MEDIA EDUCATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY

AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

BY

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ABSTRACT

Media Education as an area of mass communication research is just beginning to be explored. Defining the subject is problematic because of diverse interpretations of 'media' and 'education' in different public policies and in different cultures and educational traditions; hence the varied approaches to media education as well as to research in the field. This study of Media Education, Communications and Public Policy : An Indian Perspective argues that media education should ideally be illuminated by a 'macrosocial' perspective which would take into account public policy on communications and related issues. At the 'microsocial' level, media education would take into account the media choices and interests of groups participating in its study. The conceptual framework employed is Reyes Matta's model of democratic communication, according to which media education is a vital element in the process leading up to the participation of organized groups in the development of public policy on communications.

This is an exploratory study which focuses on media education for one such group - students in the high schools of Greater Bombay. At the 'macrosocial' level, the relationship between public policy on communications and media education at the formal school level is explored; also explored is the political economy of the media institutions and industries in India. At the 'microsocial' level, an historical analysis of the education and school system in Bombay sets the context for looking closely at the social background of the students, and their interests and preferences in the audiovisual, the audio and the print media.

The study found that public policy on communications is highly centralized and that multinationals play an important role in the economics of the mass media in India. Our survey concluded that the main interests of the students were popular Hindi cinema, Hindi TV serials, film songs, general interest and film magazines, and Indrajal comics. The study, therefore, sees the need for media education to be made part of public policy, and also for an examination, along with form and content, of the role of the Central Government, private enterprise and multinationals in media operations.

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A NOTE ON TABLES, INDIAN CURRENCY, ETC.

1. All Tables are presented in the body of the text. Totals in the columns of tables do not always add up to 100 because of rounding, usually to the first decimal place. Tests of significance such as Chi-square, Scheffe and others are not indicated in the tables but in the discussion of the tables. In some cases, categories in tables have had to be 'collapsed'; these too are indicated in the discussion of the tables.

2. Indian money is counted in 'rupees' (abbreviated to 'Rs.') and 'paise' (abbreviated to 'p.'), a hundred paise making up one rupee. In terms of international exchange rates, Rs. 20 are the equivalent of one pound sterling, and Rs. 12.50 of one US dollar.

3. Official government statistics in India are presented in thousands, 'lakhs' and 'crores'. A 'lakh' is equivalent to one hundred thousand, and a 'crore' to ten million. This numbering system is used in the study when the source is official statistics; in most other cases the standard British system is employed.

4. No diacritical marks have been used in Indian terms written in Roman script; this was not felt to be necessary. Only some Indian terms have been translated or explained, usually the first time they appear in the context; most terms have no precise English equivalents, but the context should make their approximate meanings clear. Titles of Indian films, TV and radio programmes, newspapers, magazines and comics have not been translated except in the few cases where this was thought essential.

INTRODUCTION

An unprecedented expansion of the technological media has taken place, especially during the last two decades, in both the developing and the developed countries of the world. Yet, few national Governments have made any attempt to put a brake on this onward march to a changed information and communication order that is a likely challenge to traditional education systems. Indeed, even as they promote media expansion, ostensibly for educational and developmental purposes, some governments of developing non-aligned countries such as India have instituted greater controls on the media, while some of the more advanced industrialized societies have sought to 'deregulate' the media in order to stimulate their free-market economies at home, and to extend their influence globally through multinationals. These developments on the national and international media scene impinge upon formal education, perhaps changing its very meaning and context. However, the two social institutions of the media and of education (which function alongside other social institutions) are treated as distinct and separate entities, as though there was no common ground between them.

Public policy on these two institutions is subject to direct and indirect pressures from 'communication alliances' and 'power structures' operating at both national and international levels. In India, for instance, the 'power structure' consists of 'a loose industrialist-landowner-politician-executive alliance that builds on and partially supersedes the older caste system' (Singh, 1977:147). 'Communication alliances' are formed by those with access to the technological media (Agrawal, 1982). Indian and Western multinational business and commercial interests too are part of this alliance and this structure. Indeed, the globalization of the communication industries that is taking place today with the convergence of satellites, telecommunications and computers is considered to be a

threat to national and local media, and to the educational system as well.

Access to the Technological Media

An examination of recent surveys on ownership and use of mass media suggests that there exist wide disparities between the peoples of the North and the South, and within nations between the rich and the poor, and between the urban and the rural areas. Industrialized countries have reached a stage of media affluence. In Japan, for instance, one in four households have four television sets, another 30% have three sets, 19.1% have two sets, and only 16.4% have just one set; around two-thirds of these households possess a video recorder (Screen Digest, June 1988). According to the recent Roper Report (1987), 98% of American households own TV sets, with 59% having two or more sets. Further, 49% of the households have a video recorder, and over 75% of them subscribe to either basic or pay cable channels. The Report also reveals that on average children watch TV for two hours 45 minutes a day, teenagers for two hours 47 minutes a day, and adults for a little more than four hours a day. Thus the TV set is on in the average American household for seven hours a day (Wartella and Reeves, 1987). The access to audio media such as radio, tapes and records, and in recent years to interactive media such as home computers and video-games is equally impressive (ibid.; Chen and Paisley, 1985).

In Britain, children view slightly less TV - about a half-hour less than the two-and-a-three-quarter hours average among American children. In general, TV dominates media use by children and teenagers. Most national TV systems in the developed world now provide a weekly average of about twenty-to-thirty hours of programming designed specifically for children. Britain and most continental European countries are about average; Japan is higher than the average with about 40 hours per week. In the United States, however, the major networks are tending to abandon children's programming to more specialised networks and to cable channels which deal exclusively with children's and family programming (World Communication Report, 1988). The pattern of media ownership and use in Western Europe, Australia, Japan and some of the newly industrialized countries of South-East Asia, is remarkably similar.

In the developing countries also access to and use of the electronic and other media is steadily increasing. In Latin American countries, for instance, the number of TV sets per thousand inhabitants is almost on a level with the world average, with approximately one set per ten Latin Americans (Fuenzalida, 1986:2). In Chile, for example, children and pre-adolescents watch TV for five hours per day, and in Brazil the average is three hours per day (ibid.). Other studies suggest that TV is an even more central leisure- time activity for children and families in Latin American countries than for those in industrialized countries, including the United States' because of the lack of alternative organizational activities at school or in the neighbourhood (World Communication Report, 1988).

There is only scanty documentation of children's and adolescents' media use in the countries of Asia and Africa, but the few studies available conclude that the cinema, radio, TV and the video-recorder are increasingly entering their lives, particularly if they happen to live in metropolitan cities. A recent study of eleven-to-fourteen year-olds in Delhi and Madras, for instance, found that both boys and girls who had TV sets at home spent five hours and twenty minutes watching television on Sundays; those who did not own sets watched for almost half the time (Khurana et al, 1987).

The Media and School Education

Inevitably, therefore, schools (at least in the West) are dealing with a different type of student now, one who apparently spends more time with the technological media than with school learning, and who is believed to be influenced by the electronic media which emphasize 'visual imagery, immediacy, non-linearity and fragmentation' (Postman, 1979). Today's learners, it is argued, do not fit into the traditional classroom with its stress on 'sequence, social order, hierarchy, continuity, and deferred pleasure' (ibid.).

Anxiety among educators and parents about children giving so much of their time to modern media such as television, video and home computers, is not

new. In earlier times, comics, pop music and other media gave rise to similar concerns. As early as 1962, an international meeting on film and television teaching at Oslo, concluded that 'the cultural environment created by film, television, popular reading matter, advertising and popular music represents a challenge to, and a great opportunity for, all educators' (Quoted in Anderson, 1983:298).

Media Expansion: Threat or Opportunity?

Some mass communication researchers have considered the expansion of the technological media a challenge and a threat to education; others regard it as an opportunity, and indeed a complement to education. Gerbner (1959, 1981, 1987), for instance, argues that the new 'mass culture' propagated by this order challenges educational planning as the study of English or citizenship or science does. Genzwein (1983:209) is of the view that 'the era of the omnipotent teacher with his ex cathedra pronouncements has come to an end.' But Canavan (1979, 1981), Masterman (1980, 1985), Singer and Singer (1981), Greenfield (1984), Brown (1986) and Alvarado (1987) look to the media for opening up education to the contemporary world, and to promoting a greater spirit of inquiry ('critical awareness' or 'critical autonomy') among students and teachers, and the general public. Latin American researchers like Reyes Matta (1981), Somavia (1981) and Roncagliolo (1981, 1988), on the other hand, look to both media and education to promote the 'democratization of communications'.

Various other hypotheses about the expansion of the media (especially television) have been put forward. Some of the most influential have been: (1) television 'displaces' school activities such as reading and homework; (2) it develops an intolerance for the pace of schooling; (3) it stimulates interest in reading and other school activities; (4) it supplements school-based instruction; (5) Television exposure improves cognitive skills other than those customarily regarded in school, such as the processing of televisual information; and (6) Children obtain 'instrumental information' on what to expect from school and how to behave at school, from TV viewing (Hornik, 1981:194; Greenfield, 1984; Brown, 1986). In addition, computers on their own or interfaced with broadcast

educational television ('interactive video') or with telecommunications ('telematics') are hypothesized to enhance educational opportunities (Smith and Bennett, 1987).

Indeed, it has been argued that the electronic media and the interactive media have turned into systems providing education in their own right--an informal education that takes the boredom and the struggle out of learning. So, they are now believed to form the 'first curriculum', with the school offering only the 'second curriculum' (Postman, 1979:50). Television in particular, has been termed a 'parallel school' ('l'ecole parallele') based on principles different from those upon which traditional education rests (Schaeffer, 1985:181; Porcher, 1974). Further, the media's curriculum has been described as an 'unplanned' curriculum (Berry, in Palmer and Dorr, 1980:78-79), and concern is expressed about their 'hidden curriculum'.

The paradox is that in the midst of these contemporary developments in communication, the technological media do not find a significant place in the formal education systems, either as audiovisual aids to learning or as subjects of study. On the few occasions that they do, the primary purpose is to employ them as 'magic multipliers', as tools for extending the classroom. The media are, in fact, looked upon as a potential solution to national educational problems. For instance, the main justification for the Indian Satellite Programme with its heavy investment of national wealth has been its contribution to education (Amunugama, 1982). According to the New (Indian) Educational Policy launched in 1986, universalization of education is to be achieved through the extensive use of 'modern educational technology' in a countrywide operation known as 'Operation Blackboard'. The assumption is that "the application of new technologies can convert educational institutions to 'learning' rather than teaching institutions, with vast implications for curricular and instructional methods". Besides, the Policy claims that 'the medium of television has opened new vistas not only for the enrichment of formal education but also for imparting non-formal education'. During the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) every secondary school and college in the country is to be provided with video monitors and microcomputers. Thus

the technological media have come to be regarded as a panacea for illiteracy and poor quality education; the 'content' and the impact of technology, however, have not received the same kind of attention.

The Need for Media Education

Bringing the two worlds of the classroom and out-of-school activities closer is a suggestion that has been made by educationists down the ages. Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Dewey, for instance, were advocates of such an approach. Contemporary interpretations of their philosophies would undoubtedly call for a close relationship between media influences and classroom learning (Ely,in UNESCO, 1984:103). Gandhi too sought to bridge the chasm between the two worlds through the practical working out of a 'basic education' in which study, worship and work had their proper place (Cf. Government of India, 1957; Ramanathan, 1962).

Media Education/Literacy is another such effort to bring these apparently different worlds together. According to one definition, media education is that area of study (or educational principle), which seeks 'to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes which will encourage the growth of critical awareness, and consequently, of greater competence among the users of electronic and print media' (Grunwald Declaration, 1982). In English-speaking countries a distinction frequently made is that between 'educational media' (the use of media as tools of learning) and 'media education', education about the media to promote 'critical awareness' and communication competence. 'Medienpaedagogik', the German equivalent of media education, however, integrates the two forms of learning (Huther, 1987).

During the last decade media education has become a worldwide movement as recent international conferences (the International Television Studies Conference in London, and the International Association of Mass Communication Research Conferences in New Delhi and Barcelona, for instance) and worldwide surveys (cf. UNESCO, 1977; Halloran and Jones, 1984; Pungente, 1985; Kumar, 1985a; Geretschlaeger, 1987; Brown, 1987) clearly testify. India is a recent member of the movement, though not yet at a governmental official level. This is rather surprising since the

Government of India is known to be an ardent supporter of UNESCO programmes in education and in the mass media. A close examination of Indian public policy on communications will, however, reveal some of the crucial reasons why media education has been ... overlooked.

Need for Policy-oriented Research in Media Education

Media Education as an area of mass communication research is just beginning to be explored. The 'very limited' research (Anderson, 1983; Corder-Bolz, 1983) that has been done so far is in the areas of (1)international surveys of media education practices (e.g. Bennett, 1976; UNESCO, 1977; Kenney and White, 1982; Halloran and Jones, 1984; Pungente, 1985; Kumar, 1985a; Brown, 1987), (2) annotated international bibliographies (e.g. Geretschlaeger, 1987), and (3) evaluations of media education programmes and teaching methodologies (e.g. Dorr, Graves and Philips, 1980; O'Shaughnessy, 1981; Singer and Singer, 1983; Anderson, 1983; Kelley, Gunter and Kelley, 1985; Tufte, 1984, 1986; Pierre, in UNESCO, 1984; Baron, 1985; Butts, 1987; Brown, 1987). Anderson (1983), Halloran and Jones (1984) and Brown (1987) have called for relevant communication research to be carried out in the field. Halloran and Jones (1984), in particular, have stressed the need for 'policy-oriented' research.

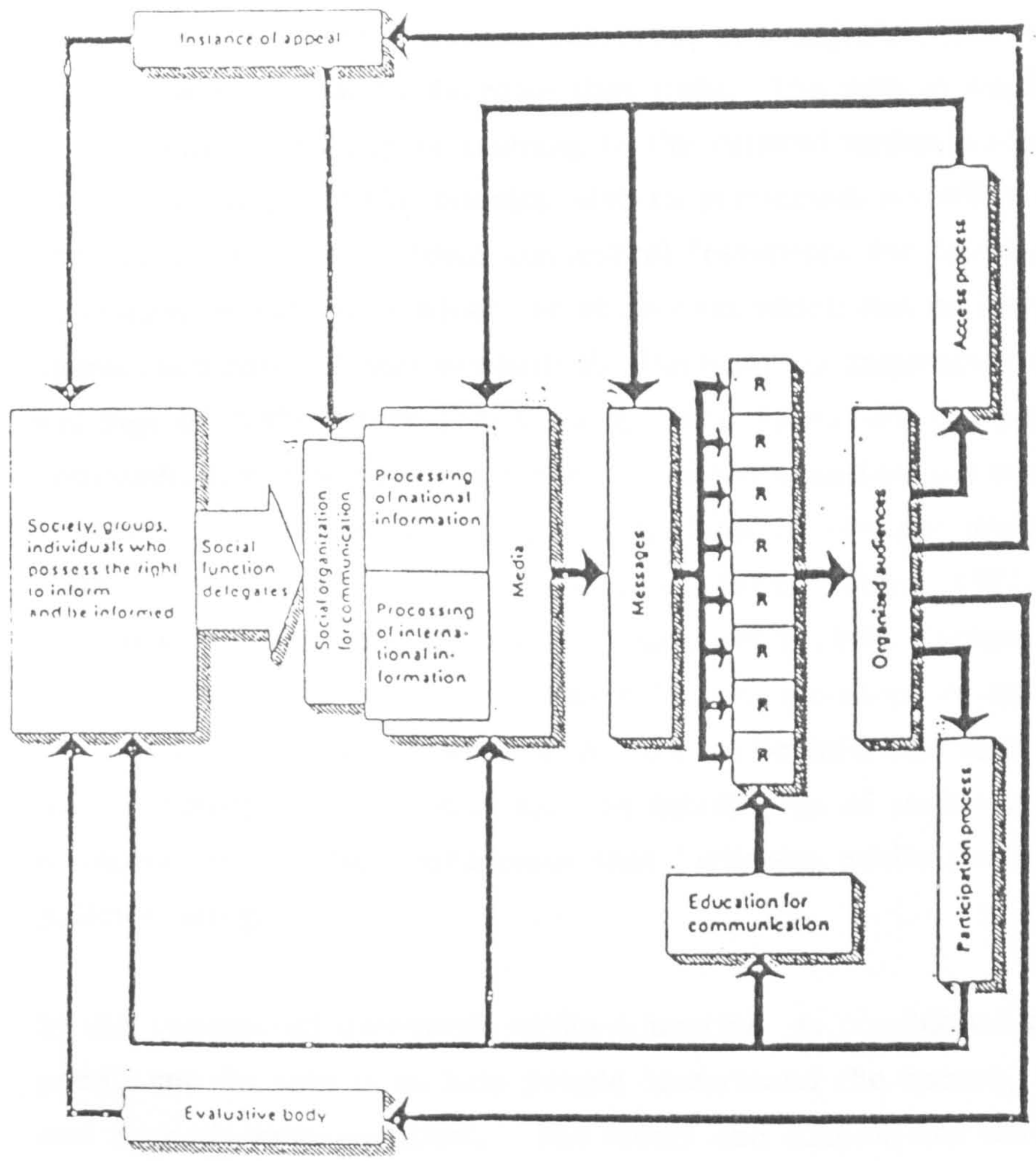
However, there has been hardly any attempt at conducting formative research in media education; that is, research related to national planning and policy. Policy-oriented research is of importance because of the possible linkages between the nature and practice of media education and of public policy on communications, especially in highly centralized political and economic societies. It is likely, for instance, that educational curricula at least within state-run schools will need to operate within the framework of that policy. This is more likely to be the case particularly in centralized 'planned economies' such as India's. Hence the need to look at media education within a broad framework of social and public policy. Indeed, to look at media education in isolation or as merely a formal school subject, or as a nonformal training in communications, is to distort its place and role in the 'macrosocial' context in which it functions.

Nor has there been much effort, at the 'microsocial' level, to survey students' demographic profiles, or the extent of their media access and use, or even their interests and preferences in the media before the launch of a major programme in media education at the formal school level, and as part of the school curriculum. Where these surveys have been conducted (for instance, in Sidney (Canavan, 1979), Scotland (AMES, 1986) and Ireland (Reynolds, 1986)) the teachers' and parents' media interests and preferences have not been investigated. This is despite the probability that they are significant mediators in the media education process. (An exception perhaps is Murdock and Phelps' (1973) study of English schools, which included a sample of teachers). Teachers' experience of the media is relevant to media education research because it is this experience that they share with their students, and this experience too that one may consider is likely to influence students' media experience. It is also important that parents be included in research on media education, because parents are important providers of the values and tastes with which children will experience the media. To exclude them from research in media education is to get an incomplete picture of the media uses and experiences of children and adolescents. This study was undertaken prior to the expected launch of a media education programme for students in Central schools all over the country.

The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of our study of media education in India is the 'model for democratic communications' proposed by Reyes Matta (1981:79-97). The model sets media education (Reyes Matta's term for it is 'education for communication') in a broad social and political context, and envisages it 'as a process for providing communication training to various social groups for the purpose of active participation in communication policy'. The model is founded on the premise that information is a social good and not merchandise or property; the right to be informed and to receive information is a fundamental individual and social right. This right implies the obligation of individuals and social groups to actively participation in public debate about political decisions. This right, of course, needs structures and mechanisms in the

REYES MATTA'S MODEL FOR DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATION



The diagram shows the interaction between the participants in the communication process. The informative current appears in a horizontal perspective. It goes from the whole of society to the specialized and professional sectors, who deliver their message to the receivers. Furthermore, the receivers operate through collective organizations which may be of a political, cultural, communicative or social nature, in which the outflow of the media is discussed, analysed and processed. The activities of organized audiences generate two operational currents: access to the messages transmitted by the media and access to the media in order to broadcast the messages of organized audiences: and participation in education for communication, in decisions at media level on programme content, and in decisions on national communication policy. The existence of organized audiences also generates two currents which guarantee the possibility of participation in the evaluation of the actual operation of the communication policy model: and access to instances of appeal against omissions or malfunctioning of the system. The model provides not only an explanation of the informative current which goes from the top of society to the audience. It also defines the contribution of organized and conscious audiences to the communication process.

body politic to provide access, resources and opportunities, the training and the wherewithal to exercise that right. The role of media education in the model is to impart training in the critical understanding of that right and duty, and the training also to particpate in policy decisions. The model provides an ideal conceptual framework for looking at media education as part of a wider social process which has as its goal the 'democratization of communication'. Deriving its inspiration from the writings of Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1985, 1988) and the popular communication movements in Latin American countries, the model has been, in recent years, the basis of a growing body of thought among communication researchers (Cf. Somavia, 1981; White, 1982, 1984, 1988; Roncagliola and Janus, 1981; Roncagliolo, 1982, 1988; Kaplun, 1987). Some of the basic tenets of this thought relate to questions of media access and participation, the fundamental right to be informed and to inform, accountability of the media, and the building up of socio-cultural, economic and political structures that facilitate public participation in policy-making.

In this conceptual framework media education is considered to be a 'basic need', and its role is to help people 'understand the nature, influence and uses of communication'. The media and schools are not seen as separate entities but rather as 'linked through the use of a global semiotic langauge'. The media themselves are regarded as constituting 'a powerful culture-creating mechanism which surpasses the range of traditional education processes'. One of the goals of media education according to Reyes Matta's model is the transformation of 'information media' to 'communication media'.

This is a conceptual model that has been proposed for the 'democratization of communication' in developing countries. In its ideals and aspirations the model embodies the Gandhian 'mass line' approach to communication developed during the Indian Freedom Movement. The 'mass line' is a leadership concept which renounces elitism by leaders. It is based upon the non-elite idea that even the poorest, most oppressed and most down-trodden people of a country -including those who are totally illiterate - possess many kinds of knowledge, and judgement and wisdom from which

highly educated leaders, managers, technicians and theoreticians may develop a 'trained incapacity' which can be rectified only by a modest, humble, and truly non-arrogant effort to learn from ordinary people. In this approach, not only the dominant elites but also various strata and sections of the poor communicate among themselves and send their messages effectively to the upper strata of society (Singh, 1978). It was this practice of 'democratic communications' that helped Gandhi establish close links with his associates, and with hundreds of millions of peasants during the Indian Freedom Movement (ibid., Kumar, 1986). Further, several contemporary grassroots movements in India such as the Chipko in Central India, the KSSP in Kerala, the political theatre movements in West Bengal, Maharashtra and the South, and the hundreds of social action groups involved in the use of people's media for developmental purposes and for conscientization, suggests that there are several social organizations involved in promoting alternative media, and thus promoting critical awareness about the dominant media in the public and private sectors (For accounts of some of these popular movements see Thomas, 1987; Kidd, 1980; Vilanalam and Jayan, 1988; Fernandez, 1982; D'Abreo, 1988; Kumar, 1988). The Reyes Matta model is, therefore, in the Gandhian tradition and provides a valuable and relevant conceptual framework for a study of media education in an Indian context.

Statement of Objectives

The central argument of this thesis is that media education should ideally be illuminated by a 'macrosocial perspective' (as in Reyes Matta's model of democratic communication) which would take into account national public policy on communications and related issues. It would also take into account the political economy of the media industries. At the same time, media education should be informed, at a 'microsocial' level, by as much data as can be gathered about social groups such as students, teachers, parents, workers, - the 'clients' involved in the study of the subject. In particular, the kind of data most relevant would be about their socioeconomic backgrounds, and their interests and preferences in the various media.

Our primary objective, then, is to explore the relationship between media education and public policy; our secondary objective is to examine

questions related to the regularity/frequency or the amount of time spent with some of the media (cinema, video, television, radio, popular music, newspapers and magazines, and comics) by High School students, their access to and ownership of the media, their programme choices and preferences, the people with whom they usually experience the media, and the factors that influence their programme choices. We analyse these variables, mainly in terms of the independent variable, the type of school the students attend, and where relevant also in terms of other independent variables such as sex, religion, home language, type of residential accommodation, and parents' education and occupation. We examine this relationship in the context of planning for a media education programme in Indian schools, though specifically in the High Schools of Greater Bombay.

We employed a number of complementary methodologies to analyse the macrosocial and microsocial perspectives of media education in an Indian context. The macrosocial perspective is sketched through a critical analysis of public policy on communications and related issues such as education, culture, science and technology, and telecommunications. In addition, a political-economic analysis of the media industries and institutions at the national level is conducted. Primary and secondary sources are used for both the analyses. Though we have taken every care to compile statistical data from reliable official and non-official sources, it has not always been possible to check or assess the accuracy of data thus obtained. Besides, it has not always been possible to obtain recent or current data.

At the 'microsocial' level we carried out three studies, each employing a distinct research methodology. The overall objective was to conduct a multiperspective enquiry into media education. The first is a participant-observational study of out-of-school experiments in media education for students and teachers. The second is an historical analysis of the school and educational system in Bombay; and the third a self-administered survey of 1051 High School students, 188 teachers and 50 parents of Greater Bombay, with the objective of examining the three groups' interests and preferences in the various mass media available in Greater Bombay. These studies were conducted by the researcher during the period of his field trip to India from the autumn of 1985 to the spring of 1986.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

This research study is divided into three Parts. Part I begins with a brief review of the history and development of media education (Chapter 1) and research in the field (Chapter 2) around the world. The various out-of-school experiments in media education in India are then described and evaluated; also evaluated from a communication research perspective are some recent experiments in teacher-training for media educators (Chapter 3). The next two chapters delineate the 'macroscial' perspective which, we argue, should illuminate media education in India. The relationship between media education and public policy is explored through a close analysis of explicit and implicit public policies on culture, education, technology and communications (Chapter 4). Secondly, we undertake a political-economic examination of the major media institutions and industries in the public and private sectors of the Indian economy, and discuss its implications for media education (Chapter 5).

