CHAPTER -2

SURVEY OF LITERATURE
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Survey of literature forms an integral part of the study to understand the existing literature in the field of political communication. It enables a researcher to determine the operational definition of the research study, its scope and limitation. Review of literature avoids duplication of already obtained perspectives. It either confirms the line of researcher's thinking or contradicts it and helps in conceptualising the content.

My attempts to survey the literature made it quite clear that political communication through mass media is still a new vista that is less explored. I have attempted to review the literature whatever was available to me. It surely gave me understanding about reach and extent of mass media, content, presentation, policy, autonomy, characteristics of political communication etc...

It also clearly pointed out the lack of reflection of people-oriented political communication in writing. The newspaper articles, reports were mostly pertaining to Government's political efforts either praising it or criticising it whereas the books mostly offered too theoretical background.

I have incorporated the major concepts related to political communication from about two dozen books and articles from newspapers and periodicals.

Political Communication

-Robert E Denton Jr.
Gary C. Woodward.

The use of communication results in getting people to accept certain policies, arouse support for various causes and obey governmental authority. Political communication is the mean to social ends and not end in itself.
Social unrest results from poor political communication. For the legitimacy of political order depends upon the articulation of social needs, the satisfaction of social needs, and the transmission of political values that allows the development of a sense of community among the people.

It has become so customary to focus on the obligations of political communicators that we often fail to give due notice that democratic life carries responsibilities for audiences as well.

**General Characteristic of political communication:**

Political communications have existence of set and limited time frame. Messages are typically planned, prepared, and delivered with an eye on short-term goals and deadlines.

**The importance of considering audiences:**

Verbal behaviour of politicians is propelled by the desire to gain the identification and support of specific constituencies. The art of compromise, creative adaptation, emphasis, de-emphasis, and simplification are all very much part of the process of political communication.

We conceive of political communication as a practical, process-centered, decision-oriented activity.

**George Orwell:** In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportation, the dropping of atom bombs on Japan, can indeed, be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to
face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties. Thus, political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness.

Politics and the English language p.363

Research Methods in Social Relations

- Louise H. Kidder
Selltiz Wrightsman & Cooks

Evaluation research differs from the other forms of research we have discussed not in its methods but in its purposes, its use, and its relationship to social and political institutions. It is applied research. Basic research is conducted to add to our store of knowledge, test hypotheses, build theories, and perhaps find some practical application in the future. But even with no foreseeable practical application, basic research is carried on for its own sake. Applied research, as its name suggests, is carried on for practical reasons – to produce findings that are applicable, practical, immediately useful. Evaluation research is a special form of applied research, designed to evaluate programs, usually ameliorative social programs such as remedial education, welfare reforms, innovative teaching methods, health care delivery systems, job training programs and the like. The results of evaluation research are not meant merely to add to our store of knowledge or develop theories. They are used often immediately, to decide whether programs should stop or go, whether budgets should expand or contract, whether personnel should be hired or fired – all based on whether the program accomplished what was intended.

Although evaluation research is intended to produce immediate results and have an immediate impact, two circumstances often prevent this from happening. The first arises when results are equivocal or contradictory
so that it is not clear what the policy decision should be. There have been many evaluations of preschool Head Start programs, for instance and they do not all agree about the programs success or failure (Cicerelli, et al, 1969, Campbell and Erlebacher, 1970). Negative income tax or income maintenance programs have also been tried and evaluated in many places, and the results are contradictory (Kenter 1978 Kershaw 1972). If the planners and decision makers are to use these results which set should they use.

The situation often arises in social research in which it is impossible or impractical to collect data about people by observation. In these situations interviews and questionnaires are commonly used to gather information. Typical topics of interest are a person's knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, motivations, anticipations, future plans or past behaviour.

In the interview and questionnaire approach, heavy reliance is placed on verbal reports from the subjects for information about the stimuli or experiences to which they are exposed and for knowledge of their behaviour. The subjects' reports may or may not be taken at face value they may be interpreted in the light of other knowledge about the person or in terms of some psychological theory or inferences may be drawn about aspects of the subjects' functioning that they have not reported. Regardless of the amount and kind of interpretation, however, the starting point is the subjects' self-report. Thus, the investigator can ordinarily obtain only material that the subject is willing and able to report.

**Akash Bharatii:**

Report of the working group on Autonomy for Akashvani and Doordarshan.
After Fifty Years

Akashvani is among the oldest and largest broadcasting systems in the world. But it has "just growed". It has one of the largest allocations of radio broadcast frequencies in the world. Indian television was started in 1959 but only developed regular transmissions, from Delhi in 1965. It is still in its infancy though, here again with the completion of certain ongoing projects in a couple of years from now. Doordarshan's radius of terrestrial operation will cover a potential audience of approximately 100 million, no small figure.

Indian television like sound broadcasting virtually started by accident. The first radio systems in the country were organised by gifted amateurs and private companies. On their collapse the Government of India took over. More recently television commenced as a pilot experiment with donated equipment and developed its first regular transmissions and an expanded network through further donations.

In our view the first essential for the effective management of any institution or organisation is the establishment of a clear set of objectives consciously framed and understood and a plan of action for its fulfillment. We have sought to find such a set of objectives and such a strategy within Akashvani since its inception.

A look at history of journalism:

"Akhabarnu Avalokan" (Critical Analysis of the newspaper)

Dr. Yasin Dalal

Dr. Yasin Dalal is the only scholar doctorate in Gujarat who has contributed significantly in the field of mass
communication, particularly in the field of Press Journalism.

"Many risks are involved in exploring unexplored subjects" He states the difficulties like lack of well arranged documented information in the form of newspaper files, knowledgeable sources etc. While narrating the historical growth of communication he tracks back to Moghul era and refers to Abul Fazal's 'A' Akubari' and Aurangzeb's will.

"The first advertisement introduced 'Bengal Gazette' or 'Calcutta Gazette Advertiser' as a political and economic weekly, open for all parties but uninfluenced by anybody. Beginning of journalism, in very raw stage, was made about a century before, with the publication of a two-page newspaper. "The Bengal Gazette and the Calcutta journal vetiecan" under the editorship of James Augusts Hiki in the year 1780 dated 20th January.

After the publication of "The Bengal Gazette", "India Gazette" was published in 1784. The real beginning of journalism though may be on few aspects, was said to have taken place with the publication of a monthly "Digdarshan" in November, 1818. After four years, Gujarati Newspaper "Humbaina Samachar" was published in Bombay by Fardunji Marzban, a Parsi gentleman.

Today, the total number of newspapers is 21,790. Out of this number, Hindi newspapers occupy the first place (6370) followed by English newspaper (3691) bengali (1662), Marathi (1168), Gujarati (765) etc.

Aka3h Bharati highlights search for objective

According to the All India Radio Manual, published first in March 1956 and revised in June 1972, "the main function of All India Radio is to plan and broadcast programmes to listeners all over the country". This
somewhat obvious statement is hardly added to by the further information that "these programmes include a good deal of entertainment and an appropriate amount of informative and educative programmes and also news and discussions on topical matters in suitable measure."

Unplanned Growth:

Indeed the two most striking impressions gathered by Members of the Working Group during their tours and discussions were of unplanned growth of Akashvani and Doordarshan and of low morale and deep frustration among its staff at every level. Yet many fine programmes have been produced, for there is no dearth of broadcasting talent in these organisations or in the country. What equally impressed Members was the fact, brought home time and again, of how much had so often been accomplished with so little. It was well said that some of the television transmissions put on the air by Doordarshan constitute nothing less than a "daily miracle".

The educational, farm, health and other instructional broadcasts over Akashvani and Doordarshan suffer from weak interaction with the concerned Central and State Government Departments and educational authorities. The multi-media approach has not been exploited and extension broadcasts have received inadequate print support through publications and folders. Broadcasting has been ineffectively used, if at all, in promoting social justice and educating the under-privileged with regard to their rights. Indeed, even party political and electoral broadcasts were taboo until they were introduced in April 1977.

This accelerating communications revolution has annihilated space and time and become multi-functional. It implies vast and subtle social, political and economic consequences and choices. Miniaturisation, cost reduction and the "democratisation" of the media are among its distinctive features.
**New Information Era**

Communications are a resource. They also constitute a network comprising every kind of media from inter-personal to electronic messages. The various media operate in concert and the object of communication policy is to optimise the package at any given time in relation to resources, needs and future aspirations.

In view of the immense power of those who hold and disseminate information, there has been an increasing demand for suitable controls and participation of access. The concept of freedom of the Press has grown to include "freedom of information", the "free flow of information", the "free and balanced flow of information" and the "right to communicate". We should like to point out however that no individual has an inherent right to speak through the broadcast media. It is ideas that must have access. As the U.S. Supreme Court observed in the Red Lion Case while affirming the validity of the Fairness Doctrine evolved by the Federal Communications Commission:

"It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount. It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, aesthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here.

In the Indian situation, the objective of communication policy must be to awaken the people, inform, mobilize and educate them to be democratic citizens since eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, ensure equity and equality of opportunity, safeguard national values, preserve both unity and diversity, and promote development and accepted national goals.

When we refer to "the people" we must realise that the majority of the people are young, poor, illiterate, and
under-privileged. Half the people are women. The mass media must reach each and all of them.

There is a danger of confusing the medium for the message and of hardware-led software systems. It has been well said that the issue is not whether the cat is black or white, but whether it can catch mice. Communication systems must therefore be designed to fit national needs and circumstances and should not be imitative, since communications are also part of a larger culture and impose certain values.

