CHAPTER I

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO COMMUNICATION

1 Introduction

Where as the nineteenth century has been regarded by the historians as the age of remarkable political, economic and social transformation, known as the Industrial Revolution, the twentieth century may appropriately be called the age of the development of mass media. The development of the communication acts and the constant emergence of public relations as social techniques have been the unique phenomena of the present century. They constitute significant achievements of the twentieth century which have been perfecting the art of mass communication to convey information, and afford entertainment and education to a heterogeneous group known, as the public, through various intricate and highly refined media and techniques.

In a sense, the era of Mass Communication is an outcome of the industrial upheavals of the previous century. Devices, such as the telephone and the telegraph, which were the early scientific instruments of direct communication, led subsequently to the invention of some more indirect social agencies, e.g. the press, the radio and the television.

It has been observed that the values and judgements, in the light of which the contemporary man lives are closely connected with, and influenced by, the communication media and the opinions
influencing the techniques. For transmitting knowledge, disseminating facts and directing various emotional appeals to influence public opinion, the mass media have assumed vital importance. Though the television is one of the effective media of communication, yet it is not within the reach of the rural and urban India, in general. The press, the radio news programmes and the movies are virtually the most popular sources of information and entertainment. The technique of propaganda is employed to direct the emotions of the public in the hope of directing opinion formation towards a preconceived end or a special interest.

The mass media, such as the press, the radio and the movies, have superseded the more direct person-to-person contact in the present century. The communication media are indirect and intricate and have made an impact on the individual and the group. As a logical consequence, the mass media deal with the day-to-day problems and affect the destiny of a nation, in particular, and humanity, in general.

2 Communication-diversity of approaches

Man has another fundamental need beyond the physical requirements of food and shelter, viz. the need to communicate with others. This urge for communication is a primeval and in contemporary civilization, it is necessity for survival. Simply defined, communication is the art of transmitting information, ideas and attitudes from one person to another. The word communication
comes from the Latin verb, communicare, which means to make common, to share, to impart, to transmit. Through communication, people control one another's behaviour and unite themselves into groups. Therefore communication is a means for breaking down the barriers in the way of human interaction and, as such, these are the means to achieve mutual understanding.

Communication is one of the most complex of human themes, so complex, indeed up to 1950 that there was very little reference to it in the psychological and sociological literature. It would not be right to say that until then it had been totally neglected. Only some writers, such as Stout and Baldwin (1948) had foreseen the need for its eventual exploration. In the early 1940s, social psychologists became acutely aware of the importance of certain aspects of group communication, but no experiments had been designed to deal explicitly with the exchange of information before the publication of Shannon's papers on information in 1948. Earlier works had implications for this theme; Merkel's publication (1885) on the span of apprehension contained many papers. The impetus to systematic inquiry came from disciplines other than psychology, such as engineering and mathematics. Wiener's and Shannon's writings created enormous interest among psychologists in Britain and America.

Burt (1951) and Hick (1951,52) were the pioneers in scanning the relevance of communication to human problems.
During 1950-1955, a number of experiments were carried out and many of them centred on the time taken by the human subject to acquire information relative to the amount of information gained. At the same time, terms like input, coding, noise decoding, destination, data-handling and information-processing became popular in the psychological discussion, and it was unusual to find an article without the use of such phrases.

The dominant approach today is that of the existentialists, such as Karl Jaspers (1957), who regards communication as the universal condition of man's existence. Later, a theologian, Martin Buber (1965) analyzed the problems of communication from the theological viewpoint. Both Buber and Jaspers emphasized the point that the use of communication is to 'commune' not to 'command' and they reject the traditional epistemological doctrine that true understanding is gained by objectivity alone. On the contrary, they assert that 'empathy' and 'inter-subjectivity' are the keystones of the communicative act, a theory that has had a strong influence on psychiatry and theology and is embodied in the writings of Paul Tillich (1965) and Joost Meerlo (1971). When we turn to the social sciences, we find that communication and culture are treated as synonymous by many scholars. Indeed, Hall in his classic work (1959) asserts that 'Communication is Culture'.

The concept of society as a network of relationships between individuals and groups received detailed treatment in
the writings of Muzafar Sherif (1959) and Wilbur Schramm (1971). We have the works of empiricists and rationalists, ranging from the analytical philosophy of Ayer (1966) to the linguistic constructs of Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956) and the revolutionary upheavals in psycho-linguistics, caused by the writings of Noam Chomsky (1967). The physical sciences contribute to communication largely in the form of technical subfields such as cybernetics, a science launched by the researches of W. Ross Ashby and Norbert Wiener (1945), information theory which is much indebted to the classic work of Claude Shannon and Warren C. Weaver (1949) and the general system theory which is largely the brainchild of Ludwig Von Bertalanffy (1967). The communication revolution has not only proceeded historically, but seems to have exploded simultaneously on several plateaus of thought. The technologist is busy demonstrating the fact that his craft has transformed the media of communication from the telegraph and the television to satellite communication, and the historian has been compelled to consider the causal connections between communications technology and social change. Other approaches to communication, represented by journalism, rhetoric and political science, cross the traditional boundaries of psychology and sociology.

As traditionally conceived, the humanities provide a rich legacy of precept and practice for the communicative arts. For Richards (1929), the arts represent the supreme form of
the communicative activity; and for another critic Leavis (1933), 'Poetry can communicate the quality of experience with a subtlety unapproached by any other means'. The historian has traditionally envisaged his subject as a dialogue with the past, which is being opened for us by the archaeologist and the geologist. Geographers, too, were not slow to recognize the value of communication theory for the analysis of the phenomenon of urbanism, or constructing models of urban life as an ongoing flow of communication, which is always changing because of the ever-widening settings. A famous demographer, Harvey Cox (1966), links urban life to the activity of a vast complicated switchboard, where man is the communicator and the metropolis is a vast network of communication. Richard Meier (1962) applies the techniques of cybernetics to the concept of urbanization, regarding the city as an information system, with facilities for the storage and production of new information.

A notable feature of literature is the popularity of selected readings, which attempt an overview of the whole range of communication. Floyd Mateson and Ashley Montague (1967) have come out with an outstanding publication. The passages are so selected to deliberately advance the provocative view that the field of communication is more than ever a battleground between two opposing conceptual forces, i.e. those of monologue and dialogue. The monologic approach treats communication as essentially the transmission and reception
of 'symbolic stimuli' or messages and commands. This view often finds expression in cybernetic, combative game theory and mass persuasion. The dialogic approach is exemplified in religious existentialism, symbolic interactionism and any other area of thought which regard communication as a genuine encounter between equals and a quest for understanding.

Some of the social scientists have tried to discuss the concept of communication on the basis of available definitions. Nilson (1957) has classified definitions of communication into two main categories; first, those which limit the process of communication to the persons, who in the 'stimulus-response situations' deliberately transmit stimuli to evoke a response. In this situation, the communicator acts as a transmission agent in giving a command or in some way attempting to alter the behaviour of the receiver. In the other category, he puts those definitions which include unintentional communication. Newcomb (1955) states that a person who allows rubbish to accumulate in his backyard communicates something about himself whether he intends it or not.

Communication, as defined by The Oxford English Dictionary, tends to conform to Mateson's monologic and dialogic concepts. But Columbia Encyclopaedia considers communication to be the transfer of information. It distinguishes between the transfer of ideas and the transfer of material things. The learning theory gives greater prominence to the concept of influence.
as a necessary criterion of the success of the communicative art, i.e. if A communicates with B and the behaviour of B is not modified in someway, the communication has not taken place. Stevens (1950) and Schramm (1970) have developed the same idea. To them, communication is the discriminatory response of an organism to a stimulus—communication, which occurs when some environmental disturbances (the stimulus) impinge on the organism and the organism does something about it. If the stimulus has been ignored by the organism, there has been no communication. The test is the differential reaction of some sort. The message that gets no response is not a communication at all.

Shannon and Warren Weaver (1949) have widened the conceptual framework in their definition. The word communication is being used in a broad sense to include all the procedures by which one mind may affect another.... In some connection, it may be desirable to use a still broader definition of communication to include the procedures by which one mechanism affects another, say, a guided missile chasing an aeroplane.