Part II presents, at the 'microsocial' level, a case study of Greater Bombay's High School students and their access and exposure to, and their interests and preferences in, the mass media. An historical analysis of formal school education, and the structure of the school system in Bombay (Chapter 6) sets the educational context in which media education in Bombay's schools will need to be imparted. Chapter 7 explains the rationale and design of our case study. A detailed demographic profile with the objective of investigating the social backgrounds of students attending four distinct types of schools, follows (Chapter 8).
Chapters 9 to 11 offer a statistical analysis of the media access and exposure of students of different school types to the audio and visual media, and their various interests and preferences in the cinema, video, television. radio, music, the press and comics. The final chapter looks at the views of the participants in the media education process (students, teachers and parents) on the form the subject should take in the school curriculum.

Part III summarizes the results of the investigation and pulls together the arguments for strategies in media education practice relevant to the educational situation in the schools of Greater Bombay.

PART I

MEDIA EDUCATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY

CHAPTER I

MEDIA EDUCATION : DEFINING THE SUBJECT

This chapter delineates the history and development of media education as a school subject in different parts of the world, and proceeds to show, through an analysis of various attempts to define the subject, how it has taken on different forms over the last three decades. The chapter concludes with a critique of the attempts to define media education.

1.1 A Brief History

In Eastern traditions of learning (say of China and India) the classical and folk media have always formed part of the upbringing and education of children, whether at home or in formal instruction. The chanting of the scriptures, and also dance, song and drama were at the core of the gurukul tradition in India and perhaps also at Nalanda and Takshila, the ancient Buddhist universities. In contemporary India, however, it has been a different story, with 'education cut off from culture' (Naik, in Dube, 1972).

In Western traditions, on the other other hand, a suspicion of popular cultural forms has been endemic. Plato banished poets from his curriculum, and according to Buscombe (Quoted in Lusted, 1985:12), both poetry and the novel were once denounced as frivolous, time-wasting, and even corrupting. And all of these charges were levelled at the English theatre in the heyday of its achievement. In just such terms the new forms of the twentieth century - cinema, jazz, and now television - have been attacked (ibid.).

Dependency on printed books in education was first advocated by Peter Ramus (1515-1572), but teaching about the mass media began in German schools as early as the seventeenth century with the introduction of the

first newspaper (Wilke and Eschenauer, 1981). Johan Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the celebrated author and illustrator of over a hundred textbooks adopted all over Europe, stressed that children must learn by doing, that is by direct experience. In 'Schola Pansipha' he advocated the study of newspapers on the ground that it would benefit the development of language skills, and provide basic information for current affairs and geography. His educational philosophy insisted on a relevant curriculum; children must be taught what is practically useful and must learn what is happening around them (Halloran and Jones, 1984). By the eighteenth century, the pedagogic use of newspapers in Germany was systematically incorporated into time-tables, curricula and resource materials. During the nineteenth century media teaching gradually shifted its focus from the purely practical effort of improving language skills and general knowledge to one of examining political opinions (Wilke and Eschenauer, 1981).

In the United States, media study in the classroom evolved from speech and drama analysis, through print, to cinema, to radio in the 1940s, and most recently to television (Brown, 1987:2). As early as 1902, a little paper, Current Events, was designed for school use and sold in block subscriptions for class use. Later, specialized publications such as Current Science, Issues Today, and My Weekly Reader appeared with editions in Braille, French and Spanish (Sim, in UNESCO, 1977:76).

But the pioneer in the campaign for the use of the newspaper in the classroom was perhaps Edgar Dale of Ohio State University. It was in the late 'thirties that he called for a greater use of newspapers in schools. He prepared an experimental volume for teachers and students in 1937, and it was tested by 19 teachers in 16 high schools. Three years later he published How to Read a Newspaper, a book that has had a dramatic effect on opening up teaching methods to the use of current media materials. The newspaper is democracy's textbook, argued Dale (1940). Obviously, an extensive unit if not a separate course on how to read a newspaper should be a part of every high school's programme. The Social Studies course, the English course and the Journalism course are among the most obvious points for such work (ibid.). The objectives he set out for newspaper reading were (a) to develop an awareness of the influence of the newspaper

and other media, (b) to help build standards of judgement, (c) to help select and read efficiently and intelligently, and (d) to help pupils discover their individual and social responsibility for improving the press in America (ibid.). Yet no formalised efforts to encourage use of any major news medium as a teaching took took place until 1956 (Sim, 1977). The first 'Newspaper in the Classroom' programmes were started only as late as 1958.

The modern movement in 'critical viewing skills' or 'receivership skills' in the United States took off in the early 'seventies because of the concern about the influence of television on children. Perhaps the first organised attempt to introduce the media into the school curriculum was the Milford Project (initiated in 1969) which sought to involve students in 'understanding the theory and operation of media hardware', avoid being 'intimidated ' by the media; be able to 'more effectively communicate with others' through television; 'discern and appreciate the unique manner' in which television communicates meaning; discover the potential and limitations of television, and 'to exercise critical judgement in relation to various media' (Quoted in Anderson, 1983:299).

The second and better known Idaho School Project was the work of Ploghoft and Anderson (1982), in Eugene, Oregon, and in East Syracuse, New York (Brown, 1987). The project, which was supported by school districts in those and many other cities aimed at inculcating 'receivership skills' - which included the comprehension and evaluation of overt and hidden meanings in television messages and the analysis of personal reactions, motivations and values. Education offices offered support to similar projects across the country. By the mid-'eighties, however, most of these formal school-oriented projects were 'quiescent' (ibid.).

The objectives of the media literacy campaigns today of organizations like ACT (Action for Children's Television) (Charren and Sandler, 1982), the National Parent-Teachers Association, the Catholic Church's 'Media Mirror' and TAT (Television Awareness Training) programmes, the Protestant Churches' Media Action Resource Centres (MARCs) and the educational projects of the many Moral Majority groups, are strikingly similar to

those of Dale and the 'Newspaper in the Classroom' programmes. The majority of these groups campaign for 'better' programming by 'helping local members of audiences understand media better and by showing them how to communicate with media managers about their likes and dislikes' (Brown, 1987:2) The approach is, however, largely 'functional', stressing 'activism' rather than critical thinking.

In Britain and on the continent, media education had its beginnings in 'screen education'. Screen education was initiated after the end of World War I in several film capitals, but outside the school or college currriculum. Besides, 'narrow guage 16mm safety film and projectors made it possible for the first time to take motion pictures into classrooms and lecture halls... Such films came to be used increasingly in the schools of many countries in the period leading up to World War II. This expansion, though on nothing like the scale reached during the War and after was considerable. But in fact it contributed little to introducing screen education into the curricula,the whole of it lying virtually in the direction of using films as 'visual aids' to the teaching of traditional subjects, especially geography and science. Nevertheless, this development did provide access to materials and equipment for those rather lonely souls among the teachers who tried to give their pupils the opportunity (and one, incidentally, seized with enthusiasm) of seeing examples of good movies and discussing the finer points. Such activities were, however, on a relatively miniscule scale and almost invariably - extra-curricular' (Maddison, in UNESCO, 1977:7).

It was the film societies and cine clubs which sprang up in the 'thirties and 'forties in Paris, London, Calcutta and other cities that provided a fillip to screen education. 'These groups of devotees of the good film and the avant garde met in places remote from the groves of academe, in the ordinary entertainment picture theatres outside normal hours of business. Though essentially middle class and intellectually elitist and though their purpose was by no means didactic, the film societies contributed much to film culture and the creation of the climate in which it could develop' (ibid.).

This is a moot point, for it is more than likely that by denigrating popular cinema the film societies did a disservice to screen education. The championing of the American commercial cinema, for instance, historically began in France through Cahiers du Cinema and later through Positif only in the mid-1950s (Cook and Hillier, 1976:3). But in England it was not until the end of the decade that the prevailing view of 'without social context-titillation' was challenged by a group of young critics who later founded Movie magazine. Their position made claims for 'authorship in the commercial cinema, and stressed the importance of popular genres' (ibid.). The British Film Institute's journals, Screen and Screen Education promoted the film society movement through stimulating debates on film and television education though heavily influenced by Althusserian Marxism (Robins, 1979). In India, the first film societies were started in the 1940s. To this day, however, they, and the national film institute that supports them, continue to promote the avant garde and the elitist cinema, and to disdain the popular commercial cinema.

The advent of radio broadcasting did not give rise to any prominent movement in 'radio studies', though there was concern about the harmful effects of 'the action and violence of juvenile adventure dramas' and 'adult-oriented shows' in the late 1930s in the United States (MacDonald, 1979:43-44). In Britain, more than a thousand 'listening groups' were formed during the 'thirties to discuss BBC talks and other programmes (Briggs, 1985:116). 'Wireless organizations' too were active in attempts to influence decision-making processes of the BBC (Pegg, 1983:86-87).

The launch of public and commercial television, however, was a source of much greater anxiety to parents and social organizations. As early as 1948 there was a call for instruction, not in technical skills, but in the 'interpretation of the present as well as future potentialities (and) sociological as well as commercial implications' of television for students at all levels (Anderson, 1983:298).

BY 1962 UNESCO was alert to the need. At the International Conference on Screen Education, sponsored by UNESCO, it was affirmed : Because

television is already a major channel of communication, and will increase in scope and power, we believe it is the responsibility of educators to teach our young people to use this medium in a constructive way (Quoted in Anderson, 1983:298; emphasis added). The following year the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI) published a bulletin entitled Homework which included the first Report on teachers' use of children's home TV viewing. Teachers were reminded of the unique teaching opportunity available to them by using children's home TV watching constructively in lesson and curricular planning (Winick and Wehrenberg, 1983).

The emphasis during these early years of UNESCO involvement in the mass media was on 'constructive use' of television in the classroom; as a teaching aid, in other words, rather than for media education as we understand it today. But subsequent meetings at Paris (1979), Munich (1982), Grunwald (1982), and Marseilles (1984) tilted the situation in favour of media education per se, as an area of study distinct from educational technology. The MacBride Report (1982:172) stressed that 'the awakening and moulding of critical awareness consitutes a crucial aspect of democratization in the communication process' and that this was 'a major responsibility which the educator and the communicator must shoulder together'. It encouraged the development of 'an attitude of constructive doubt' to the mass media.

The contemporary status of Media Education is summed up by Minkkinen (1981:5-6) thus: Mass media education has gone through many stages since the 'thirties and neither has it been established as an obligatory part of young people's education nor have any precise goals or a generally accepted definition been laid down. Thus teaching methods and goals and curricular content vary enormously according to the teachers' own personal interest, their overall aims in teaching and the practical and theoretical problems which they have encountered so far.

Four recent descriptive surveys confirm this pessimistic view: UNESCO, 1984; Halloran and Jones, 1984; Pungente, 1985; and Brown, 1987. These surveys, for all their limitations and generalizations, clearly suggest

that 'few competent authorities' are paying any heed to UNESCO's call 'to initiate and support comprehensive media education programmes from pre-school to university level and in adult education' (Grunwald, 1982). Moreover, apart from some courses in some countries at the tertiary level of education there is not a great deal of evidence to suggest that Media Education is informed by an adequate knowledge of the media as social institutions and communication as a social process, both operating together with other institutions and processes within the wider social process (Halloran and Jones, 1984).

1.2 Towards a Definition of Media Education

Much confusion exists about what Media Education really is. It has been difficult to pin down or to describe with any degree of accuracy since so many perceptions and interests are involved. Further, national and often regional and local contexts differ so drastically that it makes little sense to lay down definitions and norms. Educational philosophies and practices range from the authoritarian to the libertarian and the pluralistic, and educational priorities and needs figure with varying degrees of prominence in national policies. Media and cultural policies too differ from nation to nation.

What is more, both media and education are at different stages of development in different parts of the world. While affluent nations can afford the luxury of multiform education and media systems, the poorer nations consider it more economical to go in for uniform systems, as in China, India and many African countries. The problems of the developing world are mainly those of gaining access to mass media technology and infrastructure, and secondly, using them to fill in obvious gaps in their educational systems. Thus problems of educating media users in developing countries have to be seen in the perspective of their stage of media growth. The role of electronic media in education in the developing world is still small, though pressures for growth are clearly discernible.

Media Education has been variously described as 'a field of study', 'an area of knowledge', 'a separate discipline', 'a specific discipline' (Grunwald, 1982), 'a strategy for curriculum innovation' (Simpson, in

Lusted and Drummond, 1985:5), 'a new subject' (Canavan, 1975), 'a totalising conceptual framework for practice' (Littunen, 1974), 'a broader educational objective' (Wollen, in Lusted and Drummond, 1985) and 'an educational principle' (Bauer, in UNESCO, 1984:239).

Visual Literacy

Furthermore, Media Education is known by a host of names in different countries. In the United States it is known by such labels as Visual Literacy, Audiovisual Communication, Television Receivership Skills, and Media Literacy (Anderson, 1983:297). The labels reveal the emphasis each variant offers. Media Literacy, for instance, has been defined as 'the skilful collection, interpretation, testing and application of information regardless of medium or presentation for some purposeful action (ibid.). Activism is a mark especially of the educational and 'vigilante' projects mounted by the local churches and national church organizations in the United States (Brown, 1987:2)

The Visual Literacy Programme, however, focuses on the 'aesthetic' aspects of the mass media. The programme comprises at least four components:

1. Competencies in visual language,
2. The ability to appreciate visible signs and symbols,
3. A process of developing competencies in visual languaging and appreciation, and
4. A movement, formal and informal, fostering the development in languaging and appreciation.

(Hitchens, 1981:6)

Hitchens believes that its activities and pedagogic methodologies are supported by the research finding of Jonas Langor and Phyllis Myers that 'visual language abilities occur developmentally prior to verbal, and serve as the foundation for verbal language development' (ibid.)

It is apparent, therefore, that Visual Literacy like Media Education is an umbrella term 'that has been coined to describe a variety of theoretical constructs and practical considerations relating to communicating with

visual signs' (Hitchens, in UNESCO, 1984:320).

Media Education/Studies

In the United kingdom the vagueness of the term 'media education' has been exploited to involve a great number of teachers from different subjects, and to use it as 'a strategy for curriculum innovation' through which teachers can be trained and supported, in arguing for time, resources and status (Simpson, in Lusted and Drummond, 1985). At the British Film Institute's conference in 1981, 'media education' was a conference title because of its vagueness (Simpson, 1981). The study of the media has been institutionalized in the U.K. in various ways: as a formal subject with a set syllabus; an informal subject often within the framework of General Studies, or as an aspect of another subject discipline such as English, Social Studies or Art. Within these different sites it has, not surprisingly, been introduced under a number of names, particularly: Film Studies, Photography, Media Studies, Communication Studies and most recently Cultural Studies (Hornsby, 1985).

Such an eclectic approach gives a certain status to the subject undoubtedly but at the same time consigns the various fragmented 'elements' to the margins of mainstream education' (ibid.). But the 'politics' of Media Education in England force the various elements to hang together to form a powerful lobby. English teachers have been witness to the success with which teachers in Scotland, led by a strong lobby - the Association of Media Educators in Scotland (AMES) -have managed to obtain full government support for the subject. The Scottish and the English experiences suggest that the political overtones of definitions of Media Education cannot be played down, for the media today are closely interlinked with political power. As Anderson (1983:327) puts it: the installation of a curriculum within a district or school is essentially a political process.

Lusted (1981), therefore, acknowledges that the label 'media education' is a relatively new one and its meaning is by no means self-evident. It is an umbrella title, he says, but it may also indicate wide, diverse, even contradictory sets of education practices. Many distinct traditions of

educational theory and practice are involved Yet, if Media Education is to have efficacy as a term within and through which challenges and changes in the curriculum and beyond are made possible, there needs to be a firmer recognition of its meaning and greater co-ordination of forces around it (ibid.).

Lusted (ibid.) is categorical that educational technology and professional media training do not make for 'media education' unless education about the media is an integral part of such courses. Indeed, as Masterman (in Lusted and Drummond, 1985) argues, there is a strong case for urging 'media education' for media personnel and for all teachers who use visual aids. Media Education across the curriculum would ensure that images, ideas and stereotypes are examined in Geography and Science as much as in literature and the media.

The new approach to Media Education was also underscored in the 1981 DES (Department of Education and Science, U.K.) Report on Popular Television and School Children. It urged that 'specialist courses in media studies are not enough; all teachers should be involved in examining and discussing television programmes with young people'. Further, 'there is an undoubted need for arrangements at appropriate levels to enable programme makers, teachers and parents to explore together their different but related responsibilities in understanding better the impact of television upon the young and seeking to ensure that it is a positive and constructive influence'.

Information Education

In the Scandinavian and West European countries terms other than 'media education' are generally preferred. In France, for instance, it is known as the JTA or the Young Active Television Viewers' educational experiment (Pierre, in UNESCO, 1984:304). It was a nationwide experiment in educating young television viewers, and involving not only teachers but all those who have a role to play in the learning process--the family, teachers and organizers in the socio-educational and socio-cultural sectors. In the schools of Germany, 'information education' is provided on an ad hoc basis generally as part of the Social Studies curriculum, the aim being to 'shed

light on the mass media as part of that reality in which people live largely unreflectively without self-determination' (Bennett, 1977:29). Such analysis is confined to mass media representations of traditionally 'political subjects', the range of material studied ranging from the overt appeals of the propaganda film through the documentaries and news (ibid.).

In the Scandinavian countries too 'media information' is taught mostly as an aspect of History, Social Studies or the mother tongue. In Finland, for instance, it is taught as a 'pervading subject' at appropriate points in Finnish, Art History, Social Studies and Environmental Studies, the aim being (1) to train students to observe and interpret media messages, (2) to guide students in the selective and critical reception of media messages, and (3) to encourage students to form independent opinions based on media information as well as other sources of communication (Pungente, 1985: 83). In Denmark, media education is imparted through video production (Tufte, 1984, 1986, 1988), or as part of foreign language learning (Alro, 1988) or other classroom subjects; some schools allow media education to be taught as an optional subject.

Communication Education

Communication Education or 'Education for Communication' ('Educommuniction') are the terms most meaningful to Dessaucy (1979) and to Bauer (1979, 1980; in UNESCO, 1984). To them education for communication must be more than merely education in the meaningful use of the media, because what is at issue is not primarily the media but the structures of communication in our society. Media Education is, therefore, meaningful and credible in the context of educational policy only as 'education for communication' (Bauer, in UNESCO, 1984:239).

Since the decree of 1973, says Bauer (ibid.), the inclusion of media education in the curricula of all Austrian schools has been obligatory. Media Education is defined in the decree as an integral part of general education in communication 'covering the theory and practice of the emergence and use of the media' and a structural distinction is drawn between 'media science' as a specialised subject and 'media education' as an educational principle. The 'educational principle' is a feature of the

Austrian school system (ibid.).

This means that 'communication education' in Austria is taught across the curriculum. But it is impossible to determine, admits Bauer, how or to what extent the teachers of these subjects (German, foreign languages, art education, social and life science, political education, history/current events, religion/philosophy...) deal with mass communication problems as a theme. Moreover, the possibility that teachers of physics, chemistry or even mathematics might also deal with media themes is not to be ruled out (ibid.).

The Latin American Approach

Latin American media theoreticians such as Francisco Gutierrez of Costa Rica, Laro de Oliviera Lima of Brazil, and Fernando Reyes Matta of Chile, advocate 'education for communication' not merely to promote understanding of the media and their methods or techniques, but more importantly to promote active participation in the actual working of the public media. So training is imparted to all sections of the community (workers, housewives, students, etc.) 'to give organized receivers a better opportunity to use the social apparatus and ensure sufficient participation and timely access' (Reyes Matta, 1981:96). The aim, therefore, is to develop 'a critical national audience' so that foreign cultural models are rejected and 'the ideological invasion by the transnational power structure' halted. Such an education (the 'conscientization' of Paulo Freire (1985)) is imparted at work centres, women's clubs, community centres and students' and workers' unions. At the school level, 'the incorporation of systematic communication training is part of a much broader process. If the audience begins to develop an increasingly critical outlook towards the media, towards education for communication not only in the school context but also in the entire social system, this type of training will become increasingly important to communication' (ibid.).

Over and above the critical and analytical and evaluative skills imparted in European and American programmes, the Latin American 'education for communication' programmes seek to develop the following active skills as

well:

1. The capacity to criticize the negative effects of foreign media messages on national reality.
2. The capacity to propose alternatives for the programme and content of communication.
3. The capacity to participate in decisions on communication policy.

4. The ability to participate directly in producing alternative content and messages.

(ibid.).

This is an unabashedly political view of 'media education' which most Euro-American definitions shy away from. The socio-political and cultural contexts, it is clear, most often determine definitions and strategies in media education.

Soviet Union and other Countries

Cinema art is an important part of artistic education in Soviet Schools and communities. It is connected with courses in literature, theatrical art, plastic arts, music and choreography. This is the practice also in the countries of East Europe. The state television and radio are employed for teaching the fundamentals of the cinema, though the content, form and organization of such programmes are yet to become subjects of serious study (Weissfeld, 1975). At pedagogical institutes, cinema courses are optional, but regular refresher courses, seminars and lectures for teachers are organized. The Soviet approach to media education appears to be largely aesthetic and ethical, the chief aim being to help children and young people build up a 'harmonious personality' (ibid.). The recently ushered in policy of glasnost whereby free expression of opinion in the press and other media is encouraged, is likely to effect this traditional approach; a move perhaps from the solely aesthetic to the 'critical'.

Media education has not made much headway in Africa, Asia, the Middle and Far-East (Pungente, 1985), though it must be acknowledged that UNDA (the International Catholic Association for Radio and Television) and several

local churches have initiated some projects outside the school curricula. The pressure of an exam-oriented education system is one of the main reasons why they have not been accepted as part of the school curriculum.

The Australian Experience

Australian schools have been imparting 'mass media education' programmes for the last two decades with the support of several State Governments and the Catholic Church whose bishops regard it as 'a bounden moral duty (which) cannot be put aside without grave consequences and qualms of conscience' (Pungente, 1985:103). The programme for which curriculum guidelines were drawn up for primary and secondary schools by Canavan, (1982) 'recognises the significant influence of mass media, especially television, on Western society and is designed to develop in pupils the skills, attitudes and knowledge to be critical, appreciative and discriminating listeners, viewers and readers' (ibid.). To Canavan, therefore, 'mass media education' denotes a school curriculum concerned with the process of studying and understanding the mass media. But Sellar (1979) of the Western Australian Education Department, Perth, would rather employ the term 'media studies' which refers to mass media communication, e.g. film, television, newspapers, and radio, and the way they affect us. 'It is the exploration of communication through our senses and the development of our perceptions and skills in communicating by utilizing media tools. The primary concern of media studies is with concepts, not with tools' (ibid.). Evidently, Canavan (1982) and Sellar (1979) perceive education about the media in different terms. McMahon and Quin (1986, 1987) have developed an approach similar to Masterman's (1980, 1985).

UNESCO's Attempts

Education was conceived by many of UNESCO's founders as the key activity of the new agency (Wells, 1987:128). The coordinating bodies for national policy on UNESCO matters were the national Ministries of Education. UNESCO has been actively involved in setting standards for education, regulating textbooks, and recommending the introduction of new areas of study such as 'peace education' and 'media education'. For instance, the recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and

fundamental freedoms (1974) states that 'there should be a special component of mass media education in teaching to help pupils to select and analyse information conveyed by mass media' (Quoted in Wells, 1987:131). According to Wells (ibid.) this provision on media education was inserted at Finnish initiative.

It is, therefore, understandable that the search for definitions has been most relentless by UNESCO but with every successive attempt the definitions appear to become longer and more and more comprehensive so that all countries and all interests are served. Perhaps the first international attempt to define the term was at a meeting of the International Film and Television Council (IFTC) which met under UNESCO auspices. Media education, the meeting concluded, 'is the study, learning and teaching of, and about, the modern media of communications and expression as a specific and autonomous area of knowledge within educational theory and practice, distinct from their use as aids for the teaching and learning of other areas of knowledge, such as maths, science and geography (UNESCO, 1977).

The anonymous contributor to the preface to Media Studies in Education (in UNESCO, 1977) elaborated on this definition: In less precise but more descriptive language, we could go on to say that media education is an aspect of communication studies, of literary criticism, of journalism, of social studies, of science and technology, but one which is concerned primarily with the interaction between these and the media. It emphasizes the way in which communications media impinge upon, and derive from, the relationship of man to the society which sustains him and to the technology from which he now draws much of his impetus.

Media education is, therefore, not so much a discipline as a means of understanding the functions of media within a number of discrete disciplines. It is not confined to the school, the university or the learning resource centres but is associated with all kinds of general education (including the training of educators to help them educate others) (ibid.).

This all-encompassing approach was strengthened further at an expert meeting convened by UNESCO at Paris in 1979, which took the view that the concept 'media education' covered 'all ways of studying, learning and teaching at all levels (primary, secondary, higher, adult education, lifelong education) and in all circumstances, the history, creativity, use and evaluation of media as practical and technical arts, as well as the place occupied by media in society, their social impact, the implication of media communication, participation, modification of the mode of perception they bring about, the role of creative work and access to media (UNESCO, 1984; emphasis added).

Three years later, however, UNESCO's Grunwald Declaration (1982) stated that 'media education' was 'a discipline, a specific discipline', the purpose of which was 'to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes which will encourage the growth of critical awareness and consequently, of greater competence among the users of electronic and print media.' It went on to explain that 'media education' will be most effective 'when parents, teachers, media personnel and decision makers all acknowledge they have a role to play in developing critical awareness among listeners, viewers and readers. The greater integration of educational and communication systems would undoubtedly be an important step towards more effective education' (ibid.). The international symposium on 'The Media and Society' held in March 1984 at Marseilles endorsed this 'ecological' approach (Masterman, in Lusted and Drummond, 1985).

