Chapter three

Review of Literature and Theories on Media
This chapter is devoted to documenting the review of literature and the various theories of media. However, we have also squeezed in between a detailed analysis of the growth of press in India. This may appear a little out of place, but there was no other way we could have accommodated it in the thesis. And considering the importance of the discussion for this study, it was essential for us to include it. We have divided the review of literature part into two. In the first part we do a period-wise analysis of the various studies on mass media. The second section profiles the various media studies in India, which though may not be as numerous as in the West, are rich and diverse. The theories section broadly follows the distinction of media-centred and society-centred viewpoints. Most of the theories fall somewhere along the two. The discussion on growth of media in India is stimulating, given the interesting revelations.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

THE history of research into mass communication is perhaps as old as the media themselves. The phenomenon of the mass communication is so prominent and the study of media effects is of so much interest to the public that it has been strongly influenced by currents which have little to do with scientific criteria of relevance. On the one hand there are staple matters of anxiety like crime, or violence, the state of culture and morals or the power of the media to influence or educate. Each of these is subject to historical influences of increasing or decreasing importance. On the other hand, there are changing technologies and social behaviour, which introduce changes of media provision and use. The popular newspaper or comic, the cinema, radio and television have been successively objects of research interest, as they have attracted public attention. What we know of effects of mass media is not only result of research oriented to social science or public concern but also stems from the needs of the media industry and especially a concern with the effectiveness of advertising.
We can characterize the 50 years or more of interest in media effects in terms of three main stages. The first phase spans from the turn of the century to the late 1930s. The media which developed in Europe and North America, were attributed considerable power to shape opinion and belief, change habits of life, actively mould behaviour and impose political systems even against resistance. Such views were based on empirical observation of the sudden extension of the audience to large majorities and on the great attraction of the popular press, cinema and radio. The assumption of media power was also acted upon, as it were, by advertisers. Government propagandists, the rulers of totalitarian states, and accepted defensively by nearly all as the best guess i.e. the circumstances.

The second stage extends from about 1940 to the early 1960s. This phase is strongly influenced by the growth of research in mass communication in the United States and the application of empirical method to specific questions about the effects and effectiveness of mass communication. The influence of this phase of research is rather big, given the narrow range of issues undertaken and relatively small quality of substantial studies. Perhaps, the most influential were studies of presidential elections in 1940 and 1948 by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and others, and the programme of research into the use of films for training and indoctrination of American servicemen undertaken by Hovland et.al. An earlier tradition of social psychological inquiry into the effects of films and other media of communication on crime, aggression and racial and other attitudes should also be considered. In practice, a limited number of frequently cited studies provided the substance for the general view of media effects and effectiveness which was generally being disseminated in social and political science by the end of the 1960s. Research outside the United States also fell in the same mould and most of the time confirmed the agreed version of media effects. This version basically affirmed the ineffectiveness of mass media and their subservience of other more fundamental components in any potential situation of influence. The mass media, primarily radio, film or print, were found unlikely to be major contributors to direct change of individual opinion, attitudes or behaviour or to
be a direct cause of crime, aggression or other socially deviant behaviour pattern. Other studies also reached similar negative conclusions. Klapper’s remark, that the mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factors, well sums up the outcome of the second phase. All this reflected the power of the media to be located within the existing structures of social relationships and systems of culture and belief. However, soon a set of researchers started to believe that the entire subject needed a re-examination.

The third phase, which still persists, is one where new thinking and new evidence is accumulating on the influence of mass communication, especially television, and the long neglected newspapers press. As early signs of doubts we could cite Lang and Lang10 or Key11 or Blumer12 etc.

The case for re-opening the question of mass media effects rests on several bases. Firstly, the lesson of no effects has been learned and accepted and more modest expectations have taken the place of early belief. Where small effects are expected, methods have to be more precise. In addition, the intervening variables of social position and prior audience disposition, once identified as important, could now be more adequately measured. A second basis for revision, however, rested on a critique of the methods and research models, which had been used. These were mainly experiments or surveys designed to measure short-term changes taking place among individuals, and concentrating especially on the key concept of attitude. Alternative studies might take a longer time span, pay more attention to people in their social context, look at what people know rather than at their attitudes and opinion, take account of the uses and motives of the audience members as mediating any effects, look at structures of belief and opinion and social behaviour rather than individual cases, take more notice of the content whose effects are being looked into.14

In brief, it might be argued that we are only at the beginning of the task and have as yet examined very few of the questions about the effects of mass media, especially
those which reveal themselves in collective phenomena. It is safe to conclude that we are now in a phase where social power of the media is once more at the centre of attention for some social scientists, a circumstance which is not the result of a mere change of fashion but of a genuine advance of knowledge based on secure foundations.

**PROCESSES & MODELS OF MASS MEDIA EFFECTS**

One of the reasons why questions about the influence of mass communication are so difficult to answer lies in the uncertainty about the mechanisms by which effects are produced. This uncertainty applies even to the relatively simple case of effects at the level of individuals and in practice, both empirical research and speculative comment have tended to be imprecise about the question of why any demonstrated or postulated effect should occur at all. Obviously, there is much diversity of explanations, but without some attempt to order the possibilities, the study of media effects is likely to be incomplete and possibly sterile.

Early social psychological investigations do give us some evidence, but the lessons have generally not been applied to mass communication research. For example, Janis and Hovland studied various factors linked to ‘persuability’ and suggested that persuasive effects might depend, among other things, on the prestige of the source, or on the significance of the message for the receiver, or on the attitudes of the receiver to the source. Such work implicitly effects framework for a more general account of models of the influence process, but no general framework emerges.

In his analysis of social influence, Kelman somehow comes closer to this. He suggests that there are three main processes: compliance, identification and internalisation that might be involved in opinion charge. Compliance refers to the acceptance of influence in the expectations of some reward or to avoid punishment. Identification occurs when an individual wishes to be more like the source and hence initiates or adopts behaviour accordingly. Internalisation is intended to describe
influence guided by the receiver’s own pre-existing needs and values. This last process may be taken as a functional explanation of influence, since change is mainly explicable in terms of the receiver’s own motives, needs and wishes. Katz prefers this approach to explaining the influence of mass communication in preference to what he considers to have been the two dominant modes of explanation in the past. The first mode he describes as based on ‘irrational model of man’ which people as prey to any form of powerful suggestion. The second is based on a ‘rational’ model where people are viewed as using a calculated and logical approach to new information. Katz considers both as unrealistic and less likely to account for any change of attitude than his suggested functional approach. Another example of social-psychological thinking deserves mention, as it does offer a fairly comprehensive framework for studying social influence and social power, even if its not directly concerned with mass communication. This is the work of French and Haven that offer five main possibilities of a communicative relationship in which social power may be exercised and influence accepted.

