CHAPTER I

Introduction

A defining characteristic of modernity is the belief that things change and should change. An important change between our times and the earlier ones is that we live in a world of quick and unprecedented global change. Yet in saying this, one must also understand that social change is universal in human experience, but in the modern world social change has taken on some special quantities and magnitudes. Social change is a dynamic process conditioned by the challenges faced by the society from time to time and has been continuing since ages. Social change takes place continuously as individuals, groups, institutions and societies receive and respond to new stimuli. There is however a lack of uniformity in defining social change, and it has been conceptualised in varying terms by sociologists, historians, economists, anthropologists and political thinkers. Steven Vago describes social change as modification of the way people work, rear family, educate their children, govern themselves and seek ultimate meaning in life. Change can be either partial, without jeopardizing the stability and continuity of the state as a whole, or change may also embrace all aspects of a system transforming its structure and functioning. M. N. Srinivas while explaining the process of social change in India has however stressed on Sanskritization and Westernization the two main aspects which according to him had resulted in the process of social change. Thus social change has been described as a process of transformation in the behaviour, attitudes and practices of individuals or groups in a society either through diffusion or through integration of cultures which may result in either complete or partial change of the existing social order. However, the question that needs to be asked about this perception of social change is whether this change in social order affected all sections of society including women. While reflecting on this query we need to

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point out that woman in the hunting gathering societies enjoyed a certain degree of independence, dignity and respect derived from their being an equal partner of man in the process of work and in the sharing of the fruits of work.  

8 There was according to Gerda Lerner a complementarity between the sexes in which women had relatively high status in egalitarian societies characterised by economic interdependency.  

9 This however underwent changes as societies evolved into more stratified structures through the emergence of feudal relations and finally the establishment of the capitalist economy with the generation of surplus and acquisition of private property.  

This transformation in the mode of production in society also changed the gender relationship, attitudes, beliefs and practices in society wherein women’s subordination and their inferior position in the society came to be recognised as a ‘natural one’ and hence became invisible. It is this which firmly established patriarchy finally as an actuality and as an ideology.  

11 While quoting the report of the United Nation conference on women at Copenhagen in 1980 Kamlesh Mahajan has pointed out that “women represent fifty percent of the world population and one-third of official labour force, and perform nearly two-third of all working hours, yet receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than one percent of the world property.”  

12 Such reports therefore go to show the declining social and economic position of women. The male position has always been seen as ‘privileged’ and a ‘norm’ while the female position is seen as ‘other.’  

13 Thus if social change is the change in attitudes and practices by individuals and groups in society, and has been an integral part of human condition, then what we need to understand is, whether that change led to a genuine social change in behaviour and practices away from age old patriarchal values which may restrict and constrict women to decadent social norms limiting them as a mere biological entity less able to shoulder

10 For further discussions on this concept see Bina Agarwal, *A Field of One’s Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*, New York, 1994; Sharmila Rege (ed.), *Sociology of Gender*, New Delhi, 1986.  
responsibility and having any meaningful place in society? If society is still
governed by patriarchal values which are oppressive to women, then what are the
means or vehicles of social change which can bring about a deeper social alteration
of attitudes? Change in society definitely has a material base but ideas which can
critique patriarchy can play a role in making socially powerful sections more gender
sensitive and the emanation of such ideas requires the development of certain means.
Can the technological advances which have taken place in disseminating
information, in short the vehicle of mass communication become an important
instrument of emanating such ideas so that a social change can take place which can
bring about a discernable change in attitudes towards women and thus initiate the
process of moving towards a more gender just society?