UNDA and 'Educommunication'

Another international organization which promotes media education worldwide is UNDA, the International Catholic Association for Radio and Television, with its headquarters in Brussels. Basing its position in the papal document Communio et Progressio (Communication and Progress) it seeks to promote what it terms 'educommunication', an alternative term for media education. According to Dessaucy (1979), it is a general term which describes not a particular method but rather 'covers all methods known under different names: mass media education, mass media awareness, awareness of the screen arts, television awareness training (TAT), etc.' (ibid.). So 'educommunication' is a basic training - a necessary step

before anything further. We cannot train someone, adds Dessaucy, before he knows how the media work and what influence they have on the fabric of society. You first need this media education before applying this knowledge to religious communication (ibid.).

UNDA is emphatic in stating that 'educommunication' is not audiovisual training, or group media or professional training. The fundamental aims of 'educommunication are thus to teach the student:

1. How the media work
2. What the structures of the media are
3. What the impact of the media is on society
4. How to 'read' the media, that means to acquire the knowledge, the capabilities, and the attitudes to understand their messages
5. How to write through the media: an initiation into the techniques of photography, sound recording, shooting of super-8 movies, video recording, etc. (ibid.).

The aim of this initiation is to make people discover the media from the inside, become aware of their tricks, realize their impact but also their constraints and limitations. In one word, 'educommunication' aims at transforming the user from a passive consumer's attitude to an active partner's attitude (Dessaucy, 1979). UNDA seeks to promote these aims worldwide through its recently-started newsletter, Educommunication News.

The Need to Transcend Media Education

As I see it, Media Education is of scant value if it stops at education about the media. Media Education has indeed to transcend itself. In Gerbner's words, 'analyzing television in our daily lives is more than 'viewing skills': it is tantamount to reinstating liberal education-attempts to liberate individuals from an unquestioning dependence on the immediate cultural environment, by looking beyond (forward or backward) to science, arts, the classics, and the achievements of mankind, in order to transcend local, isolated and an impoverished environment' (Gerbner, 1981;1987).

According to Bauer (1979)too, Media Education (or what he would rather

call 'communication education') should follow liberating interests. The liberating character of communication, he says, lies in its ability to make restraints known, to overcome barriers to meaning, to animate structures and to foster consciousness of reality. The liberating character of communication grows out of the dynamic and process-oriented understanding of interaction, out of the potential for meaning and the concept of identity (ibid). So Media Education must be more than merely education in the meaningful use of the media. Because what is at stake is not primarily the media, but the structures of communication. And as Miller (1984:28) points out: The objective of teaching students to be visually literate is to help them to be more analytical about what they see and hear, to be more actively engaged in moving from passive acceptance; to be more critically evaluative and less gullible, to think more clearly about, and about what the student does with his values, with his money, with his life.

In other words, Media Education should lead to 'critical thinking' not only about the media but about the contexts in which the media function - the political, social, cultural and economic contexts; the macrosocial context, in other words. And the contexts of information too in which 'many of our shared meanings, our basic values, are discussed and debated' (Newcomb, in Ploghoft and Anderson, 1980:23). Criticism, after all, involves clear thinking that begins in analysis and ends in synthesis. This does not mean merely the analysis and synthesis of television content... We must be involved with the analysis of television in our lived experience, our values, our attitudes, our actions. And we must be equally involved in the synthesis of television into that lived experience in more alert, trained ways. Criticism that remains at the formal level, that removes art and entertainment from life, is false to its name (ibid.).

It is to be noted that even though Gerbner, Miller and Newcomb believe that Media Education should be more than education about a critical awareness of the media, they tend to regard television and visual literacy as of central importance. They see television as the central socializing force, and at the very heart of society and of life itself. Other mass

media and traditional or folk media, group and interpersonal media are glossed over as of little significance. Thus, Media Education has had its origins in a general public concern about the growing power of the media in the socialization of children, particularly in the United States. As Gerbner (in Ploghoft and Anderson, 1980) states, 'television is the central socializing process of our species in the industrialized society today'. Or as Newcomb (ibid.) expresses it, 'television is the central symbol of contemporary American culture'.

CONCLUSION

The attempts by theoreticians and practitioners in different parts of the world to define media education has evidently been determined by various cultural and political factors, and communication theories largely based on Aristotelian rhetoric. But running through the attempts to come to terms with the media is a common assumption: that the technological media are central socializing forces, with 'socialization' being understood as 'impact of the mass media on individuals, especially children and young people'. Little consideration is given to the 'actor-oriented' interpretation of 'socialization' according to which the child and the social context of his experience are of central importance (Dembo, 1973; Dembo and McCron, 1975:40). Rather than treating the features of the individual's location in the social structure such as his social class and type of home and neighbourhood as somehow eliciting certain kinds of behaviour from him, this approach stresses the creative relationship which exists between people and the environment - interest in the creative relationship between the individual and structural features such as family, school, and peer groups in themselves (ibid).

However, according to Kakkar (1979), an Indian psychologist, the Western models of socialization are alien to Indian traditions of child rearing, and Indian concepts of childhood. Those attributes of the child which have not been 'socialized', argues Kakkar (1979), are the ones most valued; the child is considered nearest to a perfect, divine state and it is the adult who needs to learn the child's mode of experiencing the world. Hence 'interplay' rather than 'socialization' describes the Indian adult-child relationship more accurately. The interaction of children

with the media too is best conjured up in the concept of 'play' or 'interplay' (lila, in Indian myth and ritual). Turner's (1982) concepts of the 'liminal' and the 'liminoid' do not exactly parallel the religio-secular connotations of the Sanskrit lila, but are quite close to it. Katz (1982, 1985), Martin (1981) and Newcomb and Alley (1983) employ Turner's anthroplogical concept of the 'liminoid' to analyse the experiences of television and rock music in Western industrialized societies; the Sanskrit concept could perhaps be put to work to understand the phenomenon of the Indian popular film, the Indian film song, and the growing popularity of the Indian television family serials.

Much discussion of media education centers on the pervasive power of the media and the need to build defence-mechanisms against their 'effects'. This suggests a 'protectionist' orientation against the 'harmful effects' of the mass media. It is also significant that most attempts at media education, and most discussions on the subject are restricted to the modern technological media; there is very little mention of the traditional and folk media which are indeed the majority or 'mass' media in the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

In India, interpersonal communication and the traditional, folk and other media expressions are still as vital as the modern technological media (Ranganath, n.d.; Malik, 1984). Equally important is the fact of India's cultural diversity. Secularism, federalism and pluralism (as they are understood in the Indian context) are the corner stones of Indian polity and culture; they will need to be reflected in any thinking on media education in India. Further, the nature and practice of media education in India will need to be illuminated by' macrosocial' and 'microsocial' perspectives. The 'macrosocial' perspective relates to public policy on communications and other related issues such as education, culture, science and technology; and to the political and economic structures of media institutions and industries. The 'microsocial' perspective, on the other hand, relates to the socio-cultural and economic background of the 'clients' of media education, as well as to their media interests and preferences.

CHAPTER 2

MEDIA EDUCATION RESEARCH: A REVIEW AND A CRITIQUE

Media education is one of the least researched areas in the disciplines of mass communications and education. Courses and experiments in media education have been around since the beginning of the 'seventies (and in countries like France, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom even earlier, particularly in the areas of newspaper and film studies). The international surveys of the media education scene by UNESCO (1977), UNESCO (1984), Halloran and Jones (1984), Pungente (1985), Kumar (1985), and Brown (1987) testify to the continuing progress of extensive programmes in Australia, the United States, Western Europe, and Latin American countries. In some countries of Asia and Africa, religious and other voluntary groups have been actively promoting experiments in media education. However, evaluations of the programmes have been few and far between, and research into the theory and praxis of media education as an area of knowledge and learning, has remained at an exploratory level.

After a review of the research in the United States, Corder-Bolz (1983) concludes that the state of knowledge in this area is 'disappointingly limited'. There has been, for instance, only one major study that has attempted to empirically identify the critical viewing skills for television (ibid.). Further, very limited research has focused on how visual literacy skills are acquired and how they should be taught. The literature on 'critical thinking skills' too has been largely ignored. As recently as 1983, Anderson noted that 'the entire field of research on television literacy and the effect of television literacy instruction on critical viewing has less than a dozen entries' (Anderson, 1983:314). Yet, television literacy though the most common form of programme in media education is, in actuality, only one of the elements of media

education. Since then, less than half a dozen more entries, mostly in the form of international surveys and bibliographies, have been added to the list. Evaluative research is largely limited to one-time experiments, courses and projects often drawn up by researchers themselves. Further, the majority of evaluations are of experiments at the primary/elementary school level, whereas most of the extensive programmes in media education are taught at the secondary or further education levels.

However, it must be acknowledged that media education is still a fledgeling area of study and continues to be discussed more in terms of educational practices than in the context of mass communication research, or the philosophy of education. Besides, developments in the area have been hampered by campaigns and crusades to introduce it as a discrete discipline in schools for reasons that have little to do with a realistic assessment of the role of media in society. On one hand are popular negative views of the effects of the media; on the other, the belief that teaching the media can turn children into selective, discriminating and critical receivers.

This chapter takes an analytical look at areas of research in media education that have received some attention in recent years. To begin with, recent international surveys of the media education scene are evaluated. This is followed by an assessment of the main sociological, psychological and semiotic perspectives in media education. The chapter concludes with a critique of attempts at evaluating experiments and programmes and their methodologies.

2.1. International Surveys

The most valuable studies for the researcher in media education have been international surveys which attempt to find patterns or perspectives in developments in media education in different countries of the world. National surveys have been of immense value too in this regard. However, since Asian and African countries have concentrated more on the use of the mass media as tools for development and education rather than for media education, most of the international experiences taken into account are largely restricted to Western countries, and in particular, those in

English-speaking countries. This bias is evident in the international surveys carried out since 1976 (Bennett, 1976; UNESCO, 1977; UNESCO, 1984; White and Kenney, 1982; Kumar, 1985; Halloran and Jones, 1984; Brown, 1987).

Each of the surveys, limited as they are to a few programmes in developed countries, attempts to draw out 'approaches' or 'traditions' or 'perspectives' in the theories and practices of media education across cultures and in different countries. The general assumption in the surveys is that the 'media' and 'education' are understood in a uniform manner in all cultures. For instance, the traditional or folk forms of the media which are the majority media in many developing countries are hardly ever taken into account. Moreover, the very terms by which media education is known in different countries and within nation states vary from situation to situation (Chapter 2). Further, these terms are defined in different ways. Indeed, it should surprise no one that different cultures have responded to the demand for education in the media, as opposed to education through the media, in different ways. The mass media and the traditional folk media are, after all, at various stages of development in different countries of the world. As a cultural force too the media are perceived in distinct ways. Small nations in Europe and Latin America, for instance, take the threat of media imperialism much more seriously than large countries in Asia or Africa. Further, educational philosophies differ from culture to culture and from nation to nation, and within nations. Any attempt, therefore, to search for 'approaches' must take into account these obvious divergences. For, both 'media' and 'education' are loaded cultural concepts though the Western models are dominant and continue to impose themselves on developing nations long after the latter have achieved independence from colonial regimes.

2.2 Perspectives in Media Education

Media education has been looked at from several perspectives by researchers, but in the main the most influential have been the sociological, the semiotic and the psychological. This section briefly examines each of these perspectives.

Sociological Perspectives: Media Education as Critical Social Analysis

The sociological perspective mainly derives from the critical school of sociological research in mass communication. The focus of this approach is the study of the mass media as social institutions and their relationship with other similar institutions; for instance, the relationship of broadcasting organizations with business and political organizations. According to this critical approach, media education would be a study of the media as social institutions, and communication as a social process, both operating together with other institutions and processes within the wider social system. Such a research approach is the sine qua non of an understanding of media operations and the communication process and a fortiori the essential base for media education (Halloran and Jones, 1987).

Masterman's 'Critical Autonomy' Approach

An influential theoretician and practitioner of media education, especially in Britain, Canada and Australia, Masterman (1980, 1985) terms his approach 'the critical autonomy' approach. The basic assumption in his approach is that the development of pupils in any sphere must evolve from an understanding of the material conditions which most closely impinge upon them. Thus television is a 'consciousness industry', actively formulating the opinions of young people; the mass media are a single ideological and commercial system. His approach is a synthesis of the 'political economy' and the 'cultural studies' traditions in British communication research, the Barthian tradition in semiotics, and the Freirian pedagogy of 'conscientization'. His ideological stance is 'critical', that is, based on a critical attitude to social structures and questions of power in British society, especially as reflected in the media. His pedagogy of media analysis works through the 'deconstruction' of media forms and content with the purpose of unravelling the 'ideology' of media products and media institutions, and the many forces that determine their shape and mould. A few critics have characterised Masterman's emphasis on demythologizing ideologies as perhaps 'too ideological in itself' (White and Kenney, 1982:3).

Masterman has been at the centre of the debate over 'progressive' media

pedagogy in British schools in the columns of Screen Education (1981) and Screen (1986). The debate has 'turned on different disciplinary emphases - for Masterman (1981), textual analyses based on newly developing literary approaches; for Alvarado (1981), institutional analyses based on media sociology' (Lusted, 1986:8). Others who have taken part in the debate have been Williamson (1981) and Connell (1983), but the fundamental question 'Whose Pedagogy?' as opposed to the 'why' and 'how' of media pedagogy has not really been faced up to. That is a question that could help to open up the debate on the 'politics' of the classroom, and on the ideology-pedagogy nexus.

Closely related to the sociological perspective is the 'cultural' perspective advanced by Newcomb (in Ploghoft and Anderson, 1981) and Gerbner (ibid.). The cultural context, argues Newcomb, forces us to look at television as used by people in terms of the history of popular entertainments. For the media education teacher, however, such an historical context would not be as fundamental as television content. Newcomb considers television to be 'the central symbol field in American culture' for it is on television that 'our shared meanings, our basic values are discussed and debated in the context of entertainment and information'; hence television is 'our popular culture, our most publicly available stock of symbols' (Newcomb, 1982). However, he would like television education, like all the best education, to transcend its subject and to become part of the general education for 'critical thinking'.

The development of 'analytical critical skills' is also fundamental to Gerbner's (1982, 1987) approach to media education. He argues that 'every individual lives in a rich cultural environment' today and the need, therefore, is for the 'liberation from unwitting dependence on that environment' through a fresh approach to the liberal arts. Liberal education, he affirms, is the liberation of the individual from the necessity of drifting with the swift cultural tides of our time and a preparation for such self-direction as may be necessary and possible (ibid.).

'Liberation' Perspectives

The Anglo-American approaches delineated above focus on the 'critical autonomy' and 'liberation' of the individual. The Latin American approaches, in contrast, stress 'social liberation'. Fuenzalida (1986, 1987) discerns a 'liberation' perspective in most of the Latin American programmes in media education, organized by church and voluntary groups. The programmes aim at organizing the people to gain access to the media, and to provide alternative forms of group communication. The situation with regard to theoretical foundations and pedagogic methods is, however, complex and unbalanced. Some groups acknowledge McLuhan's optimism, and employ semiotic analysis to demythologize the media; others look upon the media as instruments to extend and democratize culture; most groups, however, have as their primary objective the 'empowerment' and 'conscientization' of the common people. Thus, media education in most of the Latin American countries is 'but one dimension of a much broader concienca critica and education for structural change' (White and Kenney, 1982:5). Latin American communication researchers stress the need for 'praxis' rather than 'theory construction' (Atwood, 1986:13). The concept of 'praxis' is 'the actualization of theory in conduct' which aims at changing national communication policy and promoting alternative communication, democratic communication and popular or participatory communication (ibid.). 'Theory construction', on the other hand, is held suspect by both the right and the left: those on the right see theory as the proper domain of scholars from industrialized countries; those on the left believe that Latin America's problems dictate immediate, energetic action (Barbero, quoted in Atwood, 1986:18).

Semiotic Perspectives

As we have noted already, there is some use of semiotic modes of analysis in the approach of Masterman (1980, 1985) and some of the Latin American projects. Fiske and Hartley's (1978) semiotic approach to the 'reading' of television has also influenced some projects in the United Kingdom and other countries. Such use is essentially a sociological rather than an aesthetic application of the semiotic. The aesthetic application can be discerned mainly in the work of Antoine Vallet of the Institut du Langage Total, Lyons, and of the media education courses of the Centre de

Recherche et de Documentation Pedagogiques (CRDP) and the Initiation a la Communication Audiovisuelle (ICAV). The primary objective of Vallet's 'langage total' project is to teach students the interpretation of visual messages through practical exercises in media production, while that of the ICAV is 'to enable children to understand and master cultural codes' (Faurie-Roudier and Vallet, n.d.). There has been no evaluation yet of these courses. The results of the evaluation of a French Government project; the 'Young Active Television Viewers' (JTA), are discussed below.

Psychological Perspectives

The psychological perspective has its basis largely in the Piagetian approach to a child's cognitive development. It is best reflected in the empirical experimental work of Hertha Sturm (1979, 1981), Gavriel Salomon (1983) and of Jerome and Dorothy Singer (1981, 1983, 1984, 1985). Sturm's research on school children revealed that TV programmes leave behind emotional impressions which are distinct from their cognitive contents. Since these emotional impressions last a long time they can produce emotional conditions. So the child needs an emotionally peaceful situation such as the presence of a reference person. The implication for media education is that there is a need to direct children towards pro-social happenings in the media. For Sturm, the traditional psychological theories of perception, development and learning, and Piaget's studies of 'assimilation' and 'accommodation' provide the psychological basis for media education in schools. The model of media education she and her colleagues at the University of Munich have promoted has come to be known as the 'Zurich model' after their first experiments in teaching the subject in the schools of Zurich.

That children 'learn' from television is the conclusion drawn from much recent research into cognitive development and social learning theory (Cf. Ward, Wackman and Wartella, 1977; Palmer and Dorr, 1980; Bryant and Anderson, 1983; Soldow, 1983; Howe, 1983). The consensus appears to be that children at the different Piagetian stages of development 'process' information and images in very distinct ways, and that they are not as competent as adults. 'By kindergarten, when adult-like television

viewing begins, children have rudimentary understanding of television characters and actions, probably perceiving television in discrete action bits. Children as old as eight or nine years of age have been shown to have difficulty in identifying programme information which is considered by adults to be central to understanding plotlines. Further, these relatively older children have been shown to have difficulty explaining character motivations for behaviour and tend to describe characters in terms of very surface characteristics, such as appearance and behaviours (Wartella and Reeves, 1987). Similarly, understanding about the television medium as an economic business is only rudimentary ; so is their understanding of television narrative and characters (ibid.; Collins, 1979; Corder-Bolz, 1980).

The focus in this type of research has been on 'attention' and 'comprehension' (based often on recall) - two areas of cognition difficult to measure accurately since young children are often not able to articulate what they attend to and comprehend. The measurement of attention and comprehension by the methods of 'recall' and time spent on watching the screen are largely unreliable. All that such measurement can provide us is a general idea of what is going on in the child's mind. Moreover, attention and comprehension are not dependent so much on the Piagetian stages of development (sensory/motor, pre-operational, operational and post-operational) but on the child's gradual development of literacy in the language and grammar of television. As Huston and Wright (1984) observe: To the extent that they correctly perceive segment markers, anticipate future content from formal cues, and understand the grammar of the medium, they will be likely to comprehend the content presented. It is to be noted that the cultural environment (which most Piagetians tend to overlook) of the child, and also of the particular television programme and genre play an equally significant role in the child's processing of televisual information (Quoted in Young, 1984). Further, the child brings to his/her viewing a level of conceptualization and relevance and sensitivity in keeping with his/her personality (Young, 1984).

It is sometimes argued that understanding television is a natural and

inherent ability and therefore requires little or no education (Postman, 1985: 79-80). With age and, maturity, after all, comes understanding and the ability to sift fact from fantasy, to see that images are 'constructed', that plots and characters are fabricated, or that advertising doesn't ever tell the whole truth. It is further argued that Media Education, say from an early age, may take away from children the fantasy-world of childhood and lead in fact to the 'disappearance' of childhood. Why should adults want to deprive children of their childhood?

Researchers in Media Education have yet to come to terms with questions such as these. The evidence from developmental research, though, suggests that the social and psychological consequences arising from a deprivation of proper instruction and guidance could be quite serious. For instance, violence on television can 'scare' some children until they are gradually persuaded by parents, teachers or siblings, that it is all only make-believe. Further, the Federal Trade Commission's 1981 summary of research concludes that 'the overwhelming weight of evidence presented shows simply that young children are unable to evaluate the persuasive bias in television advertising' (Quoted in Young, 1984:3). Ward (1972:44) found that young children exhibit low awareness of the concept of commercials and frequently explain them as part of the show, or identify them simply by naming a category of products (Quoted in Ward, Wackman and Wartella, 1977).

For how long should children remain 'innocent' of such bias? Must advertisers get away with playing about and exploiting such 'innocence'? In any case by middle childhood (age 7-8) a set of metalinguistic abilities develop which help a child judge ambiguity and synonymy, appreciate puns and non-literal use of languages such as metaphor and simile (Young, 1984:8). These are the abilities needed to see through the persuasive intent of advertising. So it is not only endless exposure to commercials that make children gradually grow sceptical of the claims they make but these metalinguistic abilities which are nurtured by the cultural environment. Thus the home, the school and the community contribute to this development.

Media education, then, has a role to play in the growth and maturing of children in their processing of, and interaction with, the media just as much as in reading and writing. This is because the language of the media also needs to be learnt to understand the modern world. It is not as simplistic, though, as Postman (1982) makes it out: 'Television erodes the dividing line between childhood and adulthood in three ways, all having to do with its undifferentiated accessability: first, because it requires no instruction to grasp its form; second, because it does not make complex demands on either mind or behaviour; and third, because it does not segregate its audience'. The fact is that our response to television as children and as adults is determined as much by what we do with television as what television does to us. And what we do with it depends on a host of socio-economic and psychological factors of which perhaps the most important are the home, school and community environments - and these are providing instruction, formally and informally, all the time on ways of seeing and ways of listening. Media Education brings a pattern and an organization to this formal and informal instruction. It transforms the instruction into a systematic, graded and organized education in the media.

2.3 Evaluation of Course Curricula in Media Education

Curricula for courses in Media Education (or under its various labels) have been in operation in the formal and informal sectors of school education in a number of countries in the western industrialized world for a decade or more now (Cf. Pungente, 1985; Halloran and Jones, 1984). Indeed, some of the curricula have taken off on such a wide scale that the production of course materials and manuals/texts for teachers, students and parents has almost turned into an industry. But training courses for teachers are still hopelessly neglected except in a few countries like Scotland, England, Norway and Austria.

Evaluations of these curricula, the many projects or of the course materials and manuals/texts are very few. The majority of the evaluations carried out are of critical viewing programmes in the United States dealing mainly with television and television advertising. Curiously, while most of the actual teaching programmes are at the secondary level,

the majority of evaluations have been conducted among young children of the primary classes. Further, most of the evaluations have been of courses drawn up for the purpose of evaluations/experiments rather than of courses already in operation. Some exceptions are the recent attempts at evaluation of nation-wide projects in France, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

Nationwide Projects: France

The French JTA experiment was evaluated in 1981 by a team of three researchers. The objective of the evaluation was to study the changes that had occurred in young people (aged 9-18, though the 2-year experiment involved young people across the country, from age 4 to 18). Interviews with a sample group of 120 young people were conducted before the experiment started, after three months and then after seven months of educational activity. Each time the same questions were asked. The 120 were selected with a view to constituting a representative sample of French youth, the operative variables being age, sex, parents' occupation and area of residence (Pierre, in UNESCO, 1984:308).

The interviews showed that 'children differ in terms of the benefit they derive from watching television. The extent to which they benefit seems to be closely related to a family variable, namely, the active accompanying role played by some parents who offer their children reassurance and explanations and listen to what they have to say about television' (ibid.) Where the medium is concerned, the interviews suggest that even at the age of 10-12 'they still have difficulties in understanding the changes that may occur in the televised representation of an event' (ibid.). Further, between the ages of 14 and 18 there is an increasing tendency for adolescents to adopt a defensive attitude to the language of television, which they see as potentially dangerous for viewers who are not on their guard (ibid.).

One of the most important findings of the JTA experiment was that it 'speeded up the transition from one period of receptiveness to the next. After the experiment had been under way for seven months, the replies of some children were similar to those of children in the age-group above

them'. Moreover, 'where there had been a large number of sessions, a high level of creativity among teachers and a strong spirit of co-operation among other adults, the reactions of young people indicated that they had adopted a new attitude to television, and, by transference, to their environment' (ibid.).

United States

Major media literacy programmes in the United States and some other Western countries have been evaluated recently by Brown (1987), according to rather elaborate criteria based on certain concepts and principles abstracted from the cognitive and other skills and a value-system expected to be developed by 'critical viewing skills'. The 20 criteria drawn up are given numerical values so that the evaluation 'score' of each programme can be computed. Brown (1987) acknowledges that the method is fairly crude; but his quantitative assessment of the major programmes does broadly support his qualitative subjective analysis. Any attempt at comparative evaluation among the projects, he observes, is bound to be inadequate because of their differing purposes, structures, constituencies, longevity and funding. Further, the data gathered for the study were uneven. Brown's evaluation of the non-American programmes were less successful primarily because of the paucity of the data available.