Power based on ‘reward’ or on ‘coercion’ are the first two categories. These concepts imply some interaction between the intentions of the sender and the needs of the receiver. ‘Referent’ power is similar to Kelman’s identification: Fourth, legitimate power is based on the assumption of a right to expect compliance present only where such a relationship is institutionally defined, as it may be in a number of different circumstances. Finally, there is expert power, based on the attribution of the superior knowledge of the sender. While the conceptual framework needs careful adaptation to the circumstances of mass communication, it does at least help to supply the missing elements in the discussion of effects.

De Fleur offers an analysis which is more specifically concerned with mass communication and which tells us succinctly how thinking has tended to develop. He enumerates five types of theory or models of the effect process, which have been developed gradually as knowledge has advanced. Simple conditioning or stimulus – response, is the first model. This fits with the early views about the power of the
media as direct, and dependent on the source rather than recipient. An early refinement was the ‘individual differences of theory’ of mass communication which attempted to take account of the diversity of the audience, acknowledging that the media message contains ‘particular stimulus attributes that characteristics of members of the audience.’ That is, different people respond differently to complex stimuli. ‘Social categories’ thinking is the third phase of thinking. This takes into consideration the fact that the audience is stratified according to variables of social position as life-cycle, occupation or class, religion, sex and so on. De Fleur contends that members of a particular category will select more or less the same media content and will respond to it in almost similar fashion. The fourth category is of ‘social relationship’ theory. The basic argument here is that inter-relationships between people as well as their individual attributes have to be taken into account, because De Fleur argues that informal social relationships play a significant role in modifying the manner in which a given individual will act upon a message which comes to his attention via the mass media. Finally, De Fleur explains the cultural norms theory, which postulates that the mass media, through selective presentations and the emphasis of certain themes, create impressions among their audiences that common cultural norms concerning the emphasised topics are structural and defined in some specific ways. Since individual behaviour is usually guided by cultural norms or the actors’ impressions of what the norms are with respect to given topic or situation, the media would then serve indirectly to influence conduct.24

These attempts to clarify the effect process in the main deal only with the level of individual effect. In addition, De Fleur’s analysis is oriented very much to the persuasion process and to understanding how the media might be used for persuasive objectives. In this it still uses a restricted version of the general part played by mass media in society.25
A framework of media studies that helps to escape from this early tradition, formulated specifically for the study of politics but generalisable to other cases, is suggested by Seymour-Ure.²⁶ He examines the effects of mass media in political relationship rather than on individuals. The first kind of relationship that he discusses in between individual and political system. According to Seymour-Ure the mass media will affect the individual's knowledge about and attachment to, the political system as a whole and this happens over a longer period of time as the structure of media change (for instance, the emergence of a mass press) or it can happen more quickly by coverage of particular issues and people (for instance, immigration). Secondly, the relationship between the political system as a whole and its constituent institutions may be affected. Seymour-Ure cites various examples. The British Monarchy, which receives so much support from the mass media; Parliament itself, whose place in the system could be affected by broadcasting of its proceedings; or the political parties, whose role is open to scrutiny and modifications.²⁷ A third level of media effect is in the relationship between institutions, for instance the relative strength of different political parties or the relationship between the American President and Congress. Fourth, one can look at relations between individuals and institutions, as in the case of support for a particular party or the attraction of individual to leaders. Finally, the relationship between two individuals, especially prominent political actors, can be affected by mass media and the case of Kennedy-Nixon debates comes to mind.

These examples serve some general lessons that we learn. In many areas of social life the content and structure of mass media and the lines of activity which are chosen can have profound effects, not through the scale of effects on mass audiences, but through their consequences for particular individuals especially those with power, or the adaptive responses of other institutions when the media provide new ways of meeting old needs or begin to encroach on the territory of other institutions.²⁸
EVIDENCE OF MASS MEDIA EFFECTS

In order to examine the results of research into mass media effects in a meaningful way, it may be helpful to divide up the problem under a set of headings, which in a composite way reflects the various distinctions. The most important media situations according to this distinction are

(i) the campaign

(ii) the definition of social reality and social norms

(iii) the immediate response of reaction

(iv) changes in culture and society

All the above processes have distinctive features and will require separate evaluation. However, for our study only the first two are relevant.

The Campaign

Much of what has been written about the effects or effectiveness of the media either derives from research on campaign or involves predictions about hypothetical campaign situation. The kinds of media provision which might fall under this heading include: political and election campaign, attempts at public information, commercial and public service advertising, some forms of education; the use of mass media in developing countries or generally for the diffusion of innovation. The campaign shares the following characteristics, in varying degrees: “it has specific aims and is planned to achieve these; it has a definite time-span, usually short; it is intensive and aims at wide coverage; its effectiveness is, in principle open to assessment; it usually has authoritative sponsorship; it is not necessarily popular with its audience and has to be sold to them; it is usually based on a framework of shared
values." The campaign generally works to achieve objectives which in themselves are not controversial: voting, giving to charity, buying goods, education, health, safety and so on.

The main aim in singling out this special kind of media situation is to bring together, in summary form, the accumulated evidence bearing on campaign effects. Given below is a brief assertion of a general condition of effect, with some reference to a source or summarising work, which justifies the assertion.