Behavioural scientists might raise objections to these definitions, since no account of interaction is taken. The fact that the recipient of the communication might have an influence upon the communicator, or that there might be any sense of sharing, is ignored. Keeping in view the interactive properties of the communication situation, Charles Morris (1946),
the famous semanticist, has defined communication as follows: "The term communication when widely used covers any instance of the establishment of a commonage, that is, the making common of some property of a number of things". In this sense, a radiator communicates its heat to the surrounding bodies and whatever medium serves this process of making common is a means of communication, e.g. the air, a road and a telegraph system. For our purpose, communication will be limited to the use of signs to establish a commonage of significance whether by signs or by other means. Morris calls a common mental orientation towards a particular field of reference, say a common problem or any act which may result in a decision.

Lundberg (1939) defines communication, keeping in view the use of signs and symbols. He has used communication to designate interaction by means of signs and symbols. The symbols may be gestural, pictorial, plastic or verbal or any other which would serve as stimuli to behaviour. Communication is, therefore, a subcategory under interaction, namely the form of interaction which takes place through symbols.

Lundberg has tried to distinguish between communication and mere contact: true societal communication consists in temporarily identifying oneself with the other person in the use of the symbols which serve as a basis for the act of communication. But as yet, no general comprehensive definition
has been put forward which can explain the idea of the social function of communication or the relationship between the interpersonal communication act and the function of communication within a society.

Cooley (1924) has defined the concept of communication in a comprehensive way: By communication he means the mechanism through which all human relations come to exist and develop all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying through space and preserving them in time.... This is a broad concept of communication and one which is of demonstrable relevance to the sociological understanding. Edward Sapir (1930,1935), classified communication into 'explicit' and 'implicit' types. Explicit communication is concerned mainly with the use of language to gain a common understanding among the people. Implicit communication is the unconscious assimilation by a person of the ideas, beliefs and values of his culture and the way in which they influence his behaviour and attitudes.

Thus it is concluded that communication is based on a relationship; and this relationship may exist between two persons, or between one person and many, between a collective society and an individual and between society and a group. Human beings successfully communicate with one another and with machines. According to his definition, Shannon has pointed out that machines communicate with one another within
the limits of the capability designed into them. Cooley's definition emphasizes the social function of communication, tracing it to, and giving the past an extra dimension to the life of a human being. It is a facility provided for in the organization of knowledge expressed in a symbolic form and its conveying through space and preserving in time, as expressed in Cooley's definition, laying emphasis on the time-binding function of social communication.

Communication and communications need clarification at this stage. They are not just the singular and plural forms of the same word. Communication is the process of communicating and communications is the technical means used to carry out the process. Communication, thus, is a central fact of human existence and social process, through which a person influences others and is influenced by others. Communication is the carrier of social process; it makes interaction within humankind possible and enables men to become and remain social beings. On the other hand, communications has a much narrower meaning. It embraces all the technical means of indirect or 'mediated' communication from tribal drums, smoke signals and stone tablets to telegraphy, printing, broadcasting and films. The mass media, then, comprise a technical system-communications by which a single person may communicate rapidly and simultaneously with a multitude.
Edward Sapir makes an important distinction between communication and communications. For him, communication covers what he calls the primary processes - conscious and unconscious behaviour that communicates. The processes that he mentions are language, gesture in the widest sense of the term, the imitation of the overt behaviour of others and of a large group that might be vaguely called social suggestions. He uses - communications to cover what he calls secondary techniques - the instruments and systems which help him to carry out communication. Among them he lists, Morse code, wigwagging, bugle calls, the telephone and the radio; but he could have added thousands more, such as the stylus brush, reedpen papyrus, parchment paper, the printing-press, the celluloid film and the television transmitter. The distinction between the two words has real historical and sociological importance. Sapir is of the opinion that whereas all mankind is blessed with the primary processes of language, gesture, imitation of behaviour and social suggestion, only relatively advanced civilizations have developed the secondary techniques into systems of communication.

3 Mass communication

Communication is coextensive with society and a pre-condition of this life is sharing information and meaning with others. Historically, messages were transmitted face to face, but in
the modern scene, the spheres of communication have widened. Creativity and technology have led to new methods of communication, that is, mass communication as distinguished from interpersonal communication.

Although mass communication research is a recent development, it has already acquired a definite structure, which is often expressed in the well-known organizing formula, "who says what to whom and with what effect?" Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Bernard Berelson (1949) have dealt with content analysis. Some research works are concerned with audience research, with the structure of the communications industry and with the effect of mass media on various sectors of contemporary life. In recent years, the organizing formula, referred to above, has acquired a larger meaning. When it was first stated by Lasswell (1932), it was intended to indicate that a radio station or a newspaper could be likened to a person who was communicating a flow of messages.

Social influence has to do with the transmission of effects from one person to another, or in a broader sense, with the distribution of effects among a group of persons. Thus we can identify a transmitter and a receiver and a relationship between them. Communication is a name for this relationship. A message, usually verbal, is sent from one person to another. The attempt is to determine the kinds of effects that depend upon various properties of the transmitter,
of the receiver or of the message itself. There has been a great deal of interest in the relationships among group members who are communicating with one another. In this respect, we speak of the network or system of communication. On the other hand, there has been, even greater interest in the actual responses that individuals make in a communication relationship, such as the frequency or the kinds of the words associated with particular conditions of interaction.

Regularized mass communication has long attracted the attention of historians, political and social scientists, writers, journalists and social critics in every age. The fear of the new-established as well as of the newer communication forms of each epoch has been a dominant theme of men through the ages. Cultural reflections, the influence and social control of the media as they have developed have also been important concerns.

It was Plato who first suggested in his *Concept of Imitation* that the literary medium expresses social behaviour, although the assumption that literary content might 'reflect' a kind of ZEITGEIST or cultural pattern had to wait for its first systematic application until 1800, when Madame de Stalé wrote *De La Literature Considerée Dans ses Rapports Avec Les Institutions Sociales* and later *De L'Allemagne* (1813) - a book which clearly suggests the relationship between the literature of a nation and the culture in which it is nurtured.
Not long afterwards, Hippolyte Taine wrote *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* (1863), in which he advanced the theory that literature was the product of race, epoch and era. He started a trend which stressed social and cultural determinism instead of personal inspiration as a basis of literature. He further explained literature as a reflection of such things as economic conditions, family relationships, climate and landscapes, political events, morals, war, religious and other aspects of environment and social life. The reflection theorists abstracted from literature such all-embracing phenomena which are labelled as 'Culture Mentality', 'Spiritual Principle' and 'Soul'.

Marxian dialectics has provided another version of this theme. Literature along with other ideologies is seen as the effect of the mode of production on mental life and is sustained by the ideas of the ruling class which are in every epoch the ruling ideas. But in the dialectical process, according to Marx, the literature expresses the tendencies of a rising and, therefore, revolutionary class.

Sociological interest in literature, mainly in fiction and biography in popular forms, seems to centre on the question with respect to what degree these works reproduce faithfully contemporary problems or reflect such social facts as divorce, population, urbanization, sex status, child development, the family-personality stresses, ideological convictions, etc.
Sociological analysis of cultural image in literature has been well presented in Duncan's work (as referred to by Lowenthal in his work Literature And Image of Man: Sociological studies of the European Drama and Novel, 1950). Duncan conceives of the writer as consciously manipulating symbols to conjure up the world of make-believe. He believes that literature is a social institution in that the roles of the characters are the roles of society, ideally or realistically portrayed.

This interplay between the social forces of society and the writers is analysed by Lowenthal (1950), who finds the major works of the Western literary tradition as an expression and measure of the society to which a writer belongs.

Moliere (in Lowenthal; 1950) describes the occupation and preoccupation of the bourgeoisie. He reveals what it is like to live this experience. Goethe (Lowenthal; 1950) depicts the social and occupational problems which faced the sensitive bureaucrat or the white-collar workers of his time. The writer not only reports how the individual reacts to the pressures of society, but also he offers a picture of changing views about the comparative importance of psychic social forces.

A content study of popular attitudes in magazine articles by Hert (1933) produced evidence that the treatment
of religion in this medium reflected a general weakening of the status of religion in modern American society.

Barnett's (1939) pattern analysis of the American divorce novel revealed that the medium of the novel was surprisingly sensitive to changes in public interest about divorce. Wolfenstein and Leites (1950) found a great deal of correlation between the content of American feature films and contemporary culture.

Mills (1951), in his evaluation of the American middle class, placed a good deal of emphasis on the role of the media as a mirror of modern life. Inglis (1938) has attempted to compare the actual data on the employed women with the fictional version in magazines. Berelson (1952) has employed the communication content as an index to diverse cultural norms which most researchers find mirrored.

