After the broad overview on the city of Calcutta, and to some extent the vicinity areas, with a holistic approach, it is necessary to zoom in the same area for the purpose of detailed works. These details are a kind of cultural topography along with related factors, as ethnic composition, language, religion, education and economy. In the area of mass communication the total feature of the people along with their intrinsic habits and customs cannot be ignored.

It may be mentioned without any ambiguity that the present work on media and mass communication though involves various features of the mass, but all these characters cannot be handled with necessary specificity either by a single attempt or by an individual. Moreover, such works which are part and parcel of secondary priority of this project have already been covered by a band of scholars from various fields.

It is true that the dynamic nature of the mass cannot be apprehended for a particular point of time, and as such a logical generalization in terms of ideations cannot be ruled out. In such a circumstance, the data and their results along relevant interpretations have been taken into consideration - stretching a period of almost three decades. It is a fact that within this long period, changes have taken place in diverse forms and in different areas. In fact the alterations are still in process. In view of this fact, collection of very recent data will be stale within a year's time. These continuous changes can neither be stopped nor be controlled. In a situation like this the genera-
lization of the facts of at least a quarter of a century may be taken as an average, although some amount of a range of variation can never be ignored.

CALCUTTA - CITY Vs. METROPOLIS

In media and communication, mass is the prime factor and as such they are of vital importance. Again, within the mass, the variations are of different nature, and if all the attributes of changes are taken together a kind of clustering is noticed. It is, perhaps a convenience that the clustering is distributed within the area in one form of variations of proportional differences.

Calcutta is a city, and Calcutta is a metropolis, the difference between these two terms are primarily of dimensions. The city is perhaps the nucleus and the metropolis is a single cell. In between the nucleus and the cell there is a good deal of both transmission and transfusion of both people and the ideas. In such process a kind of osmosis i.e. controlling is also working in marked form.

The situation of Calcutta is placed near to the Bay of Bengal and the eastern part is ridged by the river Hooghly. The opposite bank of the same river is, the city of Howrah, which may be considered as a heterozygous twin of Calcutta. The differences between the two are many and so also their magnitudes. The latter city was brought up only due to its situation along side of Calcutta.
The concept of hinterland started perhaps with the geographers in connection with the supply link of commodities. The term may be extended further with broadened concept idea. The hinterland background of the Calcutta metropolitan District (Fig.1) is actually accommodating the people from almost all over West Bengal and from Orissa, Bihar, parts of U.P. and even to some extent of Bangladesh and Assam. In secondary or tertiary stages the hinterland may further be extended further southwest, west and northwest. Through time only the people did not or even do not enter or intrude into the city of Calcutta, but they brought along with them their own characters of language, culture and tradition. Even so, Calcutta served as a form of melting point in which there was a considerable amount of integration and simultaneously the identities are retained to some extent.

After the hinterland background, the focus is further concentrated into the Calcutta metropolitan district vis a vis, Calcutta metropolitan area (Fig.2). In this panorama, the characterization are further magnified and the resultant observations show that the concentration of one culture of Calcutta in the centre and the diffusion of the same in the peripheral region.

For further clarities the metropolitan district has been highlighted to some extent which shows that the total area is an elongated mass, stretching north south, and the east-west extension is of considerable restriction. Again, the extension is more towards the north than the south. But in the south the width is appreciably more than the north (Fig.3). In fact, the shaping of Calcutta was not a properly oriented one. Arrangement of the city
in various directions and dimensions have been made by the people who turned Calcutta in their own way, in response to their needs and necessities. But in this context, the landuse pattern in terms of habitable utilization is very marked. The total exploitation of the city was made by people and due to over utilization it has turned to be almost a city with stunted growth.

For developmental purposes of various forms the Calcutta metropolitan district was formulated centering round the city of Calcutta. Of course, the situation of Calcutta city is of such a scheme, is not centrally located geographically, probably in terms of geography it suits the purpose (Fig.4).