Democratising Communications

Thirty years after Independence, autonomy is sought to be conferred on Indian broadcasting. Such a self-denying ordinance in divesting control over so powerful a media by the political authority that has hitherto "owned" it and used it as its own is perhaps unique. The destruction of the credibility of these versatile media on account of political misuse during the Emergency apart, the growing departmentalisation, bureaucratisation and loss of creativity and the consequent inability to exploit the full potential inherent in them would justify a "transfer of power" on wider considerations as well.

The messages must however be tailored to specific target audiences which must be effectively reached in a manner that optimises the overall cost-benefit. An educated and informed public can grow to have more and be more. This is the instructional role of broadcasting. It has an equally vital role in making available the information and varied analysis that is the foundation of public opinion which is translated into the sovereign will of the people through democratic debate and elections. The impartiality, accuracy and proficiency of radio and television in catering to the citizen's "right to know" are therefore of paramount importance. It has been well said that the broadcasting media do not serve a market or a single ideology in a free society but are themselves a marketplace of ideas.
The purpose of radio and television is to inform, educate, and entertain the people. As 'mass media' they must truly be media of and for the masses rather than retain a predominantly class or urban-elitist bias, which is largely the case today, some "popular", instructional and rural programming notwithstanding.

**Mass and Minority Audiences**

The mass media suggests a mass audience. Mass here implies a large aggregate; it does not necessarily suggest a monolithic or homogenous national audience. On the contrary, evidence around the world suggests a tendency towards area-specific and culturally diverse, small or minority audiences for many kinds of programmes.

In India, radio obviously has a major role to play as an instructional and information medium, especially among illiterates and semi-literates. It can be a companion to the aged and handicapped, the blind and those living or working in relatively isolated areas. It is immediate. Television, a far more expensive medium, has thus far been justified largely as an aid to development through instructional usage and community viewing. However, instructional broadcasting essentially presupposes specific small audiences in terms of age (school broadcasts), and agro-climatic and socio-cultural variables including language.

Decentralised and participative development from below suggests the need for decentralised messages through local radio and television. The very size and diversity of the country compels movement in this direction.

It is first necessary to take note of the very special characteristics of the audience that will be called upon to serve. If broadcasting is to receive a high place in the nation's scale of priorities it can do so only if it
is seen to be playing a vital and essential supportive role in the development goals of the nation. For the next two decades, among the most important of these goals must be rural development... (p.28)

It is, therefore, assumed that every citizen should have a choice during prime listening time to tune into any of the three radio channels, local, regional or national... (p.35)

However, the right to licence broadcasting should not or need not necessarily vest the Government with the right to regulate broadcasts. There is a difference between the fact of broadcasting (the licensing of transmitters) and the act of broadcasting (programming). Any confusion here is cleared by reference to the concept of a National Trust, the nation ("we, the people") being represented by Parliament of which the Government constitutes the executive branch. If the people are the ultimate sovereign in a parliamentary democracy then they are entitled to the fullest information and contrasting views and ideas so that they might decide for themselves and vote accordingly. A free and autonomous broadcasting system is thus part of the democratic dharma, accountable to the people through Parliament but not controlled by Government. (p.43)

**Enrichment and Support**

Extension broadcasting has other critical parameters. It cannot substitute or supplant the teacher or extension worker. Radio and television are not teacher substitutes but teaching aids, another blackboard or learning kit. They must therefore be conceived of as something to be used by teachers for teachers. The SITE evaluation also showed that television extension did not supplant the extension worker or even match the latter, whereas it did provide a useful supplement when used to reinforce his efforts. Broadcastting, therefore, can stimulate and enrich. Propagating anything more would only undermine its credibility. (p.126)
This is because radio and television are one way systems. Therefore, feedback channels are of vital importance if the media programmes and the field agencies are to gauge the acceptability, credibility and intelligibility of the message. A good feedback system also entails and encourages participation by the people. Communications is a support service for field staff, which is in face to face contact with target audiences at the grassroots. (p. 126)

They must avoid any partisan or ideological slant and, instead, offer a balanced and objective presentation of all news of relevance to the Indian or external audiences they serve.

The principles of "Fairness", "balance", "accuracy and well-rounded" "objectivity" apply not only to the views but to all current affairs programmes. Balance, however, does not imply a mechanical balancing of views in each programme, but rather an overall balance achieved over a series of programmes. (p. 235)

Akashavani and Doordarshan are certainly not lacking in creative talent, but this has not found adequate expression and has not flowed on account of the routinised, hierarchical, procedure-oriented systems that have become part of the culture and tradition of Indian broadcasting. A retired Station Director told the Working Group that he "joined Akashvani a fearless man, but retired a timid person." a sad though unfortunately not untypical commentary, especially because the history of art has shown that from time immemorial it is the non-conformist who has wrought change and made society move.

Radio and television must therefore have individuals as their target audience, a factor that makes the listener or viewer more critical in accepting programmes, with the option to switch off, or turn the knob to another channel or station.
The Central News room must be strengthened if the quality of service is to improve. It is clearly inadequate to have the various Indian language bulletins and to some extent even the Hindi news bulletins serviced by mere translations of the predominantly English pool copy. (236)

The news rooms at the State capitals and other regional news centres of Akashvani should be strengthened.(236)

Akashvani and Doordarshan must make a special effort to encourage development news reportage and the coverage of special areas like sport, science, health, education, the arts, labour, farming and so on... (p.236)

The entire approach to women's programming needs change. There should be no talking down to women or any tendency to limit programmes literally to matters of household interest including nutrition and childcare. The very title "Home" tends to suggest restricted horizons. The message of equality, including sexual equality, and social change should permeate all programmes rather than just "women's programmes" and should certainly be addressed as much to men as to women.

Tribal programming calls not merely for genuine sympathy, knowledge and sensitivity but for the provision of minimum facilities such as jeeps, special allowances for isolation and hardship, portable equipment and considerable delegation. Special staff need to be recruited for tribal stations and the proposed new generation of local stations should have a specially selected cadre of young local people who know the language and have a deep feeling and respect for the tribal populations and their culture.

Akashvani and Doordarshan should not shy away from controversy. They should project issues of social justice.
Current affairs speakers and panelists need to be drawn from a wider area than Delhi or the other metropolitan cities and from disciplines other than journalism, politics or the academic world.

Anniversary features need to be selective, carefully planned, imaginatively presented and evaluative rather than adulatory.

Doordarshan should have its own network of correspondents and stringers, some of these cameramen doubling as radio correspondents, handling portable videotape recorders for speedy and convenient electronic news gathering. (p.237)

To shift from its largely urban-elitist moorings to the rural and semi-urban areas and to the urban poor. The quality and proportion of its instructional content will likewise have to increase. Yet it must bridge the urban-rural divide and combine modernity with relevant tradition.

Our Media Policy:

A close view of Television

- Prof PRAVIN SHETH

The Indian TV - Professed and Practised

The real communications explosion has taken place in India in the decade of 1980's. It is reflected in the new TV policy and special TV expansion plan proposal of the Government of India in July 1983. This powerful audio-visual, under this special crash plan, covered from 19% to 70% of the geographical population of India by the end of 1984, i.e. to cover 360 million population from 125 million. Nowhere in the world, such a rapid expansion in such a short period was planned (App. II). In a way India, for the first time, seems to have a TV policy. However, as in the past in case of a satellite
communications - SITE project, at present with INSAT-1b, the Indian TV is still a hardware-led communication system. We have still no software policy worth the name. If at all, we have hardware-led software programme.

In the west when TV became a home to home instrument of domestic audio-visual instrument of information and entertainment, its society had already become affluent and advanced. While India has adopted it even when it is still to solve its dire problem of underdevelopment, illiteracy, poverty and unemployment. Again, while 70% of the population live in villages, the TV sets are mainly located in the major cities of India (See Appendix III). It is the rural India where this powerful medium of development and entertainment is needed the most.

Again, India has to use this audio-visual product of the second Industrial Revolution when it is still in the stage of first Industrial Revolution. Therefore, India will have to use the TV along so many dimensions bearing in the mind three objectives, namely-

(A) Entertainment,

(B) Information,

(C) Development with a focus on Education/Instruction

Our software policy will have to be informed by an entirely different set of priorities of objectives. This address is an essay in setting forth objectives, analysis and evaluation of objectives of Indian TV and media policy relevant in that light. Criticism made here with regards to these three objectives and functions are done in constructive spirit, maintaining faith in the TV's enormous potentiality to improve itself. Correctives can be devised and rich alternative software can be developed in the light of critical analysis that follow in the following sections.
The Western TV model is based on urban needs, consumer products, high literacy and mobility levels and total secularisation of the cultural ethos. In our case the civilization of the spoken word with its attendant implications remain in tact. It is, in fact, entirely up to us to decide how we move it forward into technological models. But as Marshall McLuhan exhorted in an interview to K.L. Sondhi, the media expert, “Don't make the mistake we have made in the West. Don't use audio-visual media as we have done; our media have all but destroyed us. You should plan in your own way; plan so that the media resurrect and support and not destroy your culture and values under changed modern conditions”. Perhaps, unconsciously, this was recurrent in the objectives as stated by the decision makers in the field of communications.

From the very beginning it had been proclaimed in official statements and reports that TV could be used as a medium of social education and that its development would be undertaken to make it an instrument to support the strategy and programmes of social and economic development. Specially, it was stated that TV would be used as a weapon against illiteracy and ignorance. To bring about awareness of sociological problems among the masses and to make them conscious of national good; to play a vital role in cultivating civic consciousness and respect for law and order, public morality and so forth; and in the field of entertainment, to mould public taste to higher aesthetic levels.