One set of relevant factors has to do with the audience, another with the message and a third with the source or the system of distribution. Amongst audience factors, an obvious primary condition is that a large audience should be reached, since size alone does not guarantee the inclusion of those for whom the campaign is relevant the classic example of an information and orientation campaign reaching an already informed and well oriented public is described by Star and Hughes. Third, the dispositions of the audience should at least be not anticipated or resistant. Political campaigning is most subject to this constraint and there is evidence that the lack of strong disposition either way and a condition of casual attention may be most favourable to the success of mass propaganda. A part of this condition relates to the need for consistency with the norms of locality and sub-culture as well as the presence of broad societal consensus. Fourth, success is likely to be greater when, within the audience, the flow of personal communication and structure of relevant interpersonal status is supportive of the mass media campaign and its aims. Last, it is important that the audience perceives the message as intended by its senders and does not selectively distort it. Factors affecting the message or content of the message are also important. First, the message should be relevant and clear to the audience. The factor of relevance and a parallel self-selection by the audience makes it likely that campaigns are most successful at reinforcing existing tendencies or channeling them into slightly different pathways. Second, campaign aimed at information dissemination seems more likely to be successful than a campaign to change attitudes and opinions. Third, in general, subject matter which is more distant and more
novel, least subject to prior definitions and outside immediate experience responds best to treatment by the campaign. For instance, it is easier to form opinions and attitudes about events abroad than events at home. Fourth, the campaign which allows some immediate response in action is most likely to be effective, since behaviour generally confirms intention and attitude, whether in voting or buying, or donating to a charity. Fifth, repetition also contributes to effect, although this is a common-sense assumption rather than well demonstrated. The greater of channels conveying the same campaign message, the more the probability of acceptance. This is not easy to demonstrate and there are evidences, where an imposed monopoly invites distrust and disbelief. Second, the status or authority of the source contributes to successful campaigning. The source of attributed status can of course vary, including the strongly institutionalised prestige of the political or legal system and the personal attractiveness of a star or other hero of the society or the claim to expert knowledge. Third, there is a liable condition of affective attachment to a media source. There is evidence that loyalty and affective ties exist in relation to some media rather than others which may affect their ability to influence.

Definition of Social Reality and Social Norms

Here we primarily consider the process of learning through the media, a process which is often incidental, unplanned and unconscious for the receiver and almost always unintentional on the part of the sender. Hence, the concept of 'effectiveness' is usually inappropriate, except in societies where the media take a planned and deliberate role in social development. This may be true of some aspects of socialist media or of some media in application in developing countries. There are two main aspects to what occurs. On the one hand, there is the provision of a consistent picture of the social world, which may lead the audience to adopt this version of reality, a reality of facts and of norms, values and expectations. On the other hand, there is a continuing and selective interaction between self and the media,
which plays a part in shaping the individual’s own behaviour and self-concept. We learn about our social environment and respond to the knowledge that we acquire. In greater detail, we can expect the mass media to guide us about different kinds of social role and the accompanying expectations in the sphere of work, family life, political behaviour and so on. We can expect certain values to be selectively reinforced in these and other areas of social experience. We can also expect the mass media to give an order of importance and structure to the world they portray, whether fictionally or as actuality. There are several reasons for expectations listed above. Firstly, there is a good amount of patterning and consistency in the media version of the world. Another is the wide range of experience, which is open to view and to vicarious involvements, compared to the narrow range of real life experience available to most people. Third, there is the trust with which media are often held as a source of impressions about the world outside direct experience.

That the media tend to be both consistent amongst themselves over time and also rather given to patterning and stereotyping has been demonstrated often enough in studies of content. We can cite Galtung and Ruge on foreign countries, Berelson and Steiner on American ethnic minorities, Berelson and Steiner on American ethnic minorities, Baker and Ball on the portrayal of violence, De Fleur on occupations, Franzwa on the representation of women’s roles, Hartman and Husband on immigrants in Britain and so on. A long list of studies can be cited showing the media to have certain in built tendencies to present a limited and recurring range of images and ideas, which form rather special versions of reality. In some areas, like news reporting, the pattern is fairly inescapable, in others the diversity of media allows some choice and some healthy contradiction. What we lack is much evidence of the impact of these selective versions of the world. In many cases discount by the audience and the availability of alternative information must make acceptance of media portrayals at face value extremely unlikely or unusual. We should certainly not take evidence of content as evidence of effect. There is no close relationship between the two, and this is proved by some studies.
For instance, Roshier found that public views about crime was closer to the true statistical picture than the somewhat distorted version one might extract from the content of local newspapers.\textsuperscript{49} Similarly, in a study by Halloran, it was shown that audience reaction to television reports of the 1968 demonstration was little affected by the one-sided version presented on the screen.\textsuperscript{50} The issue of immigrants is another important consideration. In a study of school children, Hartman and Husband found that while the degree of media exposure and degree of prejudice are not directly correlated, the media are a more important source of knowledge and ideas than are personal contacts in areas where immigrant population are small.\textsuperscript{51} They also show that the media are associated with a view of immigrants as likely to be a course of trouble or be associated with conflict.

**Media in Defining Reality and Influencing Norms**

We now see how media take up the process of defining reality and influencing norm. It has been suggested by studies that media help to establish an order of priorities in a society about its problem and objectives.\textsuperscript{52} They do this, not by initiating or determining, but by publicizing according to an agreed scale of values what is determined elsewhere, usually in the political system. Political scientists have been most alert to the process and the term ‘agenda-setting’ has been given to it by Mc Combs and Shaw.\textsuperscript{53} They found the mass media to present a very uniform set of issues before the American public in the 1968 presidential election and found public opinion to accord in content and order rather closely to this pattern.

**PRESS IN INDIA: PAST & PRESENT**

**Indian Press in Colonial India and its Role in Freedom Struggle**

The press played an important role in building and developing Indian nationalism and the nationalist movement. "The national movement, on its political side, was possible
because of the facility of political education and propaganda provided by the press. With its help, the Indian nationalist groups were able to popularise among the people the ideas of representative government, liberty, democratic institutions, Home Rule, Dominion status, and Independence.\(^5^4\)

The press helped people and leaders carry on daily criticism of the measures of the British government and administration and educate the people in the understanding of political problems. The press was a weapon in the hands of the nationalist groups, to popularise among the people their respective political programmes, policies, and methods of struggle, and to form organisation with a broad popular basis.

Without the press, all India conferences of nationalist organisations could not have been held and big political movements organised and directed. For instance, it was to *Young India* of Gandhi, that the leader of the Indian National Congressmen and Congress supporters looked for directives for their political activities during the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920-21 and Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-32.\(^5^5\)

Since the press was a powerful weapon of the nationalist struggle, Indian nationalists of all hues staunchly fought for its freedom throughout the existence of the Indian nationalist movement. That the press played a vital role in the building of Indian nationalism and national movement emerges from the fact that leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Keshab Chandra Sen, Gokhale, Tilak, Pheroze Shah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, C.Y. Chintamani, M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru used it as a medium for dissemination of their ideas and mobilising public opinion on issues concerning the masses and colonial India.