According to Brown's computation, the Idaho Falls Project of the Idaho Falls School District in Idaho 'outranked' all others. Except for the Southwest Educational Development Lab, three pilot projects funded by the United States Office of Education 'scored' among the highest seven. Religious-oriented programmes such as 'Growing with TV' (a project of the Media Action Research Center), T-A-T (Television Awareness Training) and 'Media Mirror' ranked among the top three. Among individual scholars with research credentials, the Singers were equal to T-A-T and 'Media Mirror'.

Earlier, Anderson and Ploghoft (1981) evaluated the Idaho Falls Project employing a television literacy test analogous to critical reading measures. The Television Information Game calls for the student to analyze short segments of television content in an increasing hierarchy of cognitive skills ranging from identification to analysis of syntax,

drawing conclusions about implications and consequences. Using a pre- and post-test design they found that the third-grade students showed rapid gains in cognitive skills vis a vis television and performed nearly at sixth grade levels. Fourth, fifth and sixth grade students also showed significant post-test increases, but those increases were better explained by maturation than by the instructional intervention. Subsequent evaluation in 1981 of fourth, fifth and sixth grades showed fifth and sixth grade students who received instruction positing greater gains than control students at the same grade levels not receiving instructions. Fourth grade findings remained equivocal (Anderson, 1983:315).

United Kingdom - Scotland

Media Education has made halting progress in the secondary schools of Scotland since 1959 when the first 'formally organised attempt to teach about the media' as part of the course on Modern Studies was made (Butts,1986). The approach in the early years was 'mainly socio-economic, looking at the way the media functioned as institutions within society' (ibid.).

Today, two distinct types of courses dominate the media education scene in Scotland. The first is the 'workshop' or 'creative' type taught in the main by teachers of Art and Drama as elements within their respective subjects; the second is the 'inductive' or 'critical' type taught by teachers of English and Social Studies, again as elements within their own special subjects. Stand-alone or separate courses in media education are to be found more commonly in the final years of secondary school and in further education. Several teachers, however, question such a subject-oriented education system, and would like to see media education, a 'speculative, sceptical, rebellious field of study', permeating the whole curriculum. But for the present they would struggle to establish its separate identity, out of political necessity. Defining that identity, observes Butts (1986), is a major conceptual issue which has still to be resolved.

These are some of the findings of Butts' research study based on a survey of 48 schools, and an observational study of media education programmes at

work in 10 schools. He suggests that while the 'creative' approach - which predominates at all levels of Scottish schools - is a fulfilling experience for students, there is a definite need for teachers to guide them to graduate from 'making' to 'analysing' as they advance in maturity. Where the 'creative' and 'critical' approaches are combined, the lack of time limits the value of both practical work and analytical reflection. Both the 'separatist' and 'integrationist' positions need to be further investigated from an educational rather than a media-centred viewpoint (ibid.).

Research into media education practices is rare even where the new field of study is fairly well advanced as in Australia, the German-speaking countries and the Scandinavian and Latin American countries. Butts' study provides an interesting qualitative observation-based research methodology for looking critically at media education experiments at the national or regional level. It suggests that questions about media education are complex, and the selection of approaches to teaching the subject in school a contentious issue.

England

Several schools in England offer Media Studies as an optional subject or as part of English and Social Studies; since recently, as an examinable subject for the GCSE course. O'Shaughnessy (1981) observed for five weeks a CSE Media Studies course for fourth and fifth year students in an Inner London Girls' Comprehensive School. His objective was 'to see if Media Studies offers a place for developing a radical political awareness and critical attitude to the mass media and the ways in which they make sense of the world'. Also to find out 'what students think of Media Studies, how they perceive and receive the subject, whether they do develop any ideological criticism of the media' (ibid.).

His observation which included interviews with teachers and students and observations of Media Studies lessons, led him to conclude:

a) Teachers perceive that the practical and theoretical work is complementary but the stress is more on a course that deals with concepts

rather than practical skills.

b) Students do not perceive Media Studies as radically different from other school lessons.

c) There was an understanding and interest in the process of reconstruction but little questioning of what might lie behind this.

d) Gender and race were politically the most effective part of the course.

Another observation-style analysis was made by Tufte (1984) of a Danish Media Education Project. The main element of the project was video production followed by group discussion. The project ran from September 1983 to May 1984 and was for eighth grade students aged 14-15 in three classes. There is evidence, concludes Tufte, that the students learned something about the way television selects and 'constructs' reality. They also learned a lot about the possibilities and limits of the video technique (ibid.).

2.4 Researcher Set-up Curricula and Evaluation

Perhaps the most ambitious of researcher- set- up curricula and evaluations has been that by the Yale Family Research and Consultation Centre under its director, Jerome Singer. In October 1978 it developed a series of eight lessons for use in elementary schools in New Haven, Connecticut. The aim of the curriculum was to teach children to understand television in a language arts classroom context. Pre-tests and post-tests and follow up tests were given to experimental and control groups matched for IQ, reading scores, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Parents maintained viewing records during the pretest and post-test periods.

The results indicate that children in the experimental school showed a greater increase in knowledge about television than those in the control group. Differences were greatest between the two groups in the measures of knowledge and understanding special effects, commercials and advertising. The children in the experimental school also learned more lesson-related vocabulary words and showed more improvement in their ability to identify videotaped examples of camera effects and special effects than children in

the control school (Singer and Singer, in Howe, 1983:214).

When comparisons between the experimental and control groups were made again three months after the experimental group had been taught, the original control group (after the lessons were taught to them) now learned even more than the original experimental group had learned in the first phase of the study, perhaps mainly due to the greater confidence of the teachers involved in handling the course.

The curriculum was later redesigned for use with kindergarten first and second grade children later, but employing a new sample in a different town of Connecticut. A Television Comprehension Test evaluated the benefits of the course. Here too the results were positive. Thus, we concluded, say Singer and Singer (ibid.) that children benefit from the curriculum regardless of the level of their intellectual ability, reading or social skills. The course seemed to work equally well for all the children.

The last phase of the curriculum involved a national field-testing of the further refined version of their videotapes and teacher-student manual. The new versions were tested in ten school districts in different states. The sample of 12 classes consisted of 116 third graders, 64 fourth graders, 171 fifth graders and 43 sixth graders. In addition, a third grade class took the course without videotapes, and other groups of 19 talented and gifted fifth graders also did the course. Pre- and post-tested on Television Comprehension and Attitudes the results were once again positive. This was so even though this field study was undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of such a course with no direct teacher training. It appears from our extensive testing of the television curriculum, observe Singer and Singer (ibid.), that even in so brief a time as 4-8 weeks, it is possible to introduce complicated subject matter on the nature of television and to demonstrate that children will learn that material. Pre-testing made it clear that elementary school children are ignorant about many aspects of the medium, and that they enjoy learning about the 'inside world' of television.

Two textbooks, based on the principles evolved from this behavioural research, have been developed for teachers and parents (Cf. Singer, Singer and Zuckerman, 1981a; 1981b).

Evaluations of Short-term Courses

Three other evaluations of short-term courses in the United States, Canada and England point to similar positive results. Dorr, Graves and Phelps (1980) instructed separate groups of kindergarten, second and third grade children on facts about television production and economics, on fantasy and reality in television, or in social process reasoning. They found that instruction was not effective as the control group often showed no significant differences from either one or the other of the experimental groups. But they were most successful in instructing children about the facts of television and least successful in showing gains in 'selectivity and reasoned judgements'. The results indicate (as in the Singers' research) that young children can in as short a time as six hours learn much about television and alternative sources of information, and can apply that information when asked to reason about the reality of television content.

Baron (1985) of Concordia University, Montreal, conducted a media literacy project that takes children behind the scenes of television's 'magic' by providing students the opportunity of producing a programme for community access cable television. Two groups of grade five (age 11-12) children underwent a ten- week media literacy curriculum. Following the curriculum phase, one group 'produced' a programme for telecast at the local cable studio. Pre-, post- and long-term media literacy tests were administered. The two groups that experienced the curriculum performed significantly better, and their scores too improved significantly between post- and long-term testing. Baron reports that the curriculum led to significant increases in understanding of media-related concepts.

Kelley, Gunter and Kelley (1985) evaluated a television studies course for 14-15 year olds at the Hereford School, Grimsby (England). The course aimed at explaining television production techniques and approaches, and the critical evaluation of television news broadcasts and drama. It

involved the analysis of specific broadcasts and the planning, preparation and production of video programmes by the students themselves. Detailed course evaluation by careful pre- and post-testing of experimental and control groups, has demonstrated that children's understanding of television is significantly higher after the course.

Television Advertising

A number of evaluations of critical viewing courses in television advertising provide some evidence that children can be taught to be sophisticated and critical viewers of commercials. The studies of Roberts et al (1980) and Desmond and Jeffries-Fox (1983) suggest that classroom instruction can be effective. Roberts et al (1980) used two 15-minute films on the general nature of advertising and on common persuasive and production techniques. They discovered that children as young as six and as old as 12 adopted more sophisticated sceptical attitudes to advertising. Also, children of this age-range were able to apply information thus gained from the films to specific commercials. Another finding was that the effectiveness of the films was correlated with the amount of viewing, for heavy viewers increased their scepticism more than lighter viewers.

Desmond and Jeffries-Fox (1983) found that young children aged 6-8 could be made aware of sponsorship and selling intent in brief classroom activities. They tested the relative effectiveness of three methods: the traditional lecture method; the audiovisual approach (screening of commercials followed by a group discussion) and the role-playing approach in which children 'pretend' that they are advertisers and make up an advertisement. The role-sponsorship and selling intent, and the audiovisual approach was best at reducing trust in commercials.

2.5 Processes of 'Mediation'

Recent research in media education is gradually shifting its attention from the child in the school to the child at home, where most television viewing takes place in the presence of parents, siblings and 'guest-viewers'. Both ethnographic (Lull, 1979; Anderson, 1985; Palmer, 1986) and psychological (Singer and Singer, 1982; Wartella and Reeves, 1987;

Dorr, 1986) studies appear to confirm that parents and siblings are active mediators of the child's appreciation and understanding of television.

Mediation or intervention by parents, teachers, siblings or even television itself has been scrutinised for children's learning about the media, by a few researchers. The most noteworthy study is that of Corder-Bolz (1980), After a review of four such mediation studies he states that mediation by teachers (or 'significant others') during televiewing (by children aged 5-10) increased the learning of lessons from educational television as well as the ethical or normative dimensions of entertainment programmes. This mediation took the form of comments made by adults at two-minute intervals during the viewing.

A solitary study on newspaper literacy is that by Benedict et al (1976). The study/evaluation was designed to test the effect of education for media consumers at the high school level and to inquire into whether the high school newspaper might serve as an agent to increase the level of sophistication regarding the media (ibid.). Teachers who had no previous journalism training taught four units designed to help English and Social Studies teachers use the school newspaper in their classrooms. The same questionnaire was used for the pre- and post-test. The questionnaire contained sections on newspaper use, knowledge and understanding. The evaluation demonstrated that there was an increase in the level of sophistication among the experimental group but did not support the hypothesis that the group would pay greater attention to the metropolitan papers.

CONCLUSION

Research in media education is extremely limited and scattered. Three areas of research have in recent years received some attention. The first is international surveys and bibliographies generally sponsored by UNESCO and carried out by Western scholars. The representation of media education experiments in developing countries in these accounts is minimal; that of English-speaking countries over-emphasized. Further, often media education is taken to be synonomous with educational technology, as in discussions of the Satellite Instructional Television

Experiment (SITE) in India. In the attempt to search for 'patterns' or 'approaches' the divergences among national or regional organizations within countries, and between countries, are glossed over. The perspectives in media education discussed in this chapter have, therefore, to be seen in general rather than narrow terms as representing emerging trends in some countries and only in some experiments.

The second area of research is evaluation studies of the curricula or the pedagogic methods in media education. Wittebols' (1983) and Tufte's (1984, 1986) research on pedagogic methodology fall into this area; the first an investigation into the comparative values of discussion, production and lectures or a combination of all three methods; the second on the benefits of teaching media education through video production. The evaluation of nationwide programmes in France, Scotland and the United States point to the path future evaluations of media education might take.

The third area of research in media education is the process of mediation by the teacher at school, of parents and siblings at home, and of peers, opinion leaders and others in the community. Related to this research is investigation into the sociology and psychology of children and youth. The latter has been extremely valuable to the planning of curricula and the teaching methods for children of different ages.

The majority of these studies are of an applied rather than a theoretical nature. It could, of course, be argued that no research is atheoretical, and that in the case of media education the development of theory is in the praxis. Nevertheless, any programme of research in media education has to go beyond both evaluative research (in terms of knowledge-gains through pre-and post-tests) and the development of concepts and tools of media analysis. There is a need to relate educational theory with media theory and in the process develop a theory (or more appropriately, theories) of media education founded on different philosophies of education (e.g. Gandhian or Freirian), and communication theories, but above all, on local traditions and cultures.

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA EDUCATION IN INDIA: A PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION STUDY

This chapter examines the awareness among Indian researchers in communication and education about the new field of study known as Media Education, and reports on some attempts made over the last decade to run courses in the subject for students and for teachers in different parts of the country. Three workshops for teachers at which this researcher was a participant-observer are reported on, and evaluated from a communication research perspective. The chapter concludes with an attempt to set out some broad principles and concepts that are currently shaping the development of media education in India.

3.1 Awareness of Media Education

The concept of Media Education as an area of study which aims at promoting critical thinking about the mass media (as opposed to the use of the mass media as tools for furthering educational objectives) is fairly new to educationalists and mass communication researchers in India. Indeed, a search through the annotated bibliographies on educational research (Buch, 1974) and on mass communication research (IIMC, 1975, 1982, 1984) does not yield a single article on the subject. I learned from my interviews with the faculty of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi, the Department of Journalism and Communication (Osmania University), and with researchers at the Development Education and Communication Unit (DECU), Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad, that Media Education was a novel idea to them. Media Education was invariably thought of as the practical use of the mass media to teach and to educate the masses, as in the schools programmes on radio and television, and the 'Countrywide Classroom' put out by the University Grants Commission on Doordarshan. Reflecting on the media themselves was not seen as a possible area of study and research. There was, in fact, a general confusion between Media Education and

Educational/Instructional Media. The researchers were unaware of the programmes in Media Education conducted over the past decade by Amruthavani Communication Centre (Secunderabad), the Xavier Institute of Communications (Bombay), Chitrabani (Calcutta), and latterly by the Culture and Communication Institute (Madras).

In 1983-84, Doordarshan ran a series on film appreciation in collaboration with the faculty of the Film and Television Institute of India, Poona. The series looked at cinema as a serious art form rather than as a form of popular entertainment. It skirted the vital issues of the economics, politics and sociology of Indian films and the popular response to them. That series has been the only attempt on the part of official government media to educate the public about the history and development of a mass medium such as the cinema.

3.2 Media Education for High School Students

Media Education has been taught since the late 'seventies in High School classes of a few schools in Bombay, Hyderabad-Secunderabad, Calcutta and Madras, but as a subject outside the formal school curriculum. The initiative in all these cities has been taken mostly by enthusiastic individuals after their return from communication studies abroad. The support of educational authorities to this essentially private enterprise has been rather lukewarm, as this researcher gathered from the individuals concerned themselves and from other sources. The chairman of the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), a Central (federal) Government body that runs the largest number of schools in the country, has expressed some interest in the new subject of study, and so has the National Curriculum and Research Training (NCERT), but the formal introduction of media education as a part of the curriculum, and more importantly, as an examination subject is likely to take many years to win the approval of governmental and educational authorities.

I. The Amruthavani Programme

The first Indian programme in media education was launched in the mid-'seventies by the Amruthavani Communication Centre at Secunderabad. It was called a 'Media Utilization Course' (MUC) for High School students of

primarily 'convent' schools in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. It was (and still continues to be after a decade) a voluntary fee-paying course held once a week outside school hours at the Centre, and not in any school environment. As the Centre's letter to the parents says: Once a week your child will stay for an hour later than the others and attend the course on the premises of Amruthavani. At school your child will be under the special care of a teacher from the school itself, at Amruthavani your child will be under the care of our instructor.

Programme Objectives

A scrutiny of the aims of the course set out in the letter to the students suggests a moralistic and protectionist approach. You need, says the letter, to analyse and understand why something is good or bad. Besides, if you do not want to be misled or to be made use of by the media, some study of the media will be essential. Another reason given for the need for media education is 'lots of students spend a great deal of time in reading books, magazines, listening to the radio and records, viewing television and cinema'. The letter stresses 'active participation' rather than 'being content with a passive role'.

Programme Content and Teaching Methods

A close examination of the syllabus set out for the course and the printed booklets/texts on each of the mass media suggests that the history, the language, the technical aspects of production and the types of programmes in each medium are the topics accorded priority. The social, political and economic dimensions do not find any mention. A former director of the course told me that the course stressed the uniqueness of the languages of each of the mass media. Nor is there any mention of the need for a critical analysis of media products in their socio-cultural setting. The media, it transpires, are looked at in isolation, the ultimate aim being to prepare students to enter the fields of broadcasting and journalism. Says the letter to the parents: 'Besides helping your child to understand the language of the media, this course can serve as a first step towards a more intense study of the media. After High School graduation your child is ready to enter the professional fields of broadcasting and journalism'. The course instructors told me with pride that some of the alumni had indeed become journalists. The

audiovisual materials (posters, charts, slides and films) they used to illustrate their lessons on media education, I observed, were for the most part produced in the West.

Organization and Finance

The present director of the Amruthavani course, a former school principal, sees her role to be that of an administrator rather than as a teacher. The pioneers of the programme had their communication training abroad. I met one of the pioneers for a discussion of his experience at Amruthavani where he had been from 1981 to 1984, and had helped put together booklets on radio, television, cinema and newspapers which now form the basic texts for the course. Besides, he was actively involved during those three years with training teachers for the MUC, observing lessons given by them, and occasionally taking classes himself when the teachers were absent. He told me that he encouraged the use of both the lecture method and the participatory discussion methods. However, the regional bishops were not appreciative of MUC, and provided no adequate support since it showed no tangible achievements or results.

Financially, the MUC was not self-sufficient. He himself was paid no salary. He also found that there was no motivation for the students to complete the two-year course. Out of 400 students who enrolled every year barely 150 remained to the end. The students paid five rupees per month but travelled to and from Amruthavani at their own expense. The course ran once a week for four semesters, with around eight sessions each on radio, television, cinema and newspapers. He suggested that media education could take off at Amruthavani or elsewhere in India only when it was introduced as a subject for the school examination. Also, financial and administrative support from school authorities was imperative.

II. Xavier Institute's 'Mediaworld'

The Xavier Institute of Communications, Bombay, has since the mid-'sixties been teaching part-time evening professional courses in journalism, advertising and marketing, public relations, photography, audiovisuals and film production, and in recent years, television production too. In 1979 it started a programme of media education for high school students of Bombay.

The programme was based on Minkkinen's General Curricular Model (1978) (Coelho, 1985) though in later years it has been influenced by the writings of Canavan (1979), and Masterman (1980, 1985).

As with the Amruthavani venture this course is outside the pale of the formal school system and is a voluntary fee-paying part-time experiment. But there the similarity ends. Known as 'Mediaworld' this course is run on school premises by a team of practising primary and secondary school teachers, though in the first few years communication lecturers from the Xavier Institute and the Sophia Polytechnic taught the course.

Programme Objectives

The assumptions and objectives of media education are summed up in a 'A Statement of Purpose':

It is at high school that students form their habits regarding the use of the communications media. Yet there is little the present curriculum can offer students by way of initiation into a critical and rewarding use of the media. In spite of the fact that the mass media influence the adolescent mind more strongly than either school, church or family, very little has been done in this country to help young people understand what comunications is all about (Pereira, 1981).

The main objective then is 'to develop a critical attitude towards the media', 'to foster the creative imagination with regard to the media and to develop a critical attitude towards its values' (ibid.). The hope is that 'this course completes what the student learns in school, and widens his perception of the audiovisual culture in which we are all immersed' (ibid.). The 'Statement of Purpose' has been considerably revised over the years so that today much less emphasis is placed on media 'influences' or on 'immersion' in an audiovisual culture. Instead, it speaks of today's young people as being 'surrounded' by the modern media, and of an 'audiovisual culture in which we are all involved' (Mediaworld Brochure, 1986).

Programme Content and Teaching Methods

The programme seeks to achieve its objectives in twelve two-hour sessions

spread over two months and a half during the monsoon season every year. Its components are: (1) a basic understanding of how media operate in society; (2) practical exercises to sharpen critical awareness, and (3) a group project using communication tools (Pereira and Lobo, 1985). Three of the sessions deal with advertising, the next three with newspapers and four on the cinema. The final two sessions are devoted to practical projects like putting together an advertisement, a chart, a poster, a wall newspaper or a scrapbook, and to guided visits to film or communication institutes. Unlike the Amruthavani course, 'Mediaworld' does not not have course books or texts, but uses worksheets and printed handouts for discussion and analysis. Some of the questions raised during the sessions which are 'animated' rather than taught include: How deeply has the media affected you? What kind of films do you see? Are they all fantasies or are they based on reality? Is the press really a monopoly? In whose hands is the control of the media? Is this control commercial, or political, or ideological? Why are advertisements called 'hidden persuaders'? Are all advertisements varnished lies?

Organization and Finance

Over the last seven years the programme has been held at least once in 17 schools in the city and the suburbs, with the active support of the school authorities. The usual procedure followed is for the school principal to be approached, and when his permission is obtained, students of Standard (or Class) IX are addressed by the Mediaworld co-ordinator. An information sheet giving precise details of the course is distributed. Students registering for the course are interviewed before they are selected. Generally, no more than 30 students from a school are recruited. The registration fee of Rs. 45 for the entire course meets the running expenses of the course (teachers' stipends, hire of materials, course notes, and travel) (ibid.).

III. The Tamilnadu Experiment

The Culture and Communication Institute at Loyola College, Madras, has conducted a media education programme for High Schools and Higher Secondary Schools in Tamilnadu since 1983, the International Year of Communication. Known as an 'educommunication' programme (after the UNDA term for media education) it was started in response to the Vatican II decree, Inter Mirifica, and to the Pastoral Instruction, Communio et Progressio, of Pope

Paul VI (Jayapathy, 1986).

Programme Objectives

The programme has two main objectives: (1) to impart media awareness and help students develop a critical appreciation of the media, and (2) to teach students some skills in mass media and group media. The syllabus was formulated in consultation with the Xavier Institute of Communications, Bombay. The emphasis in the Tamilnadu experiment is on practical exercises. This action-oriented approach is yielding good results by way of continued media activities by the participants long after the course is over (ibid.). For instance, one group of participants formed themselves into a Sadhana (or Media) Club after a workshop in Dindigul in 1983, and are now engaged in many media activities. Besides practical exercises, the students are introduced to the 'big' and the 'small' media such as posters, puppetry and street theatre.

The procedure followed for organizing the programme in different schools is initiated by a letter to all the Headmasters of Jesuit schools, or by a personal meeting with them to explain what the programme was all about and what benefits would accrue to the students from it. Most principals contacted welcomed the idea and were willing to have the workshop conducted in their schools (ibid.).

Organisation and Finance

The difficulties encountered by the Madras team of teachers have in the main related to scheduling and programme content. Some participants complained that they had too many activities during school days and so were not able to devote enough time for follow-up of the sessions (Britto, 1986). Adjusting courses to school time tables and to the availability of audiovisual equipment and software also pose a problem sometimes (ibid.). The films screened during the courses are obtained from the Films Division as also from from foreign consulates. The Indian Tourism Development Corporation has helped out with a stock of posters. Other material used include the Walt Disney film on the history of communication, 'Get the Message', sets of slides on the 'Art of the Poster' (produced by Xavier's, Bombay), and Chitrabani's 'Mediation' (which is a tape-slide collage of Indian

advertisements).

III. The Chitrabani Experiment

An equally significant albeit short-lived experiment in media education was carried out in the early 'eighties by Gaston Roberge at the Chitrabani Communication Centre, Calcutta. It was essentially an attempt to get a group of young people to explore the popular cinema as a form of entertainment rather than as an art form, through informal discussion and reflection. Roberge describes his method as 'the method of discovery which is determined in pace and content by the students of a particular group and by the film available at one time' (Roberge, 1985:147). This method, he observes, is 'synthetic' (many subjects are dealt with simultaneously), 'organic' (it involves all the students' faculties) and 'cyclic' (the same subjects are dealt with several times at various levels) (ibid.). It matters little, he believes, whether you start with film, advertising or any other medium. What is required is to probe into the media environment. From the sociological point of view a film is an environment, though from the point of view of the cinema-goer, it is an emotional experience; from the point of economics, a film is a commodity. Thus, a film is not art first and foremost; it is always a commodity, an experience, an environment (ibid.).

Roberge is critical of Minkkinen's (1978) general curricular model for mass media education within the secondary school curricula as it is 'almost entirely based on the experience of Western industrialized countries. The proposed model would in fact be harmful if it were adopted, even with significant changes, by countries like India' (ibid.).

3.3 Media Education Training Programmes for Teachers

A media education programme can make very little progress without the commitment of teachers. Since 1981 when the first Teacher Training Workshop was conducted, teacher training has been a major priority at the Xavier Institute's 'Mediaworld' programme. Five such workshops have been held over the years with an average of 10-15 teachers being trained. The Workshops are on 'Audiovisual Language and Film' and combine theory with the teaching of skills. Practical exercises like visualization, scripting and preparing slide-sound presentations are included. The Workshops are meant to help

teachers increase their knowledge and understanding of the media and train them in skills required for meaningful and effective teaching (Pereira and Lobo, 1985). However, few of these teachers have managed to start courses in their own schools or joined the team of eight 'Mediaworld' teachers who have been shouldering the responsibility of running the courses in different schools year after year. Our aim has been to decentralize the teaching, says the programme director. When a new unit begins, we organize the course and do the teaching the first year with the understanding that the school should undertake the organization and teaching the following year. Hardly any school has managed to provide this follow-up, even where teachers have been given the necessary training and orientation.