In this greater area there are thirty four major constituents situated on both the sides of the river Hooghly. The extreme north position is of Bansbaria while in the south it is Baruipur. In east and west the areas are Barasat and Budge Budge respectively. The greater concentration is on the north of Calcutta city, where the areas are clustered and placed one after another on two sides of the river Hooghly. In such cases the northward extension is well marked. The reason for the same is of course justified from the geographical position of the city on the one hand and the linking up of the northern areas more with the nuclear city on the other. At the same time it is difficult to explain such situational characterisation in terms of mass communication. If the diffusion mechanism is taken into consideration, the positional feature of the metropolitan district is unexplained. The planning organisations through which this structure was made is perhaps justified in their own parameters and principle. In this case people are viewed in terms of whole community.
LEGEND:

1. CALCUTTA
2. HOWRAH
3. SOUTH SUBURBAN
4. BUDGE BUDGE
5. RAJPUR
6. BARUIPUR
7. SOUTH DUM DUM
8. DUM DUM
9. BARANAGAR
10. NORTH DUM DUM
11. KAMARHATI
12. PANIHATI
13. BARASAT
14. KHARDAH
15. TITAGARH
16. BARRACKPORE
17. NORTH BARRACKPORE
18. GARULIA
19. DHATPARA
20. NAHIATI
21. HALISAHAR
22. KANCHRAPARA
23. BANSBARA
24. HOOGHLY CHINSURAH
25. CHANDERNAGAR
26. BHADRESWAR
27. CHAMPOANI
28. BAIYABATI
29. SERAMPORE
30. RISHRA
31. KONNAGAR
32. UTRIPARA
33. BALLY
34. GARDEN REACH

— CALCUTTA CITY.

CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN DISTRICT EXCLUDING CALCUTTA CITY
It is still obscure while the northern part is very much constricted. In course of our work no major factors of hindrances and restrictions have been observed. The minor attributes in terms of little relative isolation of such areas outside the metropolitan district should have been given necessary importance, at least to elevate the people and for the developmental activities in the areas. Inspite of all these remarks, the conditions of limitation or boundary demarcation cannot be ignored.

CITY CALCUTTA - THE FOCUS

As our main focus is concentrated within the city of Calcutta, major primary attention are to be laid on this area and later representative samples from some of the vicinity areas will be included in due course, specially when the relevance emerges in its own way.

For all practical purposes the city of Calcutta is dominated by the Bengalees. Here the term has been used mainly linguistically, but at the same time the ethnicity has not been excluded. The caste structure in India or in West Bengal and even in the city of Calcutta, was a big roar. But in the city proper the caste is more diluted and the replacement of the same by class domination is an important factor. This is the general trend in most parts of urban areas. In such a class structure there are three major parameters and they are economy, education and the caste-in-disguise. Caste performed a great role in pre-independent period. Afterwards it was appreciably going down (Roy Chaudhury, 1964; Bose, 1967, 1968). This does not mean caste
function was turned defunct. Not a single of such three above mentioned characters can be taken into account, rather the total intensity is expressed in terms of the accumulation of the three major factors.

In an arbitrary way, the divisions are three fold: upper class, middle class and the artisan class. The term lower class has been avoided by Bose (1965) perhaps intentionally, as it denotes the wretched conditions, and in sense of terminology it is not apt.

The major concentration of upper class Bengalee are found in the north and south and to a little extent in the central part. In area wise the middle class population is distributed sporadically almost all over Calcutta but they are found to be concentrated along with the upper class mostly in the south west. The artisan class within the city of Calcutta have taken their position in two extreme ends of the central part (Fig.5).

As mentioned earlier about the Bengalees, the most dominant population in the city, further classifications may be made of this population as refugees and farmers. The influx of the former started since 1947 as a result of partition. The farmers are continuously flowing in the city of Calcutta from the surrounding rural areas either during drought or flood, or during famine and such other socio economic and/or political catastrophies.

Many of the farmers come in and go out but a little bit of left overs is placed in the city which gradually accumulate with time. It is interesting to note that both refugees and the farmers have placed themselves outside the zones of upper, middle and the artisan classes who have had a deep connection
and long tradition with Calcutta. Both refugee and farmer concentrations are found in extreme south, north and in the east. In the same way the farmers adjusted themselves with the local atmosphere and in many cases there are overlappings of distributions spread both of refugees and farmers. As the refugees are numerically more prominent than the farmers the spread of the former is greater than the latter (Fig. 6).

It is to be noted that within the last ten years both the refugees and farmers have identified themselves with the city of Calcutta and as a result the refugee population has aggravated the percentage of the middle class. While the farmers are in close tie with the artisan class.

The city of Calcutta is cosmopolitan. The people other than the Bengalees, commonly known as non Bengalee are often considered as a single unit. There are two major units among the non-Bengalee population. One, the commercial and the other, the Bureaucratic. The non Bengalee commercial population - in a narrow but long strip is extending from south to north. Just outside this zone, the peripheral part of the southern unit is habitated by the bureaucratic people (Fig. 7). Among these non Bengalee commercial and bureaucratic population there is inclusion of people from all the states of India, even some other ethnic groups like Chinese, Jews, Anglo Indians etc. The distribution pattern narrated here is the broad one, but minor deviations from the same is not altogether absent.