It was declared, time and again, that TV would not be allowed to become the rich man's toy—as it is in certain developing countries. For instance, a recommendation of the seminar on software objectives held in February 1973 was: "TV must be used in the development process as an instrument of social change and national cohesion by unhesitatingly upholding progressive values involving the community in a free dialogue. The Indian TV has to shun an elitist approach and consumerist value system and evolve a true national model." TV in India should he mainly for the common man.
The Indian Doordarshan began an experimental service on 15 September, 1959 in Delhi. Its range was about 40 k.m. around the capital. The ascent was on education.

In August 1965, the government took the first step in mixing entertainment with the programme of social education. This was the beginning of the controversy over the rival claims of entertainment and education on TV. Bombay kendra opened as late as in 1972. The colour TV was introduced in 1982 in a hurry to suit the fancy of the rulers at the time of ASIAD. Expediency and ad hocism of the policy at the time is revealed if one notes that the decision whether to allow Indian firms to import kits of foreign made colour TVs or colour TV itself was changed four times in five weeks that preceded the ASIAD.

Whenever a new TV centre is inaugurated, it is claimed that "it will help in the process of social and economic development". But once this lip service has been paid, it ends up broadcasting programmes with no relevance to national goals or aspirations. The speech of the Prime Minister at the time of 'dedication of INSAT-1b to the nation' is also in tune with these officially proclaimed objectives.

What is required is a measure of autonomy in choosing themes, devising format and collaboration with creative and proven film producers and directors from the commercial cinema as well as the New Wave trend. Also second channel should be opened for the entertainment programme sponsored by the commercial or corporate sector. The concept of the second channel on Hegde line is more purposeful and a must in a democratic polity and continental society like India. The need for region-specific programmes needs no emphasis. No where in the world has TV developed without region-specific and regional TV.
If such an initiative is found and well in time, then the present staff of entertainment will debase the taste of our first generation viewers and will vulgarise the cultural moving of our young generation. The socialising effect of so-called entertainment programme must be carefully gone into before formulating our software. The ad hoc, half-baked policy of the Mandi House is exposed in the way the authorities have treated such ventures as 'Subah' shown on the prime time, and that too, without having respect to viewers who are not even informed well in time when such programmes are either postponed, arbitrarily shortened or abruptly discontinued (see Appendix-I).

According to the Hindu, AIR's news bulletin during the last Karnataka election contained 243 references to deal exclusively with Mrs. Gandhi's campaign speeches. Both AIR and Doordarshan completely blacked out news of the Nellie massacre. When Parliament debated Arun Shourie's article (on Kuo Oil Deal) on May 2 and 3 AIR and Doordarshan broadcast only the Home Minister's statement without explaining the context. Doordarshan made no mention of the "Punjab Rasta Roko" campaign on April 4, but nevertheless, carried the Home Minister's statement the next day. AIR, Doordarshan and Film Division have yet to cover the Bhagalpur blindings, the corruption charges against Antualy or the 'encounter' killings. So also Rajiv's on "the financial extravagance and maladministration" of the West Bengal government without giving scope to the Chief Minister Basu to reply or clarify on TV. The blacking out of Chandrashekhar's padyatra through Bombay as compared to the extensive coverage given to Sunil Dutt's padyatra to an in Punjab; or the verbal lashing of a news editor for leading the news bulletin with Justice Lentin's judgement against Mr. A.R. Antulay, as provided to the Joshi Committee's observations, but there is no guarantee that the decision-makers will take a whip to themselves.

Rajiv Gandhi's presence anywhere was the news for Radio and TV—At Kisan rally, a sports stadium, forays in
tribal areas, a padyatra, meeting of intellectuals and even purely government functions like release of water at Rajasthan Canals (AIR and TV 'A Year's Harvest'." Indian Express 9.1.89 (Iqbal Media).

The TV has helped in making familiar the 20-point programme to the rural poor or distribution of bank loans for the poor. But here again it is not the real beneficiaries but the political leaders who become the star on the TV screen. More features should be designed to show how the rural and urban poor can organise themselves, fill in the forms and the like for getting the aid, and how they can fight the political intermediaries and the corrupt local administrators who stand between the 20-point programme and the needy. As Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, in a Doordarshan programme commented upon, "for them (TV staff) the ordinary lowly man is non-existent". This also underlined in the latest Report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament (1987) which has observed that audio-visual media have failed to familiarise the people and local functionaries about the IRDP and the like antipoverty plans.

**Development and Education**

The carrier of these objectives was a specially created unit of SITE of 2,400 villages in six states of India and a special group of villages in Kheda District. TV's educative capacity then was put to hard test. K.L. Sondhi has excellently interpreted the role of TV in this way. "What the Guru traditionally provided unconsciously to a few, selected "deserving" pupils, the media are now being asked to provide through conscious effort to the masses through an open-ended, problem solving, adaptive control, manmachine learning system. In a word, we want TV to become the "New Guru"."
SITE Evaluation:

SITE aroused great national and international interest and expectations and is still subject to detailed evaluation but critical comments cannot be ignored. These related to organisational weakness, inadequate interlinkage and co-ordination between the authorities and institutions involved and disappointing participation on the part of village level workers, extension officers, health assistance and other extension personnel at the village level. There is also reference to difficulties of time sharing between different clusters; disparities between the local dialect and language used on the TV programme. Inadequate programme identification with the local environment and culture on account of generalised and centralised programming, limited feedback and so statistically significant gain in knowledge in hard core areas of agriculture, health and family planning and education.

An Indian personality for Television. Volume-I

Report of the working group on Software For Doordarshan

A qualitatively new style incorporating the element of an intimate, participatory down-upwards orientation is inherent in television as a medium. To run it entirely with a nonparticipatory top-downwards style is to be insensitive to its nature and possibilities. This is a medium which makes it possible for the people to be participants in the process of generating software. The creative communicator has an obligation to involve the people in a dialogue. It is in this sense that the tribal ethos is reproduced in the television era. In the tribal world the entertainer and the entertained are not clearly differentiated. The community does not consist of nonparticipants in the creative process. It is the participation of the whole community in the task of creation that releases the creative energy of the gifted members of the community.
Television is one-sided when it should be two. It is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. So here is a positive suggestion: change this apparatus over from distribution to communication. Television would be the first possible communication apparatus in public life. That is to say, it would be, if it knows how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as to hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him. On this principle, television should step out of the supply business and organise its listeners as suppliers.

**Creative Freedom and Social Relevance: The value problem in creativity:**

To make software relevant to Indian conditions we also recommend interaction between the producer (along with his production team) and the people for whom software is meant. In the Indian situation where the vast masses living specially in the villages are still illiterate and, therefore, not yet oriented to the print medium, their reliance on oral and visual communication makes television. Specially relevant to them. Television thus suits India or such other countries where the people are predominantly non-literate and oriented to oral and non-formal communication. Television software has enormous relevance for India's vast millions to whom it should be made accessible and at whose service it should be placed. To adapt software production to the tastes and concerns of the literate classes, who have access also to the print media, is unjust and wasteful.

In the conventional growth theory the vast masses must first cross the illiteracy barrier before they can participate in growth or can have their share in the fruits of growth. The electronic media like radio and television have the potential of transcending the literacy barrier and therefore also the class barrier. They make it possible for the non-literate masses to have access to information and, consequently, to the
fruits of development without first crossing the literacy barrier. People belonging to the pre-industrial oral culture, therefore, can take a leap into the post-industrial world without passing through all the stages through which the West passed in its socio-economic transformation from the pre-industrial stage.

**Television for Education and Development**

In the opinion of the Working Group the Sarabhai approach of tapping Communication Revolution in general and television in particular as a major weapon in the fight against poverty and illiteracy, for mass-oriented growth and development is still valid. Indeed there has been a decisive shift in the thinking at the international and national levels towards the approach and strategy first outlined by Sarabhai. It is important to put on record that India was the pioneer among the developing countries to evolve this novel communication approach and strategy for development. And yet the intervening period has witnessed a hiatus between principle and practice, between commitment to the idea of development-oriented communication and the practice of utilising it for low-quality entertainment. In contrast, some developing countries which lagged far behind India in appreciating the developmental potential of television have taken big strides in the promotion of television as a powerful aid to development and mass education. The example of China comes prominently to mind in this context.

Vikram Sarabhai's observations are worth reproducing:

"Taking into consideration the cost of installing a television receiver and the purchasing power of the people, it is felt that the stated objectives involve provision of television through community sets rather than through personally owned sets. It is estimated that not more than one or two percent of the total population would be viewing through privately owned sets. The balance of 98% can only be reached through community
receivers. Therefore, unlike the field of radio, where individual listening has now become increasingly popular and account for the vast majority of the coverage, the situation in television would be qualitatively different and would involve state or public funds, organisations and institutions providing community viewing facilities.

In other words, modern technology allows scope as much for area-specificity and audience-sensitivity in programme coverage as for national integration. This idea of evolving "an Indian version of Communication Revolution" means being sensitive to socio-cultural requirements of the Indian situation in national, regional and local levels. It means we have to work towards decentralisation plus integration and not just centralisation. If decentralisation without national integration aggravates the danger of parochialism, absence of decentralisation results in loss of relevance for the people who live their lives at the local levels, it results in loss of something very precious viz. people's involvement and participation which is the greatest asset of the democratic system.

It is only when the communicator has a feel of this New India taking shape before his or her very eyes and when he or she takes up the creative challenge of conveying its dimensions through the medium, then he or she begins to appreciate the inadequacies of the inherited communication approaches and techniques, whether traditional or Western.