The focus on mass communication as an important instrument of social
change is appropriate today because whereas the 19th century has been regarded by
historians as an age of remarkable political, economic and social transformation,
known as the industrial revolution, the 20th century has appropriately been called the
age of development of mass media.15 The importance of information and its
transmission has been known to societies from very early times. In India kings and
rulers in the early and medieval period had heavily relied on the messengers and
informers to keep themselves abreast with the activities of their kingdom. Later the
print media was utilised by the East India Company to further the Company's
interest. Social reformers beginning from Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bal Gangadhar
Tilak to Mahatma Gandhi through their newspapers and journals tried to promote
national consciousness and were a great force to reckon with.16

The mass media, however, not only includes the print media of newspapers,
magazines, books, but also the broadcast media of the radio, television and the
movies. After the country’s Independence in 1947, among the available mass media,
radio was the only channel that had the potentiality to be quickly developed into an

16 For more detail on this see P.L Malhan, *Communication Media: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*,
New Delhi, 1985, B.Kuppuswamy and Narendra Basu, *Communication and Social Development*, New
effective and truly national service.\textsuperscript{17} Broadcasting on an experimental basis began in Bombay and Calcutta simultaneously in July 1927 under a private company called the Indian Broadcasting Company Limited, but it was in 1936 that the operations of All India Radio (AIR) began formally as a government organisation with clear objectives to inform, educate and entertain the masses.\textsuperscript{18} Since the reach of the printed word was limited as only 30 percent of the population was literate and 80 percent lived in villages, the necessity of quick development of Radio became the policy of the planners and the government under successive five year plans.\textsuperscript{19} AIR today has a network of 406 stations in its home services of which 299 are broadcasting stations in 23 languages covering 92% of the area and serving 99.19% of the people.\textsuperscript{20} Table one below, presents a picture of the coverage of programmes in terms of population and area in the capital stations of the Northeast.

\textbf{TABLE 1}

\textbf{Population and Area coverage of AIR programmes in Northeast India (as on 01.12.2007)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>% POPULATION</th>
<th>% AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>98.87%</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>98.45%</td>
<td>97.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>73.27%</td>
<td>59.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>87.67%</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>84.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>98.46%</td>
<td>94.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: \textit{All India Radio Annual Report, 2007-2008, New Delhi, January 2007, p.67})

Though the above mentioned information speaks of the functioning of AIR and its social responsibility but what needs to be looked into is whether the programmes targeted for women and the programmes organised to raise social awareness have been of the nature which has been able to bring about social change in terms of sensitising the target audience on issues of gender relations.

\textsuperscript{18} Naval Prabhakar and Narendra Basu, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.}, p.2.
Besides AIR another vehicle of communication in our country as an audio visual broadcasting medium is Doordarshan (DD) one of the largest broadcasting organisations in the world in terms of infrastructure, transmitters, software and viewership and which started its experimental telecast in Delhi on 15th September 1959. Today DD consists of 67 Kendra’s and terrestrially covers 79% area and 91% of population in India, while in satellite mode its signal is available all over India and beyond. In Northeast India DD also has a high coverage both in terms of population and area. Table two below, presents a picture of DD coverage in terms of population and area in the capital Kendras of the Northeast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>% POPULATION</th>
<th>% AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>97.8%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>75.2%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Doordarshan Kendras of the North-East (At a Glance), Audience Research Unit, DDK Guwahati, 2008.

Being a Public Service television organisation, DD also produces a number of programmes through its three levels of transmission at the National, Regional and Local (micro) which aims at “socio-economic changes; promote national integration and stimulate scientific temperament” among the people. Though the three-pronged influence of television can be that of nation building, economic growth and social improvement but India still being a developing nation wherein the pace and the distribution of development may not have been evenly distributed, then the question that needs to be raised is can the mass media become an important vehicle of social change? In this regard have the All India Radio and Doordarshan (being the oldest and the largest Public Service Broadcasters in the country) through their many