A further categorization may be made about the non-Bengalees of their basis of origin. People from almost all the states of India are not only present
in Calcutta, but many of them are living here through more than one generation. Despite this somewhat unified kind of contribution of different people from different states of India was made. The major non-Bengalee population comprises the people from Bihar, Orissa and U.P. This may perhaps be due to the location of the three states in the neighbouring regions of West Bengal. In terms of number they have contributed more than the other states. There is one particular feature about the population of Greater Assam. They are really a minority. The reason for the same has not been attempted to account for though the Assamese have closer cultural ties with the Bengalees (Fig. 8).

About the non Bengalee population with special emphasis on Bihar, Orissa, and U.P. it may be said that the distribution coverage of agglomeration of all these types are found to be overlapping. The maximum concentration is on the west and the sporadic patches are found here and there. There is perhaps a kind of caution of the distribution schemes of these population with the upper class Bengalees. Either there was a rule of avoidance from both sides or the penetration was not possible for the later flow in basic sub-strata.

From the above information which are retaining in almost same fashion even today, it may be proposed that the city of Calcutta has various faces. Among these faces the two most important ones are: the strictly tradition bound Calcuttans and the people which are floating in the waves of modernisation. Between the two extreme ends, a third group may be identified, who are aculturated and in such cases the traditions are existing. In addition to the same, some new traits have been assimilated. For a purpose like this it is not only better but the only way to expose the city of Calcutta into a number of zones (Fig. 9).
The above mentioned criteria have been given due importance for the purpose of zonation. In other words, each zone is different from the other from the perspective of mass or the people, their language, culture, education, tradition, heritage, economy, social status, political consciousness and class formation.

As the area is in the metropolis of Calcutta the city and the rest of the metropolis have been divided into ten such zones. The broad characteristic features of each zone are the following:

Zone I: The triangular area situated in the extreme south, except the eastern part of the same. The original local population which was scarce, mostly belonged to artisan class, since 1947 the area felt the tremendous pressure of the Bengali refugees proposal. Within the spell of about thirty years there is a strict domination of the middle class with sufficient education and greater social consciousness. The economy is really in the intermediate position except a few examples of upper class and some more population of artisan class.

Zone II: This is extending from the south to the central part but limited within the eastern area. Here there is a mixed complex. The Bengalee refugees are the major groups, but in terms of both economy and education there is a little deficit in some cases. There is some amount of diversity between northern and southern areas of this zone. In the north, there are more traditional groups and in the south there is addition of modernity. While the central area acts as the buffer area. Despite this minor difference the zone itself provides a single population with uniformity of culture.
In this area the manifested expression about the consciousness appears to be more heterogeneous, indicating the paucity of full-fledged consciousness. Otherwise, the general observations point to the fact that the zone is in progress.

Zone III: This is the fringe area of the tradition bound people in his north and its extension of migrant refugees in the south. The eastern part of zone III has some amount of intrusion of zone II but the majority portion, i.e., the central and western area is provided with both upper and middle class people with a relatively firm footing on education and economy. Quite a number of aristocrats, bureaucrats are living side by side in this area.

The modernisation is perhaps of greater extent in this zone due to the fact that tradition affluency and incoming better economic groups are living in this zone. In this case the modernity is flowing down from the upper class to the middle class and the outward expression is more modern than the inner core. At the same time it is to be noted that the tradition is more with older group and modernity with younger people. Above all some amount of miscegenation has also taken place.

Zone IV: In some way or other it has some kind of alliance with zones I and II. A greater amount of population in this zone comprises of both industrial workers and small entrepreneurs. As a matter of fact, the flavour of industry is found in this zone, especially with the major groups who are living in this zone. In terms of space dimension this zone is the smallest. The density of population is also less, because a greater part of this zone has been covered by big and small Industries. From this the economy is viable, but education is in static situation.
Zone V: This is the central Calcutta, really the heart of the city of Calcutta in many ways. It was the original seat of culture tradition of old Calcutta. A greater part of the area has given accommodation to mercantile and government officers, and those by the original resident have been pushed down to zone III. In a way the formalities within the people are found in considerable degree.

The vestiges which are still left are primarily very traditional and perhaps classical to some extent. Although these traditions are dying with the greater pressure of modernity. Despite this there is enormous effort to live with tradition. As a result of this conflicting situation, tradition persists and and modernity has penetrated with a coating of tradition. In other words, modernisation as a process is seldom found, what is there is the imposition of modern traits.