Thus the studies referred to above show that society and literature influence the media. Now let us analyse, on the basis of the available literature, how media influence social life.

Doob (1961) says that in the examination of the role of mass media in the transition of traditional societies or developing nations to a modern form, the contribution of media can best be seen. Both Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964)
have espoused the view that mass media prepare, instigate and undergird the development of a modern society. They present static evidence bearing on this contention in the form of a sizeable positive associations between the magnitude of media development in a country and indices of urbanization, industrialization, income per head and literacy. Of course, such correlations do not lead to any causal interpretation of the effects of mass media, but in the context of their conceptions of the central role of the media the data are suggestive. Both Lerner and Schramm acknowledge the interlocking and mutually interactive relationship between the mass media and other characteristics of modern society, whether there are a certain economic development necessary to support the media or a certain level of social and geographic mobility. Lerner holds that increasing urbanization leads to increased literacy which increases exposure to media. The outcome is wider economic opportunity and development and wider participation in the political process - through voting. The significance of literacy and exposure to the mass media is evidenced in research on Colombian peasants by Rogers (1965) and Rogers and Herzog (1966). In simplified terms Lerner (1958) argues that the media present new objects and ideas which engage and activate the capacity and stimulate the development. He further says that the media relate the multitudes to the 'infinite vicarious universe' and as a consequence, function as a
'mobility multiplier'. Schramm (1964) writes "the mass media come to the traditional villages with a freshness they have long ceased to carry in highly developed cultures". He further writes that the mass media serve three traditional societal functions of communication: as "watchman", "as an aid to social decision-making", and as a "teacher".

Warren K. Agee (1968) explains the views of six mass media specialists, widely known for their professional stature and insightful minds, about the issues raised by the vexing problems of communication and understanding in a society. Agee shares the view that the media must help to keep our democratic society viable and strong in a rapidly moving world. Carl Rowan (1968) says that through the press and the tube we can mobilize in our generation some of the wisdom and compassion. Press critic Ben Bagdikian states that the news media should do a better job in detecting early breakdowns in the social system and in providing systematic information so that the public might decide upon a course of action. We need a systematic collection of expert presentation of solutions to the leading problems expressed clearly and fairly .... It could be the greatest contribution to the news media and to the reservoir of ideas from which public understanding and public policy can find solutions to problems.

Semual Blackman (1968) contended that newspapers are providing much of this expert information, citing as examples
the articles written by historians. The newspapers are looking at pollution of water, air and the minds of the young, at poverty and its causes, at the phenomenon of a generation of youngsters impatient with all standards, at the generation of women emancipation, churches in the midst of revolt, foreign policy, growing racial problems, juvenile delinquency and so on. Magazines, generally, are doing a competent job in acquainting citizens with, and suggesting solutions to, the perplexing problems of our times.

Koop (1968) stated, in covering the Vietnam War that the television had banished the glamour of war for ever. According to Growther (1968) excessive violence in many movies does not reflect the larger public sense of rightness and desirability, but, on the other hand, it leads to antisocial and criminal activities in society.

The simplest effect of the mass media is to make people aware of events, persons or possibilities beyond their direct experience. Of course, experimental research based on captive audiences has demonstrated over and over again the ability of communication to increase the audience's knowledge on some matter (Hovland, Janis and Kelley, 1953). Hovland, Lumüdaine and Sheffeild (1949) and Lippman (1922) reported that in making people aware of a world beyond their own direct experiences, mass communication does more than
merely mediating the environment; they shape it into the second hand reality which characterizes much of the known world.

The American movies and the television can influence the foreign people's views of life in the United States. With respect to the American views of life in foreign countries, Holaday and Stoddard (1933) found that children accepted Hollywood movies as true representations and used the information in the stories to answer questions concerning these countries; the effect of the films persisted over two to three months after the testing period. A movie, a play, a television programme or a novel, which portrays a number of minority groups unfavourably, is likely to have an adverse effect on the people's attitude towards the group. Research conducted by Peterson and Thurstone (1933) to assess the effects of Hollywood films in changing the attitudes of the people supports our argument.

Media are helpful in bringing about attitudinal changes. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948) have also suggested that news reports can expose a discrepancy between private attitude and behaviour and public morality, thereby forcing the public to a decision. On this matter, Thurstone and Peterson (1933) tested the attitudes of a group of subjects before and after exposing them to a film. The results indicated that in the case of children there were measurable
changes in the attitudes and the direction indicated by the film. At least in one of the groups, these effects persisted significantly for five months. Similarly, Rosenthal (1934) has demonstrated that pictures, with certain types of contents, produce measurable effects on the socio-economic attitudes.

According to Waples, Berelson and Bradshaw (1940), and Davison (1956), the mass-media publicity, besides having an effect on the audience, can foster a sense of prestige and importance among the members of a group singled out by media. Davison (1956) also believes that in an action situation, the knowledge that others are watching can fortify a group's determination to struggle for achieving goals or for resisting an enemy.

While studying the effectiveness of mass media in stimulating people's interests in various activities, Himmelweit (1962) reported that mass media also stimulated a passive interest in some activity in it rather than direct the interest related to it. Crile (1953) cited similar findings, particularly with respect to the importance of the existence of prior interest and related skills, as the determinants of behavioural effects of media demonstration.

It has often been asserted that movies, based on novels, stimulate an interest in reading the novel or related material.
In support of this contention, Spain and Coggin (1962) have cited many requests received by the New York Public Library for the books on davy crockett, trappers, folktales and histories of the old West. Similar effects of the movies have been reported by Thorp (1939). However, an experiment by Lumsdains (1958) did not find that seeing a movie increased the habit of reading the novel on which it was based. Lazarsfeld (1940) has stated that a radio programme can stimulate the people to read the related material. May and Jenkinson (1958) conjectured that a novel-based movie might stimulate the reading of the book if it was especially designed to accomplish that purpose.

With respect to the public tastes, the media have often been charged with adverse effects, such as pandering to its commonest level, reinforcing low cultural interests, precluding the development of a proper appreciation and an understanding of high culture, and failing to act as an educator of public taste. Much has been written on these matters in criticism and defence of the cultural role of media. A sampling may be had by examining Rosenberg and White (1957), Jacobs (1961) and Berelson (1961) and a critical analysis of their differing views may be found in Bauer and Bauer (1960).
Arnheim (1944), in his qualitative analysis on the themes of the radio and serial dramas, averred that listeners could gain wrong or harmful impressions of what life was about. Purportedly, if they identify themselves with the character who instigates conflicts or makes problems for others in the episodes, they will learn that people are imperfect and all are sinners, whereas identification with the character who is undeservedly faced with trouble will lead to the idea that decency and virtue do not bring their just rewards. Dale (1933) also suggested that people might acquire a wrong notion of criminality roughly from one out of every four films among the large numbers examined, which permitted the criminal to 'get away with it'.

However, Shuttleworth and May (1933) found that persons who were very frequent movie-goers believed that very few criminals escaped proper punishment. Bailyn (1959) found little evidence to support a relationship between the degree of exposure to entertainment and fantasy media.

Fine and Maccoby (1952), Maccoby (1951) and Steiner (1963) found that during television-viewing, conversation was usually inhibited and interaction was minimized. Bogart (1962) and Forsey (1963) found that television was more likely to reinforce or bring to the surface the existing family relations to create new ones. Some pertinent evidence for this comes
from a study by Robinson (1941) of the uses of the radio by farm families. Apparently, the radio had a beneficial effect on the cohesiveness of integrated families by stimulating group listening and discussion, but the opposite effect on the families whose members were poorly adjusted to one another.

According to Belson (1958), and Marx (1953), there is no evidence of more than a minor and temporary effect on their pattern of social and leisure activities. The more general charge of Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948) that the media narcotize people by overwhelming them with great quantities of attention—attracting material by inducing them to substitute knowing for doing and by leaving little time, for organized action remains unsupported by the available data.

The content of the media can have a determining influence and in special circumstances of minimal arousal of predispositions, even have a direct effect on attitudes, values and behaviour. To have a chance, at an effect, the communicator must seek to satisfy some expectations and desires of people (Bauer, 1964; Davison, 1959). The media tend to reflect current characteristics of people and by reinforcing them, act as a conservative influence (Berelson, 1942; Lazarsfeld, 1942; Wirth, 1948). In other words, a significant portion of the total outcome of communication experiences is the reinforcement or intensification of pre-existing responses.
The press (novels and comic books), the radio, the movie and now the television have all been charged with, being the instigators of socially undesirable behaviour. However, many of such claims are based on tenuous grounds of moot evidence. Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961) remarked that the television is replacing such conveyors of violence and crime.