21 Naval Prabhakar and Narendra Basu, op.cit., p.68.
23 Ibid., p.87.
years of existence and functioning, been able to reach the unreached in terms of entertainment, information and education to all sections of society specially women? Most importantly could All India Radio and Doordarshan therefore become a catalyst of social change and gender equality in the country? In most of the researches which have sought to understand the significance of the mass media vis-à-vis social change, the print media has received the primary importance. However in comparison, the role of the electronic media in bringing about social change particularly in terms of gender relations has been a less worked-on area. The focus of the present work will therefore be on the electronic media with special reference to Northeast India. In respect of the latter the focus will be on the AIR and DD because as stated earlier these two public broadcasters have the widest coverage both in terms of area and population. The issues raised regarding the concept of social change and the nature of research done on the role of the electronic media can be substantiated through a review of the existing literature

A great many works have been done by authors on social change from the sociological and anthropological perspective explaining the theoretical and conceptual understanding of it from historical times to the present ongoing change of society. Among the available materials mention may be made of the works by K.S. Mathur, B.R.K. Shukla and Banvir Singh, in Studies in Social Change,\(^24\) Piotr Sztom in The Society of Social Change,\(^25\) B.Kuppuswamy in Social Change in India\(^26\) which have studied the theories of social change from the Revolutionary or Marxian concept of social change. The Marxist view emphasised the importance of class conflict, political struggle and Imperialism as the principal instruments of fundamental structural changes in societies of the 19th century. The evolutionary theories perceived social change to connote basic stages of a society’s development from simple, rural, agrarian to a more complex, differentiated industrial-urban one either through unilinear or ordered nature of social change or a change through the Darwinian concept that stresses on the adaptive and survival capacity of the fittest. The above concept of social change has also been lucidly explained by Sushila Ramaswamy in the work Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts wherein the author

\(^{26}\) B.Kuppuswamy, Social Change in India, New Delhi, 1986.
says “everything is constantly in a state of flux and carries within its perpetuity and change, stability and instability, order and disorder.”27 In her understanding of social change Promila Vasudeva asserts that social change is an incontestable feature of cultural reality and no society whether historic or pre-historic has ever remained absolutely static though the pace and tempo of change may have varied from age to age, culture to culture and from one area of culture to another. 28 Wilbert E. Moore in the work Social Change 29 while dwelling on the theory of social change has concluded that it was not uniquely a modern phenomenon as some kind and degree of change has been a universal human experience. Steven Vago in the work Social Change 30 explains the concept and theory of social change and has concluded that social change as a process is not a uniquely new phenomenon but an inevitable process in human nature, society and culture. A great many Indian authors have also worked on social change and given an Indian perspective to change. M.N Srinivas in his work India: Social Structures, 31 while explaining the nature of social change, has used terms like Sanskritization and Westernization to explain the multi-fold changes in the Indian scene. Raghuvir Sinha in Social Change in Indian Society 32 while borrowing heavily from Srinivas’s concept of social change in the Indian context has also underscored the importance of western education, emancipation of women, growth of modern technology, social mobility towards industrial, urban settings, and political consciousness as the main principles of social change in India. M.N.Karna in his understanding of social change indicates two major dimensions of social change - the nature and direction. While the nature of change he says reveals content of change, the direction however speaks about the line in which it is moving. 33 P.C. Joshi in his work Culture Communication and Social Change 34 stresses on cultural communication which in turn can lead to development, national integration and communication revolution. While all these works have conceptualised social change broadly and lucidly but the impact and effects of social change into the lives of

31 M.N. Srinivas, India: Social Structures, Delhi, 1980.
33 M.N Karna, Social Change in India, New Delhi, 2003, pp.1-2.
34 P.C. Joshi, Culture Communication and Social Change, New Delhi, 1989.
women constituting half of the population of the world have been left out. If social change is a historical process involving a change in behaviour, attitudes and customs in society then one also needs to look if social change has indeed brought such a transformation in the society and helped to elevate women’s position in society. Change cannot be called social if it does not alter society and address the issues of women who constitute half of the society and are a significant part of it. What therefore need a focus is social change in the context of women and their position from early historical times to the present day.