The press alone made possible the large scale swift, and constant exchange of news among different social groups residing in different parts of the country. The establishment and extension of the press in India brought about a closer social and intellectual contact between provincial populations. It also facilitated the daily and extensive discussion of the programmes of inter-provincial and national collaboration.
in spheres of social, political and cultural matters and the holding of national conferences, social, political, and cultural. National committees were appointed to implement the programmes adopted of these conferences throughout the country. The press was the chief instrument for arousing, training, mobilising and consolidating nationalist public opinion. This in turn, helped in building of an increasingly rich, complex, social and cultural national existence. The press also helped in the growth of provincial literature and culture, which were provincial in form and national in character. The press was an effective weapon in the hands of social reform groups to expose social evils such as caste, child marriage, atrocities against women and other. It also helped them to organise propaganda on a vast scale against such inhuman institution as untouchability.

It becomes a potent weapon in the hands of the leaders to proclaim to the broad mass of the people, principles, programmes and methods, of democratic reconstruction of Indian society. Further, the press also brought knowledge of the happenings in the world to the Indian masses.

There was continuous effort by the British government to curb the freedom of the press which was resisted by the strong Indian nationalist leaders.

MEDIA IN LAST 50 YEARS IN INDIA

That the media are powerful tools in a democratic country requires little emphasis. However, how they have grown and helped in shaping public opinion in the largest and most vibrant democracy of the world is an interesting area of study.

“The history of India’s media over the last five decades needs to be studied from four perspectives: their own growth and diversification; the political, social and economic developments they reflect; the kind of mirror they have been holding to the country’s increasingly complex life; and the freedom they enjoy.”
There has been a remarkable growth of the press in India in both daily and periodical press. This both quiet apparent and supported by statistical data.\(^5\)

The first press commission, which was appointed in October 1952, and submitted its report in July 1954, found 330 daily newspapers in India with a combined circulation of 232,500 copies, and 3,203 periodicals. The commission noted that “there has been a rapid growth in the number and circulation of daily newspapers in the country both in English and in the Indian languages.”\(^6\) According to the Registrar of Newspapers in India (RNI),\(^6\) there were in 1960, 531 dailies and 7,495 other publications in the country with combined circulations of 4,433,000 and 13,586,000, respectively. In 1996, there were 4,558 dailies and 37,830 other publications with circulation of 45,225,00 and 44,071,000 respectively.\(^6\) The number of publications owned by members of the Indian Newspaper Society (INS), the national organisation of publishers, rose from 14 in 1939-40 to 85 in 1949-50, 356, in 1979-80 and 723 in 1996-7.\(^6\)

Equally significant has been the growth in the circulation of individual papers. In the mid-1960s, the average daily circulation of the Anand Bazar Patrika, a newspaper in Bengali published from Calcutta, and the Malayala Manorama, a newspaper in Malayalam published from Kerala, the two largest newspapers published from a single centre in India then, was less than 200,00 copies each. During January-June 1996, the figures were 503,604 copies for the Anand Bazar Patrika\(^6\) and 811,639 for the Malayale Manorama.\(^6\) In the same period the Times of India and the Sunday Times had an average daily circulation of 988,676 and 1,090,453 respectively,\(^6\) The Hindu of 536,438\(^6\) and the Hindustan Times of 491,682\(^6\). Apart from the Anand Bazar Patrika, the other language dailies with large circulations were Gujarat Samachar and Sandesh, both in Gujarati, with circulation figures of 680,517\(^6\) and 537,089\(^7\) respectively. The corresponding figures for Jagran and the Rajasthan Patrika, both in Hindi were 57,226\(^7\) and 437,270\(^7\), respectively. The Telugu daily Eenadu, published from nine centres in Andhra Pradesh, had a combined average daily circulation of 586,403 copies. The Punjab Kesari in Hindi had an average net
daily circulation of 412,511 copies in Jalandhar, and 258,128 copies in Delhi. For Sundays the figures were 575,213 in Jalandhar and 475,056 in Delhi.  

It is not just the dailies which have proliferated, grown and prospered. The total of 723 publications owned by INS member in 1996-97 included 398 dailies, 105 weeklies, 56 fortnightlies, 54 monthlies and 10 other types of publications. Some of the weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies have recorded impressive circulation. Frontline, the fortnightly published by the Hindu Group, had an average circulation of 68,241 during the same period. Desh, the prestigious Bengali fortnightly had an average circulation of 66,865 per issue during the same period. Among the English weeklies The Week and Sunday had average circulation of 89,373 and 51,597 copies, respectively.

The above sample clearly shows that the print media has expanded not only in English but in the Indian languages as well. The figures speak for themselves. The 723 publications owned by INS members in 1996-97, included 16 in Assamese, 30 in Bengali, 191 in English, 218 in Hindi, 23 in Kannada, one in Khasi, two in Konkani, 28 in Malayalam, 55 in Marathi, 12 in Oriya, 22 in Punjabi, one in Rajasthani, two in Sindhi, 37 in Tamil, 28 in Telagu and 21 in Urdu. “Significantly, India is rapidly approaching the UNESCO norm of 10 newspaper copies for 60 persons for the developing nations.”

**Growth of the Press and Middle Class**

The reasons for the rapid growth in English and other language newspaper and periodicals are not far to seek. The rising literacy levels have accounted for an upsurge in the demand for the Indian language papers, Hindi as well as other languages. On the other hand, the addition to the population of university graduates, the rise in the purchasing power of the people there are said to be anywhere around 250 million people in India who can buy consumer durables and fast moving consumer items advertised day in and day out on the TV, and who are targeted by the
multinationals operating in the country as a result of the liberalisation of the economy and last the continuing importance of English in the government and public life are among the factors for the English press continuing to occupy statistically and otherwise a position of vantage.⁸⁰

The growth of the press, in turn, exposed an increasingly large number of people who could access it, thanks to spreading literacy, to political debates and discussions. The growth in the newspapers was especially made possible with the emergency of a large middle class with good disposable incomes.⁸¹ The swelling of middle class purse is attributed mainly to economic growth, which after averaging 3.5 percent annually between 1960 and 1990, started rising steeply after the launching of the economic reforms in 1991, reaching an average of 7 percent in 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96 and placing India among top 10 performers in the world.⁸² This propelled the production of consumer durable, and hence the revenue of advertising agencies and television producers and companies.