Information:

"It is because opinion is so vitally dependent on truthfulness of facts that observers have come to insist on the connection between liberty and news"

Harold J. Laski
"Liberty in the Modern State. 1937."
V.I.P. Oriented News

This could well be a description of Doordarshan news. It is a pity that a television system which is not only publicly funded but is also directly run by the Government, on the ground that this is necessary to make television serve the purpose of development in the direction of socialism, should show so little orientation towards the common people in its news and current affairs programmes. In an address to the NAMEDIA conference in New Delhi on 9th December 1983, the Prime Minister commented on the neglect of the common man and his day to day life by media personnel both internationally and nationally in memorable words.

"The stupendous task of development, the changes coming about in our villages and towns, among our women, our workers and others might as well be non-existent. Editors and media managers seem attached to the Northcliffe formula that power, position, money and sex make news - and that virtue, normality, hard work and humility don't. The weak may one day inherit the earth, but not the headlines."

The malady highlighted by the Prime Minister is to be located not only in the privately owned Press but much more in government controlled media including Doordarshan. A witness said to us that Doordarshan's news bulletins often sound like court circulars. Another witness said that while it was the Prime Minister's duty to go from place to place and convey to different audiences the messages of national unity, communal harmony, etc., it was neither necessary nor appropriate for Doordarshan news bulletins to report the same messages repetitively to the same audience.

A distinguished sociologist, Prof. T.N. Madan, said to us "Delhi TV programmes seem to me to be addressed much more to entertainment seekers and passive information beneficiaries than to any other category of viewers. Besides, there is of course the obvious effort to have
political impact through the news bulletins, new
stories, etc... The TV strikes me as essentially a
substitute for cinema, and a political propaganda
medium."

Doordarshan news needs to be gathered and presented from
perspectives not only of the Government, the ruling
party and the urban well-to-do, but also of the many
other social, economic and political groups who
constitute the nation. The suggestions made by Prof.
Gans for what he calls ‘multi-perspectival news,’
focussed less on politicians and more on the people.

Neutralising the Constraints of the Diffused Sector:

Role of the Media

If we are above to identify the real constraints at all
levels which do not allow new cumulative forces to be
initiated for stopping the rich getting richer and the
poor poorer, we will have also an understanding of the
role which media can play in this national effort.
Drawing lessons from the planning process in India, P.C.
Mahalnobis had told us that we had success in the
concentrated

It is this kind of field-based, investigative reporting
that can assist and accelerate the process of
development by bringing out gaps that need to be filled,
seepages and leakages in the implementation process that
need to be plugged, and heart warming success stories of
the people's self-help, with or without aid from
official or non-official agencies, which can inspire
others to do likewise.
It is a pity that the news values of a television system which is not only publicly funded but is also directly run by the Government, on the ground that this is necessary to make television serve the purpose of development in the direction of socialism, should show so little orientation towards the common people in its news and current affairs programmes. Doordarshan news needs to be gathered and presented from perspectives not only of the government, the ruling party and the urban well-to-do, but also of the many other economic, social, cultural and political groups who constitute the nation.

At present most viewers of Doordarshan live well above the poverty line, and Doordarshan through its VIP-oriented news programmes and trivial entertainment promotes complacency, and a drugged indifference to issues of social transformation, rather than any self-questioning of its life-style on the part of its middle and upper class viewers. Even within the narrow value framework of its present news presentation, Doordarshan hardly does a professional job.

Three conditions must be met if Doordarshan's programmes of news and current affairs are to attract and hold the active interest of viewers. They are (i) team work between members of a professionally competent news crew, (ii) adequate resources of personnel, equipment and transport and operational flexibility in deploying them, and (iii) a higher quality of management which understands the above two requirements and adheres to a news and current affairs policy appropriate to a large country, democratic and developing and with a wide diversity of language and life patterns.
The poor can ill-afford to emulate the lifestyles of the rich countries. The software planning for development must adopt a dual strategy of borrowing only useful values and things but resisting harmful values and things from the affluent world. Moreover, India which is overexposed to the affluent West must consciously correct this over-exposure and get consciously linked with poor and developing countries of the world with whom India has much in common.

In a sub-continental country like India where the decision-makers are separated by vast physical distances from the people for whom they are required to take decisions and where the elite classes are often alienated from the rural production system and productive values, the communicator has a major role in bringing closer the planner, developmental agents, and the administrator on the one hand and the vast masses of small producers and labourers on the other.

The process of developmental communication is basically an information dissemination/transfer process. For the rapid growth of developing countries the urgent need to disseminate information to the rural masses is obvious. The difficulty is that there can be no uniform information package valid for the whole country. It has to be area-specific and also specific to the particular occupational or economic category and it also varies from season to season. Programme-making for development, specially rural development is, therefore, a creative challenge and also a continuing, on-going challenge.

Today, development and communication are entirely unrelated. On the one hand, we have a powerful medium like Doordarshan not being used for the developmental task; on the other we have developmental programmes and action without any media or communication support. The two should work hand in hand and re-inforce each other if planning has to be effective. We recommend that special efforts be made to promote the inclusion of an information-communication.
Communication should help to create a participatory model of development, a participatory rural community in which information flows not only downwards, from governments to the people but also upwards from the people to the Government.

Gazette (Vol. 38, 1986)

There was not much effort at education in the (post-independence) press. On the whole it missed even the story of a new nation charting an independent course towards economic growth and social justice. It was obsessed by politics, but even its political analysis lacked depth and insight. In social, economic, scientific and other developmental themes, the press showed little interest and less enterprise. Without perhaps, realising it, the press became a prey to a creeping paralysis." (p.13)

A philosophical context for the debate on a national information policy has already been laid down by the Joshi Committee in its recent report 'An Indian Personality for Television. The report asked rhetorically:'

Will the nature, direction and pattern of the Communication Revolution be determined by the emerging elites in urban and rural India which are vigorously trying to divert the immense possibilities of communication technologies into narrow channels, dictated by their own limited world-view, their narrow interests. Or will the course of the communication Revolution be determined in the broad national interest of achieving self-reliance and the economic and cultural uplift of the vast masses? Will the greed of the new middle class have precedence over the basic needs of the masses?

India's efforts to frame a new information policy address concerns beyond the structure and control of
media resources. Such a policy should seek to make information flows a vital and integral part of all aspects of national policy and planning. Planning without policy directives becomes a frustrating exercise: No longer can the country ignore the information sector in framing overall development policy.

**Development communication for rural development**

The role of development communication has been widely recognised in India and elsewhere, particularly in the developing countries. Schramm (1964) finds it difficult to imagine that national and economic development can be achieved without the input of external information. Rogers (1962), Sachidananda (1972), Dube (1974), Agrawal (1981) and Sinha (1984) also hold similar opinions. Nascimento (1977) suggests that without effective communication, deliberately planned, organised, and directed in manner and form popularly relevant to the existing environment, very little in development terms is likely to be achieved. Menon (1980) feels that since person-to-person communication is the most effective mode of communication in a country where the vast majority of the population is uneducated, the main brunt of the responsibility in this field also will have to be borne by the extension agency itself which has the means of spreading out to every village if properly organised. With this assumption, India gave due emphasis to the role of communication in its different plans as indicated earlier. A sizeable portion of the national budget has been allocated all these years for development communication. A defined cadre of development agents (both government and non-government) has been inducted to carry out the plans related to rural development. But little could be achieved in terms of development communication contributing towards rural development and in this process the rural poor benefited the least. Different micro-level studies conducted in the field of communication and rural development (Agrawal (1978), Sachidananda and Jha (1980), Hartmann et al. (1983), Sankaran (1982), and Sinha (1984)
indicate that the official channel of development communication is lacking in interest and commitment on the part of its functionaries. There is a lot of communication loss and distortion in the process of its travelling from top to the bottom. Finally, very little or nothing reaches to those who need them most the rural poor. A similar situation has been reported from Indonesia by Alfian and Chu (1979).

Based on a study of village communication in 6 Indian villages Hartmann et al. (1983) infer that the government extension agency ultimately the Village Level Worker (VLW) - gives benefits only to a few rich households who patronise or oblige the government officials. Sinha reports from a north Bihar village, "how the VLW would pass the information to the cultivators depends upon the content of the information and relationship with the clients" (Sinha 1984:60). The beneficial information is conveyed to friends and a few influential persons of the village. Thus the extension unit helps those who for social and political reasons are capable of getting it.

**Mass communication and rural development**

Mass communication, in this context, includes media like newspaper, radio, cinema and television. Television, being a newly introduced medium for rural India will be discussed with a little more emphasis because of the authors' involvement and experience in this field. Cinema has not been included in the discussion as it is purely entertainment and urban phenomenon.

**Newspaper**

Exposure to development message through newspapers or any print medium is minimal in rural areas, due to the low literacy rate. Newspapers have very limited items pertaining to development. The type of news given in
newspapers - small or big - is of very little or no relevance to the rural people because their world views and exposure to the outside world is limited. Their universe is limited to a few villages or the problems they know about." A front page news - Institute to train judges. Bajaj Awards, India can make bomb in 15 days. India hit back with vengeance. Take courts to the villages (suggestion). Split in United Akali Dal. Hector takes new draft to JRJ. A justice to head new panel, move to neutralise chlorine stock, and 49 killed in French train mishap - are the informations newspapers report and want to take to the mass" (Sinha 1985:3). The approach towards news is also not investigative.