There are a number of works on Feminist themes based on the descriptive and analytical roles of women in society. In fact the study of women’s history and the role of women in the past and the present towards shaping the society are now being taken considerable interest by scholars than before. It has in fact emerged from the world wide interest in the condition of women and the concerted efforts on the part of women’s groups and women’s liberation movement to familiarise people with the issues of women’s problems. This shift in emphasis and the growing interest in the writing of history from the perspective of the role of women in the political, economic and cultural changes in the society have resulted in a large number of scholars who have concentrated on the question of women’s history. The issues relating to gender conflict and subordination in a male dominated society is also gradually being taken into consideration. Among the available works that have taken up the study of women, their problems and their role in society mention maybe made of Simone De Beauvoir,\(^{35}\) Kate Millet,\(^{36}\) Vandana Shiva,\(^{37}\) Shamim Aleem,\(^{38}\) Kanwar Sonali and Jolly Wadhwa,\(^{39}\) Kamla Bhasin,\(^ {40}\) Kum Kum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid,\(^ {41}\) Robert A. Rathman,\(^ {42}\) Linda Kauffan (ed.),\(^ {43}\) C. Kalbagh (ed.),\(^ {44}\) Rekha

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Pandey and Neelam Upadhya,⁴⁵ Rehana Ghadially (ed.),⁴⁶ J.P. Singh (ed.)⁴⁷ and others. The work by Loudes Beneria and Savitri Bisnath on *Gender and Development: Theoretical, Empirical and Practical Approaches*⁴⁸, highlights the role of rural women and their condition in Indian society. Francis Banner, Lizbeth Goodman, Richard Allen, Linda Janes and Catherine King (eds.)⁴⁹ in their work *Imagining Women: Cultural Representation and Gender* have studied the two interdiscipliary areas of women’s studies and cultural studies which is stated to be complimentary. The work also looks into the representation of women in different walks of society which is still judged, valued or criticized within the Patriarchal cultures and its norms. While championing the rights of woman Mary Wollstonecraft, advocated passionately of educational and social equality for women. In her work ‘*A Vindication of the Rights of Women: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*’ written in 1792, illustrates the limitations that women's deficient educations have placed on them and categorically stated that females from their infancy were taught to follow the examples of their mothers to be obedient, gentle and modest which will obtain them the protection of men. While dismissing such reasoning wished women to endeavour to acquire strength both mind and body.⁵⁰ Maria Mies in her work *Indian Women and Patriarchy* on the other hand looks into the Indian version of patriarchy and its inherent contradiction.⁵¹ She states that though women have been idealized as ‘divine mother’ as ‘Shakti’ as embodiment of virtues, but her day to day experience has been that of suffering, deprivation, harassment, battering and dependence. Angela Miles and Geraldine Finn (eds.) in their work *From Pressure to Politics*⁵² brings out the important contribution to women’s studies by Feminist Scholars. The essays in the book while dealing with the Feminist theories delves into the fundamental question of theory and practice, the relationship between the world of academia and the world of

⁴⁷ J.P. Singh (ed.), *The Indian Women: Myth and Reality*, New Delhi, 1996.
⁵⁰ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*, 3rd edition, printed for J.Johnson No 72, St’ Paul’s Church, 1796, pp. 6-33.
⁵² Angela Miles and Geraldine Finn (eds.), *Feminism from Pressure to Politics*, New Delhi, 2002.
activism. Bina Agarwal in her work *A Field of One’s Own*\(^{53}\) while examining subordination of women takes up the case study of land rights and gender relations in South Asia. She reveals that not only do women lack ownership in land but also the lack of control over property which constricts women further into subordination and dominance. Gerda Lerner in her work, *The Creation of Patriarchy*,\(^{54}\) while theorising the nature of female subordination attributed it to women’s relationship to history and the systematic exclusion of women in patriarchy and the male dominated society. Sharmila Rege in her work, *Sociology of Gender*\(^{55}\) has brought out the conceptual issues of Feminism and also women’s role in different social institutions such as the family, school and the work place. Thus while there are a number of works on women’s struggle, status, rights, roles, participation and exclusion throughout the historical process upto this day from various aspects of society which is helpful to the understanding of women and their struggle for equality, but in trying to put women back into history and her rightful place in society we also need to explore the means through which this can become possible. If mass media is a powerful means of communication in the world of today, then we also need to take a look at the role played by mass communication towards the emancipation and empowerment of women, and especially in terms of gender equality and gender justice. We need to explore if media only glamorized women and portrayed their stereotypical sex roles or has played a more productive function in terms of sensitising women towards their rights and roles. In most works of Feminist scholarship however there appears to be an absence of scholarly research in this area, particularly in the context of the mass media and gender relations in India. The absence of this scholarly research needs an in-depth study.