There are some studies which deal with the influence of the media upon society. George Gerbner (1967) in his study has observed that the studies of mass media revolve round the problems of the message-system theory and analysis, institutional process theory and analysis, and the investigation of the relationships between the message systems, social and organizational structure, image formation and public policy. Gerbner (1964a) has further observed that when we ask about influences, relationships, decision-making procedures governing the mass production of the message systems, we ask about the institutional process in mass communication. And when we ask about the information flow, the cultivation of images and belief systems, the formation and maintenance of public opinions, delineation of issues and the weighing of choices in a given framework of knowledge, we are asking about communication consequences of mass media and process.

Franklin Feering (1947) has explained that the social scientists, movie-makers and laymen seem to agree that there are profoundly important relationships between the motion
pictures and human behaviour. The initially important question is concerned with the way in which these relationships are to be conceived. Any investigation in this field will be predicted on certain assumptions about human collective behaviour, about how human beings give and receive communications and about how the individual apprehends his social role and identifies the social roles of others. The individual does not passively respond to the situation; rather he responds to the situation selectively and creatively. This is a cognitive response. Motion pictures achieve their effects, because they help the individual to cognize the world. Like the folk-tale classic drama, primitive storytelling or the medieval morality play, the film may be regarded as a means through which a person understands himself, his social role and the values of his group. It is also a means through which a person orients himself in a universe of events which appear to occur haphazardly and chaotically. His need for a meaningful experience is a need for order. This need has emotional components, since the lack of coherence in experience creates anxiety within the individual, from which he seeks relief.

The studies made by Payne Fund have concluded that motion pictures have defined and measurable effects on attitudes and behaviour, particularly in the case of children and adolescents. Tyler (1947) writes that movies similar to much else in life are seldom what they seem. In this sense....
movies are dream-like and fantastic, their fantasy and
dreamfulness having actually come to the fore at the moment
of writing as consciously embodying certain assumptions. The
assumptions are simple: the existence of the unconscious
mind as a dynamic factor in human action and the tendency
of screen stories to emphasize unintentionally neuroses and
psychopathic traits discovered and formulated by psychoanalysis.
Elihu Katz (1971) has emphasized the role of mass media.
He has observed that the manifest function of persuading
voters is to educate and mobilize them for a political party
or parties. Giving the historical role of mass media from
1960 to 1969 in election campaigning, he argues from the point
of view of the voters who are actively seeking guidance or
reinforcement that the political motives for exposure to mass
communications at election time are more important than other
'uses' which the voter finds for political communication.
Election campaigns are an integrative institution for society.
They focus all eyes on the centre of political power at a time
when the political parties are attempting their best to divide
society. From this point of view, election campaigns are a
socializing institution, educating the members of a society to
and exercise their fundamental rights to fulfill their obligations,
and to perform the role of a 'citizen' at a time when the
parties are simply trying to win.
Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband (1971), in their study of the mass media and racial conflict, indicated that the way the race-related material is handled by the mass media serves both to perpetuate negative perceptions of the Blacks and to define the situation as one of inter-group conflict. In communities with a realistic basis for conflict (e.g. competition for housing), the thinking of Blacks versus Whites about the situation will be reinforced by the media, and the existing social strains will be amplified. In multi-racial communities among which there is no 'objective' basis for conflict, a conflict may be created, because people come to think in terms of conflict. The people of all White communities are particularly liable to accept the interpretation of events offered by the media, because they lack any reliable basis of contact with the coloured people, who, in turn could help them to arrive at an alternative way of looking at things. The findings show an interesting pattern. Children in the areas of high immigration are more aware of the major points of 'realistic' competition or conflict between the Blacks and the Whites, namely housing and employment, than are the children of the areas of low immigration. Secondly, the children who live in areas of low immigration rely perforce more heavily on the media to get information about the coloured people than others. The media-supplied information carried the inference of conflict oftener than that from other sources. As a result,
these children are more prone to think about race relations in terms of conflict than those in 'high'-contact areas.

Melvin L. Defleur (1970), has given further impetus to theoretical analysis, viewing the study of mass communication to be emerging as a new academic discipline in its own right, although organization boundaries and destinies will be decided.

Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld (1955), emphasize how important it is to bring into one conceptual framework what we know about person-to-person, small-group and mass-media communication.

Kuo. (1978), has made an analysis of the mass-media system in Singapore in terms of the language factors and their relevance to the ethnically diversified population. The data from various secondary sources are used to show the distribution of the media contents in various languages in each of the four mass media studied (newspapers, broadcasting, television and the cinema). The media system in Singapore reflects the language policy of multilingualism in the Republic and serves the function of language maintenance and legitimization. More specifically, the media contents in English attract a multi-ethnic audience and are potentially capable of stimulating a supra-ethnic national identity. On the other hand, contents in ethnic languages (Chinese, Malay
and Tamil) are highly popular within respective ethnic communities. Such communication messages may encourage sentimental attachments and are important for mass mobilization for national development. Multilingual mass communication is monetarily costly but socially necessary. What is more significant is the dependence on the imported television programmes and movies and their linguistic and cultural implications.

4 The media

Communication can be defined as 'social interaction through messages'. Messages are formally coded, symbolic or representational events of some shared significance in a culture, produced for the purpose of evoking significance (Gerbner, 1958; 85-108). The distinction between the communication approach and other approaches to the study of behaviour and culture rests on the extent to which messages are germane to the processes studies, concerned with the production, content, transmission, perception and the use of messages central to the approach. A communication approach can be distinguished from others in that it makes the nature and role of messages in life and society its central organizing concern.

The media of communication are the means of vehicles, capable of assuming forms that have characteristics of
messages. Gould and Kolb (1964; 413) have defined mass media as all the impersonal means of communication by which visual or auditory messages or both are transmitted directly to audiences. Included among the mass media are the television, the radio, the motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, and books. Klapper (1949; 3) has defined the mass media of communication as a process in which a mechanism of impersonal reproduction intervenes between the speaker and the audience. By this criterion, the radio, the screen, books and other media of impersonal communication would be classified as mass media. According to Wiebe (1952; 164-165) there are two essential characteristics of media: (1) their product is easily available in a physical sense to most of the public, including a sizeable number of people in all major subgroups; and (2) their cost is so small to the individuals that they are generally easily available to them.

This criterion emphasizes the size of the audience and appears to exclude not only personal communications but also more expensive and less readily available communication products, such as books and educational films.

Sherif and Sherif (1956; 562) are of the opinion that mass media must reach millions of people simultaneously or within very brief periods.
Wirth (1948: 10) emphasized the point that the mass media of communication transcend "the peculiar interests and preoccupations of the social and segmental organized groups and direct their appeal to the masses.

The most comprehensive attempt to explain the essential characteristics of mass communication has been made by Wright (1959: 12-15). It involves distinctive operating conditions, primary among which are the nature of the audience, of the communication experience and of the communicator. First, mass communication is directed towards a relatively large, heterogeneous and anonymous audience; second, mass communications may be characterized as public, rapid and transient; third, the communicator in mass media usually works through a complex corporate organization embodying an extensive division of labour and an accompanying degree of expense.

Conceptually, the mass media are technological agencies and corporate organizations, engaged in the creation, selection, processing and distribution of messages that are produced at speeds and in quantities possible only with mass-production methods. Mass media, therefore, are the broadest common currencies of public interaction in a society.

Thus the mass media are the organized means of reaching large numbers of diverse kinds of people quickly and efficiently.
The mass media may be said to include the print media of newspapers, magazines and books, the broadcast media of the radio and the television and the movies.

Communication is the backbone of all social processes, whether in a tribal society, a peasant society or an industrial modern society. In the tribal as well as in the peasant society, communication is essentially face to face. The tribal adult communicates only with the people whom he knows intimately and who are his kin. The social life in the village is a little more diverse, because the people of various groups and subgroups live there and are related by kinship to other subgroups within and also in the surrounding villages.