Unique institution

AIR is a unique institution having the responsibility of providing first grade service to a population of over 700 millions scattered over a vast area of more than three million square kilometres. The potential home audience alone exceeds the total population of UK, USA and Japan put together. This vast mass of audience is by no means homogeneous.

There are 15 constitutionally recognised languages and numerous conventionally accepted cultural and dialectic pockets. More than 250 languages/dialects are spoken in the country. The linguistic and cultural disparities apart the audience maintain an understandable rural urban dichotomy. The differences in levels of living, attainment of education and other social factors greatly influence their media participation and expectation from radio.

News Service

News is fed at two levels: a) Delhi Central News Unit and b) News Units of the Regional stations. While the Central News Unit generates about 65 bulletins in 19 languages, the Regional News Units broadcast nearly 130 bulletins in 22 different languages and 34 tribal
dialects. Besides news bulletins the News Units arrange the broadcast news reels, news commentaries, topical and current affairs review of legislature/parliamentary proceedings etc.

Audience Research Studies reveal sizeable listening to the news bulletins both in urban and rural areas. The language news bulletins particularly command high listening. However, independent researchers point out that a wide proportion of the listeners share the feeling that AIR’s news is not objective to the extent that it overplays the doings of the government.

The role of Mass Media - Mehra Hasani

The Press

The press in India has grown on the same basis as in the advanced countries of the west, that is on readership and advertising, but with a circulation of fifteen newspapers for a thousand people it obviously reaches a small minority, the press is still the most powerful opinion making agency in India. Unless newspaper readership increases rapidly the press cannot be accessible to all our citizens. Some of them have access only to radio and others to no medium at all.

It must also be noted that the total circulation of periodicals and newspapers in English exceeds that in any one Indian language. It is not profitable in India to start a local paper in a small town or in a rural community because the demand is very small and advertisements would not be forthcoming.

As they are not financially independent they cannot be politically independent, nor can they fulfill the function of representing the people's views.
Barring a few exceptions most Indian papers suffer from certain weaknesses which retard their growth and reduce their influence. They are obsessed with politicians and neglect to report and comment on social changes, especially those in the rural areas. They mostly lack enterprise, and creative journalism is very rare. Their staff is untrained and yet there are no training schemes worth the name. The level of technological advance is much lower than for Indian industry as a whole because of inadequate investment. When the press takes up a case of corruption or inefficiency it is generally ineffective because there is no sustained campaign. A single article or editorial comment is hardly enough. The Indian language papers copy the English instead of selecting news and editing and explaining it for a less educated clientele.

If the newspapers suffer from Government's restrictive policies and from their own managerial and editorial weaknesses, radio and TV are also hamstrung by Government's monopolistic and rigid control. The adverse effects of Government's stewardship of these media have been detailed over and over again.

Secondly, in the absence of regular and systematic audience research AIR is unaware of the needs and tastes of listeners. Programmes are broadcast for which there are no listeners while neglecting those which listeners want.

The Chanda Committee had met this point by suggesting that just as Government, through the University Grants Commission, gives funds to Universities, which are autonomous bodies, it can give AIR funds to fulfill its obligations to provide educational and instructive programmes. Moreover, several public corporations and companies have been formed with a large investment of public funds for purposes considered beneficial to the community. Once an autonomous corporation is formed it can even raise loans to finance its development.
The subtle influence radio and TV can exert on the thinking of even educated and intelligent citizens, including an uncritical acceptance of the Government's actions and policies, may well lead to an uniformity of society and pave the way for totalitarianism. The only safeguard of liberty lies in diversity. The freedom of the press means nothing without the diversity of the press. If, when printing was invented, it had been entrusted to a statutory monopoly, there would have been no democracy as we understand it today.

Mass Communication: The Press

- N.S. Jagannathan

There are two good reasons why the spread of newspapers in this country is so insignificant. The people are poor and illiterate which condemns most of them to animal existence. In 1972 the Union Minister of State for Planning stated that more than 220 million or 40 percent of Indians were living below the subsistence level. He held that as many as thirty to fifty years would be required for the poorer sections to reach "minimum consumption levels."

Illiteracy is another deterrent to a wider dissemination of newspapers. According to the Census of 1971, 71 percent of the Indian population cannot read and write. The rate of illiteracy in the rural areas was even higher, that is, 76 percent. A disquieting fact about this disability is that as much as 66.7 percent of the population above 15 years of age directly involved in economic activity, is condemned to illiteracy, thus gravely undermining its functional efficiency. The expansion of the Indian press will be only marginal so long as these two grave inhibiting factors continue to operate. Japan's experience in recent years bears ample testimony to the fact that the state of the economy plays a decisive role in the circulation of newspapers. Following the depression of 1970, there was a sharp fall in their circulation till the recovery of the economy.
two years later. This was so despite the fact that Japan is among the most affluent countries in the world.

**Educating Our Masters**

The other obstacles to the growth of the press are that most of the national newspapers are urban-based and have little appeal to the rural population, no matter in which language they are published. More than 32 per cent of them are issued from the four cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi, the English language press holding a pre-eminent position among them. The English dailies still enjoy considerable prestige and are looked upon as models by many Indian language papers. This is one of the reasons why the later are unable to shorten the distance between themselves and the non-English knowing literate masses.

Although the fate of the English papers is not doomed, they cannot expect to exercise decisive influence either on the public or on the Government. We are in an era of mass suffrage and supposedly of the common man. It is the era of one man, one vote, one value. Since the country-side has become the reservoir of votes, the balance of power has shifted to that area, from where the ruling elite is mostly drawn. This is in contrast to the type of leadership which the country had a few decades ago. Then it was metropolitan in its upbringing and outlook and was largely influenced by western ideas and ideals. The fact that many of the present ministers and legislators are university graduates does not much alter their rural bias or weaken their rural moorings. They are more at home when reading newspapers and other literature in their own languages than in others. Editorial comments in such papers have greater impact on them than those appearing in other papers which probably claim the scantiest attention from them. In free India, the limitations of English language papers are obvious.

The future of the Indian press, therefore, lies in fostering the growth of the language papers, but the
scope for them to influence larger sections of the community cannot be much as long as there is no change in their urban-oriented outlook. Both the style and the contents of these papers need to be changed. Not long ago the editor of a leading Hindi daily wrote: "What the Hindi Press talks is unintelligible to the villagers and what the villagers talk does not reach the ears of the Hindi press. The relationship between the Hindi Press and its readers is like the relationship of the blind and the deaf - one does not see and the other cannot hear."

Since most of these newspapers owe their well-being to their urban origin, they have perforce to cater to a type of readership which has little knowledge of and interest in rural India. And yet discerning men cannot take refuge in inaction for these reasons. Unlike the other two mass media, the press is still largely free and in private hands. With the political parties ranged against the congress functioning like Plato's team of horses, each party pulling in its own direction, the press can play the vital role of constitutional opposition more competently. But it will acquire decisive strength only if it can influence the rural masses which are the foremost repositories of the voting power.

There should, therefore, be more language papers, but their base should be districts from where they can reach to the farthest villages. As we saw earlier, there is, besides poverty, massive illiteracy, in the countryside, but thanks to the educational drive launched under the successive five year plans, there are today few villages in the country which does not have at least some persons with the ability to buy and read newspapers. Since India has five lakhs villages, the number of such potential buyers and readers of newspapers is bound to be sizable."

The first requirement is that they should have a sound understanding of village life in all its aspects. They
need not have expert knowledge of Shakespeare or Milton, 
but they must be thoroughly acquainted with Tulsidas and 
Surdas, with Dnyandev and Tukaram and with Basavechwara 
and Akka Mahadevi. It is only by having a solid 
grounding in Indian culture will it be possible for them 
to approach the villagers with the mind of the villagers 
and to appreciate their problems fully. They should of 
course be paid well, for the spirit of dedication which 
is expected from them cannot come from semi-starved 
stomachs or frustrated minds.

"We cannot admit that it is the duty of the Press to 
share the labours of statesmanship or that it is bound 
by the same limitations, the same duties, the same 
liabilities as those of the ministers of the crown. The 
purpose and duties of the two powers are constantly 
separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically 
opposite. The dignity and freedom of the Press are 
trammelled from the moment it accepts an ancillary 
position. To perform its duties with entire independence 
and consequently with the utmost public advantage, the 
Press can enter into no close or binding alliances with 
the statesmen of the day, nor can it surrender its 
permanent interests to the convenience of the ephemeral 
powers of any government... The first duty of the Press 
is to obtain the earliest and the most correct 
telligence of the events of the time and instantly by 
disclosing them to make them the common property of the 
nation. The statesman collects his information secretly 
and by secret means; he keeps back even the current 
telligence of the day with ludicrous precautions until 
diplomacy is beaten in the race with publicity....

"The press lives by disclosure. Whatever passes into 
its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and history 
of our times: it is daily and for ever appealing to the 
enlightened public opinion - anticipating, if possible, 
the march of events - standing upon the breach between 
the present and the future and extending its survey to 
the horizons of the world."
They merely conceal information that may plausibly be argued as not in the public interest to reveal: emboldened by the respectability conferred on their secretiveness, they do the most discreputable things and claim the constitutional right to conceal them.

A "committed bureaucracy" who yet feel that Indian journalism, even when competent, is corrosively negative: facilely cynical, it is quick to damn and grudging in praise even where merited; it is at home only in political trivia, because it has an essentially trivial mind and pretends to high journalistic purpose when it is doing no more than retail the most dreary gossip. Its values lazily derivative and its responses conditioned, it is incurious and therefore bored with the dynamics of social transformation in a society that is at once effect and resistant to change, but which is yet willynilly changing. It shoots down with gusto sitting ducks like "public sector failures" but without a real understanding of the underlying problems and has hardly a good word when some of them do well.