While western sociologists have termed social change to be a dynamic process and as an integral part of human condition and have used various terms, concepts and theories to evolve a commonly acceptable framework to the understanding of change in society but the discernment of change in the Indian contexts does not seem to have undergone theoretical fluctuation but sociologists

have been more concerned with the processes of social accommodation and adaptation rather than with abstract theory building and have mostly studied it in terms of Sanskritization, Westernization, modernization, traditionalization and the historical materialist approaches to social change. In all their explanation of the dynamics of change scholars have been elusive of the role and the effect of change on woman. In the second half of the twentieth century the absence of this explanation to social change was taken up not only by the feminist movement but also by the feminist scholarship which tried to locate the woman in history and articulate her rightful place in the social process. Feminism and feminist writings on women’s issues sowed the seed of social change in traditional social structures, challenged the existing patriarchal system and demanded equality and women empowerment. It is the erasure of gender based detriments in society for a just social order that brings to the fore the role of mass communication as a tool for social upliftment. Chapter two of the work would therefore provide a conceptual background of the work and try to inter-connect social change; gender in history and the role of mass media in this context the electronic media that could play a role of social change of gender upliftment and specially that of women.

There is a glaring lack of works devoted to the growth and role of the mass media as well as media and social change in Northeast India. There are a handful of available works on this aspect and a mention may be made of a few works including that of Shashi Ahluvalia (ed.),\(^{56}\) Udayan Misra,\(^{57}\) and O.L Snaitang.\(^{58}\) The unpublished work of Monideepa Sen\(^ {59}\) and Mary Harriet’s just published work *Role of Television in Social Change: A Study on Rural Meghalaya*,\(^ {60}\) while bringing out the responsibility of the electronic media, have not touched the social role of the electronic media in gender sensitization. Thus these few available works have not gone into deeper levels of understanding social change in Northeast India particularly in terms of gender relations and the importance of the mass media in that.