With the emergence of urban life and industrial development, a new set of social processes arises, in which people come into close relationship with groups to whom they are not related by kinship. Traders and priests move from one place to another either to buy and sell or to participate in religious ceremonies from the village to the city or from one village to another. Thus the tribal men and village men get most of their information from their kin and from neighbourhood groups, limiting their life view and keeping it tradition-oriented, whereas the urban man gets his information also from others who are not personally acquainted with him.
As a result of industrial technology and large-scale mass production of goods, the tremendous increase in the speed of transportation, and the existence of mass media, the situation in urban life has undergone a great change. People in tribal areas and the villages nowadays come into contact with secondary groups because of the development of roads and railways. The government officers, the schoolteachers, the merchants, the postal officials and the politicians move swiftly and frequently between the villages and the cities. On the other hand, the villagers travel frequently not only by bus and rail but also travel from their villages on bicycles to towns and cities. Some of the villages get newspapers and possess community radio-sets and carry their own transistor-sets. Many visit the mobile cinema or the picture-houses in the neighbouring towns and cities. In the olden days, people lived throughout their lives in relatively small groups in face-to-face relationship with their kinsmen or neighbours, but now they are exposed to communication media and to persons outside the group as a result of the revolution in transportation, technology and education. Highly trained specialists work in these institutions to keep a regular flow of messages. The messages, which are mass-produced, are distributed to millions through the distribution systems which have become possible through the progress of technology. Mass communication may be said
to have become public, rapid and transient. It is public in the sense that messages are not addressed to anyone in particular, but to the common man. In the early part of the nineteenth century, newspapers, magazines and books were available only to a small circle of well-educated and well-to-do readers. But with the extension of political authority, education and economic well-being, the messages are now addressed to the population at large. The modern newspapers, magazines and books are written to meet the requirements of the common man. The radio, the movie and the television arrived in this country after industrialization, and the spread of democratic movement, and from the very beginning, they have been making their appeal to mass audience. There is a close relationship between the media and the society, since the media are focussed on the common man and his interests and tastes. Therefore technological improvement has enabled the media to meet the demands of the increasing population.

5 Functions of the media

Harold Lasswell (1967), a political scientist, who has done pioneering research in mass communication, has noted three major functions:
(1) Surveillance of the environment, which means collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, both outside and within a particular society. To some extent, it corresponds to what is popularly conceived as the handling of news;

(2) the correlation of the part of society in responding to the environment. Correlation here includes interpretation of information about the environment and prescription for conduct in reaction to these events. In part, this activity is popularly identified as editorial or propaganda;

(3) the transmission of social heritage from one generation to another. Lasswell says that the transmission of culture focuses on the communicating of information, values and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers. Commonly, it is identified as educational activity.

We can use Lasswell’s categories with some modification, adding a fourth one, i.e. entertainment. Entertainment refers to communicative acts, primarily intended for amusement, irrespective of any instructional effects they may have. These four activities are by no means peculiar to mass media; they are the functions of communication in any society.
Wilbur Schramm (1970), has used the simpler terms for the functions of mass media - watcher, forum and teacher. Every society has its watchers, who provide other members with information and interpretation of events. They survey the environment and report on the threats and dangers as well as on the good and bad opportunities. While taking the decision on what to do about the threats and opportunities, society uses its communication system as a forum. Every society needs some way of reaching agreement on what those changes shall be, because its ways are always changing. In the absence of agreement there may be a breakdown of social organization. Discussion having been carried on through communication system, society settles upon the direction of change so that individuals and groups act together as a community. Society also uses its communication system as a teacher to pass the social heritage from one generation to another.

Peterson, Jensen and Rivers (1966), have observed that as the libertarian theory of the press evolved, the media became responsible for performing certain social functions. Some of them are of longer standing than others. Some of them have been modified with the passage of time. But pooled together, they comprise a widely accepted statement of the
role of the media in a democratic society. According to Siebert, the mass media have two major functions. The first is to inform and the second is to entertain. Basically, the purpose of the media is to help to discover truth, to assist in the successful working of the government by presenting all evidence and opinion as the basis for political and social decisions and to safeguard civil liberties by putting a check on the government. The libertarian theory seems to recognize six social functions: public enlightenment, serving the political system, safeguarding civil liberties, profit-making, serving the economic system and providing entertainment. These are the functions of all the media working together. Public enlightenment is a major function of the press. The press can feed man the information he needs to formulate his own ideas; it can also stimulate him by preventing ideas of others. The press is one of the most important partners in search of truth. The second function of the mass media, i.e. serving the political system, concerns the citizens and the press. They have heavy responsibilities in a democratic government. To govern himself wisely along with others the individual citizen must be aware of the problems and issues confronting the State, and of their possible solutions. For a government depending on public opinion, the press furnishes the people with the information and ideas that they need for making sound decisions. John Stuart Mill has emphasized the
instrumentality of mass media in protecting civil liberties. He holds that the only freedom, which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether physical or mental or spiritual. However, the individual's freedom is threatened from many quarters. The followers of the libertarian theory generally regarded the government as the traditional and chief foe of liberty; even in democratic societies, those in office might use their power dangerously. Therefore this task has been assigned to the media to maintain a constant check on the government to warn the public whenever liberties are endangered; specially, the press must protect not only its own freedom but the freedom of all citizens.

Further, the libertarian theorists believe that only free media, operating under a private enterprise system, as conceived by classical liberal economists, can enlighten the public, serve the political system and safeguard civil liberties. Only free media beholden to neither government nor to any faction in society can serve the cause of truth and ultimately the rights of individuals and the public interests. Therefore if the media are to be free to present views and information without fear or favour, they must be
an autonomous independent business enterprise. The media, owned outright by the government, would be more interested in perpetuating the party in power than encouraging a free trade in information and ideas. The media subsidized by a government would threaten the autonomy of privately owned communications, as we experienced in India during the Emergency and the Janata Party Rule. To earn profit, the media of either type would have an unfair economic advantage over the traditional commercial press and would inhibit the operation of the self-righteous process inherent in a competitive market of ideas and opinions.

Serving the economic system became an accepted function of the media with the rise of modern advertising. The media carried announcements of merchants and traders. As industrialization brought mass production and mass distribution, the media became more than ever linked to the economy and its operation. The media report the happenings in the business and industrial world, but today they do it on an unprecedented scale. Through advertisement, the media play an important role in bringing together the buyers and the sellers of goods and services. By doing so, they contribute to a high level of consumption, help to allocate the nation's resources, stimulate product variety and help to make possible prices that are favourable to consumers.
To provide entertainment is one of the principal functions of all the media. Commercial broadcasting, films, magazines, books, radio and even newspapers are having more and more news as entertainment in one form or another.

Thus whoever enjoys freedom has certain obligations to society and, therefore, the media which are guaranteed freedom in a democratic society are obliged to perform certain essential functions of mass communication. The above-mentioned functions have been incorporated into the present study.

6 Indian studies

In spite of the fact that much research has been undertaken on communication in the USA, the peculiar problems of various media operating in the transitional societies, such as India are yet to be located and analysed. Turning to the Indian context one comes across very few studies which seek to explore the impact of communication media on various areas of interest. Dube (1964), conducted a survey of the perception of the emergency after the Chinese attack. He observed that 83.3 per cent of the respondents were aware of the Chinese aggression. He also observed that the level of awareness was fairly high in the states far away from the area of conflict.
The quick spread of news to the farthest areas only establishes that the proverbial isolation of the Indian villages is only a myth now. The economic, social and religious networks that join together a number of villages are accompanied by their own channels of communication. The well-established administrative network and the emerging political network also have their own channels of communication. The information reaching the elite through the mass media is relayed on to the common village people through these traditional channels. The information collected on the awareness of the international, national and State events revealed that the people were more aware of the State events than the international and national ones. A part of the schedule attempted to elicit information regarding the level of awareness towards the different aspects of the rural-development programme in the villages. The second is the message of community development reaching down to the rural masses and people. Some of the main findings are that a large number of the respondents were aware of two or more community development activities, a few of them were aware of 50 per cent or more of the activities of the programme and a majority of them viewed the programme as a "Government Programme", and were aware about the government officials in the village, such as the block-development officer, the village-level worker and the extension officer.
Dube's study suffers from many limitations, such as the term mass media and the merger of the information regarding the awareness of the Chinese aggression and different aspects of the rural-development programme in the country. Dube realizes that this account of the flow of developmental communication is, one-sided and incomplete. To complete the picture, it is also necessary to trace its flow from the village upwards. In the absence of empirical studies of this aspect, the gap cannot be filled.