The print media to fell into line with this pattern. “From around the middle of the 1980s, when the consumer culture began to spread in the country even the print media started becoming increasingly entertainment oriented and trivialised in its content and preoccupations.”⁸³ Until then, it had played an important role in public discourse, carrying into independent India a tradition that had grown with the waxing of the freedom movement. It was vigorous and independent while covering and commenting on a number of important issues which cropped up like whether India should follow a socialist or a capitalist mode of development, the respective role of private and public sectors, land reforms, and the thrust of the five-year plans. The other important issues included nonalignment and the attitude toward the American and Soviet power blocs respectively; India’s defence policy and relations with China and Pakistan; the nature of Indian secularism; corruption and maladministration.⁸⁴ The media also carried discourse on events like the 1947-48 war with Pakistan, the 1948 police action in Hyderabad, arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, dismissal of Kerala’s Communist government in 1959, the 1962 border clashes with China, the Kamraj Plan of 1963, and the split in
Communist Party of India in 1964. It was an eventful period marked by development with far-reaching consequences rapidly succeeding one another. The death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964, the management of the consequent succession crisis leading to Lal Bahadur Shastri’s appointment as Prime Minister, the war with Pakistan in 1965, the Tashkent treaty with Pakistan in January 1966, and Shastri’s death in the same month, were adequately reported and commented upon, as was Indira Gandhi’s ascent to the Prime Minister’s office immediately thereafter. The same approach to reportage and comment marked the response to the devaluation of rupees in 1966 and the setback suffered by the Congress in the general elections of 1967. The emergence of non-Congress government in a majority of states which followed the 1967 general elections, and the election of Dr. Zakir Hussain as India’s first Muslim president which came on its heels, were thoroughly covered and analysed.85

The print media’s intervention was not without effect. Sharp criticism in the press, parliament and the Congress Party in the wake of the reverses in the border conflict with China in 1962, forced Jawaharlal Nehru to remove Krishna Menon from defence Ministers post.86 The year 1967 was an important watershed in independent India. It saw the first blow to the political hegemony of the Congress and the beginning of a trend towards greater assertiveness by the states in India’s federal polity. A couple of years later came the Congress split of 1969 following Indira Gandhi’s refusal to accept Congress Parliamentary Board’s choice of Sanjiva Reddy as the party’s presidential candidate and decision to support the candidature of vice-president Dr. V.V. Giri.

The sweeping victory of Indira Gandhi Congress in 1971 mid-term elections infused a rancour of undercurrent in Indian politics despite the same of national pride created by Mrs. Gandhi’s brilliant handling of the situation arising out of the freedom struggle in what was then East Pakistan, the latter’s emergence into freedom as Bangladesh, India’s decisive victory in the war with Pakistan which preceded it, and the country’s first nuclear explosion in Pakistan in May 1979.87
The country was sharply and bitterly divided between the supporters and opponents of Indira Gandhi, political debates were acrimonious and exchanges accusatory. The print media too reflected the cleavage and reports, political analyses and editorials were often trenchant.88 Then came the dark interlude of the emergency when democracy was put on hold and the media gagged through censorship. “Indira Gandhi’s defeat in the elections in March 1977 and the end of the emergency triggered a profound feeling of liberation; the sudden release of the pent-up desire for communication, information and comment, and a desire to know more about the sinister deeds during emergency, news of which was suppressed through censorship, gave to discourse in the print media a new seriousness, vigour and depth.”89 These qualities have continued to be seen their treatment of the issues which surfaced in the national focus in the 1980s and 1990s - caste and communal tension, secessionism and corruption, electoral malpractices, criminalisation of politics, Mandalisation of the polity, human rights, the pattern of development and the protection of environment, the comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the nuclear issue, the nuclear explosions in Pokhran in May 1998 and the Kargil War a year later. Strong expression of editorial opinion has frequently been matched by fearless news coverage which could do the press in any democratic country proud. Questions Vir Sanghvi in one of his opinionated articles on Kargil: “How should the media react when the country is faced, if not with a war, then a war like situation? Should the press pull its punches in the name of patriotism? Or should it do its job without fear and favour?”90 For next many days, after Vir Sanghir raised the question, the media showed utmost professionalism in reporting the Kargil operations of the Army and maintained extreme restraint in not highlighting issues that could affect the morale of the Army and the government of the day.

Problems in the Media

“While the transformation of the media reflects the massive changes sweeping Indian society, their new orientation towards entertainment and trivia threatens to undermine
their ability and inclination to mirror the wider and more fundamental Indian reality of deprivation, disparity, poverty, backwardness, social and communal tensions, gender inequity and economic displacement.⁹¹

To some extent, this has already taken place in terms of priority in news coverage display and importance attached to comment. Upwardly mobile people stepped in the consumer culture and the corporate ethos with its emphasis on efficiency, profit maximisation and globalisation do not generally have much time and sympathy for the poor, unskilled, uneducated and the victims of globalisation. The ranks of journalists now include a growing number of such people. “There are editors who brazenly report certain political ideologies, they have absolutely no compunction in using their papers as magazines to further their personal beliefs... We have a media which is largely irresponsible. The pursuit of truth and doggedness of purpose seem to be missing... press activism has been replaced by press apathy and that is what is even more tragic.”⁹²

**Freedom of the Press**

This does not augur well for democracy, and the freedom of the press in India which has been an integral part of India’s democratic polity. Though the constitution does not provide for it specifically, it is covered by Article 19(1) guaranteeing freedom of speech. It is subject to reasonable restraint like other fundamental rights. But neither this nor the libel laws to which it is subject except in respect of faithful coverage of parliamentary proceedings, has, by and large, hindered the press from exercising its freedom. Nevertheless, the latter can hardly be taken for granted. There have been attacks on the freedom of press, the worst and most sustained occurring during the emergency when censorship was imposed and publications perceived to be hostile to the government were harassed legally illegally.⁹³

Many veteran journalists resisted courageously and some of them were imprisoned. Several others participated in underground resistance. C.R. Irani’s. *The Statesman* and
Ramnath Goenka’s *the Indian Express* refused to bow to the pressures. Nikhil Chakravarty preferred to stop the publication of his weekly *Mainstream* rather than conform. Jayaprakash Narayan’s Journal *Everyman’s* too was banned.94 The press as a whole, however, was unable to resist during the emergency which took it by surprise. It was effectively muzzled and regained its voice only after the defeat if the Congress in the Lok Shaba elections of March 1977 and the establishment of the Janata Party’s first ever non-Congress government at the centre.