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context. The growth of the media in this part of the country also has hardly found an in-depth analysis or research and there is a near absence of study on the social role and contribution of the mass media in Northeast India. Although there are plenty of works studying the geographical, political, economic and social life and problems of the various tribes of the Northeast, but mass communication and its social role has been almost overlooked. If area and case studies could be taken up to study the role of the media in social transformation in the rest of the country surely this can also be looked into in this part of the country as well. There are hardly any work on the history and the growth of both AIR and DD in the Northeast. Apart from the departmental survey of AIR and DD on the response of their programmes very little in-depth work has been taken up from the academic view point to understand the connection between mass communication and its impact on women in the Northeast of the country. Being geographically landlocked with poor means of transport and communication facilities though lately there are efforts to make it more accessible and connected to the rest of the country through better road, rail and air links but none the less there are several areas and pockets of the Region that are difficult to reach especially under hostile terrain conditions. Under such situations large sections of the people are dependent on the services of information and entertainment provided by AIR and DD to the people. In a country where governmental plans and programmes meant for the targeted groups and women, often remain non-implementable due to lack of knowledge and information, it is important to study and realize if the Public Service Broadcaster keeping its socio-economic ideals of ‘education, information and entertainment’ has contributed meaningfully towards this endeavour, and a study of this role of the media can benefit both the media and the various social groups including women in the society at large. The absence of works on the aspect of the media being a contributor and a facilitator of social change needs to be explored further. With AIR and DD being the oldest and the largest public service broadcasters of the country even in the Northeast in terms of area and population it would be worthwhile to sketch out the history and the growth of both these organisations in the Region. Chapters three and four of the work would therefore attempt to trace the growth of these establishments from the days of its experimental transmission of programmes to the present stature of today in the context of social change.
The general works on communication and mass media have either studied the theory and concept of mass communication itself or its effects on society with a few works and papers mentioning either the projection of women in television or the role that women have played in media. Besides others mention may be made of a few available works by P.C Chatterji, Marshall McLuhan, Wilber Schramm, P.H. Malhan, S.R. Sharma and Anil Chaturvedi, C. Christopher, Jan R. Hakemulder, Fay AC De Jonge, and P.P. Singh, R.N. Kiran, Chanchal Sarkar, S.Ganesh, and others. Arvind Singh and Everett M. Rogers in their work *India’s Information Revolution* have stressed on the development of mass communication as the main paradigm for overall development, and felt that for mass communication to be a tool for development the upgradation of the hardware equipment, satellite television and other infrastructures are equally important. R. N. Acharya in the work *Television in India* elucidated the role of television in India since its inception, its policy, role, functioning and growth of this important visual medium. Denis McQuial in his work *Mass Communication Theory* has looked into the definition, theories, functions and different approaches to the study of mass communication. Marshall McLuhan in his path breaking work *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, has studied the origin, development and the significance of the media which he considered an extensions of man turning the whole world into a ‘global village’. John Vivian in the work *Media and Mass Communication* which is divided into three parts looks into the theory and the effects of media. It gives a narrative of the fundamental area of the mass communication discipline. Howard

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65 S.R. Sharma, (Editor in Chief) and Anil Chaturvedi (Associate Editor), *The Future of Mass Communication*, New Delhi, 1986.
Davis and Paul Walton in their work *Language, Image and Media* (eds.)\(^{76}\) brings out the different ways of expression by both the print, electronic, advertising and photography media which be it in the form of speech, pictures, texts, stills or moving pictures speaks the same language and is an expression of structuring and re-enforcing social and political relationships. All these works have undeniably contributed towards a better understanding of the concept, role and significance of mass communication and helped to shape up the background towards the study of the topic concerned. While it is important to understand the meaning and significance of communication, but at the same time it is also necessary to look into the importance of mass communication for the social system and the media dependency on the conditions and social process or the inter dependency of mass media and other social institutions and the consequences of the inter dependence.

A large number of scholars have also worked on mass communication and the effects of information on society and the social responsibility of mass media. Rural poverty elevation, education, and the media’s influence on society have also been stressed by most scholars as being the primary responsibility of the media. The changed life style with information reaching the homes and the impact and revolution of technology in communication and the effects of such changes especially among the children and young generation have been noted by many scholars in their works.

Among other works mention may be made of Richard Collins,\(^{77}\) David G.Clark and William B.Blakengurg,\(^{78}\) Lyn Govman and David Mclean,\(^{79}\) Arthur Asa Berger,\(^{80}\) Charles A. Siepmann,\(^{81}\) Charles Atkin and Lawrence Wallock, (eds.)\(^{82}\) Paul Hartmann, B.R.Patil and Anita Dighe,\(^{83}\) Suresh Chandra Sharma,\(^{84}\) Kanwar