At its best it is a rationalisation of a rather discreputable bureaucratic paternalism...

Indeed there is a sense in which a vigilant press is a greater necessity in a developing than in a developed society. Misuse of authority, misdirection of resources and venalities of public men are all the more blatant in such societies and therefore in greater need of exposure.

There are some problems arising from this limited reach: First is its more or less involuntary elitism and urban orientation, arising from the necessity of giving its readers what they most want. (They are those who would say and probably rightly - that Indian newspapers don't even do this. But that is a different question).
To the extent that critics over that Indian newspapers concentrate on political trivia, social tittle-tattle, highly derivative arty-crafty chatter at the expense of reporting economic and social transformation, particularly in the countryside, there is a real dilemma between giving what the audience wants and what it ought to want.

"New perspectives on Political Advertising" by Southern Illionis University

It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of political commercials. Douglass Bailey (1977), who handled the 1976 Ford media, stated, "It is extraordinarily difficult to look at a political commercial and judge it. Because any reputable agency... can produce pretty commercials... but to judge their political effectiveness is very hard to do." Aside from trying to separate a commercial's creative merit from its political impact, there is another reason why it is difficult to uncover the effectiveness of political commercials. There is so much happening simultaneously in a campaign it is difficult to isolate the impact of political advertising.

That the outer man is a picture of the inner, and the face an expression and revelation of the whole character, is a presumption likely enough in itself, and therefore a safe one to go on.

- Schopenhauer

There is nothing imaginable so strange or so little credible that it has not been maintained by one philosopher or other.

-Descartes

Although the topic of perception differs from that of politics, Cronkhite's views on veridical perception and
interpretation of meaning can also help political communicologists separate the plausible from the preposterous when applying dramatistic and constructivist concepts. There is nothing here that says political perceptions must necessarily be isomorphic between senders and receivers (or even with "reality"); what is affirmed is the presence of some stable correlates (or codes) between ironic presentations in televised political spots and their symbolic content. While political perceptions may be interpreted, political stimuli do not stop being political when some aspect of them becomes more predictable or well-known. It may be difficult to tell when political negotiations between labor and management are charades rather than conducted in good faith, but that does not mean that charades equal good faith.

What is perhaps more to the point is whether or not viewers who are the target of televised political advertising consciously or unconsciously perceive the unifying but hidden myths that inform such efforts at political persuasion. Probing for shifts in attitudes, values, and behaviour may not be the critical line of investigation available. Rather what researchers might want to know is whether the overall impact of televised political advertising is to reinforce and enhance an entire sociopolitical structure that undergirds a political regime and or system. This is a question certainly implicit in Edelman's seminal study of political symbolism (1964), but a question as yet not well addressed by students of political advertising. Is it possible, in short, that videopolitics contain not only hidden myths but hidden not overtly, readily measurable effects as well? Perhaps diversifying approaches to both the content and effects of televised political ads may suggest ways of addressing that question.

Politics of news

- Prof. J.S. Yadav

Stevenson observes: "If this narrow definition of news
and equally narrow definition of newsmakers is a problem of journalism, then it is a worldwide problem, not one of western coverage of the third world". Accordingly, this American colleague suggests that the imbalance thesis is essentially incorrect — not only less dominance and dependency in quantitative terms than claimed by the NIIO advocates, but also insufficient grounds for complaining about the quality of coverage.

(p. 30)

It may be pointed out that nearly half of the news stories from the western news agencies deal with negative conflict news and nearly 67 per cent of all such news published in the Patriot during the week were from multinational news agencies. On the other hand they have not contributed any news story about economic cooperation and development. But in case of Indian sources, half of the foreign news deal with development and economic cooperation between different nations.

(p. 268)

Information is power. The power to influence information flow is one of the keys to dominance in world affairs. The Non-Aligned Movement can be credited with making a significant contribution towards focusing world attention on imbalances and distortions in information and communication flows between the developed few and the developing majority of the nations. The result is an intense world-wide debate around 'free' versus 'balanced' flow of information which often gives a rise to a good deal of rhetoric and the taking of strong positions, not necessarily backed by analytical insights.

The revolutionary developments in communication technologies have added new dimensions to the debate over a new world information order. Unless the developing nations are more careful and thoughtful are likely to accentuate the information imbalances and increase their dependence upon the west. The third world countries need to have sound communication
policies so that they are not only able to handle the question of imbalance in news flow but also to cope with the grim battle for the minds of the people which has become grimmer and more subtle today.

_Presidential Election and American Politics_

- Herbert B. Asher

While presidential candidates often follow hectic campaign schedules, at times campaigning on the same day in cities separated by thousands of miles, it is clear that most voters do not experience the campaign firsthand but instead follow it through the media - television, radio, newspapers, and magazines.

Television and the Political System. Mendelsohn and Crespi (1970: 297-98) have identified four interrelated changes in American politics brought on in part by television.

1. It has altered the processes of nominating candidates at party conventions.

2. It has altered campaigning

3. It has altered traditional party structures and functions.

4. It has helped to encourage the questioning of the traditional ways of choosing and electing candidates, and, as a consequence, will aid in ushering in the new politics of the future.

_Handbook of Communication_

- Edited by Ithiel de Sola Pool

Wilbur Schramm.

There is a considerable literature suggesting that the
person's attitude is affected most favourably when the communicator stands closer to the recipient, engages in more eye contact with him, etc. However, when the full range of such variables is investigated, it may turn out that the overall relationship is nonmonotonic, with an intermediate level in these variables producing the most positive attitudes.

While genetic transmission of specific attitudinal content remains in doubt, it does seem that general attitudinal tendencies have an innate component. The distinction involved here becomes clearer if we regard the individual's attitude as a positive or negative response tendency directed toward a class of objects.

For example, it is believed by some that interest in politics and generally altruistic attitudes tend to flourish during the adolescent period, and that the individual's attitudes become more conservative with age. However, empirical data are by no means clear on these points (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1965).

In the article "Persuasion, Resistance and Attitude Change" by William McQuire has suggested a number of measures to attain these three objectives.

The measures include Physiological determinants, direct experience. With the object, involvement with the total institutions, conceptualisation of the communication - persuasion process, logical status of attitude, aspects of attitude, behavioural steps in persuasion, presentation, comprehension, situational- weighting consideration, persuasion and education, source variables in persuasion, source: credibility, attractiveness and likeableness etc.

Yet what happens to [the officials'] explanations of policy in print, or on the television screen, may be something far different from what they intended. Policy
may be distorted. Rumours of dark motives, or of unspecified dissent, may be given equal prominence with the expressed purposes of the administration. Failure and conflict will certainly be emphasized wherever they can be found or presumed.

The theory on which much of the press seems to operate is that expressed by an old friend of mine one day in the Oral Office..."Mr. President, good news is no news. Bad news is news."

The press is a broker of official information, gathering it from the halls of government and disseminating it among the people—then carrying their reactions and hopes back to government.

**Political Communication Year book**

- Kaid and Sanders.

**News and Public Affairs:**

Most recent studies of news and public affairs fall into two general areas:

(1) Studies of content and (2) studies of the relationship of news and public affairs exposure/reliance to other political variables. The first area, media content, has been aided immensely by the availability of transcripts and tapes from the underbuilt Television News Archives and by widespread use of videorecorders. Good examples of the prolific work on media content are the interesting projects spearheaded by William C. Adams. assessing television news coverage of the Middle East (Adams, 1981), of international affairs (Adams, 1982), and of the 1980 presidential campaign (Adams, 1983).
Most current research on media content suffers from the same problems which flawed past studies. Such studies rely heavily on subjective interpretations of the researchers and make little attempt to link news content with public attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors. Although agenda-setting researchers have paved the way however simplistically for such linkages, most researchers have ignored the potential which the combination of message content with survey or experimental data might offer. This tendency may have reached its zenith in an article by Brummet (1981) in which he asserts without evidence that reference to gastronomic matters in politics contribute to the images people hold of politicians.

Perhaps the most interesting controversy in the news and public affairs research has been the battle to substantiate the relative strengths and weaknesses of electronic and print media. As a general rule, channel variables have stimulated surprisingly little scholarly attention, but the current controversy probably owes its salience to the early findings by agenda-setting researchers that newspapers had a greater impact than television on public agendas (McCombs, 1981), to the conclusions of Patterson and McClure (1976) that television-dependent voters are poorly informed compared to their printdependent cohorts, and to the speculations of many observers regarding the structural and organizational restraints which impact on television newscasting (Epstein, 1973; Patterson & McClure, 1976; Robinson, 1976). The idea which has evolved from subsequent research is that television viewers receive and retain less information, are more susceptible to image/personality portrayals, are less politically efficacious, and, at the extreme, just generally have little idea about political "goings on." Miller and Reese (1982) provide a good summary of some of the previous research of this nature.

Political advertising research has been advanced by efforts to link audience motivations to effects. In an innovative experimental study Garramone (1983) demonstrated that viewers assigned to watch political
television spots for issue information recalled more information and had more confidence in the information than those watching for image reasons. Although image watchers paid more attention to video elements of the spots than did issue watchers, image watchers did not recall more video elements. This study pointed up the fact that video elements must be considered in analyzing the impact of spots, regardless of viewer motivations.