I met the director and the eight teachers involved during my fieldwork in Greater Bombay. One member of the 'Mediaworld' team offered this explanation: The programme was originally intended for Std. X (i.e. High School) students. However, by 1983, changes in the school curriculum increased the academic load of study. An acceleration in competition forced students to take intensive coaching in Maths and Science outside school hours. As a result, Std. X students (aged 15+) could not participate in the programme. It was therefore decided to offer the same course to Std. IX students (aged 14+ years). As we began to use the course material we discovered that conceptually they were too young to absorb certain ideas, e.g. the financial considerations which determine media products since they have to be bought and sold as any commercial product in a competitive market. Further, an analysis of newspapers was heavy going as they were not conversant with current political trends. By 1984 we discovered that the academic pressure of Std. X had begun to reflect iself in Std. IX. Attendance dropped to less than 50% when we were halfway through the course. The teaching team also experienced difficulties in sustaining the course since, with the exception of one, all were full time teachers in schools and badly needed the respite of the weekly holidays themselves (Monteiro, 1987).

It must be remembered that the programme was run on the weekly school holiday, not on weekday evenings as was the case in the Amruthavani course. The regular monsoon courses in media education have since 1985 been abandoned in favour in Media Education Camps lasting for five days. The first such

Camp for students of two suburban schools was held during the Diwali holidays in October 1986. One of the teachers involved in teaching at the Camp commented, 'It was a great success, especially since a tinge of competition crept in between the groups from the two schools' (Monteiro, 1986).

The teachers of the 'Mediaworld' team would like to see media education integrated into the school curriculum, or else, it will be looked upon as a leisure activity which can be easily replaced or dispensed with (ibid.). If media education is not accepted as a part of the curriculum, the subject will not gain entry to many schools, especially those run by the Municipal Corporation. Regular funding from the Government is essential to give permanence and continuity to teaching, to curriculum development and preparation of teaching materials, and to research in media education (ibid.). The director himself looks upon media education as part of development education. If development is seen as the process whereby individuals slowly but definitely take control of their own lives, react to to their environment purposefully, and live in harmony with it, then media education is one way of coming to terms with the 'cultural environment' of media messages around us (Pereira, 1986). But development education should not rest with analysis; it should move on to creativity, particularly in the 'group media', the potential channels of alternative communication. There is no reason why media education in India should focus on the electronic media alone (ibid.).

3.4 Media Education for Teacher-Trainees

Besides the course in media education for High School students, and the Teacher Training Workshops, the 'Mediaworld' team has also been involved in introducing teacher-trainees in two schools of education to media education, as part of Education Technology, a subject recently started to upgrade teachers' skills in using audiovisual aids. The course in Education Technology has for the past four years been designed and conducted by the team. 'The students are acquainted with graphics and posters; audiovisual language and film language and grammar. The media are used as a stimulus for discussions, helping the participants analyse the content and merits of the audiovisual medium. In another workshop on 'The art of the Poster' geared to the interest of the junior school teacher, practical skills like lettering,

cartooning, and chalk-talk the attempt is to train teachers how to design creative posters, charts, wallboards and bulletin boards. The perspectives of the courses open teachers' minds to a new kind of language (audiovisual) and a new pedagogy through communications (Pereira and Lobo, 1985). I learned from my discussions with the principals of schools of education and heads of university departments of education in Bombay and elsewhere that there was some enthusiasm about integrating media education into the course on Education Technology. The general feeling, however, was that the teacher training courses were too overloaded to allow for the addition of a separate subject.

Parents' and teachers' bodies (such as PTAs) in Greater Bombay have shown some interest in media education. One member of the 'Mediaworld' team has been asked to address parents and youth groups on subjects like 'The Portrayal of Women in Indian Cinema', and 'The Media Environment and Young People' (Monteiro, 1987).

Three Workshops for Teachers

I was a participant-observer at three workshops in media education for teachers in different parts of India. The workshops were held in Palayamkottai (Tamilnadu), Secunderabad (Andhra) and Poona (Maharashtra).

a.The Palayamkottai Workshop

A five day workshop (October 2-6, 1985) on media education was organised at St. Xavier's College, Palayamkottai, by the staff of the Culture and Communication Institute, Loyola College, Madras, for 17 teachers (all men) from Jesuit middle and secondary schools of Tamilnadu. Two college lecturers from the departments of English and Economics respectively also took part. All the participants were deputed by their respective schools and were selected by the principals or headmasters on the basis of their interest in dramatics, drawing and other extra-curricular activities. Thus, the teachers came with the expectation of improving their skills in these areas rather than in being introduced to Media Education and media-related skills. This confusion arose, I was informed, despite the detailed briefing provided to heads of schools by the organisers.

The workshop began with a 'break-in' game and the screening of Walt Disney's animation film, Get the Message. The director of the Culture and Communication Institute then introduced the participants to the meaning of communication and the various types of communication, but in particular to interpersonal communication, and the 'open-ended' nature of photo-language. The afternoon session was devoted to an introduction to puppetry, and to a practical script-writing exercise for a puppet show.

The 'media environment' was the theme of the second day's sessions in the morning and afternoon. Roberge's audiovisual on slides, Mediation, was the starting point of an animated discussion on advertising, posters and the media environment, with Jayapathy acting as moderator. A lot of interest was evinced in the 'psychology' of colour - of warm and cool colours, of primary, secondary, and complementary colours. A practical session on poster-making then followed.

The form and content of Tamil magazines were taken up for critical analysis on the third day. The publishing of magazines is big business in Tamilnadu which has the most widely circulated popular magazines in the whole country. But more popular and with greater political clout in the State is the Tamil cinema. The fourth day of the workshop began with an interesting exposition of the 'structural' method of film analysis by Muthukumarswamy, a media researcher at the University of Madras. The method is based on Levi Strauss' writings on structural anthropology and involves classification of incidents or happenings in a popular art form according to themes which are binary opposites (e.g. life and death; gain, loss and regain, etc.) The limitations of the method was evident in the practical exercise in the film discussion that followed the video-screening of the Kamlahasan comedy, Khakhichettai. The recent film has a skeleton plot with just a few incidents thrown in to maintain audience interest. The method apparently works only for strong narratives such as the Tamil epic, Silapathikaram, which Muthukumarswamy used to illustrate it. Further, the narrative would need to develop in a linear manner to a persuasive climax and conclusion. The 'structural' approach would thus be extremely valuable as an analytical tool for mythologicals, tragic love-stories, crime thrillers and histories, but not so valuable for dissecting social comedies and musicals, the main genres in Indian cinema.

How it would work with High School students in a classroom situation was a question not raised at the workshop.

The fourth day was rounded off with introductory exercises in street-play acting (of the Badal Sircar school). The participants performed the stylised body-movements and improvised dialogue and characterisation with great verve and gusto, but would have liked more practice in enacting an actual street play and also in getting tips on how to direct street plays. (The street play, incidentally, is a widely used traditional theatre form in community development projects in Tamilnadu (cf. Thomas, 1987)).

The final session was devoted to an evaluation of posters and charts made by the participants individually and in small groups. This was followed by an evaluation of the whole workshop. In the evaluation of posters and charts too heavy a stress was perhaps put on balance, harmony and a conventional aesthetic. The evaluation of the workshop was conducted through a free-ranging discussion moderated by Jayapathy. The main points that emerged from the discussion were:

1. A lot of information was provided during the 'input' sessions but these needed to be supplemented with printed or xeroxed 'notes'.
2. A more adequate preparation of the participants for such a course on the media was necessary. Most participants came to the workshop with the impression that it would be on dramatics.
3. In the practical exercises further practice in script-writing for street plays was required.
4. An advanced workshop would be essential if the participants were to teach media education in High Schools. Of great help also would be a 'workbook' on the media for students.

A written evaluation too was requested from participants. The teachers were asked to submit their views on the following:

1. What skills did you possess for your principal/headmaster to select you for the workshop?
2. What new and useful skills have you learnt at the workshop?
3. How can some of the suggestions made be implemented?
4. Which aspects of the workshop do you consider useless?

5. What suggestions would you like to offer to conduct the workshop in a more effective manner?
6. Are there any other points you would like to raise?

2. The Amruthavani Workshop

Twenty five teachers from ten Catholic schools of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad took part in a five-day Basic Teacher Training Seminar (October 11-16, 1985) on the theme, Mass Media Acquaintance, at the Amruthavani Communication Centre, Secunderabad. All the teachers (22 women and 3 men) were from the secondary schools and taught subjects like English and the social and physical sciences. Since the majority of teachers were from schools which participated in the Media Utilization Course (MUC) of Amruthavani the expectations they came with were a greater familiarization with the mass media and with the method of teaching the media in the classroom.

The Seminar opened with a word of welcome from the deputy director, Bro. Hubert de By (a professional television producer from the Netherlands), and the screening of a prayerful audiovisual of the Lord's Prayer. Myron Pereira (the director of the 'Mediaworld' programme in Bombay) then introduced the teachers to the distinctions between formal and non-formal learning (he termed them 'day-time' and 'night-time' learning), to the basic concepts and types of communication, and finally to terms like 'mass society' and 'mass culture'. Pereira's pedagogic method of building up an 'input' session through the eliciting of the participants' views was generally well-liked; so was his use of the opening audiovisual to illustrate some points on communication.

A similar pedagogic method was employed by Marie Fernandes in the afternoon session on the art of making posters. What emerged from the lively discussion was the teachers' enthusiasm for this art-form, though chiefly as a teaching aid rather than as a means of creative expression. The stress was on the 'skills' of poster-making, but the role of the poster in media education was not at all touched on. The discussion on line, form and colour symbolism was lively but could have easily led to an analysis of

representations in the posters. This is an aspect of poster-making that has a vital place in media education (which was the subject of the seminar); else, the programme would be just another exercise in the development of 'audiovisual skills' for the purpose of making classroom learning more interesting. Media training for teachers has to move beyond the teaching of 'skills' (educational technology, in other words) if it is to qualify as media education.

The sessions on poster-making and collage took up the whole of the second day of the seminar. These were practical exercises done by the participants themselves in groups of four to five members. In the critiques of the posters and collages by the staff, criteria of aesthetics rather than functionality dominated. No attempt was made to veer the discussion to a consideration of the ways in which the images were constructed or of the images themselves. Posters came to be looked upon as art-forms or as teaching aids rather than as 'alternative' and 'small' media which often challenge the representations of the 'big' media.

The entire third day of the Seminar was devoted to 'Film Appreciation'. Christopher Coelho, a staff member of Amruthavani, spoke on the characteristics of a 'great' film and ways of demystifying the cinema for children. A 'great' film, he argued, was like a poem; it bore repetition. Moreover, it reflected life, told a good story and was credible and liberating. He urged the participants to demystify the cinema by demonstrating the 'illusion' of cinema (separating the actor from the star, for instance), by discussing films with children and teaching them to be critical of the kind of films they see and thus guiding them in their choice. His approach to film study was protectionist, even moralistic, looking at cinema as art rather than as popular entertainment. He dismissed popular commercial cinema as of little worth. This theoretical discussion left very little time for an exchange of views among participants. It was followed by a screening of Karuna Maidu (Life of Christ), The Gold Rush and 1001 Dalmatians. Hardly any exchange of views took place on the films, though Coelho's recounting of his experience of making Karuna Maidu (as its co-director and script-writer) did provide the participants some insight into film-making in India.

The impact of television was the theme for the fourth day of the Seminar. Hubert de By dwelt on the change (as he perceived it) brought about by television in the family, in society and culture. The world has today become a 'global' village, he explained, and went on to exaggerate the 'power' of television. Just one example out of the many he offered to demonstrate its power would suffice: the incidence of bank robberies increased after the showing of the film The Great Bank Robbery.

Bro. De By elaborated on the differences between television and the print media: television is intimate, immediate, involves and is value-loaded; print is cold, remote and rational. The combination of actual demonstrations of lighting, different types of shots, and sound effects with theory and 'pep' talks on the urgency to switch over to the new educational technologies in the classroom did work well. The 'pep' talks, on the other hand, could have been dispensed with, considering how few Indian schools are equipped with television sets or film projectors. The session concluded with a video screening of Mr Chettu, an Amruthavani venture on the conservation of the environment. Here again there was very little discussion of the documentary.

The final day of the Seminar was to have introduced participants to audiovisuals (slide-shows) but since the speaker was indisposed the session was replaced by a tour of the various departments of the Amruthavani Centre, and a demonstration of the processing of slides in the Centre's laboratory. Later in the afternoon, an 'evaluation' session was moderated by the director of the programme. Two methods were employed to evaluate the Seminar. In the first, the participants were asked to write letters to fellow-teachers on what they missed by not coming to the Seminar, and in the second, to fill in an Evaluation Form drawn up by the Xavier Institute of Communications. The Form asked the following questions:

1. What were your expectations when you joined the course?
2. Would you say your expectations have been fulfilled?
3. Which session did you like best? Any reasons?
4. Which session didn't you like at all? Any reasons?
5. Could you mention three points we could take into account to improve

this course in the future?

The Seminar concluded with a presentation of group songs and skits by the participants, and the distribution of certificates of attendance.

An Evaluation

The audiovisual 'starters' at the beginning of each day of the Seminar were prayerful all right but could have been dispensed with unless directly related to the topic of the day. Hardly any of them were in fact directly relevant. Brief discussions on the content and their modes of representation of religious ideas could have made them valuable material for media education, but unfortunately, no such discussions were encouraged. Further, because of the time taken up by the showing of the audiovisuals very little time was left for the first session of each day. Their total Christian orientation - as of the Seminar as a whole - did not show much respect for the presence of Hindu and Muslim participants.

The power and impact of the modern technological media were wildly exaggerated in most sessions; so was the passivity of audiences, especially when the audiences were young, poor or illiterate. The introduction of terms like 'mass society' and 'mass culture' without the sociocultural context in which they had their roots, and the sociological and psychological assumptions implied by the terms, did not make much sense to the teachers participating. I learned from my conversations with the participants that they found the practical exercises on the production of posters, charts and collages of some value, though they felt that too much time was devoted to them. Indeed, the sessions on posters and collages could have been clubbed together, and at least a brief discussion on the use of posters in advertising (as distinct from posters as classroom aids) would have been more relevant to the theme of the Seminar: Media Acquaintance. The development of communication skills was not at all related to to Media Education in both the Palayamkottai and the Amruthavani courses for teachers. Instead, the focus was on the skills related to effective classroom teaching, and to personal creativity. Both courses needed to to go beyond the development of such skills in the craft of poster-making and script-writing, to a discussion of the images and representations in the media.

Further, both the courses were far too media-centred with little or no reference to the socio-economic and sociocultural contexts in which media work. The media were, moreover, treated as art forms and hence talked out in terms of aesthetic criteria. In such an approach, media products tend to be turned into texts for critical appreciation rather than as products of popular entertainment for the hours of leisure, or as a backdrop to the hours of work, or even as tools for the promotion of education and development.

The use of terms like 'media environment' and 'mass culture' gives the impression that the modern media are entities separate and apart from us and our communities and societies. The symbiotic relationship between society and the media is thus overlooked. Further, the fixation of attention on the media alone hinders our seeing how much media rely on society for their basic character. (Bauer, 1979). Indeed, a relevant Media Education programme 'is part of the initiation of the young into social life (Roberge, 1985, emphasis added).

3. Advanced Teachers' Workshop

The purpose of this workshop held in Poona (January 11-14, 1986) was not to develop technical skills but intellectual ones; to probe the hidden value structure in the mass media, according to the letter written to potential participants. The hidden values most often portrayed in the media, the letter elaborated, were 'sexism' (women and media) and 'colonialism' (anti-development). The method for the workshop comprised discussions, analyses, screenings and occasional assignments. The majority of the participants (12 in all) had been to a 'basic training' workshop either with 'Mediaworld' or Amruthavani, or were actively involved in teaching the media in high school or in college. Among the participants were school teachers from Hyderabad, Secunderabad, and Bombay, a school principal from Nasik, and a college lecturer from Goa.

Myron Pereira, the director of 'Mediaworld' and 'animator' of the workshop, introduced the participants to the meaning of 'media education for values'. He explained that the media contribute to the formation of the emotional part of our lives as much as to the formation of values. But values are contextual, some of the contexts of values being the family, the peer group,

and the school. The media often create a tension in the child between, for instance, parental values and media values. Media values are embodied in the explicit and implicit messages in the various media. The messages, in their turn, present values that are coded according to different coding systems. Taking off from Masterman (1980) he proceeded to discuss four questions: (1) Who is responsible for media representations?; (2) What are the dominant techniques and codes currently employed in conveying meaning?; (3) What values are implicit in the world so constructed?; and (4) How are these media representations perceived by the viewers? This introduction established the pace and the approach to group discussions of media products and to critical analyses of terms like 'development', 'emancipated woman', 'oppressed woman' and 'The New World Information Order' in relation to the modern media. Copies of recent articles on the cinema and television from the Indian press which were to provide the main background reading for the workshop, were then distributed to the participants.

Much of the time of the workshop was spent in video screenings of British television documentaries, 'Top of the Pops', and Indian feature films. The documentaries included The Global Village, McLuhan, and a candid-camera venture on divorce in Britain. The Indian films screened included Subah, a study of an educated middle class woman who devotes herself to caring for women abandoned by their husbands and families. The liveliest discussion of the workshop was on the values of family, freedom and the working woman as projected in this 'feminist' film.

Western pop music and the life-styles associated with it was the subject of discussion at one of the workshop sessions. Also discussed was the influence of the music video on Indian youth. The discussions were geared to the examination of content, and in particular to content oriented to values. But since the workshop was largely unstructured and exploratory there was no attempt to arrive at a consensus, or even to synthesize the various strands of the analysis of media products.

3.3 An Evaluation of Indian Experiments

Media education is still at an experimental stage in India. The experiments have in the main been so far conducted by church-related organisations. But

considering that the Christian churches form the largest single private body running secondary schools in India, that should surprise no one. The Jesuit order alone has 90 schools under its wing. The Archdiocese of Bombay has 107 schools. Though at least two of the projects in Media Education have been regular courses for the last decade or so there has been no systematic attempt made to evaluate any of the courses. The only evaluations carried out have been ad hoc and cursory in the form of assessments and comments offered by participants at the end of each course. An isolated empirical attempt at evaluation of a short course for secondary school teacher-trainees was made in 1986 at a school of education. It took the form of a self-administered questionnaire which asked the teacher-trainees to 'rate the effectiveness of each of the units taught in achieving the overall objectives'. The units related to film-making, advertising and social control, and the psycho-social effects of film and television.

The objectives were:

1. To understand the manner in which films and advertising are industries which operate in order to make profits by appealing to mass audiences;
2. To develop the skill of evaluating the content and techniques of these media; and
3. To become aware of the effect of film and advertising in our own value formation.

The rating was set out on a five-point scale ranging from 'to a very great extent' to 'not at all'. The participants were also asked if they would recommend the course to school teachers and to parents. In an open-ended question, the students were requested to give their suggestions 'to help us to improve the course'.

Sixty-seven teacher-trainees (66 women and one man) responded to the questionnaire. An analysis of the results suggests that a majority of the trainees gave an average rating of 4 to each of the units of the course. Ninety per cent of the trainees stated they would recommend the course to teachers and parents. Over 30 suggestions were made for improving the course.

3.5 CBSE Syllabus in Media Education

In 1984, five members of the 'Mediaworld' team including this researcher drew up a syllabus in media education. Commissioned by the Central Board of Secondary Education, New Delhi, the syllabus had two parts: The Mass Media in India, and The Media Environment. The first part was informative, while the second was theoretical and evaluative. The topics included in the syllabus were: Understanding Cinema; Advertising; Television and Us; Print Prevails; Pop Music; Censorship; Effects of the Visual Media on Society; and the Changing World of Communications. With this syllabus worked out in detail, and a textbook based on this syllabus now ready for publication, it has become possible for Central Board schools all over the country to introduce media education as an optional subject in the Higher Secondary classes. A two-day workshop to discuss the syllabus and the textbook was organised in August 1984 for the principals of CBSE schools in Bombay. The CBSE chairman and a dozen principals participated in the workshop. The discussions related to whether media education should be part of the curriculum or treated as a co-curricular subject; the type of methodology to be employed for treating different topics in the syllabus; and whether media education should be linked with other subjects. The present curriculum already has 16 subjects. The principals, therefore, generally felt that introducing media education as a separate subject would not be possible. However, it could be taught as an optional subject in Class X. Some participants suggested that media education be integrated with existing subjects so that it did not appear as a new or additional subject of study.

The CBSE has been instrumental in introducing Population Education, and more recently Value Education as courses of study in secondary schools. Perhaps it will use its influence to give a similar status in the curriculum to media education, most likely as an 'enrichment module'. Further, Value Education is taught (as a part of Moral Science) in over 30 private schools in Greater Bombay. One of the key aims is 'to counteract the artificialness of today's consumer society'. Some analysis of advertising and the media is introduced occasionally by teachers of the subject.

CONCLUSION

Brown (1987) has set out 21 distinct criteria for evaluating projects in

Critical Viewing Skills in the United States and other selected countries. Most of the 23 American projects evaluated have now run their course. We do not have more than three regular projects currently in India, and though two of them have been around for almost a decade, and the third for four years, there has been hardly any attempt at evolving principles and concepts of a philosophy of media education for the Indian situation.

Some broad principles and concepts, however, can be garnered from the few experimental ventures in different parts of the country. The common approach is underscored by a definite 'pro-values' rather than a 'value-neutral' orientation. The values sought to be promoted are Christian or at least broadly humanistic. Further, the approach to the technological media such as the cinema and the press is critical but not entirely negative. The tendency though is to look at media products as art forms rather than as popular cultural forms with an aesthetic very different from that of traditional art or literature. Further, the media are for the most part considered in isolation, rarely in relation to each other and hardly ever in a sociocultural or socioeconomic context. This is characteristic in particular of the Amruthavani approach. Where the analysis of the media is concerned, there are few principles that are enunciated to guide students and teachers. Most analyses stop at the content, instead of moving on to probe questions such as those related to authorship and production, or to the media as institutions and industries. In sum, the media-centred approach of the Indian projects (like many of the projects world-wide) leaves little time for the larger social context in which students and teachers experience the media.

The pedagogy adopted in the media education projects is fairly open and loosely structured because of their non-formal setting. No course admits more than 30 students, thus making it possible to have group discussions and practical work in small teams. In the formal school setting, classes often have up to 60 students in small classsrooms where the talk-and-chalk or lecture system alone makes sense. This is the greatest advantage of teaching the media away from the formal school environment: it allows for an openness and a flexibility in curriculum and pedagogy. However, without the support of the school system, media education projects tend to be ad hoc, taking

place occasionally, without any systematic organised study over time. In fact, they tend to be one-shot affairs with no follow-up whatsoever. They turn into media 'camps' rather than media studies.

Roberge believes that the formal education system in India is not the place for Media Education as the system is built upon the ideology that preparation for examinations is all important. Further, it is not the place for the artistic or critical approach called for in media education since such an approach calls into question the nature of the existing society (Quoted in Pungente, 1985). The fact is that controversial topics are introduced in many current classroom subjects, and media education would not create the storm that Roberge fears. The nature of contemporary Indian society is already subject to critical examination in the mass media, especially in the press, the 'new' cinema and the theatre. School textbooks do not directly discuss sensitive subjects such as the Hindu-Muslim divide, but the interested teacher invariably touches on them, and he/she is free to do so. The role of the media finds an important place in discussions of the Indian Freedom Movement in textbooks on history; an extension of those discussions to contemporary India would not create a furore in the thriving democracy that India is. Indeed, the integration of media education into the school curriculum could provide opportunities for talking about existing society, and for thus bringing the two worlds of the classroom and society together, and hopefully, lead to a better understanding between them.

CHAPTER 4

MEDIA EDUCATION AND INDIAN PUBLIC POLICY

If Media Education is to be 'education for democratic communication' it cannot function in isolation from the sociocultural, political and economic situation of a nation. Just as the media are an organic part of society as much as education itself is, so must media education be part of the political and cultural life of a nation. If the objective is to create a 'critical national audience' (Reyes Matta, 1981), then media education will have to be imparted in an organized and systematic manner at various levels of society. This can be done as an integral part of the education system, or as an out-school extracurricualr activity. It can also be carried out in organized groups such as student unions, teachers' associations, parent-teachers' associations, trade unions, women's groups, consumer groups and social action groups. Thus media education at the school or college level has to be seen as part of a 'broader social process', as in Reyes Matta's model of democratic communication. The model also relates media education to public policy on communications; hence the need to explore that relationship.

The Government of India has official declared policies on communications and on related areas such as education, culture, science and technology, computers and telecommunications, but also unstated latent policies that are at work in the functioning of these departments. A highly centralized planned economy with the consitutional goals of socialism, democracy, and pluralism, the economic goal of self-reliance, and the political goal of non-alignment, cannot but be guided by carefully worked out long term policies for the development of the whole nation. However, there is often a deep chasm between profession of policy, and its practice at various levels of government.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the relationship between media education and national public policy. The formation of Indian public policy on communications and on related issues such as education, culture, science and technology, is then examined with a view to understanding likely implications of that policy for the nature and practice of media education. Indian public policy is examined through pronouncements in official government documents on education, science and technology, computers and communications, and the laws and legislation affecting these areas. It is also examined in the light of practices in the actual functioning of the media, as these reflect unstated and implicit policy regulations. In conclusion, we analyse the likely impact of official and unstated latent public policies on communications, on the development of media education aproaches and strategies with particular reference to High School education in Greater Bombay. (We examine the politics and economics of the communication industries in Chapter 5).