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B.Mathur\textsuperscript{85} R.K.Ravindran\textsuperscript{86} and Kanvar Chauhan.\textsuperscript{87} Sandra J. Ball Rokeach and Murial G. Cantor in their work \textit{Media Audience and Social Structure}\textsuperscript{88} have approached the issue of communication and mass media from the sociological perspective and the need to take mass communication into account in addressing major sociological issues on social order and social change. Mukta Gupta in the work \textit{Women, Child Welfare and Media}\textsuperscript{89} also underscores the role and responsibility of mass communication to convey information and opinion for cultural transmission and cultural change. Hema Agarwal in her work \textit{Society, Culture and Mass Communication}\textsuperscript{90} sheds light into the history, growth perception and role of journalists in the profession of journalism in India. Kamlesh Mahajan, in his work \textit{Communication and Society}\textsuperscript{91} has studied the concept, method and the issues between the mass communication and the social system. It also deals with the impact of television on society, modernisation among girls, development of women and political behaviour. Aimee Dorr in her work \textit{Television and Children}\textsuperscript{92} debates on the social issue of television’s content and its effects on children’s wellbeing. J.L. Singh, K.Gaur, and Ravi Kumar Pandey (eds.) in \textit{Communication and Social Transformation}\textsuperscript{93} have through a collection of papers presented by various scholars examined the relationship between communication and social transformation in the rural-urban society in India. Naval Prabhakar and Narendra Basu in \textit{Mass Media and Society}\textsuperscript{94} besides illuminating us on the historical growth of mass media in India also elucidates the influence of Internet on society and the role of mass media in a democratic country like India. In Vir Bala Agarwal’s \textit{Media and Society: Challenges and Opportunities} (ed.)\textsuperscript{95} a number of papers presented by various scholars discuss issues related to media and social responsibility, communication technology, media

\textsuperscript{88} Sandra J. Ball, Rokeach and Murial G. Cantor, \textit{Media Audience and Social Structure}, New Delhi, 1986.
\textsuperscript{90} Hema Agarwal, \textit{Society, Culture and Mass Communication}, New Delhi, 1995.
\textsuperscript{91} Kamlesh Mahajan, \textit{Communication and Society}, New Delhi, 1990.
\textsuperscript{92} Aimee Dorr, \textit{Television and Children}, New Delhi, 1986.
\textsuperscript{94} Naval Prabhakar and Narendra Basu, \textit{Mass Media and Society}, New Delhi, 2007.
\textsuperscript{95} Vir Bala Agarwal (ed.), \textit{Media and Society: Challenges and Opportunities}, New Delhi, 2003.
in conflict situations and other aspects of media and development. The thrust of most of the articles are on the contemporary media scenario and the use of technology like internet, and computers, and the strength and weakness of online journalism. In all these works the role and responsibility of media towards women hardly finds a mention.

Media and their content are now assumed to have significant and substantial effect on various dimensions of social life and structure.\textsuperscript{96} Considering the amount of resources invested in mass media production and distribution and the diverse content that could affect society, the questions that are often asked are: are the media changing, preventing, facilitating, reinforcing or reaffirming something? Though the extent of influence that mass communications has on effectively reinforcing or stabilizing behaviour or beliefs may be difficult to measure in the absence of more recent specific finding but it seems reasonable to suppose that mass communications do stabilize beliefs and this stabilization leads to stability in social actions.\textsuperscript{97} But while studying and analysing women and the electronic media and the media images of women, in recent years it has been observed that the media has emerged in a big way as a major exploiter of women.\textsuperscript{98} The rise is more on either over glamorising and exploitation of female character in television and films and their under representation in vital issues which is cited as a major cause of concern for the present time.\textsuperscript{99} Though the responsibility of media in projecting women’s role in society is highly crucial and essential, but the electronic media are described as narrow and presenting women as essentially dependent and romantic.\textsuperscript{100} Mass media in India is stated to be male centered, male dominated and male biased and has not been able to ensure a judicious communicative space and time for the coverage of women’s issues and a failure in identifying the problems of women and their needs.\textsuperscript{101} The real concerns of women seem to either be obliterated or at best decided by market and sponsors that determine what narratives will sell best with the