Lakshamana Rao's (1966), monographic study of two Indian villages is based on the anthropological approach. He has not administered any systematic technique for collecting data except depending on observation. His two villages of south India-Kothuru (a new village) and Pathuru (an old village) - were found at contrasting stages of development. One was becoming industrialized, whereas the other still clung to the agrarian economy. He has tried to study the role that communication plays in the economic, social and political development of a community. The findings reveal the impact of communication on economic, social and political spheres of community. Communication helps a person to find alternative ways of making a living, helps him to raise a family's social and economic status, creates demand for goods, motivates local initiative to meet the rising demands, raises the literacy rate, shifts the influence from the age-old and traditional status
to knowledge and ability helps him in the process of power change from heredity to achievement, motivates the traditional leaders to defend their power by raising their information level, increases awareness about government plans and programmes and helps the community or the nation to achieve power through unity.

Rao's study also suffers from various limitations. He did not substantiate his arguments statistically as to how communication has played an important role in bringing about development in economic, social and political spheres of the two villages. Further, he observed changes in the two villages from the structural point of view, but failed to bring out the relative effect of the process of industrialization, communication and other factors on the changes taking place in the villages under study. Nor has he come out with indicators of change which are affected by communication.

The impact of communication on rural development in Costa Rica and India by Prodipto Roy, Frederick and Rogers (1969) is a comparative study of two different cultures. It analyses the way in which different channels of communications can bring about better knowledge and adoption of desirable innovations in rural areas. The research design of the Costa Rican study involved benchmark measurements of knowledge,
the evaluation and adoption of 23 innovations in agriculture, health and social education, and the effect of a 52-week programme of three treatments, radio forum, reading forums and animation training, designed to enhance knowledge and the adoption of innovations. The radio forums consisted of 52 broadcaste, each of one hour and a half, and they were headed and discussed by volunteer groups in four villages. The reading treatment consisted of 52 pamphlets, which were discussed in forums in four other villages. The findings reveal that changes in the knowledge and adoption of innovations were related to participation in both the radio and reading forums. Participation was not related to a more positive evaluation. The association between knowledge and adoption was much stronger than that between knowledge evaluation and adoption evaluation.

In the Indian village, the communication treatments of radio forums, animation and literacy-reading are very different in terms of manpower inputs and monetary investment. Investment in the literacy-reading treatment was probably the highest of the three treatments. Eighty-five village trainees met every night for about 2½ hours for 300 days. The radio forums involved 23 village people and 2,300 recipient hours. The animation training involved 27 village recipients in two or three camps, each lasting five days. The radio forums
were better in bringing about both agricultural and health adoption programmes. The animation training treatment had a negative effect on six of the eight dependent variables. There was actually less of increase in knowledge and the adoption of innovations in the animation villages than in the control villages. Literacy classes were superior to the other two treatments in bringing about increased agricultural knowledge for forum participants and increased health knowledge for non-participants.

Thus the overall index of exposure to mass media and more specifically radio-listening and newspaper-reading is a useful predictor of the knowledge and adoption of innovations.

Kivlin, Prodipto Roy, Frederick and Lalit K. Sen (1968), conducted a study as a follow-up of a two-nation comparative study initiated in 1964 in India and Costa Rica. Their report deals only with the Indian data. In 1964, a bench-mark survey was made of selected villages in India to establish the level of knowledge, trial and adoption of certain agricultural health and family-planning practices. The comparisons that follow are for ten agricultural practices, five health practices and family-planning. Information was also obtained on variables often associated with adoption. Then, in 1965, an experiment was conducted, in which, the communication treatments of literacy classes and radio
farm forums were applied to two pairs of villages, but not a third pair, on which the benchmark data were also obtained. In 1966, a re-survey was made of the same respondents to examine the initial effects of the treatments. In 1967, another re-survey was made of the same respondents to examine the continuing effects.

They have examined the data on the possible individual and village changes of a continuing nature. Stress had been placed on similarities and differences, as they found in the three sets of villages in 1967. The villages somewhat varied in the knowledge and adoption of innovation in 1964, but were reasonably at the same level in 1967. The radio-farm-forum treatment villages showed significantly more of progress than the literacy and control villages. There was some tendency for the literacy treatment villages to score higher than the control villages, but usually these differences were not statistically significant.

Damle (1969) has studied the diffusion of modern ideas and kinds of knowledge in seven villages. The findings highlight some important ideas. In an era which believes in mutual aid, both material and non-material, the problem of communication assumes greater significance. The pattern of communication, both intra-national and international, in no small, way determines the intra-national and international
relations. The study elicited information about the awareness of the people about the national political scene, national policies, world political structure, modern ideas regarding caste and religion, and the impact of new ideas of recreation, the movie, the radio, sports, newspapers, lectures, political propaganda, etc.

The list of items studied makes clear how the problem of communication had been studied. Both the items of communication, intra-national and international, were analysed from the structure-functional point of view, based on Merton’s approach. The study shows that it is not merely the distance from, or nearness to, the city which facilitates communication of ideas and knowledge; rather, it is the nature of the social structure which also determines the qualitative and quantitative content of communication. At the level of the reception of ideas, it has been found that whatever is visible appeals to the people, e.g. the Five-Year Plans and the Community Development project. It has been found that the structural constraints and inadequacies, whether natural or imposed by circumstances, e.g. by the impact of a powerful neighbouring structure render certain ideas and knowledge dysfunctional. Further, it was noticed that the educated respondents were more exposed to the mass media than the illiterate respondents.
C. R. Prasad Rao and K. Ranga Rao (1976) have studied the village-communication channels in three villages of Andhra Pradesh. Their study examines the determinants of the communication-channel usage in a sample of 209 farmers. Causal relationships between the channel usage and the audience attributes are sought to be identified through path analysis. The farmers, all under 50 years of age, and all cultivating over 2.5 acres were interviewed with the help of a structured schedule. The farmers' willingness to change was determined by their secular orientation, credit orientation and risk orientation; their resource-based abilities were determined by applying four status dimensions, viz. caste, education, the scale of farming operations and the level of living. Three channels of communication were considered to be dependent variables: urban contact, contact with extension agencies and exposure to mass media. High-caste, high-SES and wealthy farmers were found to benefit most from the farm-extension activity, which was not significantly influenced by education. Urban contact was found to promote extension contact which, in turn, directly contributed to exposure to mass media. One of the important findings is that the knowledge imparted through broadcasting was significantly retained by the respondents even 30 days after the broadcast. The effectiveness of communication could be enhanced by using a mix of the following mutually-reinforcing channels, for the effectiveness of the subject-matter of the broadcast:
(1) the subject-matter should be related to the felt needs;
(2) the dialogue should be able to create a mental picture
in the minds of the listeners regarding the subject-matter;
(3) clear summaries should be given at the end of the radio
talk. Two further suggestions are made to improve the modes
of presentation, viz. (1) at the time of broadcast, the key
ideas should be tactfully stressed, so that they may be easily
detected by the listeners and (2) the programme should be
carefully rehearsed and timed.

The sociological interest in communication research
and analysis followed Shannon's information theory in the
West. After that, a number of experiments were carried out
by existentialists, behaviourists and others. Many of them
centring on the time taken by the human subject to acquire
information relative to the amount of information gained.
Communication conceptually had been discussed by all the
propounders of different approaches, but the empiricists
have not taken into account other important channels of
communication, except the mass media, such as the radio,
the television, newspapers, books, magazines and motion
pictures. The reason to give greater importance to mass
media may be the nature and social structure of the Western
society. Since the Western society is predominantly a mass
society, they have been concentrating on the study of mass
media and its impact. Merton's treatment to the communication
problem from the structure-functional point of view is a neat elaboration of mass society. Another argument to adopt the mass-media study in the West in comparison with other channels of communication may be the absence of effective operation of interpersonal channels of communication. Therefore studies conducted in the West have not considered the relative effectiveness of different media of communication. These studies although sounding well theoretically do not furnish any model applicable to all societies for the study of the communication problem. Mills has rightly pointed out that American studies do not take into consideration the problems of the other world except their own and, therefore, they suffer from their own dilemma. Thus their major emphases have been on the mass-communication studies, whether the universe was a group, community, farmers, school-going children, the urban problem or divorce in relation to mass media.