This, however, taught a lesson to both the country and the press. The Bihar Press Bill of 1982 which sought to curtail the freedom of the press in the states, and was widely believed to have been a trail balloon to gauge public response to similar legislation at the national level, triggered stormy protests by journalists supported by section of the public. It had to be withdrawn.95 A nationwide agitation of much greater intensity and supported by all categories associated with the print media—from publishers and editors to journalists, other newspapers employees and trade unions—as well as all non-Congress political parties and large segments of the people followed the passage of the Defamation Bill in the Lok Sabha in August 1998. The draconian Bill denied the presumption of innocence, basic to Indian jurisprudence, to the accused as well as the plea of truth as defence, besides ruling out exceptions from personal appearance by publishers and editors even in the pretrial stage. The protests prevented the government from pressing for the passage of the Bill through the Rajya Sabha.96

The trends are, heartening indeed, but the unwelcome changes in media that have accompanied the globalisation and consumer cultures still pose a big threat to the purity, ethics and standards of the print media.

Modern media facilitates discourses in society that in turn, help us reflect on ourselves. While the media which are free but cannot adequately play this instrumental role are preferable to a shackled media, they fail to make the grade in term of their most critical function. Their freedom often goes unfilled and underutilised and is not of much benefit to their society. The latter, even when
technically a democracy, may constitute of people who, lacking in capacity for autonomous national thinking can be manipulated by forces external to them and reduced to autonomous acting to their own detriment and to the detriment of their society and freedom. “Unfortunately, there is in this country today, little discussion on the nature of the dialectic between media and society, the epistemic and cultural impact of television, and the latter’s interface with the print media. A beginning should be made immediately and institutions like the parliament and PCI should take the initiative if the media do not. So could organised groups of citizens. In the last analysis, like their government a people deserve the media they get.”

**INDIAN STUDIES**

We take up a general review of Indian Studies on mass media effects and its role in various socio-political processes in the society. Broadly, mass media became the subject of investigation among the Indian scholars since second half of this century. Much has been explored in this period; at times by great scholars. They provide us good insight into various aspects of the mass media. However, there are still large gaps in many areas, role of press in political mobilization being one of them. We scan the Indian efforts in the media studies.

S.C. Dube conducted a survey on the perception of the emergency after the Chinese attack. He observed that 83.3 per cent of the respondents were aware of the Chinese aggression. Dube also found that the level of awareness was fairly high in the states for away from the area of conflict. The quick spread of news to the farthest areas only establishes that the proverbial isolation of the Indian villages is only a myth now. The economic, social and religious networks that join together a number of villages are accompanied by their own channels of communication. The information gathered by the elite through the mass media are relayed on to the common villagers through these channels. The information collected in the awareness of the international, national
and state events revealed that the people were more aware of the state events than the national and international ones. 99

In a study of the role of communication in the economic, social and political spheres of community in two villages in south India, Lakshamana Rao provides some useful observations. 100 Rao’s findings reveal that communication helps a person find alternative ways of making a living, helps him to raise his family’s social and economic status, creates demand for goods, motivates local initiative to meet the rising demands and so on.

In a comparative study, Pradipto Roy, Frederick and Everett Rogers, analyze the impact of communication on rural development in Costa Rica and India, respectively. 101 The study analyses the way in which different channels of communication can bring about better knowledge and adoption of desirable innovations in rural areas. The findings reveal that changes in the knowledge and adoption of innovation were related to participation in both the radio and reading forums. Participation was not related to a more positive evaluation. The association between knowledge and adoption was much stronger than that between knowledge evaluation and adoption evaluation.

Kivlin, Prodipto Roy, Frederick and Lalit K. Sen conducted a study as a follow up of a two-nation comparative study initiated in 1964 in India and Costa Rica. 102 Their report deals only with the Indian data. In 1964, a benchmark survey was made of selected villages in India to establish the level of knowledge, trial and adoption of certain agricultural health and family planning practices. Information was also obtained on variables often associated with adoption. Then, in 1965, an experiment was conducted in which the communication treatment of literacy classes and radio farm forums were applied to two pairs of villages in 1966. A re-survey was made of the same respondents to examine the initial effects of the treatments. In 1967, another re-survey was made of the same respondents to examine the continuing effects.
They examined the data on the possible individual and village changes of a continuing nature. Stress had been placed on similarities and differences, as they found in the three sets of villages in 1967. The villages somewhat varied in the knowledge and adoption of innovation in 1964, but were reasonably at the same level in 1967. The radio farm forum treatment villages showed significantly more progress than the literacy and control villages. There was some tendency for the literacy treatment villages to score higher than the control villages, but usually these differences were not statistically significant.

Mammen Mathew in a study of the role of Malayalam Manorama in rural development observes that “the newspapers have a vital role in the saga of development of India which lives in its villages.”\textsuperscript{103} The basis of media strategies should highlight the localness of approach and dissemination of culturally appropriate and user friendly technology.\textsuperscript{104}

Y. B. Damle made a study of seven villages in which he investigated the diffusion of modern ideas and knowledge.\textsuperscript{105} The study elicited information about the awareness of the people about the national political scene, modern ideas regarding caste and religion, and the impact of new ideas of recreation, the movie, the radio, sports, newspapers, lectures, political propaganda etc. It has been found that the structural constraints and inadequacies, whether natural or imposed by circumstances, eg. the impact of a powerful neighbouring structure render certain ideas and knowledge disfunctional. Further, it was noticed that the educated respondents were more exposed to the mass media than illiterate respondents.\textsuperscript{106}

There are few more studies. But almost all of them fall within the category of studies of development communication i.e. mass media in national development.

L.R. Nair’s observation sums up the essence of media studies in India: “the Indian press in India has been helpful yet watchful in the country’s planned development. By explaining the necessity of planning, by emphasizing the importance of public
participation for the success of the plans, by praising where commendation was due and criticising where criticism was called for, it has been a very powerful democratic institution in mobilizing the national effort.”