Zone VI: In colloquial term this is known as north Calcutta where the tradition is full fledged in the southern and western part and the rest of the area have been occupied by people of different tradition, mainly Bengalee refugees. Of course here the tradition is more of conservatism especially of the indigenous population.

In spite of this mixed complex the migrants have been influenced most with the local tradition. As a matter of fact among the migrants of the south and north there is a good deal of difference. The variation of this nature are explained through norms and values. At times it appears that as if this zone is of three decades back. In cases the modern traits have penetrated into this zone, but they have been necessarily altered in accordance with the existing traditions.
Zone VII: This is the northern most part of Calcutta, but in reality it is the fringe area of Calcutta city, where tradition is more marked than modernisation. There is not really any conflict or clash between tradition and modernity. Rather both of them are being placed in micro-isolated form. In such case some amount of appreciable diffusion is quite likely.

Zone VIII: This is on the right bank of the river Hooghly and the area is placed within the district of Howrah also comprising the southern subdivisions. The basic traditional milieu of this area is highly influenced by the industries, more so, of the industrial workers. Excepting the so called olden aristocrats or the upper class population which constitutes the minority there is a greater influx of migrants both Bengalees and non Bengalees. Among the upper class the traditional ones are of business occupation, related to industries or agriculture.

The Bengalee refugees are also spreading in this area, but not as densely as in Calcutta. Even today the local tradition in this area has not been obliterated.

The other districts of West Bengal specially Midnapur, has some impact on this area, and that too can be understood from the dominance of slightly lower caste groups in this zone. The rural bearing of this zone has not been fully obliterated, and the urban complexes have penetrated in an unknown way, especially to the people who are passing through the transformation.

Zone IX: This is almost a northern extension of zone VII with appreciable influence of zone VII. The major part of this zone is within the district of Hooghly. But in traditional sense, there is some amount of betterment in the
total cultural framework, mainly for the local traditions. Unlike Howrah, this area is still culturally rural to a considerable extent, with great bearing on agrarian economy and allied occupational focus as assets. The zone is indeed large and for this generalisation should not be made.

Zone X: This constitutes the district of 24 Parganas. The area which is near to Calcutta, that is, the northern part of zone X has been greatly influenced in all possible forms and ways through Calcutta.

It is interesting that till the first half of this century the whole area was distinctly different from Calcutta, probably less progressive. While from the beginning of the second half of this century the Bengalee refugees have imported the culture of Calcutta to some areas of this zone. It was only possible, and still being maintained, due to the role and relationships of the Bengalee refugees of this zone with the inhabitants of zones I & II.

Some more remarks about zones

For another kind of understanding especially in terms of spatial coverage on the one hand and the procedural methods in collecting the data the above mentioned zones more specially of the city of Calcutta, have been examined in terms of postal beats. This was followed at the outset to collect the data and finally the scattering of the Postal zones have been made in accordance with the zonation considered here. The city of Calcutta has been split up into one hundred corporation wards. To get better and categorical information from the respondents residing in different parts of the city - their particular
residential position in the city have been encoded in postal zones, avoiding the ward zones. Otherwise the situation would have been ambiguous. Any individual of a family is better known from his postal area than ward system of Calcutta corporation. In other words, mailing address, with postal zone is the major identity for all purposes of an individual or his family.

A few additional information may be of some relevance in this context.

In the cosmopolitan city of Calcutta, still in demography as well as in cultural dominance and so also in language, Bengalees are still prominent. This may be explained in relation to the diffusion of language and even to some extent the culture among the non-Bengalee population. Quite a large number of non Bengalee population understand Bengali language and the Bengalees even at least more than fifty percent of such population speak Bengali. Similar percentage of non Bengali population do take part in fairs and festivals, religions and rituals of Bengal. Besides Hinduism there are other dominant sects as Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. In the fold of Hinduism there are sub sects, specially on caste basis, but this does not hamper the growth and flow of culture, and more so of mass communication.

It was believed earlier that Calcutta is a melting pot. This is partly true, but the main component of tradition is linked with the Bengalees' culture, naturally the dominance is still there. Non-Bengalees have merged themselves in the arena of Bengali tradition and in such interaction, tradition has been coninuted in the sphere of modernity. In case of the
latter traits, they are more cosmopolitan. This does not mean that the influence of non Bengalee culture has no effect. The effect is there but in minimum forms.

In case of mass communication, it is not necessary to make fragmentation for the Bengalees and non-Bengalees. At least no such effort is necessary if the medium is audio-visual, and in such case the priority may be given to Bengali, English and Hindi in the descending order.