On the other hand, studies conducted on the media of communication in India, either by individuals or through organized agencies, followed the legacy of the West. In the early 1960s, all studies were conducted either in the name of the mass media and social development or the mass media and the social change, except Damle's study of Harikathā. The early pioneers in India were S.C. Dube, M.S.A. Rao, Yogesh Atal, L.R. Nair and Myron Weiner. In the late 1960s, empirical studies sponsored by the National Institute of Community
Development, Hyderabad; the Institute of Mass-Communication Centre, New Delhi; and the Literacy House, Lucknow, were conducted. All these studies centred on the radio forum, the literacy forum or extension agencies and did not take into account the simultaneous operation of other channels of communication in Indian society. The Indian society is caste-ridden and tradition-oriented, in which animation and a word from mouth to mouth play a pivotal role in decision-making. These structural constraints cannot be ignored in the study of communication of Indian Society.

7 Media Development in India

The first Indian newspaper, the Bengal Gazette, appeared on 29 January 1780 in Calcutta. It was published by an Englishman, Hicky. As the newspaper was meant for the employees of the East India Company, it was published in English. It was only in 1818 that a newspaper in Bengali, namely Samachar Darpan, came out. In the 1830s and 1840s, despite the obstacles created by the colonial authorities, the number of publications in the regional languages increased, and they had great significance in spreading the ideas of the National Liberation Movement.

Political journalism in India may be traced back to 1861 when the Indian Councils Act led to the nomination of distinguished Indians to the legislatures. Many of the great
newspapers which flourish today were established during this period, for example, The Times of India in 1861, The Pioneer in 1865, The Madras Mail in 1868, The Statesman in 1875 and The Hindu in 1878 and The Tribune in 1881. A survey conducted in 1876 revealed that there were 170 newspapers in various Indian languages - 62 in Bombay, 60 in the United provinces of Agra and Oudh 28 in Bengal and 19 in Madras. The readers of these Indian language newspapers were about 100,000; some papers had a circulation of 3,000 each.

There was a phenomenal growth in the Indian Press after 1920, with the beginning of the Gandhian era in Indian politics, Gandhi himself had been editing The Indian Nation in South Africa from 1904. He established 'the Young India' in English, 'the Nawjeewan' in Gujarati in 1919 and 'the Harijan' in 1933. He conducted his political work and constructive work through these weeklies. They were a great force during that period.

After Independence, the mass media assumed great significance. According to the official figures, 10,331 different newspapers, magazines and bulletins were published in India in 1976, mainly in the Indian languages and also in English, Chinese, Portuguese and French (incl), including 9,338 daily newspapers (total circulation, 340.75 lakhs), 9,154 weeklies and 15,460 other periodicals. Formally, most of
them belong to private individuals, but, as a rule, they are controlled by big monopoly capital. The most important publishing centres for newspapers and periodicals have been Delhi, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Trivandrum, Mysore, Banaras and Hyderabad. A peculiarity of the Press is that there are no all-India organs, this thing also applying to the newspapers in the English language, such as The Times of India and The Statesman.

The data available for 1976 show that the newspapers had a circulation of 340.75 lakhs of copies compared with 338.22 lakhs in 1975. The circulation of the dailies in 1976 was 93.38 lakhs as compared with 93.83 lakhs in 1975. Out of 7,537 newspapers, for which the publishers supplied the circulation data, 7,188 or 95.4 per cent claimed a circulation of up to 15,000 per publishing day (small newspapers), and had a combined circulation of 148.62 lakhs or 43.6 per cent of the total. Another 234 newspapers, having a circulation of between 15,001 and 50,000 copies (medium newspapers) claimed a combined circulation of 62.28 lakhs or 18.3 per cent. However, 115 newspapers, with a circulation of more than 50,000 copies (big newspapers), together accounted for 129.85 lakhs or 38.1 per cent of the total circulation of the newspapers in India. Newspapers in English had the highest circulation of (78.28 lakhs of copies) in 1976. Hindi fared better, with a total circulation of 77.38 lakhs of copies against 76.02 lakhs in 1975.
There were, in 1976 a total of 6,129 newspapers, which were also in existence in 1975. The circulation of the common papers increased by 5.6 per cent in 1976. Language-wise, the highest increase of 15.1 per cent was achieved by the Assamese papers, followed by 11.3 per cent in Gujarati and 10.1 in Bengali.

Rajasthan had 37 dailies, and triweeklies or biweeklies; 303 weeklies and 351 others, as per the circulation report of the Registrar of Newspapers of India. There were 670 newspapers in 1975, whereas the number had increased to 692 in 1976 (Press Index - 1975).

India had 82 radio stations as on 30 September 1977, grouped into five zones. There were 1,73,59,710 radio-sets in the country as on 31st December, 1976. Out of them, Rajasthan had 6,24,755 (India 1979 and 1980). The radio is broadcasting in all the regional languages and in the principal dialects (more than 80). The All-India radio programmes include news, talks, discussions, music, literary programmes, children’s programme, village broadcast (Gramin bhaion ka karyakram), general educational programmes for schoolchildren, Mahila karyakram, Kheti bari samachar, radio newsreel and special broadcasts for students. Commercial broadcasting from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi allots much time to advertising.
Radio broadcasts started in India in 1927, with two privately owned transmitters at Bombay and Calcutta. The Government of India took them over in 1930 and they were being operated under the name of Indian Broadcasting Service. In 1936, the name was changed to All-India Radio, known as Akaswani in 1957. Broadcasting and its programmes are received by 1.74 crore receiver-sets in India. It is serving as an effective medium not only to inform and educate people, but also to provide healthy entertainment. AIR's home-service programmes are transmitted for 3.17 lakhs of hours every year, excluding 1.43 lakhs of hours of Vividh Bharti Programmes. There are external service transmissions which present programmes in 17 foreign languages and eight Indian languages for about 53 hours daily to project India's viewpoint on important issues to listeners abroad, and project the cultural heritage of the country, its art, literature, music and socio-economic advance under the Five-Year Plans (India, 1979).

The first television broadcast in India was made in Delhi on an experimental basis in September 1959. Its programmes were meant for schools and rural areas. The first general service on a regular basis started from Delhi in August 1965. At present, there are eight Television stations in the country located at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Srinagar, Amritsar, Lucknow and Ahmedabad. Pune and Mussoorie centres are known as relay centres. Three transmitters have been functioning.
at Jaipur, Raipur and Bulbarga for providing terrestrial television service under the SITE on-going plans. The main objective of television continues to be an aid for the socio-economic development of the country and to impart special education in a variety of ways. The attempt is to make these programmes objective, educative and entertaining for both the urban and rural viewers. As many as 4,79,226 television-sets of various kinds were in operation in the country on 31 December 1976 as per the report of the Registrar; out of 4,79,226, Rajasthan had 502 television-sets (India - 1979).

India is a major film-producer. Films are made in 14 local languages and English and are an important export item. In production of full-length feature films (about 350 a year), India is second in the world after Japan. She also produces many popular science and advertising films, and about 150 shorts a day (news reels and documentaries) which play a certain role in the development of education.

Feature films have been produced in India since 1912-13. Whereas R.C. Torney produced Prundallik in 1912 Dada Saheb Phalke produced Raja Harish Chandra in 1913. The Talkie Era was overtaken by films in 1931 with the release of Alam Ara, produced by Ardeshir Irani. From January 1976 to September 1977, 884 feature films were produced. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras are the important centres for the production of films. Films are
produced on various themes, such as social, crime fantasy, historical, biographical, mythological, legendary, devotional, children, stunt, adventure, political, documentary, horror and scientific and technological. The Films Division has been recording the contemporary history of India and presenting film reports on the socio-economic progress of the country. Important newsworthy events within and outside India are included in the weekly national news reels. The Films Division has exchange arrangements with 22 foreign news reel organizations for the free exchange of important international news events (India, 1979-80).

Role of media in India before and after independence

In India, the Press has been closely associated with the freedom struggle. This association kept on increasing in intensity as the freedom struggle itself gathered momentum. In the nineteenth century, the press fought for the freedom of information and right to criticism. But in the early twentieth century, the freedom struggle took a new turn in a more serious form. It was no longer petition-making and asking for small mercies from the British Government. When the Press was projecting the attitudes, restrictions and censorship were imposed on it. The revolutionary movement by the active Bengal youth and, particularly, by the intellectuals,
led to the suppression of national aspirations and the beginning of distrust by the British. The seeds of Hindu-Muslim disunity were sown, leading to partition of the country as well as to the division of the Indian Press into two categories, i.e. Nationalist Press, supported by the nationalists and the Anglo-Indian Press, supported by the Government.

