents have been analysed. These are as under:

A. Purpose of ascertaining the characteristics of content:

- to describe trend in communication content;
- to trace the development of scholarship;
- to disclose international differences in the communication of content;
- to compare media of communication;
• to audit communication content against objectives;
• to aid technical research operations;
• to expose propaganda techniques.

B. Purpose of ascertaining the causes of content:
• to identify intentions and other characteristics of communicators;
• to detect the existence of propaganda;
• to determine the psychological state of persons and groups.

C. Purpose of ascertaining effects of content:
• to reflect attitudes, interests, values of populations;
• to reveal focus of attention;
• to describe attitudinal and behavioural responses to communications.

The technique of content analysis has registered a tremendous improvement. The analysis of the content proceeds under certain controls that render it systematic and objective in comparison with the conventional impressionistic review of communication content. Firstly, the categories of analysis used to classify the content are clearly and explicitly defined so that other individuals can apply them to the same content to verify the conclusions. Secondly, the analyst is not free to select and report merely what strikes him as interesting but most methodologically classify all the relevant material in his sample. Thirdly, a quantitative procedure is used in order to provide a measure of the dominance and emphasis in the material of the various ideas found and to permit comparison with other samples of the material. For example, if we take a systematic sample of newspaper editorials and count the relative number of editorials expressing favourable, unfavourable and neutral attitudes toward a certain international issue, we are carrying out a simple form of qualification that has proved
feasible and reliable. On the basis of this we can come out with a more exact picture of the situation than would be possible if simply the general impressions of memory were relied upon. In the absence of a mathematical aid there is a limit to the amount of material that can be digested and recalled in detail by the human mind.

**SCHEME OF CHAPTERS**

The thesis has been divided into the following chapters:

1. **Mass Media: A General Discussion**
2. **Functions, Processes, and Effectiveness of Communications**
3. **Review of Literature and Theories on Media**
4. **Political Communication and Political Mobilization**
5. **Press and Political Mobilization in Colonial India: A Case Study of Gandhi**
7. **Comparative Analysis on the Role of Press in Colonial and Independent India**
8. **Summary and Conclusions**

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2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.


9. Ibid., pp. 115-144.

10. Ibid., pp. 114-115.


12. This story was narrated by eminent communication expert Everett Rogers during an interview that the researcher had with him in February 1999 for The Statesman, when he was in India to assess a project by Centre for Media Studies, New Delhi.


15. Schramm, Wilbur: op.cit., p. 130


17. Lerner, Daniel: op.cit.

21 Carey, James W: op. cit., p. 25.
23 Ibid.