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.12-14.
\textsuperscript{98} Sharad Rajimwale, “Media and the Women’s Image: A New Subversive Site?” \textit{Mainstream}, Vol. 42, No II, 6\textsuperscript{th} March, 2004, p.11.
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{101} B.P. Mahesh Chandra Guru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.50.
consumers of goods.\textsuperscript{102} With the commercialisation of media services, the electronic media are increasingly said to be exploiting women by projecting them as sex symbols rather than having objective discussions confronting the growth and development of women.\textsuperscript{103} The ‘social responsibility’ of the media means that the mass media function as the real representatives of people and guard public interest and thus it is in this context that the importance of mass media have today assumed greater significance in extending the educational and developmental support to women which in turn could add to national development.\textsuperscript{104} If media is a catalyst and a contributor of social growth than it is equally important to look deeper to understand if this growth has kept women and their needs in sight and also how well such growth has been received by women themselves. Apart from departmental survey of AIR and DD on the response of their programmes very little comprehensive work has been taken up from the academic view point to understand the connection between mass communication and its impact on women in the Northeast states of the country. AIR and DD through its vast networks of stations and \textit{Kendras} spread across the length and breadth of the country have various programmes on social, economic and political issues, some exclusively meant for the urban and the rural women, which are broadcast on an everyday basis. It is therefore necessary to analyse and understand the kind of impact the programmes of AIR and DD have had on society over the years especially in the context of Northeast India. Chapter five of the work takes a deeper look into this role. Programmes specially meant for women as the target audiences would be comprehensively looked into to understand the gender content of the programmes.

The period for the study of AIR programmes cannot be a fixed one due to a technical problem. This problem arose because of the fact that the AIR archives though has been in the process of being digitised since 2001 but the recordings preserved consist mostly of Music, Spoken word, Interviews with eminent persons, Radio Dramas, and Radio Autobiographies of very important personalities from various walks of life. Other programmes based on social and current issues broadcast

\textsuperscript{102} Uma Chakravarti, “State, Market and Freedom of Expression: Women and Electronic Media” \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, Vol. 35, No 18, 29\textsuperscript{th} April- 5\textsuperscript{th} May 2000, WS-15-WS-17.  
\textsuperscript{103} B.P. Mahesh Chandra Guru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.51.  
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.49-51.
on an everyday basis have a brief shelf life and erased within a short span of time. Therefore the period of study is from its inception and the programmes reviewed under various categories for this study is mostly current programmes but having a long history of broadcasting. The period of study for DD programmes reviewed were from 1984 to 2007. The starting point of our analysis is July 1984 because that marks the turning point of television viewing in the country as Doordarshan started commissioning one transmitter everyday for a period of four months, which helped increase DD coverage over a large area and population. Further it was also in the early 1980’s that Doordarshan had its transition from black and white to colour Television (TV) and began the live coverage format of transmission. The year 2007 has been kept the cut off year as it was by this period that the satellite cable TV made its inroads in most states of the Northeast and there was an array of channels for the viewers to choose from apart from the state run DD channels.

The sixth chapter would be the concluding chapter in which we will summarise our formulations and findings on social change, gender relations and the role of the electronic media and in this context the role of AIR and DD especially in Northeast India by drawing upon the materials covered in the earlier chapters.

The main objective of the work is thus twofold. First, to study the history and the growth of the mass media specially the electronic media in the context of understanding social change and gender relations and second, to analyse how gender sensitive have the two public broadcasters been and what kind of changes in values and social norms has it envisaged through its programmes in its almost 80 years of existence for AIR and over 60 years for DD. To organise and analyse the data in order to arrive at an in-depth understanding of the subject we have used the methodology of Historical approach to assess the process of social change in Northeast India and the evolution of the All India Radio and Doordarshan. It has undertaken a gender analysis of the programmes of AIR and DD. Gender analysis here implies an examination of the Gender content of the programmes in terms of (1) their utility for women in understanding their social position and (2) raising general social awareness of both the sexes in the context of patriarchy.