4.1 Media Education and Public Policy

The nature and practice of media education, particularly at the formal school or college level, is often influenced by public policy, especially those elements of public policy directly related to education and to communications. The relationship between media education and public policy is dialectical: media education provides training in the critical understanding and active participation in decision-making in public policy and planning; in its turn public policy attempts to influence the nature and practice of media education through regulating the nature and scope of formal education. In his 'model for democratic communication' Reyes Matta (1981:79-97) places media education or what he terms 'education for communication' within a framework of public and social policy, especially that related to communications. The model proposes the creation of a coordinating entity, and defines the administrative structure within which the media should operate and should ensure the possibility for all social sectors to communicate. The model is intimately related to the issues of 'access' (the right to receive and emit messages) and 'active participation' (the right to participate in decisions on the contents and nature of messages). The incorporation of systematic communication training in the school curriculum, according to Reyes Matta (ibid.), is

part of a much broader social process which involves the whole social system. If the audience, he argues, begins to develop an increasingly critical outlook towards the media, towards education for communication not only in the school but also in the entire social system, this type of training will become increasingly important to communication, and to democracy. (ibid.).

Need for Structural Mechanisms

Reyes Matta concedes that 'active participation' of the public in the communication process will be possible only when audiences are 'organized' at different social levels, and there exist representative institutional mechanisms in which the interests of society as a whole are coordinated with the delegation of society's right to information, and adequate structures for evaluation and appeal, designed to provide society with an activating and multidirectional process of communication, are established. The right to information is, after all, an individual and social right which is today 'delegated' to media professionals ('restricted groups') but who have 'appropriated' that right for themselves. Education for communication attempts to restore that right to information to the public and to society, and in the process seeks to influence public policy. Ultimately, though, the setting up of institutional mechanisms, of statutes that assure and ensure the right to information, the right to be informed, and the right to actively participate in decision-making is a political decision. Few Governments, even in Western democracies, are willing to take that decision; hence the halting development in media education programmes around the world. However, this is the ideal (perhaps 'utopian', according to Reyes Matta) that democratic communications strives for.

Central Control over Education

There is another manner of relationship between media education and public policy in the Indian context. School and college education in India is rigidly controlled and patterned on national public policy. Even private schools and colleges are obliged to adhere to national curricula. It must be noted that a body appointed by the Central Government, the National Council of Education and Research, formulates a 'model syllabus' in

various subjects for the entire country (Aranha, 1983). This is carried out on the recommendations of the General Advisory Board of Education, another Government-appointed body. Each state adapts and adopts this 'model syllabus' keeping in mind the regional needs and setting. In each State of the Republic, educationists from various districts coordinate to formulate the 'State syllabus'. This too is at the Governmental level, though educationists from private schools may be involved.

The Central and State Governments thus play a crucial role in education at the national, regional and local levels. The curriculum to be followed, the time-table of studies, the courses to be taught, the text materials and the appointment of teachers are prescribed by rules and regulations and sanctions of the Government (ibid.). Consequently, schools have hardly any choice in decision-making. The school authorities can only choose their own medium of instruction and manipulate minor changes under a given framework (ibid.). The University Grants Commission, the administrative and funding body of universities and colleges throughout the country, also lays down regulations on the nature and practice of higher education. However, the universities enjoy a certain measure of autonomy where academic matters are concerned, though within the bounds of general public policy.

Media education is thus related to the general education for active participation in the democratic process, according to the Reyes Matta model. For, the modern media, together with traditional and interpersonal media, set the agendas of public debate. The big and the small media, and the urban and the rural press are instrumental in reinforcing and moblising public opinion (Yadava, 1986). However, the public cannot participate in the democratic process if it is not informed, if structures for access and participation are not available, and (as is the case in many developing countries) it does not have the opportunity, the training, and the institutional mechanisms for talking back to the agenda-setters.

Place of Media Education in Public Policy

Media education does not find any specific place in public policy in India for the simple reason that the need for it has not been felt. Indeed, the

need for it has not been expressed in public, in any of the public or the private media, for instance. Neither has its need been much discussed in teachers' fora, or at parent-teachers' associations. Media professionals too have not given media education the attention it deserves. Of course, concern about the harmful 'effects' of the media, about the 'passive' viewing of cinema, television and video, has been voiced by teachers, parents, political leaders, women's groups, consumer groups and by media critics. But except for a few religious groups, social action groups and in recent times women's and consumer groups, little attention has been paid to media education by the public. These same groups frequently employ the folk and traditional media to educate the public about the misrepresentations and 'disinformation' propagated by the technological media. They also raise critical questions about the role of public policy on communications.

Besides, except for the cinema, (and in recent times, television and video) the technological media are not as widespread, and the 'threat' of their influence has not been so strongly felt. Furthermore, knowledge about media education as a subject of learning, has only in recent years come to be known in the country. Resistance to the introduction of media education has not been known to be widely expressed, either. Indeed, most officials in government departments of education, professors in university departments of education, as well as school teachers (cf Appendix II for complete list) this researcher spoke to were not hostile to the idea; they were, however, concerned about how it could find a place (or a status, for that matter) in an already over-crowded curriculum, or if this place was made available who would teach the subject, and the kind of pedagogy to be employed. One university head of department of education felt the need for introducing media education in schools of education, but wondered whether it was such a priority, after all, and where it could fit. A university head of the department of sociology said that introducing media sociology in his department would mean elbowing out other areas of sociology. This was also the concern expressed by principals of Central schools at a workshop held in Bombay in mid-1984 to introduce them to the relevance of media education in schools. This researcher was a resource-person for the workshop.

4.2 Formation of Public Policy

Policy is defined as a set of principles and norms established to guide practice in government. Public policy is the result of the political, economic and social events in the history of a nation; rarely is it the product of a single decision or a single incident. Public policy making is an historical process and the result of various forces, often in conflict, that control and influence the decision-making process at various levels. It is not merely the result of competing interests of organized groups but also of historical factors operating at the moment a policy is to be formed. Business and industry play a vital role too; so do the multinationals (Cf. Chapter 5 for the role of the multinationals in the media industries of India).

Further, public policy generally follows changes in society. For instance, policy on video piracy in India followed widespread complaints of filmmakers that illegal copies of popular Hindi films were freely available, and that 'video parlours' across the country were screening them. Policy on commercial broadcasting too followed the growing interest in the popularity of Hindi film music as evidenced in the widespread listenership to the commercial service of Radio Ceylon (as it was known then) which broadcast such music. Recent policy decisions on dowry, bride-burning, and suttee (self-immolation of widows), and the plight of divorced Muslim women, too have followed the outcry of women's organizations, and the exposure in the press of such practices. Public policy, therefore, is the accretion of decisions on specific issues over a period of time. A complex web of factors influence its formation: governmental, business and industry, citizen groups, technology, politics, economics, public interest, bureaucracy, and religious and caste sentiments (the last a crucial factor in Indian policy making).

Basically, there are two sources of a nation's public policy on communications: 1) official statements about goals and means embodied in legislation, regulations, reports of commissions and committees, parliamentary speeches, regulatory decisions, etc., 2) observable results

of communications decisions and practices. As in the United States, the Indian Government places great faith in explicit written Constitutions, laws, rules and regulations. However, in the actual functioning of Government, public policy is often bent to suit its political purposes.

The Indian Constitution

The principles and goals of Indian public policy are derived from the fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution. They form the core of the Constitution and together consititute its 'true conscience', according to Justice Chandrachud. The fundamental rights include the right to equality, to freedom of speech and expression, to freedom of religion ('the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion'), and cultural and educational rights to religious and linguistic minorities. The Directive Principles of State Policy are not enforceable in a court of law but are nevertheless 'fundamental' in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws. These principles include the duty of the government to work toward: equal distribution of wealth; provision of means of livelihood to all; equal pay for equal work for both sexes; maintenance and protection of the health of all citizens; to take special care of the depressed and backward sections. There is a national commitment in the Constitution to socialism, secularism, pluralism, and democracy. There is no reference to the 'right to information' or any special rights to the media, but the right to freedom of expression ensures these freedoms. Besides the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy are 'Fundamental Duties'. The most relevant to our discussion is the duty to preserve the country's 'composite culture'. This is the Nehruvian dictum, 'cultural unity amidst diversity' (Nehru, 1946), which is the basis of Indian pluralism. It is integral to Indian culture, to 'the complex and mysterious personality of India'; a 'true culture' that 'derives its inspiration from every corner of the world' but is 'home-grown and is based on the wide mass of the people' (ibid.).

4.3 Communications Policy

According to the Report of the Meeting of Experts on Communication Policies and Planning (UNESCO, 1972), communication policies are 'sets of principles and norms established to guide the behaviour of communication systems. Their orientation is fundamental and long-range, although they may have operational implications of short-range significance. They are shaped in the context of a society's general approach to communication'. Hamelink (1980) offers a political economy perspective in his definition of communication policy as 'a systematic, organic and specific set of principles of organization, action, control, evaluation and re-orientation, intended to direct the public planning of systems and social communication process, within a specific political framework, and according to a model of economic and social development'. Writing in the context of communication planning for developoment, Hancock (1981:12) believes that communication planning is 'the preparation of both long-range and short-range plans (i.e. strategic and operational) for the efficient and equitable use of communication resources in the context of a particular society's goals, means and priorities, and subject to its prevailing forms of social and political organisation'.

These attempts at defining communication policy fail to recognize the ad hocism and the tentativeness inherent in communication policy and planning, particularly in the kind of uncertain political and economic situation that prevails in contemporary India. As Sondhi (1983; 1985) notes, there is a certain ad hocism about communications planning and policy in India, in contrast to the government policies on education and on science and technology. Chatterjee (1987:199) and Desai (1977) aver that India does not have an explicitly defined national communication policy; the Press Commission Report has argued that a communications policy is 'not desirable' (Quoted in Chatterjee, 1987:202). One of the few attempts to draw up a communications policy resolution was made in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in the early 'seventies. It was considered that the adoption of such a resolution by Parliament would establish certain basic objectives which would not be subject to alteration from one minister to the next and could therefore be pursued

with some consistency over a reasonable period. This exercise was not, however, carried very far; at any rate no such communications policy resolution was ever discussed in Parliament (ibid.). A second initiative to start public discussion on a communications policy was taken by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1985; this too was not carried very far (Malhan, 1986).

Further, the above approaches fail to point out the linkages between communication policy and a nation's policies on other subjects such as science, technology and computer policies or even on cultural policies. As Teheranian (1979:122) justly argues, 'communication policy cannot be divorced from cultural policy, information policy, transportation policy, science and technology, and education policies. Some of these policies (such as cultural and information policies) are at the heart of a communications policy; others (such as transportation, education, science and technology policies) provide critical linkages and overlaps. These linkages appear in a set of legal (jurisdictions), political (control and accountability), economic (ownership and incentives), and organisational regulations governing the communications enterprise of a given political entity'.

The official declared policy on communications is often set out in Five Year Plan reports, in pronouncements of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, in legislation, and in annual reports of departments and other official goverment documents. If one were to go by these, one would observe 'a consistency with which the use of communications as tools for development have been stressed' (Desai, 1977:75-76). In recent years, there have been definite policy shifts in favour of adopting new communications technologies to accelerate the pace of development in the country (Yadava, 1987). Indeed, the communication scene is being transformed in fundamental ways so as to make satellites, computer, telecommunications, television and video major manifestations and symbols of development, modernization and progress (ibid.).

On the role of the mass media, the Seventh Plan Report (1985) spells out in specific terms what its objectives are. 'The major thrust of the plan

relating to mass media is to raise the level of people's consciousness, to enrich their cultural and social life and make them better informed citizens' (ibid.). Further, the media will act as a tool of education and extension and so narrow the education gaps between people from different walks of life. It will assist in enlarging the scope of education through special schemes like open universities. The Plan expects the use of media to help in spreading the spirit of national integration and motivate the people for achieving the national objectives. For this purpose, a skilful synthesis between modern and traditional folk forms of communication on the one hand and the modern audio-visual media on the other will be fully utilized. Radio, TV, films and other forms of audiovisual media will be pressed into service for this (ibid.).

The Seventh Plan Report (1985) embodies the new communications policy to which the Planning Commission and the Goverment have committed themselves. 'The modern communication system', says the Report, 'is an integral part of the development process, and can aid in the acceleration of the growth of the economy by providing the necessary motivation and information. Therefore in the Seventh Plan all existing communication capabilities - both hardware and software - will be harnessed and also augmented to the extent required. The electronic means -radio, TV, and telecommunications - will have to play a major role in this effort. While the communication system will be used to serve all segments of society, it will be developed to accord special priority to the rural people and to the deprived sections' (ibid.).

Such a strategy on the vital role of communications in support of development has, in fact, been at the core of officially declared policy right from the first Five Year Plan. This is how the first Plan argued for communications as a developmental tool: A widespread understanding of the Plan is an essential stage in its fulfilment. An understanding of the priorities which govern the Plan will enable each person to relate his or her role to the larger purposes of the nation as a whole. All available methods of communication have to be developed and the people approached through the written and the spoken word no less than through radio, film, song and drama (Quoted in Chatterjee, 1987:201).

This policy is also endorsed in the latest Annual Report (1985-86:1) of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. The Government of India has reiterated on several occcasions that the current expansion of the information infrastructure is aimed primarily at enhancing overall development, i.e. the achievement of economic, social and humanistic goals for all sections of society (Ghorpade, 1986:7). Though planning at five-year intervals is the officially declared strategy for the nation's economic development, there often exists a wide gap between profession and practice of policy. The Joshi Committee's report (1983), for instance, has noted 'the growing hiatus between profession and practice, between official policy prounouncements emphasizing use of television for development and education, and the increasing drift and departure from them in actual practice. The result was what some have called a credibility gap'. It concluded that 'the order in which Doordarshan fulfils the three functions of communication media is: entertainment first, information second, and education last'. Recent Doordarshan statistics too point to this conclusion. More than 70% of radio and television programming is devoted to entertainment, and developments in communication infrastructures have been restricted to urban areas (Srivastava, 1986; Rao, 1986; Ghorpade, 1986); barely six per cent of broadcast time on the national TV network is devoted to programmes for farmers and rural audiences (Yadava, 1988).

Thus, though not explicitly spelt out, the Indian Government has had a latent communication policy which is evident in the way it has exploited expansion in the media since Independence. Clearly, one of the objectives of the latent communications policy has been to consolidate the power and the influence of the Congress Party, particularly during the regime of Indira Gandhi, and currently under the regime of her son. The unprecedented expansion of satellite radio, television, and telecommunications in particular, over the last decade, has ensured that the Centre is in absolute control of information dissemination, under the pretext that decentralization would be a threat to national unity. The real fear is that opposition political parties in the States would challenge the power of national parties like the Indira Congress. Further, the Civil Service, the monolithic bureaucracy, the business and

industrial elites, and others have formed themselves into a communication alliance to support the ruling regime.

Table 1. Seventh Play Outlay for the Information Sector (in Rs. crores)

	Sector	6th Plan	7th Plan
1.	Sound Broadcasting	122.38	700.00
2.	Television	86.95	700.00
3.	Information & Publicity (including films)		
	(a) Centre	31.00	71.00
	(b) States	28.46	90.00
	(c) Union Territories	272.34	1569.00

(Source: Seventh Plan Report, 1985)

The financial outlay (in the table above) for the broadcasting and information sectors during the Seventh Plan demonstrates the government's priorities, whatever its declared policy. The Plan outlay for the Information and Broadcasting Ministry in the current fiscal year (1987-88) is as follows:

Doordarshan ...	Rs. 1,500,000,000
Sound Broadcasting ...	Rs. 1,600,000,000
Film Media ...	Rs. 90,000,000
Information Media ...	Rs. 50,000,000
Total Outlay for Ministry	Rs. 3,240,000,000

(Source: Annual Report, Information and Broadcasting Ministry, 1986-87)

The government's massive public relations strategy is evident in the fact that there are eleven media units in the Information and Publicty sector. One of these, the Press Information Bureau, is to computerize its central and regional branch offices. Other units in the sector are the Publications Division, the Research and Reference Division, the

Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, the Song and Drama Division, the Directorate of Field Publicity, and the new Soochna Bhavan (Information House). The State Governments also have information units on the pattern of the Central structures.

Broadcasting Policy

Both radio (All India Radio or 'Akashvani') and television ('Doordarshan') in India are 'media units' of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It is this same Ministry that is the official policy-making body for the broadcasting system today. The Minister is assisted by the Secretary, who is the seniormost civil servant, supported by a massive Secretariat divided into three wings (Broadcasting, Information, and Policy and Coordination), each under a Joint Secretary.

The Government's monopoly of broadcasting rests on Article 246 of the Indian Constitution which states that Parliament has 'exclusive' powers to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List I of the seventh schedule. Item 31 in this list includes 'posts and telegraphs, telephones, wireless, broadcasts and other like forms of communication'. The Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 and the Indian Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1933 (which were drawn up during the British regime) continue to be in force, and to give the Government the legal right to a monopoly in broadcasting, besides the right to intercept and to censor mail.

Current broadcsting policy is based on the AIR Code of 1970, which sets down that 'broadcasts on All India Radio will not permit:

1. criticism of friendly countries;
2. attack on religion or communities;
3. anything obscene or defamatory;
4. incitement to violence or anything against the maintenance of law and order;
5. anything amounting to contempt of court;
6. aspersions against the integrity of the President, Governors, and Judiciary;
7. attack on a political party by name;
8. hostile criticism of any State or the Centre; or

9. anything showing disrespect to the Constitution or advocating change in the Constitution by violence; but advocating change in a constitutional way should not be debarred.'

This Code applies to criticism in the nature of a personal tirade, either of a friendly Government or of a political party or of the Central Government or any State Government. But it does not debar references to and/or dispassionate discussion of policies pursued by any of them.

The Code adds that 'if a Station Director finds that the above Code has not been respected in any particular or particulars by an intending broadcaster he will draw the latter's attention to the passage objected to. If the intending broadcaster refuses to accept that the Station Director's suggestions and modify his script accordingly, the Station Director will be justified in rejecting his or her broadcast. Cases of unresolved differences of opinion between a Minister of a State Government and a Station Director about the interpretation of the Code with respect to a talk to be broadcast by the former will be referred to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, who will decide finally whether or not any change in the text was necessary in order to avoid violation of the Code'.

The Code and other restrictions on broadcasting are based on Clause 2 of Article 19 of the Indian Constitution. Other restrictions include the broadcasting of the news of the death of high dignitaries such as the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and a few others only after it has been cleared by the Home Secretary (Chatterjee, 1987:100). The AIR or Doordarshan correspondent has to get the news from him, and inform the News Room, before it can be broadcast. This explains the excessive delay, for instance, in their announcing the assassination of Indira Gandhi, though the BBC had made it known worldwide hours earlier.

Political party broadcasts on radio and television prior to national and state elections are allowed, according to an agreement arrived at in 1977 when the Janata party was in power. In principle, State governments have limited access to radio and television, but there have been several

instances when Chief Ministers of opposition parties in power in the States have been refused permission to broadcast (Cf. Chatterjee, 1987; Luthra, 1987).

Objectives of Television

According to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (1987:26) the following are the objectives of public television in India:

a) to act as a catalyst for social change,
b) to promote national integration,
c) to stimulate a scientific temper among the people
d) to disseminate the message of family planning as a means of population control and family welfare,
e) to stimulte greater agricultural production by providing essential information and knowledge,
f) to promote and help preservation of environmental and ecological balance
g) to highlight the need for social welfare measures including welfare of women, children and the less privileged,
h) to promote interest in games and sports,
i) to stimulate appreciation of our artistic and cultural heritage.

Further, the Indian Space Programme has as its goal 'the self-reliant use of space technology for internal development' (Seventh Plan Report, 1985). An outlay of Rs. 93.96 crores (Rs.939.6 million) has been provided for the INSAT (Indian Satellite) Space Segment in the current Five-year Plan. Satellite-based television complemented with microwave circuits has made possible a national network. Plans are now afoot for introducing a second channel and regional and local programming as well. The goal of self-reliance in television software has been reached, with only 10% of imported programmes. This has been primarily achieved by opening up Doordarshan to advertisers who now not only sponsor indigenously-made series and serials, but also produce them on their own. In 1986 Doordarshan earned Rs. 622 million from television advertising (ibid.) (See Chapter 5 for a more detailed account of how 'commercial' AIR and Doordarshan have become).

According to a long-standing Government policy, advertising is restricted to ten per cent of total broadcast time. The policy also gives broadcasting officials, the right to vet all programmes, including advertisements, though there have been several complaints that such vetting is arbitrary. For instance, advertising of cigarettes and alcohol is not permitted, but there have been cases where multinationals like McDowells have.managed to advertise their whiskies under the guise of peddling soda-water under the same brand-name. Besides, there has been criticism of the double standards employed by Doordarshan in censoring foreign and indigenous films and serials. (See Chapter 5 for the role of multinational advertising in Indian media).

Policy on Cinema

Documentary cinema is under absolute central government control, but this medium too is often employed for political propaganda, or for developmental purposes as defined by government departments. The Films Division, with its headquarters in Bombay, but with offices in the metropolitan cities, is the institution that has been given this fiat to exercise a monoploy in the production and distribution of documentary films. Fictional cinema, on the other hand, is largely a private enterprise.

The primary legislation the cinema is subject to is the Cinematograph Act of 1952. A Central Board of Film Censors (modelled closely on the British Board of Film Censors) has been in operation under this Act for the purpose of certifying films for public exhibition. An amendment to the Act in 1984 brought video films under its purview. The prime objectives of film censorship, according to the government, is to ensure that the medium of film remains responsible and sensitive to the values of standards of society, that artistic expression and creative freedom are not unduly curbed and that censorship remains responsive to social change (Gaur, 1988:92). Reasonable restrictions on the right of freedom of speech and expression, it must be noted, are permitted under the Constitution. Section 5 - B of the Act sets forth the guiding principles for censorship: 'A film shall not be certified for public exhibition if, in the opinion of the authority competent to grant the certificate, the

film or any part of it is againt the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or involves defamation or contempt of court or is likely to incite the commission of any offence'.

The Working Group on National Film Policy (1980) strongly recommended that 'the entire subject of cinema and film industry should be brought within the purview of Central policy and Central control' by the enactment of a legislation under Entry 52 of the Union List to transfer the subject of cinema from the State List to the Union List. Entry 52 gives the Centre the right to take over control of an industry in the 'public interest'.

Under the present system, the powers of the Central Government are restricted to certification of films, the supply of raw stock, and financial assistance to film makers through the NFDC. All other matters relating to the cinema industry such as production, distribution, exhibition, exhibition, entertainment taxes and excise duties are within the purview of the States. A Cinematograph Bill was introduced in the upper house of Parliament in 1956 to enable the Union to take over control of film production, but it was later withdrawn as a measure of economy.

The argument of the Working Group (1980), and earlier of the Film Enquiry Committee (1951) (the Patil Committee), was that the film industry had grown so phenomenally over the decades that its problems were of a nature that could be comprehended only when viewed on a national scale... The plethora of laws and rules , particularly the regulations for licensing of theatres and high rates of entertainment tax had become serious impediments to the progress of good cinema and the film industry. Further, the general approach to cinema differed from State to State and in some cases even from one local body to another.

Not surprisingly, the States came out against this attempt to 'centralize' the film industry. Entertainment taxes are levied by the States and constitute an important item in their budgets; the Centre earns revenue from customs duties on filmmaking equipment. Thus, in the words of the

Report of the Working Group, both the Centre and the States earn 'considerable amount of revenues... with very little investment of public funds'. For instance, in 1981-83, out of a total gross box-office collection of Rs 1000 crore (Rs 10,000 million), more than Rs 700 crore (Rs 7,000 million) went to the State exchequer (Dharap, in Ramakrishnan, 1985). Indian films also earn Rs 30 crore (Rs 300 million) in foreign exchange from distribution in around 80 countries mainly in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (ibid.).

The national policy on fictional cinema, in sum, is the use of this 'undernourished giant' (Roberge, 1985) to fill the States' coffers, but to regulate it through the Cinematograph Act (which has been amended recently to include video films) and the Central Board of Film Certification which rigidly applies the government's 'guidelines' on what is permissable. These 'guidelines' relate to national security, public order, friendly relations with foreign States, vulgarity, obscenity and depravity, the glorification of violence, and the portrayal of women. Since 1984, a Film Certification Appellate Tribunal has been in operation as a court of appeal; the Ministry of Information and Boraodcasting played this role earlier.

Policy on the Press

Official policy on the press, an overwhelmingly private enterprise, has been to leave it alone, interfering only when sensitive issues like communal violence, 'terrorism' in the Panjab and the North-East, and political scandals are involved. Press censorship has been imposed in recent times, either by Central or State Governments in the Panjab, Assam, and Tamilnadu. The former Prime Minister clamped censorship on the press nationwide during the 'internal emergency' (White Paper, 1977). Besides, there have been cases where a probing newspaper like the Indian Express has had its offices 'raided' or a newspaper strike encouraged where the government of the day stands exposed to criticism, as in the Bofors scandal in recent years. (Bofors is a Swedish supplier of arms; people close to the Prime Minister are believed to have received pay-offs from the firm).

The Indian press is regulated by 'press laws' which include the Official Secrecy Act of 1923, and laws relating to defamation, libel, incitement to an offence, the Contempt of Courts Act (1971), the Copyright Act (1957), and sections of the Indian Penal Code (1860) and the Criminal Procedure Code (1973).