The predominantly single approach adopted by the Indian studies that of media in national development can be justified, however, by the fact of multiplicity of media purpose and message. Media can and do, simultaneously, serve not only many but even divergent, purposes. These purposes are a mixture of the sacred and profane, material and spiritual, the enduring and the ephemeral. The media are also inextricably tied in with questions of social control and order and with processes of social change. Sometimes they are about nothing in particular, in the sense of lacking any particular message or communicative purpose. The media are open to use by different interests, groups and sectors of society for quite different ends. While such objectives do not need to be in conflict or mutually inconsistent, there are usually considerable elements of unresolved contradiction and latent tension in media activity taken as a whole.

Whatever may be the limitations of studies of effects of media in India, and however it may be justified, it does give us the freedom to explore an alternative path. And that precisely is the attempt of this thesis, a study of the role of press in political mobilisation.

THEORIES ON MEDIA

The contours of the symbolic environment (of information, idea, beliefs etc.) which we inhabit are often known to us by way of the mass media and it’s the media which may inter-relate and give coherence to its disparate elements. This symbolic environment tends to be held in common, the more we share the same media source. While each individual or group does have a unique world of perception and experience, a precondition of organised social life is a degree of common perception of reality and 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.

The diversity of functions performed by mass media, that we have discussed in detail, elsewhere in the thesis, is best summed up by Dennis McQuail\textsuperscript{111} where he has termed the media as a: window; interpreter; platform or carrier; interactive link; signpost; filter; mirror; screen; and barrier. The theories too are many in number. Here also McQuail sets the tone for a discussion of media theories by postulating that there are two versions of media theories: media-centered and society-centered.\textsuperscript{112} The former, as the name suggests, stresses the means of communication as a force for change either through technology or the typical content carried. The latter, on the other hand, emphasises the dependence of both on other forces in society, especially those of politics and money. From this second point of view, the forms of mass media are an outcome of historical change—a reflection and consequence of political liberalisation and industrialisation and a response to demands for servicing from other social institutions.\textsuperscript{113}

The media-centred view, which has found its advocates in the works of Toronto School\textsuperscript{114} and of subsequent writers\textsuperscript{115} and its best example in the printing press,\textsuperscript{116} allots an independent causal role to the dominant communication technology of the epoch in question.

We may now take up the various theories for discussion.

**Mass Society Theory**

Mass society theory emphasises the inter-dependence of institutions that exercise power and thus the integration of the media into the sources of social power and authority. Content in the media is likely to serve the interest of political and economic power holders and although the media cannot be expected to offer a critical or alternative definition of the world, their tendency will be to assist in the
accommodation of the dependent public to their fate.\textsuperscript{117} There is an extensive literature surrounding this theory.\textsuperscript{118}

People are likely to be offered some view of their place in the whole society, the means of relaxation and diversion from their problems, a culture which is in keeping with the rest of their existence. This latter is likely to be characterized by routine work and leisure, subjection to bureaucracies, isolation or family privatisation, competitiveness and lower levels of solidarity and participation. Mass society theory attributes media as a cause and maintainer of mass society and rests very much on the idea that the media offer a view of the world, a substitute or pseudo-environment which is a potent means of manipulation of people but also an aid to their psychic survival under difficult conditions. According to C. Wright Mills, “between consciousness and existence stand communication, which influence such consciousness as men have of their existence.”\textsuperscript{119}

The vision of mass society is pessimistic and not very open to empirical test.\textsuperscript{120} It is more a diagnosis for the sickness of the times, mixing elements of critical thought from the political left with a nostalgia for a golden age of community and democracy. As a theory of the media, it strongly involves the images of control and filtering and portrays the direction of influence from above downwards.

\textbf{Marxism: The Classic Position}

The media, according to this perspective, are a means of production than conform to a general type of capitalist industrial form, with factors of production and relations of production. They are likely to be in the monopolistic ownership of a capitalist class, nationally or internationally organised and to serve the interests of that class. They work ideologically by disseminating the ideas and world views of the ruling class, denying alternative ideas which might lead to change or to a growing consciousness by the working class of its interests and by preventing the mobilisation of such consciousness into active and organised political opposition.\textsuperscript{121}
Political - Economic Media Theory

This approach emphasises the role of economic structure than the ideological content of media. It asserts the dependence of ideology on the economic base and directs research attention to the empirical analysis of the structure of ownership and to the way media market forces operate. From this perspective the media institution has to be considered as part of the economic system though with close links to the political system. The predominant character of the knowledge of and for society produced by the media can be largely accounted for by the exchange value of different kinds of content, under conditions of pressure to expand markets, and by the underlying economic interests of owners and decision makers. These interests relate to the need for profit from media operations and to the profitability of other branches of commerce as a result of monopolistic tendencies and processes of vertical and horizontal integration.

The primary strength of the approach lies in its capacity for making empirically testable propositions about market determinations, although the latter are so numerous and complex that empirical demonstration is not easy. A weakness of the political economic approach is that the elements of media under public control are not so easy to account for in terms of the working of the free market. While the approach centers on media as an economic process leading to the commodity (content), there is an interesting variant of the political economic approach which suggests that media really produce audience, in the sense they deliver audience attention to advertizers and shape the behaviour of media publics in certain distinctive ways.

The Frankfurt School and Critical Theory

Though merely of historical significance, this perspective cannot be ignored. Those critical theorists who now follow what can be called ‘culturalist’ approach, owe a great deal to the worth of members of the school, especially Adorno and
Horkheimer\textsuperscript{126} and Marcuse\textsuperscript{127} The Frankfurt theorists who began work in Weimar Germany were concerned with the apparent failure of the revolutionary social change predicted by Marx and in explanation of this failure looked to the capacity of the superstructure especially in the form of mass media, to subvert historical processes of economic change.\textsuperscript{128}

This theory asserts the dependency of the person and the class on the definition of images and terms of debate common to the system as a whole. Marcuse gave the name ‘one-dimensional’ to the society that has been created with the help of the ‘cultural industry’. The emphasis that the school placed on the media as a powerful mechanism for containment of change has survived and links it with the ‘hegemonic’ approach (described next), but the ‘negativism’ of the Frankfurt approach, and perhaps its cultural elitism, has been an object of later criticism of the left.