A paper on "The Doordarshan News" by H.R. Luthra, (June 1986, Vidura) says:

When you get down to the basic, the quality and content of the news bulletins is determined by the structure of the organization, and who controls it. Much of the dissatisfaction with Doordarshan bulletin stems from the fact that the medium is totally run by government, all talk of "functional autonomy" and editorial freedom notwithstanding. Periodic attempts by professionals within and academics without, the Chanda Committee, the Verghese Group and the half-hearted motions through which the Janata Government went when it was in power, having failed to usher in autonomy one has inevitably to get reconciled to the fact that government's hold on radio and TV is likely to increase rather than decrease as time passes. It does not seem to matter to the authorities that little credibility is attached by the public to the broadcasts and that the record of the press as a mirror for people's rights, grievances and needs is widely regarded as better than that of Akashvani and Doordarshan.

In a study paper series, "Our Media Policy: A Close View of Television" August 1987, Prof. Pravin Sheth observes that: A content analysis shows that a great percentage of the news related to public events or public figures are focussed on the Prime Minister. Also, international events like ASIAM, NAM, CHOGM, NAMEDIA, Harare Conference, Festivals of India and the like are given extensive coverage. These are technically well carried out programmes but the time and coverage given to them, though informationally good, is rather overdone.
As N.L. Chowla observed AIR and TV have continued to ignore relevant issues. "On the issue of political sensitivity like the controversy between the President and the Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh's exit from the Central Cabinet and on explosive topics of defence deals the two electronic media were quite obviously more concerned with avoiding embarrassment to the government then giving all facts" (The Times of India, 13-7-1987).

A vigorous and independent electronic media, under the leadership of men and woman known for their courage and responsibility, could transform the unhealthy tribalistic, communal and casteist state of India today and return our people to the kind of coherence which was once part of our life and gave us the momentums to undertake the forced marches which changed the face of the sub-continent. This massive effort to stand up despite our tortured inheritance was launched and achieved with limited communication. But the challenge is greater now. It is here that the electronic media can be most effective.

It is important that government should not predetermine the parameters of the infrastructures or policies. Only uninhibited discussions at various levels can help in identifying prevailing deficiencies and distortions. A pluralistic society should define its cultural cum communication policies through a national consensus and in no other way.

Even the societies of Europe and the Americas, which have so much in common, are feeling worried that their proximity to the United States is adversely affecting the cultural awareness of their own people. For instance, the Canadians feel that, in order to survive as an entity, their people should be exposed to works or art and other cultural products that grow out of the Canadian experience and thereby reflect the Canadian values.' What is true for Canada is of profound importance to us.
Of course, I am not pleading for a cultural protectionism or isolation which would take us away from the wide world of ideas and creative thinking. But our co-relationship with the world would be healthier if our own media were to support and encourage our indigenous creativity and scholarly effort.

Unfortunately, the controversy and the debate on autonomy has been confined to politics alone. No one has thought of the cultural mirror of India that the TV and Radio are presenting. They do not show our people their own faces. They present to them a make-believe world of high living, perverted violence and evocative sex. The advertised consumerism causes deep frustration among the poor and the struggling middle classes. In turn, this induces juvenile crime and social tensions.

The liberation of the media would encourage sensitive minds—backed by sophisticated professional training—to create programmes that would restore self-respect and professional dignity. This has been achieved by many countries in the world and there is no reason why we cannot accomplish it. Prevailing rigidities have created a bureaucratic culture that thrives on conformity, uniformity and psychophancy. The dissenting or questioning minds do not find any place in such a rule-ridden system which neither respects artists nor encourages the liberated intellectuals.

My own view of the set-up for broadcasting is that we should approximately as far as possible to the British model, the BBC... Now, I do not think that is immediately feasible. I have merely mentioned this to the House. I think we should aim at that...

Nehru's was not a platitudinous remark. That government had earnestly accepted conversion of AIR into something skin to the BBC as its set goal was sharply underscored.
when the format for AIR's appointment letters was drawn up. As far as I know, to this day, appointment letters issued by Akashwani and Doordarshan carry this stipulation: 'You will be liable to transfer at any time to service under a public corporation, if formed, and that on such transfer you will be liable to conditions of service to be laid down for the employees of that corporation.'

Nehru regarded broadcasting autonomy as eminently desirable, but felt that India, just at the threshold of its freedom, was not yet ready for it. It is noteworthy that thirty seven years later, his grandson adorning the same prime ministerial gaddi, holds that India is still not ready for autonomy, and furthermore, he questions even its desirability. According to the present Prime Minister, if AIR and Doordarshan were to be made autonomous, they would become as irresponsible as the Indian press is, and that would mean imperilling democracy.

Conferment of autonomy on AIR and Doordarshan even as per the Chanda Committee's recommendations would have earned the government unreserved kudos. What is more important, a major issue would have been settled once and for all. As has been proved in the case of election broadcasts, it would not have been easy for any succeeding government to undo the decision taken, and to put the clock back.

The Janata government's poll manifesto had promised autonomy. Throughout the election campaign, our specific frame of reference in this context was the Chanda Committee report. This Committee was set up in 1964 when Indira Gandhi was Information and Broadcasting Minister. The Committee had recommended an autonomous corporation for AIR more or less in line with other autonomous corporations in the country, nothing more and nothing less. Political parties which subscribed to the autonomy school had never faulted these recommendations.
The Varghese Committee, in its report, contemplated for Indian Broadcasting not merely autonomy, but independence (akin to that of the judiciary), 'entrenched in the Constitution itself'. (Excerpt: 'The Autonomy Debate' - by L.K. Advani).

Many more people, increasing in number every day, are concerned about the misuse of the media for publicity and propaganda for the government and the ruling party. Such propaganda is carried on through talks and discussions and mainly through the newscasts and comments on the news.

In India, very few people read newspapers and in spite of the limitations of the radio and TV networks, and the small number of receivers in the country, about 25 million homes can be served by AIR's news service. In some of these regions, the radio is the only source of news and information, particularly in the rural areas. If to this number is added those who listen to the news over community receivers, or get the news at second-hand from those who listen, the number of people AIR's news service can now reach is considerable.

The news broadcasts of AIR and Doordarshan suffer from many problems. One is over-centralisation. But the major flaws can be attributed directly or indirectly to the news division functioning as government department. The suppression or dilution of news and opinions unpalatable to the government occurs quite frequently and even more common is the infiltration into the bulletins of comparatively unimportant items pertaining to the government and to the ruling party. It is not only the opposition parties who complain that reporting of news and events is biased.

Government spokesmen try to meet this criticism by rattling off the number of minutes of news broadcasts given to the opposition and to the ruling party. As if the duration is all that matters. It is the biased selection of news and the distorted comments on matters
of controversy which is objectionable. People who depend on radio for news and information are treated to disinformation of the worst kind.

Bias and distortion is inevitable in the absence of a communication policy. The media under government control are treated, by the government itself, as agencies to publicise and defend government's decisions and actions. There is no clear perception of the purpose the media are intended to serve, nor of their role in the process of development.

The responsibility for the censorship of news is that of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting but, unfortunately, he does not observe the guidelines for news coverage which were laid on the table of the Rajya Sabha on March 16, 1982. One of them reads: 'Dissemination of information, news and comments in Akashwani and Doordarshan should be done in a fair, objective and balanced manner, including contrasting points of view, with emphasis on events and developments. Reference to personalities may be made primarily for providing human interest.'

On the analogy of the press, it appears that broadcasting programmes should be in the hands of diverse groups to ensure access to different shades of opinion. There has not been a situation in which there was only one newspaper in India. However, during the Emergency, four news agencies were incorporated into a single news-gathering organization under central government control. When the Emergency was lifted, and normal democratic functioning was restored, the news agencies became separate again. The argument was that there must be free access to sources of news and this could be ensured only if there were several such sources. (Excerpt: "First Step" by P.C. Chatterji).

'THE AIR BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE...' A much-quoted line. Is it from some early party manifesto drafted by Lenin?
May be, a fiery claim by the Naxalites? Or the Gang of Four?

No, this is the famous preamble to the constitution of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, in the opinion of many, one of the more sedate broadcasting systems in the world, constantly living in the shadow of its more raucous and excitable Big Brother across the border. And, for the record, a public corporation with responsibility constitutionally distributed in a manner that makes Doordarshan's so-called 'functional autonomy' look like a pacifier given to a retarded child.

When the British set up All India Radio, it was very much a part of the Raj, and during the war years, very much a part of the war effort. But that did not inhibit the AIR 'talks officer' Nirad Chaudhri's now-famous war-time forecasts in AIR's news room about where the Japanese would strike. They made the British suspect he was a Japanese spy! The very same Nirad Chaudhuri was later accused by his countryman of being a British stooge.

But, continuing the Indian government's hallowed tradition of setting up admirable committees producing admirable reports, which are then duly shelved, the Joshi working group on 'software' also produced an elaborate report albeit watered down on the question of autonomy but ruthless in its analysis of what was wrong with Doordarshan's programmes (hardware and software) and priorities. The Report was well hidden away for over a year until it simply had to be produced before Parliament. And it is going the way of all its predecessors: back to the shelf.

An excerpt from a Case for a Second Channel for TV and Radio Broadcasting submitted by Chief Minister Hulde of the Government of Karnataka, says:

India is justifiably proud of the many and varied facets of its culture, of the diverse ways in which its unity
expresses itself in continental dimensions. The sheer range of the diversities is unique. But, ironically, India is the only country in the world in which cultural and linguistic diversities are not allowed adequate opportunity of free expression. In no other democratic country is there such a highly centralised television and broadcasting system as there is in India.