The Indian press is as free as in any democratic country, where official press policy and the law are concerned. As Nehru, the first Prime Minister put it: Freedom of the press is not just a slogan; it is an essential attribute of the democratic process. I have no doubt that even if the Government dislikes the liberties taken by the press and considers them dangerous, it is wrong to interfere with the freedom of the press... Therefore, I would rather have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom than a suppressed or regulated press (Quoted in Sapru, 1986:26). Mahatma Gandhi, a crusading journalist himself, believed that 'one of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects' (Quoted in Sapru, 1986:114)

In actual practice, though, the press, especially the Indian language press, is heavily dependent on government for regular supplies of newsprint, for advertising, for licenses to import printing machinery and other hardware, and for news and photographs too distributed through the press information bureau (PIB) and various publicity units, police departments and others involved in promoting public relations for government. The news agencies PTI, UNI and Hindustan Samachar, and Samachar Bharati are heavily subsidized by the treasury, but with no strings attached (Sapru, 1986). The Press Council, a self-regulatory mechanism for the press, is an autonomous body wholly financed by the Centre (Trikha, 1986). It has, however, only the power to censure, and lacks the power or authority to penalize (ibid.). Attempts to draw up a Code of Ethics for the Indian press have been opposed by journalists on the ground that the Code would be employed to curb their freedom of expression. But they have welcomed the Karnataka Freedom of Press Bill (1988) which seeks to protect them from disclosing their sources.

Policy on Communication Research

All India Radio and Doordarshan have 'audience research units' (ARUs) attached to their central and regional production centres. The Indian Institute of Communications, set up by the Central Government and funded directly by it, also has a Department of Communication Research which carries out quantitative and qualitative research on subjects of public/government interest. The Joshi Committee's report took Doordarshan to task for 'following the beaten commercial track' in 'replicating the Weste rn pattern of headcounting the audience for particular programmes and 'rating' them for the commercial advertiser'. Rather, the report added, the research of a public-owned broadcasting in India, with its five-year plans of development, 'should have concerned itself more with the assessment of audience needs to help determine the content and format of programmes, ascertaining their comprehensibility and usefulness, and assessing the extent to which development-promoting information is put to actual use and the factors which hinder such utilization.'

Telecommunications Policy

India's telecommunications policy, like its communication policy, is officially dedicated to developmental goals, and to self-reliance . Indian telecommunications is a Central Government-owned public utility. In operation since 1851, it is perhaps one of the oldest telecommunications systems in the world. Until recently, telecommunications services were operated by the Department of Posts and Telegraph. But to keep pace with the fast-developing technology, telecommunications has now been made the province of an independent Department of Telecommunications (Gaur, 1988:7). Transborder telecommunications is handled by the Overseas Communications Services, a wing of the Department of Telecommunications (ibid.).

The facility of a domestic satellite, INSAT-IB, has made it possible for urban centres to be linked to each other, and to the rest of the world via INTELSAT. The government accepted the recommendation of the Committee of Telecommunication (1981) that digital technology for both transmission and switching be used in the future telecommunication network (Mahajan, 1988). In 1984, the Centre for the Development of Telematics was established to

develop a digital switching system suitable for the Indian environment (ibid.). The Centre is also responsible for developing an integrated service digital network (ibid.).

Telecommunication has become one of the top five priority areas of the Rajiv Gandhi government (Yadava, 1987). The areas in order of priority are: drinking water, oil seeds, eradication of illiteracy, immunization programme for children, and telecommunications. It is believed that massive investment in telecommunications (Rs 45,300 million in the Seventh Plan, as against Rs 28,100 million in the last plan) will provide the necessary infrastructure for development of satellite and computer-linked communications in the country. It is also widely held that such developments will stimulate the process of modernization and growth of the economy. According to Yadava (1987), the commitment is to prepare the country for the 21st century by developing and adopting high technologies in all fields has become a new 'ideology' which influences the policy formulations and planning processes in the country.

Table 2. Plan Outlays to Departments of Broadcasting, Telecommunications and Education (Percentages)

Years	Plan	Broadcasting	Telecommunic	Education
1951 - 56	First	0.2%	2.2%	7.0%
1956 - 61	Second	0.2%	1.3%	6.4%
1961 - 66	Third	0.19%	1.15%	7.5%
1969 - 74	Fourth	0.25%	1.35%	7.6%
1974 - 79	Fifth	0.23%	3.2%	3.27%
1979 - 84	Sixth	0.22%	NA	2.6%
1985 - 90	Seventh	0.77%	2.15%	3.5%

(Source: Chatterjee, 1987:68)

4.4 New Educational Policy

In January 1985, the Central Government initiated a debate on the need for a new educational policy. This was no sudden decision on the part of the

Prime Minister or his political party, the Indira Congress. Rather, it followed from a general national dissatisfaction with the slow progress in raising literacy levels especially in rural areas, and indeed the quality of education being imparted. The Prime Minister articulated this dissatisfaction; the need for change in policy also arose from his election slogan of 'taking India into the 21st century' through the injection of new information technologies into the developmental sector of the economy. However, the unstated reason was to gain greater control over state education systems; to 'centralize' education, in other words.

The policy discussion document was entitled Challenge of Education: An Appraisal. It acknowledged failure in achieving targets for compulsory elementary school education, and in providing basic facilities for raising the low levels of literacy in both the urban and rural areas, and offered suggestions for making dramatic improvements. The document was widely debated in the national and regional press, and on public radio and TV networks. Most comments on the approach and tenets of the policy were highly critical. Education was seen as a 'human resource', 'a unique investment into the future'.

A year and a half later, in May 1986, the new National Policy on Education 1986 was made public, superseding the old national policy of 1968 which had 'aimed to promote national progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture, and to strengthen national integration'. It also stressed the need for a radical reconstruction of the education system, and the improvement of quality at all stages, giving attention to science and technology, and the cultivation of moral values and a closer relation between education and the life of the people'.

The 1986 policy was drawn up by the new Ministry of Human Resources Development (an umbrella Ministry for education, youth welfare, and sports). It was less despairing than the Challenge of Education, and perceived education as 'a unique investment in the present and the future', and as 'fundamental to our all-round development, material and spiritual'. Education, the policy stated, has 'an acculturating role' for it 'refines sensitivities and perceptions that contribute to national

cohesion, a scientific temper and independence of mind and spirit - thus furthering the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy enshrined in our Constitution'.

Besides this cultural goal, the document saw an economic role for education: 'the ultimate guarantee of national self-reliance' as it 'develops manpower for different levels of the economy', and 'is also the substrata on which research and development flourish'. The social role of education is seen as that of a catalyst, 'to promote the goals of the Constitution, to bring down the population, to reduce urban-rural disparities, and to promote a strong commitment to humane values and to social justice'. In the Indian way of thinking, the policy document observes, a human being is a positive asset and a precious national resource. Long-accepted values, it warns, are in danger of being eroded in the current phase of political and social life in India. Echoing Toffler's (1971) concept of 'future shock', the policy affirms that the 'coming generations should have the ability to internalize new ideas constantly and creatively' (ibid.). A better education system, it is assumed, will provide such an ability.

The national policy on education does not make explicit the political role of education though a perceptive reader will quickly discern the political implications in the statement of goals and principles. The new system of education will be based on a national curricular framework, with textbooks prepared by the NCERT (National Council of Educational Research and Training), New Delhi. Moreover, a national network of 'model' schools is to be set up. This tendency to 'centralize' school education is seen by State Governments under opposition political parties (which are in the main 'regional' rather than 'national' parties) as a threat to regional and local cultures.

The policy sets great great store by the new technologies. This is a moment in our nation's history, it states, when new directions have to be given to education. The universalization of education is to be achieved through the extensive use of 'modern educational technology' in a countrywide operation known symbolically as 'Operation Blackboard'.

Already, All India Radio transmits syllabus-oriented programmes from 44 stations in different parts of the country, and these are relayed by 30 other stations. 46 additional programme-production units are to be set up during the Seventh Plan (1985-1990). The new 'national channel' of All India Radio due to start operating from mid-1988 will broadcast some educational programmes.

Doordarshan telecasts educational programmes in eight States through the Indian Satellite, INSAT. Besides, Delhi and Bombay stations telecast curriculum-oriented school television programmes regularly. For university students ETV programmes are telecast every weekday afternoon on the national network. A content analysis of the 'Countrywide Classroom' programmes reveals that a third are foreign; the rest produced by Jamia Milia and Educational Media Research Centres (EMRCs) in India (Joshi, 1988). The majority of foreign programmes are from the BBC's Open University series or from other Western television companies (Cf. Abraham, 1987).

The policy speaks of how 'the application of new technologies can convert educational institutions to "learning" rather than teaching institutions, with vast implications for curricular and instructional methods' and of how the medium of television 'has opened new vistas not only for the enrichment of formal education but also for imparting non-formal education. In a comment on this technological approach to education Mohan (1986) observes: We seem to be bent upon copying systems just because multinational corporations and their local middlemen need us as a dumping ground. Distance learning technology was developed for sparse populations spread over long distances: hardly our scenario. We have already saved a British computer firm (Acorn Computers) from bankruptcy by introducing computers in our schools. There are enough salesmen going around to convince us that we cannot do without modern technologies which were developed abroad because of the shortage of labour and its consequent high costs.

4.5 Science and Technology Policy

The importance accorded to science and technology right from the First

Five-Year Plan (1951-1956), is apparent in the setting up of a separate Ministry of Scientific Research and National Resources at the time of Independence, with the Prime Minister himself in charge.

The Scientific Policy Resolution adopted by Parliament on March 4, 1958 has been the guiding light of official planning and policy over the last three decades in all areas related to science and technology. 'The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people', it stated, 'lies in the modern age in the effective combinations of three factors: technology, raw materials and capital, of which the first is perhaps the most important since the creation and adoption of new scientific techniques can in fact make up for a deficiency in national resources and reduce demand on capital. But technology can only grow in the study of science and its application.

Excessive centralization, massive industrialization, capital-intensive industries, the mushrooming of engineering and technical institutes, the phenomenal growth in science education, are some of the direct results of this policy. No wonder that India (with over 2.5 million scientists and engineers) ranks third, after the United States and the Soviet Union, in scientific and technical manpower (Singhal and Rogers, 1988:4). The flip side of the effects of the policy points up the neglect of rural development infrastructures, large-scale urbanization, and the paucity of funds made available for the humanities and the social sciences.

In January 1983 a Technology Policy Statement updated the guidelines and extended the range of the policy to include a wide-ranging and complex set of inter-related areas. It also set out further principles of official Central Government Policy on communication and other technologies which promise to take India into the 21st century. India is 70% self-sufficient in oil and its main industry, agriculture, is growing steadily; industry too has a growth rate of 7-8% per year (Murphy, 1986:111). Moreover, she is among the top ten industrial nations in the world, has the third largest force of technically and scientifically trained manpower, is the seventh in fast breeder reactors (Mitra, 1986:4). With this 'strong agricultural and industrial base and a scientific manpower impressive in quality,

numbers and range of skills' in the words of the Preamble to the Statement, the goals are 'the attainment of technological self-reliance, a swift and tangible improvement in the conditions of the weakest sections of the population and the speedy development of backward regions'. Our development, adds the Preamble, must be based on our own culture and personality.

New Computer Policy

In November 1984, the Government of India (1984) announced a 'new computer policy' which considerably eased 'the procedures for manufacture, import and export of computers and computer-based systems'. The basic objectives of the policy are:

1. To enable manufacture in the country of computers based on the latest technology, at prices comparable with international and progressively increase indigenization consisistent with economic viability.
2. To simplify existing procedures to enable users to obtain computers of their requirements either from indigenous sources or from overseas sources mainly regulated through fiscal measures.
3. To promote appropriate applications of computers which are of development catalysing nature with due regard for long term benefit of computerization to the country as a whole. (ibid.).

As a result of this liberal policy, the computer industry is today one of the fastest growing businesses in India today. By the end of 1986 the turnover of around sixty companies was estimated to be about Rs 30 million, and according to the Department of Electronics the figure would reach Rs 100 million by the end of the decade (Shankar, 1985). Computers have been installed in a variety of fields: industry and commerce, administration and planning, medicine and agriculture, research and education, and railways and aviation. In mid-1984, 183 computers were installed in 140 organizations across the country, and Hindustan Computers had developed an indigenously computer system called 'Integra'. Since then a microchip factory has been set up in Chandigarh, a multilingual

word processor (appropriately called 'Lipi', a Hindi word for 'script') which combines two Indian languages -out of a choice of nine, in addition to Hindi and English - in a single system has been developed, and a multilingual sub-titling computer system has been successfully experimented with.

A national computer network is on the anvil. This envisages the use of satellite earth stations to link microcomputers in 100 districts with macro-computers in all State capitals. The network aims at closing the gap between the Centre and the States on credit, and on analysis and optimization of various major and minor projects. The network also envisages four regional computers networking with a 'super-computer' via satellite for the purpose of transferring data in the archives of the national information centre and of data on international credit positions and credit fluctuations. The primary aim of the computer networks is to hasten decision-making and planning. Further, the import of super-mini and mainframe computers in bulk has been given a boost by the new computer policy (Murphy, 1986: 116).

CLASS: The Computer Literacy Project

In 1984 the Department of Electronics in association with the Department of Education and the National Centre for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) launched a pilot project in Computer Literacy and Studies in School (CLASS) with the objective of the 'demystification of computers by developing a broad understanding and familiarity with them' (DECU, 1985). It is proposed to expand this project into a nationwide scheme during the Seventh Plan. According to a working paper drawn up by the Department of Electronics, the computer literacy programme will first be introduced at secondary schools and colleges and then at middle and primary schools. This massive nationwide programme covering 5,500 colleges, 55,000 secondary and higher secondary schools and about 620,000 middle and primary schools is being 'aided' by hardware and software from Acorn Computers of Britain. Acorn was rescued from bankruptcy by the huge Indian order for BBC microcomputers. (It must be noted that the BBC is not the manufacturer of the microcomputer which bears its name. It has merely lent its name to the company's microcomputer, and in doing so has

guaranteed its credibility in India where the broadcasting organization has a formidable reputation. The software programmes provided are all in English. Indian language schools included in the pilot project have had as a result to offer instructions in English. An evaluation of CLASS by the Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad, suggests that it has been moderately successful only in a few elite schools.

In essence then, the Government's Information Technology policy is a blend of socialist planning and capitalist free endeavour (Murphy, 1986:117). Such a policy is inevitable for a country committed to a 'mixed economy' in which the private sector has as vital a role to play in nation-building as the public sector. Within certain limitations, the private sector is allowed to collaborate with multinationals. Clearly, the Prime Minister's intention is to 'catch up' with the electronics revolution, as smaller countries in South-east Asia have done.

4.6 Cultural Policy

An important objective of Media Education is the active participation of the public in the democratic process. Media Education cannot stop at critical awareness for its own sake, for critical autonomy of the individual. It has to go beyond critical autonomy and attempt to influence a communication policy that guarantees such participation. But communication policy is part of a nation's cultural policy (whether explicitly or implicitly expressed) in the areas of education, science and technology, religion, language and minorities. These specific policy areas and issues taken together constitute a type of policy that can be distinguished as 'cultural'(Rudolph and Rudolph, 1983:9). Like the United States, India has no Ministry of Culture, no official religion, and therefore largely an implicit rather than an explicit cultural policy. The Constitution describes the republic as 'a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic' committed to justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a 'secular' state in the sense that it does not discriminate on grounds of religion, but supports all religious and linguistic groups equally. It is thus a positive secularism:it is pro-religion rather than anti-religion, or even religion-neutral. For instance, the State provides 'grant-in-aid' to most private educational institutions irrespective of which religious or linguisitic community runs them.

Divorce between Education and Culture

Indian cultural policy has been shaped largely by Gandhi, the father of the nation, by Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, and several other national leaders, and paradoxically also by the heritage of British policies on education and religion. For instance, the contemporary divorce between education and culture, between politics and religion, and between culture and religion is traceable to the British Government's adherence in pre-Independence times to a policy of religious and social neutrality. Indeed, it was afraid of bringing Indian culture squarely into the educational system (Naik, in Sabrewal, 1975:211). Further, many British officials who planned the educational system believed that we had no worthwhile culture to propagate and the best course for the educational system would be to introduce Indians to Western literature, philosophy and science (ibid.). Such a policy was against the grain of Indian culture which is intimately linked with religious and social life.

The divorce between education and culture persists four decades after Independence, buttressed as it is by the policy of secularism. Naik (ibid.) argues that if we really wish to have every citizen absorb 'the composite culture' of India and to use it as an important tool for national integration, clearly the school will have to become a primary setting for this purpose. In fact, the introduction of media education could bring popular cultural products into the school room, and lead to the discussion of the pluralism of our religious and linguistic traditions.

Framing Cultural Policy

One of the first attempts to hammer out a cultural policy for the country, well before the Emergency of 1975-76, was a seminar at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, in 1972. Prof. Nurul Hasan, the Education Minister at the time in Indira Gandhi's government assured the participants that 'it should not be difficult for the recommendations of the seminar to be implemented, for never before has the central authority been as strong as it is today' (Sabrewal, 1975:6). The chief guest at the seminar echoed the intention of the Education Minister, observing that 'the seminar is not designed to be merely an act of homage to Lenin or a

routine academic exercise; it is intended to provide a springboard for a realistic appraisal of the cultural situation in India that may lead to the emergence of an outline of a cultural policy ' (Dube, in Sabrewal, 1975:3, emphasis added).

The most forthright attack on the need for a cultural policy came from Rajni Kothari (in Sabrewal, 1975:25-31): To promote a general democratic, humanistic and egalitarian ethos, he urged, is the heart of a cultural policy. Any policy on culture which will lead to further centralization and bureaucratization, any tightening of grip of some entrenched power group, will in fact be a negation of culture. An open and free culture cannot thrive on the basis of rules and regulations, nor even on the basis of 'guidelines' worked out in the name of the nation, economic development, socialism, and what not... For culture is not a matter of policy - except the policy of leaving it alone.' Significantly, the proceedings of the seminar were published on the eve of the Emergency (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1983:20). Dube (in Lal, 1982) was to confirm a decade later at a Jaipur University seminar on the same subject that the Simla seminar was 'condemned by a few as a diabolic conspiracy to impose a preconceived cultural policy on the country'.

In the same year, Vatsyayan (1972), the Deputy Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education and Youth Services, wrote for UNESCO the monograph Some Aspects of Cultural Policy in which she set out the explicit and implict cultural policies of various ministries and departments at the Centre. These were ominous times, for in a few months' time, a national emergency was declared because of the threat to the central authority. An attempt was made to establish a Department of Culture but it came to nought.

Explicit official cultural policies are suspect in India because of the fear of the dominant or elite cultures and languages being imposed upon the numerous regional, local and tribal groups. These are highly charged emotional issues and therefore rarely brought out into the open. With the rise in fundamentalism among majority and minority religious and linguistic groups, the discussion of explicit cultural policies has become

even further suspect.

However, a cultural policy is being covertly promoted in public broadcasting, in the new educational, technology and computer policies, and through the various ministries in their massive public relations efforts with the assistance of the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Visual Publicity, the biggest advertiser in the country. It is also also promoted unabashedly through radio and television, and through the private sector media such as the Hindi commercial cinema.

CONCLUSIONS

The principles that ought to shape Indian public policy are enshrined in the Republic's Constitution. These are the principles of equality, democracy, secularism, and socialism. Public policy-making and planning are the responsibility of the Central Government though, in principle, the State Governments are usually consulted. Nevertheless, India has become a highly centralized State because of the continuous rule of one political party, the National Congress, for the past four decades except for a brief period following the internal emergency in 1975-76. Moreover, except for a short spell following Nehru's death, the Nehru-Gandhi family has remained at the helm of affairs. The political situation has changed dramatically in recent years with opposition parties in power in all the States in South India, as well as in West Bengal, Haryana and Kashmir. As a result, the quasi-federal structure of the Indian polity is now under strain. This is the political context in which the 'big media' and high technology bias of Indian public policy has to be interpreted. High technology promotes centralization in the face of the growing power of the regional political parties. Despite its potential for the devolution of power and control, the experience of both developed and developing countries suggests that technology is mainly harnessed for greater concentration of politcal power, and also civil and military power. Media education will have to take the lead in uncovering these 'hidden' ideologies of information technologies; the real intents behind their rapid development.

D.R. Gadgil (quoted in Sondhi, 1983:215) characterized Indian economic

planning as 'planning without policy'. The Five-Year Plans provide only for short-term policy which does not allow for long-term strategies. The commitment to 'self-reliance' has paid dividends in some areas such as agriculture, though in other areas such as in industry it has led to stagnation and obsolesence. The thrust towards the 'new' technolgies such as electronics and computers is set out in the Technology Policy, the Computer Policy, and the Seventh Plan Report. The new educational policy too is oriented to the use of technology for disseminating literacy and education on a country-wide scale. Such an approach is reminiscent of the Schramm-Rogers-Lerner 'modernization' model of development for poor countries. The goal is to 'use communication technology for leapfrogging into growth and development' (Joshi Report, 1984). This is as far as policy-making is concerned, though in actual practice there is a clear tendency to employ television, for instance, for popular entertainment rather than for educational or developmental purposes (Ibid.; Eapen, 1987). A major reason for this could be the over Rs. 622 million (Government of India, 1986) profit each year obtained from advertising and from commercially sponsored TV programmes. Significantly, the Central Government's advertising and public relations departments are being expanded as rapidly as the electronics and computer industries.

Implications for Media Education

These policies and developments have vital implications for media education. So far, media education experiments in India have restricted themselves to a study of the media with little reference to public policy, say on communications or education or culture. They have been limited to looking at stereotypes and representations in popular cinema, in advertising, and in short stories.

Four 'Major Themes' of Media Education

In a recent paper Masterman (1987) enumerated four 'major themes' of media education today that arise from 'non-transparency of media representations', 'the first principle of media education, a principle from which all else flows'. We proceed to show how a public policy perspective can illuminate the examination of these four themes.

The first concerns the origins and sources of media representations. Why are the media as they are? Who controls, produces and influences the images that we see? Evidently, there are many factors and many agencies at work in the shape that media products take. But a crucial factor is public policy on broadcasting, cinema and the press, on advertising and control of the mass media. In India, the Central Government plays a critical role in regulating the media, even the private enterprise media, and in laying down public policy. This is not to say that business, industry, the educated class, the higher castes, or the elites have no part in the shaping of public policy. They do, but ultimately it is this policy which is enforced by the courts, the police and other public bodies. Public policy on communications and culture does influence the development of the media, and the nature of the regulations that they have to abide by. These regulations contribute to a large extent in making the media as they are, and indeed in determining the images and representations that we see. For instance, one of the major reasons why the commercial Hindi cinema produces multi-star extravaganzas which have little to do with Indian reality is that they are 'safe' and provide family entertainment. To portray the controversies related to politics, corruption, religion or language is to invite the wrath of the censors. 'Safe' family entertainers also help to bring in huge profits so that the high entertainment taxes can be paid off. For the same reason, documentary cinema is largely propagandistic since communication policy stipulates that Films Division is a 'unit' of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and as such should promote 'development' which is believed to be synonymous with public relations and publicity for various departments of the Central and State Governments.

The second major area of investigation within media education is rhetoric - the techniques used by the media to construct meaning (ibid.). A study of public policy on TV news reporting (as expressed in official guidelines), for instance, can illuminate why certain techniques are preferred over others, why news items about trade union strikes are often filmed from unfavourable angles (from behind the police lines, for instance), or why some kinds of narrative structures dominate film documentaries and newsreels. These are questions that can be explored

through simple practical exercises, like producing a news bulletin followed by a critical examination about the ordering of the news items, the news values involved, and a search for alternative news values which would break away from the values 'inspired' by official guidelines.

The question of values brings us to the third major area of investigation in the media education classroom - that of ideology. Without going into the controversies raging over the meaning of ideology (Cf. Slack and Fejes, 1987, for a recent account) one can safely assume that it is intimately linked to questions of power and control. Overt and covert public policy on communications and related areas embodies the ideology of the political regime in power, together with that of its allies such as the elites: the bureaucracy, the higher castes, the military, the police, and intellectuals and business. It is the 'dominant' ideology at least where the government media such as broadcasting and documentary cinema are concerned. The private enterprise press is often a part of that ideology too; though a minority might embody a different ideology (the right and the left press, for instance). Then there are ideologies shaped by professional communicators with regard to media ethics and values, and media practices. A knowledge of public policy can help provide insights into a host of questions: for instance, whose interests are really being served; why the Prime Minister and his political party hogs the radio and television news, newsreels and documentaries; why the information technologies such as computers are being promoted assiduously in the mass media; why the tribals and lower castes, 'the silent majority', never figure in both the private and government media; why satellite radio and television is being promoted despite the high cost of receivers and few facilities for community viewing; why English and Hindi clearly dominate the mass media.

The fourth area of investigation in media education is that of the media audience. The dominant view is that audiences, especially children and adolescents, are passive uncritical consumers. This is not borne out by recent ethnographic research (Hodge and Trip, 1986; Palmer, 1986; Lindlof, 1987; Lull, 1982; 1987). This is often the view that is promoted by the media themselves. Media policy too assumes that the media are

magic multipliers, that there is little rejection or distortion of the messages and representations propagated. The audience research conducted by All India Radio, Doordarshan is mostly limited to head-counting, for the purpose of assisting advertisers to segment their target audiences. A study of Doordarshan policy on advertising would illuminate its dependence on multinational advertisers; it would also demonstrate who is really being served; the public or the advertisers? Media education courses would need to challenge such views and practices, and to point out that audiences can and do make their own meanings, that it is possible to talk back to the media, and to actively participate in the formation of communication policy. Simple exercises like writing letters to the editor, or to TV and radio stations, writing film and TV reviews, or following up the screening of a film or documentary with an exercise in 'comprehension' would bring home the need for the public to talk back to the media, and indeed to influence public policy.