Marxist critical theorists and members of the Frankfurt school can be represented as combining a media centered view with one of class domination. However, they do not neglect social and material forms and their general view of media power is one which emphasises conservation of the existing order rather than change.\textsuperscript{129}

**Hegemonic Theory of Media**

A third school of media analysis in the Marxist tradition can be given the general label of ‘hegemony’ theory, using Gramsci’s term for a ruling ideology.\textsuperscript{130} This has concentrated less on the economic and structural determinants of a class-biased ideology and more on ideology itself, the forms of its expression, its way of signification and the mechanism by which it survives and flourishes with the apparent compliance of its victims and succeeds in invading and shaping their consciousness. The difference from the classic Marxist and political economic approach lies in the recognition of a greater degree of independence of ideology from the economic base.\textsuperscript{131}
The Social-Cultural Approach

The ‘culturalist’ or ‘social-culturalist’ approach which is now increasingly influential in the study of mass media owes a debt to the Frankfurt school as well as to other traditions of humanistic and literary analysis. It is marked by a more positive approach to the products of mass culture and by the wish to understand the meaning and place assigned to popular culture in the experience of particular groups in society – the young, working class, ethnic minorities and other marginal categories. The cultural approach seeks also to explain how mass culture plays a part in integrating and subordinating potentially deviant or oppositional elements in society.

This approach seeks to attend to both messages and public, aiming to account for patterns of choice and response in relation to the media by a careful and critically directed understanding of the actual social experience of sub-groups within society. The whole enterprise is also usually informed by an appreciation of the efforts of power holders to manage the recurrent crises of legitimacy and economic failure held to be endemic in industrial capitalist society.

Structural Functionalist Approaches

A theoretical approach that can encompass, by description at least, all the elements of the theory map is a version of general sociological theory, which explains recurrent and institutionalized activities in terms of the ‘needs’ of the society. As applied to the media institution, the presumed needs have mainly to do with continuity, order, integration, motivation, guidance, adaptation. Society is to be viewed as a system of linked working parts or subsystems, of which media comprise one, each making an essential contribution. Organised social life requires the continued maintenance of a more or less accurate, consistent and complete picture of the parts of society and the social environment. The emphasis is thus on the image of media as connecting in all the senses mentioned above, thus earning internal integration and orders and the
capacity to respond to contingencies on the basis of a common and reasonably accurate picture of reality.\textsuperscript{135}

The mechanisms which produce this contribution from media to society are primarily the needs and demands of participants in society, whether as individual members, or collectivities. By responding to each separate demand in consistent ways, the mass media achieve unintended benefits for the society as a whole. Thus, structural functional theory does not require an assumption of ideological direction from the media. It depicts media as essentially self-directing and self-connecting, within certain politically negotiated institutional rules.\textsuperscript{136} It differs from Marxist approaches in a number of ways, but especially in its apparent objectivity and universal application. While apolitical in formulation, it suits pluralist and voluntarist conceptions of the fundamental mechanisms of social life and has a conservative bias to the extent that the media are likely to be seen as a means of maintaining society as it is rather than as a potential source of change.\textsuperscript{137}

The functionalist approach has been beset with difficulties, both intellectual\textsuperscript{138} and political. An underlying difficulty is the confusion over the meaning of ‘function’ as a term. It can be used in the sense of a purpose, or a consequence or a requirement or an expectation, and it has yet other meanings such as correlate. As applied to mass communication, for instance, the term ‘information function’ can refer to three quite separate things: that media try to inform people (purpose); that people learn from media (consequence); that media are supposed to inform people (requirement or expectation).\textsuperscript{139} Despite the difficulties with this approach there are some good reasons for retaining a functional approach for certain purposes. First, it offers a language for discussing the relations between mass media and society and a set of concepts which are hard to replace. This language has the advantage of being to a large extent shared by mass communications themselves, agents of society, the media audience and social scientists, even if the latter have difficulties with it. Secondly, the approach can at least help to describe the main activities of media in relation to others aspects of social structure and process. Thirdly, it provides a link between empirical
observation of media institutions and the normative theories about how media ought to operate.\textsuperscript{140}

Above discussion on various theories indicates that the potential significance of mass media necessarily varies according to the perspective or point of view adopted and according to associated needs and interest. Much of the variation has now been described, but the essential points can be summarised by summarily plotting the main perspectives of differently placed groups and interests as in the figure below.

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure.png}
\end{center}


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


McQuail, D.: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

98


Ibid.


McQuail, D: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit.


Ibid.

McQuail, D: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 78.


McQuail, D.: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit.


McQuail, D.: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit..


Hartmann, P. and Husband C.: Racism and the Mass Media, op.cit.
McQuail, D: The Influence and Effects of Mass Media, op.cit. p. 84.


Set up in 1956, RNI allots newsprint and recommends import of printing machine for newspapers. As a part of non-statutory functions, the Registrar's office issues Entitlement certificates to the small and medium newspapers/periodicals, whose annual entitlement of newsprint is less than 200 metric tones for purchase of indigenous newsprint from the scheduled newsprint mills.

The number of publications owned by members of the Indian Newspaper society (INS) was formed in 1939 an Indian and Eastern Newspaper society (IENS). It changed over to its present name in 1988.

Indian Newspaper society press Handbook, 1996, Indian Newspaper Society, Delhi, p. CXII.

Ibid., p. 55.

Ibid., p. 513.

Ibid., p. 831.

68 Ibid., p. 327.
69 Ibid., p. 299.
70 Ibid., p. 725.
71 Ibid., p. 396.
72 Ibid., p. 661.
73 Ibid., p. 649.
74 Ibid., p. CVII.
75 Ibid., p. 828.
76 Ibid., p. 209.
77 Ibid., p. 865.
78 Ibid., p. 792.
81 Karlekar, Hiranmay: op.cit, p. 571.
83 Karlekar, Hiranmaya: op.cit, p. 518.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid., p. 520.
89 Ibid.
91 Karlekar, Hiranmay: op.cit, p. 522.
Seth, Suhel: *The Sleeping Beauty*, in HT City, the Hindustan Times, New Delhi, September 11, 1999.

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Nair, L.R.: Private Press in National Development_The Indian Example. In Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (eds.) Communication and Change in Developing Countries, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1969, p. 188.

Ibid.

McQuail, D.: Mass Communication Theory, op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid. p. 60.

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McQuail, D.: op.cit.


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Ibid.

Ibid.


McQuail, D.: op.cit.


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McQuail, D.: Mass Communications Theory, op.cit.

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McQuail, D.: op.cit.

Ibid.

Ibid.


McQuail, D.: op.cit.

Ibid.