Creating a second channel on television or radio would certainly bring about competition and better performance among the channels.

Competition reduces the size and scale of operations of broadcasting units; beyond a point, broadcasting organisations become unwieldy. Smaller units ensure greater autonomy and initiative and thus attract more creative people. Writers and artists also would benefit by additional channels for their talents. The audience would benefit by an improvement in the quality of the programmes. Flat and dull material continues to be churned out by Doordarshan and AIR because there is no competition. If the audience has a choice of two or more programmes, it stimulates the broadcasters to give of their best. This happened in Britain when the BBC’s monopoly ended.

A Central Government monopoly in broadcasting is not in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution. The erstwhile princely state of Mysore had its own broadcasting facility called ‘Akashvani’ and I do not think this ever threatened the unity and integrity of India. The aim of broadcasting should not be to implement any definite theory or preferred ideas of life in the minds of the audience but to provide full and unbiased information which would help people to form their own opinions in a rational way.

In the area of international news, the pitfall should be avoided of considering only the West as the source and repository of all newsworthy events and comment.
The non-aligned and developing world should be as much part of our interest and concern. Indeed it is necessary to correct the terrible imbalance of news from this world and to create an awareness of what is happening there. As is well-known, only news of a negative, sensational or demeaning kind is served at the moment despite the Non-Aligned News Pool.

News is more than the projection of personalities, and particularly, personality cults. A personality is projected on his merit and achievement, no not over on his official status and self-importance alone.

"A Vision for Television in India" 1986

Ms Anna Celsing in "Know Your Place situating the Viewer in TV News"

News has to fulfill one of its basic duties to promote democracy by giving the public insight into the working of power better than other news media...

News mostly talk about changes in social reality and not those in physical reality.

William Gibson - "The electronic window to the world is not a window at all, but a screen - what appears on that screen is not the world, but a socially constructed representation of the world in terms of visual symbols.

Mr. H.Y. Sharda Prasad in "Editorial Responsibility in Official Media" says that "by definition a medium is public. Press Information Bureau and Department of Audio Visual Publicity only serve All India Radio and Doordarshan. They have no direct relationship with the public through the ear or the eye. Today, even bold information given by it is suspected of aiming at persuasion. Radio must serve as an agent of reassurance rather than as an "agent provocator". Responsible journalism is not only what is of interest to the audience but also what is in the interest of the audience."
In a culture like ours, it is sometimes a bit of a shock
to be reminded that, in operational and practical fact,
the medium is the message.

Napoleon, "Three hostile newspapers are more to be
feared than a thousand bayonets."

It is said that men at once become fascinated by any
extension of themselves in any material other than
themselves. There have been cynics who insisted that
men fall deepest in love with women who give them back
their images. Similar is the case with media receivers
who fall in love with the medium that give them back
their own images.

Technical change alters not only habits of life, but
patterns of thought and valuation. The power of
technology is to create its own world of demands.

Archimedes once said, "Give me a place to stand and I
will move the world." Today he would have pointed to our
electronic media and said," I will stand on your eyes,
your ears, your nerves and your brain, and the world
will move in any tempo or pattern I choose."

Akash Bharati in "Seven Faces of Autonomy" says....

Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary defines autonomy
as "Power or right of self-government" The German
philosopher Immanuel Kant conceived of autonomy as a
doctrine of the human will carrying its guiding
principle within itself. It might seem curious that one
is looking at a 20th century dictionary and an 18th
century philosopher to seek the meaning of autonomy, for
this would appear to be a commonly understood idea in
everyday usage and parlance. The fact is that nobody
has a very clear notion of what the term means.

Any one who has had a bird's eye-view of a spectrum of
autonomous companies operating in diverse fields from
coal to bread, from steel-making to the running of
hotels, from the production of machine tools to the
operation of shipping lines will have found that even
within the parameters of the Indian administrative and managerial environment, a variety of relationships has developed between autonomous organisations and the Government.

Substance, Not Form:

We would enumerate seven propositions representing seven facets of autonomy. Autonomy is not just a matter of structure or form though its importance cannot be underestimated. It is essentially a matter of substance. Whatever may be the external form or structure given to any Institution, its real character and its relationship towards others will depend on factors which are beyond the pale of law or the formal structure and will reflect real life situations.

Monopoly Evokes Restraint:

Autonomy is difficult to concede in monopolistic or oligopolistic situations but easier to accord in a competitive situation. Here, perhaps, lies the key. Amongst the public sector undertakings set up by the Government, there are some which operate in conditions of monopoly or semi-monopoly such as Coal India, Hindustan Aeronautics and the Indian Airlines. On the other hand there is a large number of companies which do not have a protected or monopoly position and are exposed to competition.

Public authority has to set goals and evaluate performance. Pricing policies have to be agreed upon and marketing situations have to be controlled. The situation is very different in the case of competitive companies. Here decision-making lies not with Government authorities but in the market place itself.

The essence of the freedom of the press lies in the existence of a competitive situation in the newspaper world. Since there is a large number of newspapers, each having a different policy and each expressing itself freely, the reader has a wide variety of choice and is
thus able to draw his/her own conclusions despite the subjectivity of individual papers. Listeners of Akashvani and viewers of Doordarshan have no such range of choice. Even when we do not conceive of a totally competitive broadcasting system and since we are thinking in terms of a largely monopolistic system, some restraint on autonomy is inevitable.

Not a gift

Autonomy is not something that can be conferred; it must be earned. When we set up an autonomous broadcasting corporation, therefore, the extent to which it can protect its autonomy will largely depend on how well it is run, to what extent it satisfies its consumers; the excellence of its programmes and how objectives and fair it is in the news and current affairs programming.

Culture of Independence:

Autonomy is not merely a two-way relationship between one institution and another. The concept involves the management of the institution itself. There is a facile assumption that autonomy is some kind of declaration of independence from an outside or superior body which may seek to intervene. Thus the autonomy of the broadcasting system is being viewed largely as autonomy vis-a-vis Government.

Objective Measure, Accountability:

Autonomy is not an absolute concept. It is inextricably tied to the related concept of accountability. Given a set of objectives, autonomy can easily be conceded if it is coupled with the concept of accountability.

Within the Plan Frame:

Absolute autonomy is not conceivable in the context of national planning which we have accepted. This presupposes that the country is moving in a certain direction for the achievement of particular goals and objectives irrespective of party politics.
The flavour and operation of autonomy are conditioned by the overall national..... environment. The Indian people have a sense of sturdy free choice and if they manifest these attitudes there would automatically be a congenial environment for an autonomous broadcasting system. But it is difficult to conceive of autonomy if it is to be an isolated oasis in a dreary desert of servitude and sycophantic responses.

**Development and Educational Communications Unit**

During my association with the cross sections of people as a Researcher at DECU-ISRO my two reports" Process that led to Communication Lacuna" in 1987 and "TV: A New Dimension in Political Awareness?" in 1985 led me to identify myself with the people.

The Kheda Communications Project at DECU, through its research cell ascertains "informational needs" of the viewers. It is assumed that consistent timely, relevant and true information flow will trigger off the thinking process that may motivate for some action. Pij transmitter attempted to make election-related programmes based on the audience's level of knowledge, attitude and practice.

For the Eighth Lok Sabha Elections, election-related, programmes aiming at explaining the basic concepts of democracy, importance of election, election procedure, the questions such as how to evaluate election manifesto, how to check malpractices, what criteria should be kept in mind etc...were produced.

Approach to convey all these information was non-partisan advocating educative values. The content was presented in various formats such as cartoons, quickies, discussion, current serial and captions.

Its impact was assessed with the hypothesis that "TV election programmes will have no impact on the voters in a community viewing situation." The Study indicated that straightway information were recalled more. Attitude-related matters had negligible impact. The pattern of the responses showed that interpersonal communication
had much greater impact and credibility than mass media. Duties of the elected representative inside the parliament and outside the parliament towards people were not comprehended by the viewers to the extent they should have been. The viewers were more concerned for Member of Parliament's regular contact with the people.

These efforts were followed up by a package of informative programmes for civic polls and panchayat polls. DECU transmitted programmes incorporating contents like various forms of government, importance of democracy and elections, malpractices, electoral list, information sources, municipal elections panchayat elections etc.

The programmes were produced in discussion format. It was found that it should not be merely studio-based and much verbose. It was also observed that political awareness programmes should always be participatory, people-oriented and need-based.

My efforts at DECU were people oriented and were with the aim that people's voice must prevail in democracy. My survey of literature strengthened this conviction. It amply rewarded me by giving new angles and attitudes in the public-oriented approach that has not been taken on hand till today with full attention it ought to have been.

Particularly 9 aspects attracted and inspired me to go in for all out efforts for public needs. Firstly, the mass communication's passive and spectator's role without feedback mechanism eg. How do people respond till today and what role it is expected to play by adopting correctional devices and impart credibility and accountability to people.

The survey further revealed the true meaning and true characteristics of political communication. It also made critical evaluation of the same. An analysis of the strength and limitations of each medium was made. It also showed how, inspite of these restrictions, they can assist the people to be vocal in democracy.
Host books, every writer and intelligentsia were all for providing "autonomy" to TV and radio and also stated that it was up to them to make the proper use of autonomy. Besides this, popular aspiration and basic concepts of democracy by mass media also gave me a better understanding of the views I had nurtured since the last decade.

Comparison between the Government owned media and non-governmental medium (Press) revealed that the press was comparatively free and it did, to some extent, voice public opinion.

Something has been done but much requires to be done in this direction. This is the aim which I had and was strengthened by the review of literature.