The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Gandhiji's Non-cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement soon spread all over the country through the Press. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact and the Government of India Act 1935 were given in headlines by the press. On the other hand, the national press made people aware of the activities of the separatist Muslim League, started under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, with the strong support of the British Government. During the second World War, memorable and extraordinary events took place in India, starting with the Quit-India Movement. The British Government tried to deal with the Indian problems by sending the Cripps-Mission to India. The Mission was opposed by Lala Lajpat Rai and others. This incident convinced the British that it was no longer possible to keep India under subjugation, resulting in the historic announcement regarding the British withdrawal from India. An interim Government was formed and it took over in 1946, and continued up to 15 August 1947.
During all these extraordinary events and developments, the Press was the direct participant. However, the Nationalist Press underwent the same kind of suffering as the freedom-fighters.

After Independence, the country had to face different types of problems, such as communal riots, migration and the refugee problem. In coping with these problems, mass media became closely involved. The atmosphere became charged with emotion and severe chain-reactions started in all the cities of the northern region. Mass media played an important role by handling the news of the riots and disturbances in a tactful and judicious manner and by stressing the need of communal harmony and secular approach. The mass media also highlighted the weaknesses of the Government and communicated the problems of the refugees to it. Thus, the media provided a two-way flow of communication in solving the immediate problems of the refugees.

After solving the rehabilitation problem of the refugees, the first task before the Government was to draft the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitution enshrines the democratic values, principles and policies in a most liberal way, with the commitment to implement the basic values of secularism, socialism and democracy. The mass media became the spearhead of popular opinion in the country,
as it was found to be a very close ally of the Government and its thinking.

After the adoption of the Constitution, the Government of India prepared a plan of development for the country for increasing production, providing employment for the people and for assuring to provide its citizens with a greater measure of social justice. To popularize the plan and its contents, priorities and targets as well as the manner in which resources were to be mobilized from among the people and from outside, the mass media played an important role. Of course, it was a challenging task before the mass media to bring the Government and the people to a common understanding for achieving these objectives.

In the programmes of international cooperation for the development of the developing countries, the formation of the United Nations Organization, and in the implementation of the foreign policy, committed to the values of neutrality, non-alignment and Panchsheel, the mass media had to function as a significant aid in projecting ideas before the people, so that an international outlook could be developed and the people could see the internal problems in the light of the world view. The mass-communication media not only kept on informing the people about these developments, but also reported about the activities undertaken by the Government as well as by the international agencies. To project the
image of new India, publicity outside India was organized. Special programmes and items were organized for the villagers to educate them for the adoption of the Five-Year Plans, improved agricultural techniques, co-operative societies and the use of family-planning devices through the mass media, and particularly the news reels, related to family-planning, were projected through documentary films in the rural areas. The radio and the cinema were closely associated with respect to these programmes with newspapers and books.

Whereas India was busy planning and implementing developmental work, she had to face an unprovoked aggression by China on her northern borders in October 1962, causing shock and surprise to her. The Chinese attack forced the country to reappraise her priorities and prepare a plan for her security. People were asked through mass media to change their attitude from the earlier 'Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai'. Similarly the mass media had to shoulder a delicate responsibility for arousing the feelings of the people for meeting Pakistan's challenge in 1965 and 1971, without any communal passion.

From 1969, the people of the country started reading newspapers after the revolutionary steps taken by the then Congress government regarding the abolition of privy purses and the nationalisation of coalmines, banks and life insurance. During 1968 to 1975, the circulation of different newspapers
increased more than three times (India - 1969 to 1975).
The responsibility of the mass media increased enormously
during the Fifth Lok Sabha Elections in 1971. It played
a very important role, informing the people about the
policies of the Government and election slogans, such as
'Garibi hatao'.

The mass-communication media function in relation
to actual events, policies and programmes and in terms of
the needs and objectives that the nation sets forth before
itself. It is an extremely live subject. The media do not
merely inform and educate but they are also the inspector
of public affairs and the custodian of the peoples' rights.
The media affect the minds of the people so intimately
that through them the people almost sense, as it were,
a feeling of actual participation in national affairs.

While the media were getting popular, they had serve setbacks
during the Internal Emergency, which was proclaimed on 25 June
1975, following the judgement of the Allahabad High Court,
setting aside the election of the then Prime Minister,
Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and the mobilization of media by
the Opposition to take advantage of the judgement to topple
the Government. The important newspapers were prevented
from bringing out the morning editions on 26 June 1975.
Thus during the period from 25 June 1975 to mid-February 1977,
the mass media were under the control of the Government and were following the policy of subservience to it. The media were informing the people about the 20-Point Programme, and the 5-Point Programme of the ruling party, the Family-Planning Programme and other policies of the Government, but there was no information about the Opposition Parties and their programmes. With the lifting of the Emergency, the media started functioning freely.

The media had played a pivotal role in the international affairs. It was through the media that people of the USA could expose the Watergate Scandal and President Nixon was forced to quit. The Vietnam war was also brought to the notice of the world, and the world view about the American design and policies was changed through the media.

Thus the media in a democratic system are a must in protecting and safeguarding the rights and civil liberties of the people. While making an effort in this direction, it would be appropriate to put the process of communication in a theoretical perspective.

So far, the communication studies have been conducted, either by the stimuli-response theorists or by structural theorists. They have drawn conclusions on quantitative basis which were universalistic and leading to mechanistic proposition of
communication. The structural traditionalists were dealing with cultural contexts and were interpreting subject and objects, such as nonverbal signs and symbols etc. Keeping in view the above limitations, the present study has been formulated to fill up the gap.

Viewed socially, culturally and economically, the importance of the study of communication in India at the present juncture is great. India is in the process of transition and has started a number of welfare and developmental programmes for the betterment of its citizens. The lack of understanding of these programmes by the people is proving a serious bottleneck. The process of rapid change in the Indian society is generating many lags and tensions. Therefore a proper understanding of the communication process is indispensable, if we want to bring about a rapid planned change through the democratic process.

Communication processes cannot be understood without a proper understanding of the social structure, through which they operate. The process of communication in primary groups, such as family, neighbourhood, kinship and caste, may be radically different from the processes of communication in secondary groups. The communication effectiveness will be analysed in traditional and transitional structure of the communities which are under the process of planned and deliberate change through various media of communication.
Leadership and communication are interrelated in a society such as that of India to arouse the motivation and perception of the masses. Lerner (1958), observed in his study of Turkey that the psychological key to the transition from a traditional to modern society was caused by the personality characteristic which he labels as "empathic capacity". Since India is in a process of transition and has started a number of welfare and developmental programmes, communication and its role in developmental programmes can be analysed through the study of effectiveness of various media.

The problem under study is the identification of relative effectiveness of six media of communication: (1) The mass media of communication (the radio, newspaper, books and movie); (2) institutional media of communication (Government officials, leaders from outside village, village panchayat and school); (3) traditional media of communication (members of the family, other relatives within the village, relatives outside the village, neighbours, non-neighbours, caste-fellows within the village, caste-fellows from outside the village and fairs); (4) urban contacts (leaders from the city, kinsmen living in city, villagers directly going to the city as traders and milk-sellers); (5) posters; and (6) exhibitions.

The purpose of the above classification of media is to see the role of different media of communication as an
instrument of social change in motivation (i.e. the adoption of new agriculture techniques, such as fertilizer, seeds and new equipment) and in perception and value orientation (i.e. the parda system, dowry system, widow remarriage, the joint-family system, fashions in dress and traditional marriage customs) within the social system. Moreover, the traditional channels operating in the villages, such as the weekly markets, participation in gram sabha and ritual means of communication will be used to make this study significant.

9 Objectives of the study

The objectives of the present study are:

1. To ascertain the extent of exposure and reliance placed upon different types of media of communication, such as the mass media, the traditional media, the institutional media, urban contacts, posters and exhibitions operating in rural Rajasthan.

2. To investigate the extent of exposure to different types of media, viz. mass and traditional, and their relationship with the factors such as SES, village size and proximity to a city.

3. To see, if the different types of media have differential effects on various areas of interest; and

4. To assess the relative effectiveness of different types of media of communication.
10 Hypotheses

1. There is a greater possibility that mass media are more popular in the villages close to a city, whereas the traditional media are more popular in the villages away from a city.

2. Mass media tend to play a more effective role than other media.

3. The exposure to media depends upon Socio-economic status.

4. Types of media are related to various areas of interest. Mass media generally tend to effect economic activities whereas traditional media tend to effect institutional and cultural areas of interest.
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