Public Policy and Media Education Topics

There are several other topics of media education that can be illuminated by a knowledge of public policy. We proceed to enumerate a few of them.

A consideration of the overall cultural policy, for instance, would help reveal the reasons for the domination of the Hindi popular cinema, of North Indian culture, and of the Hindi language, and also of the values of the majority Hindu community in cultural products. True, this is more an implicit rather than an explicit policy, but it helps place the domination in a larger and more meaningful context.

Further, the study of advertising too can be illuminated by placing it in the perspective of public policy on broadcasting. During the last decade the policy has been to expand radio and television broadcasting across the length and breadth of the land. To achieve this ambitious expansion in record time, broadcasting was commercialized so that quick and ready funds were made available. Hence the rather lax control on advertising (which is dominated by multinationals) and the withdrawal of the corporate tax that was imposed on advertising expenditure. The working of the media industries which necessarily have to function within the constraints of

explicit and latent public policy on communications, can also be assessed accurately when contextualized in terms of policy.

Film censorship takes on a fresh and meaningful understanding when viewed in a public policy perspective. The clear references to ' sovereignty and integrity of India', to 'the security of the State', to anti-social activities, to friendly relations with foreign States, to public order, in the Guidelines for Film Certification (1978) indicate the 'political' reasons why films that appear to expose political corruption (those directed by Saeed Mirza, for example), and references to political parties or incidents are censored. The ostensible concern with portrayal of excessive violence or obscenity is not the real issue; of primary concern is the threat to the power of the State, especially the absolute monolithic power of the Centre. 'Anti-social activities' is an umbrella term for attempts in Punjab and in the Southern and North-Eastern States, for instance, to obtain greater regional autonomy.

The study of public relations and propaganda is often restricted to political and commercial propaganda. It does not go behind the obvious to relate these to public policy on the media industries, for instance. This could open up the discussion to the links between government and business; to the common interest in maintaining present social and media structures.

Expansion of the Information Sector

With the massive expansion of the Information Sector such as radio, television, and publicity there is a need for the public to have an awareness of the issues involved in this expansion. Media education could help provide the intellectual skills to interpret public policy and to react in an enlightened and informed manner. It could provide the necessary training to participate actively in the policy and planning processes.

Indeed, developments in media education, though not an integral part of official public policy on education, culture, technology and communications, are implicity affected by it. The massive promotion of 'computer literacy' in the country's schools and colleges, for instance,

has already reduced interest in the study of media education in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. The new education policy mentions the media only in the context of educational technology, as 'tools' for disseminating and enhancing skills in literacy. There is no place in the educational policy on 'reflection' or 'critical study' of the mass media, or of the possible influences of the media and the new technologies on learning, critical thinking, and comprehension.

There is, therefore, a definite need for education in the analytical and critical skills to distinguish between media as controlling technologies, and media as story tellers, between public relations and advertising, between propaganda and persuasion, between opinions and facts. This is 'education for responsible citizenship' (Masterman, 1980; 1985). However, media education is not necessarily the only way of providing these skills; any good education can impart them. What Media education does provide is a focused and a systematic method for imparting these skills through audiovisual and print media that are part of children's pleasurable out-of-school activities.

CHAPTER 5

MEDIA INSTITUTIONS AND INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

In the forty years since Independence, Indian media institutions and industries in both the public and private sectors, have registered impressive growth and expansion. This has been particularly marked in metropolitan cities and small towns; it has been rather marginal in rural areas of the country. It has been mostly limited, though, to the technological media at the cost perhaps of the development of the traditional and folk media. The technological media that have benefited most from large-scale public investments in communication and telecommunication infrastructures have been radio, television, the cinema, video and the press.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the advertising industry in the government and private sectors, since it is this industry above all that services the media and entertainment institutions and industries. The main public and private-run media institutions are then examined with particular reference to their current status, their structure and organisation, and the chief areas of contention in their functioning in a centralized planned economy, and in a political situation in which regional opposition political parties are gradually wresting power from the national Indira Congress regime.

This discussion of media institutions and industries assumes that a study of these issues is directly relevant to a consideration of the nature and practice of media education, and to its general orientation as well. The ownership patterns, the economics, and the structure and organization of these institutions are some of the determinants of cultural products. What is more, by providing accounts of the contemporary world and images of the 'good life', argues Murdock (1982:119), the communication

industries play a pivotal role in shaping social consciousness, and it is this 'special relationship' between economic and cultural power that has made the issue of their control a continuing focus of academic and political concern. At the same time, it needs to be recognized that economic forces are not the only factors shaping cultural production;nor are they always and everywhere the most significant (Golding and Murdock, 1979:198).

Mass media products, unlike individual works of art, or of literature, are group efforts of professionals who are employed by entertainment industries or government departments to 'produce' films, programmes or news reports, for 'mass audiences'. The modern technological media are aptly termed 'mass' not only beacuse they reach 'mass' audiences (so do traditional media like religious festivals and bazars in India) but primarily because their mode of production is somewhat similar to that of items of consumption; they are, in other words, 'mass produced' and 'mass distributed', just like other commodities. There are crucial differences, though, as Fiske (1987:311) points out: Cultural goods do not have a clearly defined use-value, for what is exchanged is not wealth but meanings, pleasures and social identities. Besides, the cultural commodity differs from other commodities in having comparatively high initial production costs and very low reproduction costs; so distribution offers a safer return on investment than production (ibid.).

Further, an analysis of the media institutions and industries is relevant to media education because they are likely to be involved in the support and/or criticism of media education approaches and practices. Collaboration with media professionals on the part of media educators is often necessary; Masterman (1985), in fact, urges collaboration with them. For instance, advertising professionals and practising journalists and editors have frequently been requested to speak to participants in Indian media education programmes. Media education teachers do need their support and their first-hand knowledge of media practices. Further, a study of the media industries is related to issues like how and why media products are 'cultural' commodities.

The tendency in media education experiments in India and elsewhere has been to look at media products as 'art forms' rather than as popular cultural forms of entertainment and information. Such an 'aesthetic' approach has tended to overlook the value of analysing the role of media institutions and industries or of media professionalism in the 'construction' of media offerings. Even when advertisements are analysed in such an approach, the analysis and discussion generally stops at looking critically at the 'representations' in them, but hardly ever moves on to asking 'why' and 'how' such representations have come to be, in the first place. This is where our discussion of the media institutions and industries is of relevance to media educators. Media institutions do exercise immense power, though that power is dependent on their history and development, their financial strength and their proximity to sources of influence and authority, as much as on their power to influence taste and opinion. The latter is restricted, for audiences are diverse, and so are the meanings they 'construct' in their interactions with what Garnham (1987) calls the 'repertoires' of products of the cultural industries. As Fiske (1987:313) expresses it, rather extremely: cultural 'texts' are not containers or conveyors of meaning and pleasure, but rather provokers of meaning and pleasure. The production of meaning/pleasure is finally the responsibility of the consumer and is undertaken only in his/her interests.

5.1 The Advertising Industry

The media and entertainment industry in India is a multi-million rupee business for both government-owned and private-owned enterprises. It is largely financed and often generously subsidized by Central and State Governments, but also significantly supported by advertising. Government-owned media such as radio (All India Radio), television (Doordarshan), and documentary cinema and newsreels (Films Division) are financed directly by the Finance Ministry; private enterprise media such as the national news agencies (PTI, UNI, Samachar Bharati and Hindustan Samachar), the small regional press and the 'new wave'fictional cinema are subsidized by the State. Bodies such as the Press Council of India, the Central Board of Film Certification, the National Film Development Council, the Hindustan Photo Films, the Film and Television Institute, the National Film

Archives, the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, and others are also financed from the public exchequer. State Governments such as those of Gujarat, Kerala, Andhra and Orissa offer subsidies and other incentives to private film producers.

Government Advertising

Besides being the largest financier of the media and entertainment industry, the Indian Government is also the largest advertiser that helps support and promote the industry. The advertising of all the Central and State Government departments and ministries (and also of most autonomous bodies and public sector undertakings, except the Indian Railways) is handled by the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP), and its budget has been climbing steeply over the years (Cf. Annual Report, 1985-86). It is the largest advertising and public relations agency in the country, with a network of two regional offices, three production centres, three distribution centres, four outdoor publicity units, and over 40 'field exhibition units' spread all over the country (ibid.). Evidently, it makes no distinction whatsoever between its function as a central advertising agency and as the public relations department of the Central and State Governments.

DAVP's Campaign Wing, for instance, reported recently that it made 'all out efforts to extend the the media reach to remote and far-flung areas in the country... To motivate the people against 'terrorists' and extremists' activities as well as to counter the anti-national propaganda by the agitationists in certain parts of the country, a vigorous publicity campaign was undertaken to foster the spirit of secularism and national integration in the country especially through the media of radio and television commercials, printed material and exhibitions' (Government of India, 1987:100). In 1985-86, the Directorate put out 'as many as 475 radio spots, jingles and sponsored programmes in 12 languages and arranged for a total of 65,000 broadcasts on different themes. In addition to the above, 106 TV and video spots covering different subjects of national importance were produced in eight languages for telecast over the commercial channel of Doordarshan, including the national hook-up. The number of such telecasts was around 1,700. The total turnover of business

was around Rs 4 crore (Rs 40 million) (ibid.). Besides, DAVP releases 16,000 to 17,000 advertisements to various newspapers and journals on behalf of ministries and government departments, and distributes 30-40 million items of printed publicity material and over 600 brochures to a mailing list of 1.6 million (ibid.). The Directorate's annual budget is around Rs 100 million (Annual Report, 1987:67).

According to an analysis made by Rao (1984) the Central and State Governments and public sector undertakings spend over Rs. 5.4 crore (Rs.54 million) each year on 'image' advertising. Advertisements for State lotteries amount to another Rs. 3.1 crore (Rs.31 million). The analysis reveals that in the early 'seventies most Government advertisements were about legal matters and tenders, while in the mid-'seventies they related to motivation campaigns such as family planning, savings, insurance and national integration. In the 'eighties, Rao (ibid.)concludes, the emphasis of Government advertising is on image building through claims about its achievements. The survey covered 503 Indian dailies and periodicals in all the major fourteen languages of the country.

Table 3. DAVP's Advertising in the Private Enterprise Press
(1 April to 30 September 1983)

Category	No.of Papers	%	Space (Col x Cm)	%	Amount (in Rs.)	%
1. Small	2,262	83.31	1,106,680	51.08	4,754,432	27.04
2. Medium	316	11.64	714,789	32.99	5,885,913	33.47
3. Big	137	5.05	345,058	15.93	6,943,040	39.49
Total	2,715	100.00	2,166,527	100.00	17,583,385	100.00

(Source: Annual Report, 1983-84, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting)

The Second Press Commission (1982) has recommended that the release of Government advertisements to newspapers with a circulation of over 100, 000 copies (the 'big' papers) be restricted, and that there should be no

secrecy about the Government's advertising policy. But the 'big' papers' share of Government advertising expenditure continues to exceed that distributed to the 'small' (circulation of less than 50,000 copies) or the 'medium' (circulation between 50,000 and 1000,000 copies) papers (See Table above). The Ministry's Annual Reports for subsequent years do not provide this breakdown of advertising expenditure in the press, or on television, radio and the cinema. According to Kurien (1984:40), 'advertising is being regarded (by Government) perhaps as a device for dispensing largesse'.

Private Advertising

Indian advertising is a six billion rupee industry today. It has expanded rapidly in post-Independent India, keeping pace with the growth of the cultural industries. Advertising expenditure as a percentage of Gross National Product is 0.25% in India compared to 2.29% in United States, 1.3% in UK, 1.02% in Egypt, 0.89% in Japan, 0.97 in Brazil, 0.16 in Pakistan and 0.07 in Bangladesh (Nutshell, Feb. 1984). But this low percentage gives little idea of the growth of the industry. For instance, the number of advertising agencies accredited to Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society (IENS) has increased from 142 in 1974 to over 300 in the 'eighties. Over eighty percent of these are in the four metropolitan cities: Bombay has 95; Delhi, 58; Calcutta, 45, and Madras, 23. (ibid.).

The Multinational Connection

The Economic Times Research Bureau carried out a study in 1980-81 of the advertising expenditure of 168 private sector companies (including the multinationals). It found that that the average expenditure on advertising and publicity in 1980-81 was 0.7% of sales. Out of this sample, 43 companies spent over Rs 500,000 each per annum. The total expenditure of the 43 companies surveyed amounted to Rs. 46.24 crores.

Table 4. Advertising and Publicity Expenditure of Top 20 Private Companies

Company	Ad and Publicity Expenses(Rs.crores)	Ad and Publicity Expenses as % of Sales
1. Reliance Textiles	3.27	1.6
2. Hindustan Lever	3.20	0.8
3. Colgate Palmolive	2.11	4.2
4. Dunlop	1.90	1.1
5. Philips	1.86	1.8
6. Jay Engineering	1.70	3.4
7. Gwalior Rayon	1.67	0.7
8. Glaxo	1.52	2.1
9. Voltas	1.47	0.6
10. Escorts	1.46	0.8
11. Bombay Dyeing	1.38	1.3
12. Brooke Bond	1.34	0.8
13. Tata Oil	1.32	1.0
14. Modi Industries	1.20	1.6
15. Union Carbide	1.13	0.8
16. ITC	1.10	0.8
17. Richardson Hindustan	1.03	7.2
18. Jagjit Cotton	0.98	1.9
19. Larsen and Toubro	0.97	0.7
20. Jayajeerao Cotton	0.86	1.1

(Source: Kurien, 1984:56-58)

In 1984, Business India (January 2, 1984) provided an updated list of the biggest spenders on advertising:

Table 5. Advertisng Budgets of Ten Top Spending Companies

Company	Ad Budget in Rs.Crores	Company	Ad Budget in Rs. Crores
1. Hindustan Lever	5.00	6. Larsen & Toubro	2.50
2. Reliance Textiles	4.00	7. Food Specialities	2.00
3. ITC	3.40	8. Richardson Hindustan	1.80
4. Philips	3.40	9. Hindustan Cocoa	1.70
5. Colgate	3.40	10.Johnson & Johnson	1.00

(Source: Business India, Jan 2, 1984).

The majority of these companies are associated with Western multinational companies. They are 'Indian'companies only in the sense that they operate in India, Indians man and run them, and some of them have taken on Indian names. At Independence, several foreign companies, mainly British, had branches in India. Gradually some of them converted themselves to Indian rupee companies. With the enactment of FERA (Foreign Exchange Regulations Act) in 1973, this became obligatory. The Act also envisaged retention of foreign equity holdings in subsidiaries of foreign companies. The purpose of FERA was not to drive away foreign capital from the Indian market but to utilize existing and new foreign capital in the priority areas of the economy. However, the foreign companies had little interest in capital-intensive priority areas. Instead, their main interest was in non-priority areas such as pharmaceuticals, detergents, food processing, hotels, etc. Fresh capital from abroad constituted hardly 5.3% of the investment that went into the growth of foreign undertakings between 1956 and 1975; the rest came from domestic sources. Even the foreign exchange cost of their expansion programmes was not covered by fresh capital from abroad. They were not spenders of foreign exchange even while expanding their business in the Indian market (Murdock and Janus, 1986:26).

FERA was amended to remove the stalemate caused by the insistence on priority areas so that the dilution of foreign equity was in itself considered adequate for expansion. The foreign companies responded by

investing in high profitability non-priority areas, and advertising them heavily. The pharmaceutical companies, in particular, captured the Indian market, leaving the public sector pharmaceutical industry with barely six per cent of the market. It is estimated that 15,000 brand-name drugs are sold on the market in India as against 14,000 in the United States (ibid.), when the actual need of the industry in India is no more than 115, according to a Government Commission (ibid.). Easily available in India are over-the counter drugs like Aspro, Rubex, Vics Vaporub, Coldarin, Halls and Vocacil and some which are banned in Western countries like Enterovioform (a Coba-Geigy formulation for diarrhoea). Sixty per cent of these drugs are sold to 20% of the population living in urban India; thus the per capita consumption of drugs in India is around Rs.18 per annum (ibid.).

The advertising agencies that service these companies also have multinational connections. The Economic Scene (December 1, 1983) provided a list of the top 20 advertising agencies, and Kurien (1984) of 117 ad agencies around the country, together with their estimated billings. The multinational advertising agencies figured prominently in both the lists.

Table 6. Advertising Agencies with Highest Billings

	Advertising Agency	Estimated Billings in Rs.Crores
1.	Hindustan Thompson Associates	28.20
2.	Clarion Advertising Services	17.50
3.	Lintas India	16.00
4.	Ogilvy Benson and Mather	14.00
5.	Everest Advertising	10.60
6.	R.K. Swamy Advertising Associates	10.50
7.	Ulka Advertising	9.00
8.	Chaitra Advertising	8.90
9.	Grant Kenyon & Eckhart	5.90
10.	Rediffusion	5.60

(Source: Economic Scene, December 1, 1983)

Table 7. Advertising Expenditure (1980-84) in Rs. crores

Medium	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Press	146	191	233	298	312
Television	9	11	16	20	28
Cinema	13	14	15	17	19
Radio	12	15	15	18	19
Outdoor	16	18	20	22	25
Total	196	249	299	375	403
Increase over Previous Year	NA	27.0%	20.8%	25.4%	7.5%

(Source: Hindustan Thompson Associates, 1985)

Media's Share of Advertising Revenue

The press clearly obtains the largest slice of the advertising cake, with television registering the highest percentage in growth. In 1984, advertisng expenditure on television amounted to Rs 28 crore (Rs 280 million), forty percent more than in previous years. In 1985 and 1986, television took 10 and 16% respectively of the total advertising expenditure of Rs 612 crore and Rs 6 billion (a growth rate of 30 % in a single year), compared to three abd four per cent or radio's share, and a mere two per cent of cinema's share. Since the introduction of commercial television, radio and cinema are obviously losing out to the newer medium. The private enterprise press, continues to take most of the advertising - 59% in 1985, and a hefty 73% in 1986. This is despite the marginal increase in newspaper circulation. For instance, the circulation of 33 dailies, selling over 100,000 copies a day, increased by six per cent during 1980-83. However, their selling price during that period increased by 58% while their advertising rates were hiked by 104%. Further, the circulation of 40 magazines (with an average circulation of 100,000 copies) rose by 0.7%, but the price increased by 62% and advertising rates by as much as 80% (Anchan, 1987:5). Vividh Bharati and Doordarshan

rates too have been hiked periodically in the mid-eighties. It is noteworthy that a measly one per cent is spent by advertising agencies and advertisers on research.

The Video 'Boom'

In recent years, the video boom has provided advertisers with a new medium for promoting their products. Video advertising was first restricted to export order cassettes. But since 1982 various agencies such as Primetime, Hi-Response, Multichannel, and Video Publicity have entered the market (TV and Video World, June 1987). They estimate that there are at least 30,000 video hiring outlets in the country, comprising video libraries, video parlours and others.

Areas of Contention

The main areas of contention in the advertising industry relate to the relevance of advertising in India, the multinational presence and the need for a professional code of ethics. The case for the relevance of advertising has yet to be clearly established. What is the relevance of advertising, asked Kurien (1979) in his Sircar Memorial Lecture, in a set up in which the supply of goods is controlled in such a manner as not to exceed demand, a set up in which demand itself is sought to be curtailed through fiscal and other means? Further, the total market relevant for advertising in India is only 9% of the total urban households, and barely 6% of the total rural households; the concentration of families with a monthly income of Rs.500 and above is also largely in urban areas. Against this heterdox view is the argument that the rural market is expanding, especially in the affluent States of Haryana, Panjab and Western Uttar Pradesh. According to a study by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, New Delhi, the rural market is currently estimated at Rs. 5800 crore (Rs. 50,000 million), and the share of this market is 71% of the total. The majority of the advertisements, however, are urban-oriented and portray a 'highly Westernized, showy and snobbish life-style' (Yadava and Mohnot, 1982). The kind of consumer products advertised too (such as cosmetics, detergents, soft drinks, food products, pharmaceutical drugs, refrigerators and TV sets) are of interest mainly to the urban family.

The multinational connections of advertisers and advertising agencies are often criticized by Indian business. On the other hand, the connection is defended on the ground that it provides expert training and experience, and helps keep the standards of advertising high. The need for a professional code of ethics has been long debated by the members of the Advertising Council of India, but the question of how the code can be enforced to the satisfaction of consumer organizations has yet to be settled.

5.2 All India Radio and Doordarshan

Radio began as a private commercial enterprise around the 1920s when exclusive radio clubs of local business elites in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras formed the Indian Broadcasting Company (IBC). Englishmen from the BBC were hired to run the operations, and the British Marconi Company most likely provided the equipment and the wirless sets. The Colonial Government took over the assets of the IBC when it went bankrupt, placing it under the Department of Industry and Labour. The first Controller of Broadcasting of the Indian State Broadcasting Service (as it came to be known latter) was a BBC official named Lionel Fielden. He is credited with hitting upon the name that the service bears today - All India Radio. (See his autobiography The Natural Bent for a fuller account of the early days of Indian broadcasting).

At the end of colonial rule, All India Radio's network was limited to six radio stations, six medium and 12 short-wave transmitters. The population covered by radio was 11 per cent of the total, and the area covered was limited to a mere 2.5%. The dramatic extent of the expansion of radio, which is still the only modern mass medium which extends over the largest area of the country, and the largest percentage of the population, can be seen in the figures for radio today: 90 stations, 169 transmitters (including 39 short-wave), area covered: 79.8; population covered: 90.3%. Its daily output is 17,000 programme hours in 18 main languages and 126 dialects (India Today, May 15, 1988). A satellite-based second national channel will start operating from May 1988. Yet, this expansion has not touched the remote rural and tribal areas. The transistor 'revolution' which is supposed to have followed the 'green revolution' has been largely

restricted to Panjab, Gujarat, Kerala and a few other states.

Table 8. Growth of AIR Network since Independence

Year	Number of Centres	Estimated Number of Radio Receivers (in Millions)
1947	10	0.2
1951	21	0.7
1961	30	2.2
1971	65	12.8
1985	86	35.0
1986	90	NA
1990 (Expected)	203	NA

(Sources: Rao, 1986; Annual Report, 1987:214)

Table 9. Expenditure on Radio Broadcasting during Five-Year Plans

Plan	Period	Rs in Millions
First Plan	1951 - 56	21.9
Second Plan	1956 - 61	56.7
Third Plan	1961 -66	76.4
Annual Plans	1966 - 69	100.8
Fourth Plan	1969 - 74	155.8
Fifth Plan	1974 - 79	305.9
Sixth Plan	1979 - 85	1224.0
Seventh Plan	1985 - 90	7000.0

(Sources: Rao, 1986; Seventh Plan Report, 1985)

This is equally true of the ambitious expansion of satellite television during the last decade in India. Television seems to have appeared

'courtesy of the transnational electronic manufacturers and international aid agencies' (Pendakur, 1981; Duggal, 1980; Masani, 1985). Phillips and RCA had participated in an Industrial Exhibition in New Delhi in 1955; later, they donated the TV production and transmission equipment they had exhibited, to the Government of India. The Delhi Television Centre went on the air in 1959 as an experimental station to study the use of television for social education. UNESCO provided a $20,000 grant for the purchase of community receivers. By the early 'seventies, however, the demand from the urban elites, television manufacturers, and the advertising industry as well as the Indira Government's waning popularity contributed to the decision of the Government to expand the medium nationwide. The vision of 'community television for social education' gave way to a commercial nework geared primarily to entertainment programmes. (Doordarshan went commercial in the mid-'seventies).

Table 10. Growth of Television Network in India

Year	No.of Transmitters	No.of TV sets (in Million)	Total population with Access to TV (in Million)
1976	8	0.5	2.9
1977	13	0.5	2.9
1978	15	0.7	4.1
1979	17	0.9	5.4
1980	17	1.2	6.9
1981	18	1.5	9.3
1982	39	2.1	12.6
1983	41	2.1	12.7
1984	166	3.6	21.8
1985	175	6.8	40.5
1986	179	8.8	52.5

(Sources: Srivastava, 1986; Audience Research Unit, 1986)

Meanwhile, the success of the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) brought India international prestige; the country appeared ready for satellite television. NASA, ITU-UNDP, Ford Aerospace were major foreign actors in this success; the minor actors were General Electric, Hughes Aircraft, the Masachusetts Institute of Technology, and representatives of Western nations at the ITU's World administrative Radio Conference (Mody, 1987). The INSAT series of domestic communications satellites and microwave cable networks has provided the country the infrastructure for a national satellite hook-up. However, as the table above shows, access is still limited, and as the Joshi Committee Report (1983) found, the development of indigenous software continues to serve the urban elite in the main.

Structure and Organization

All India Radio and Doordarshan are two departments or 'attached offices' under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Other departments include the Press Information Bureau, the Publications Division, the Directorate of Audiovisual Publicity, the Films Division, and the Song and Drama Division. AIR and Doordarshan, however, account for some two-thirds of the annual budget of the Ministry, and are the most important departments of the Ministry. The internal structures of the two departments are similar. AIR is the larger of the two departments, and its Director-General has the status of Additional Secretary to the Government. Though technically separated from AIR in 1976, Doordarshan still depends on the Programme and Engineering and News Cadres of the former. Indeed, there have been cases in the last nine years when senior engineers and programme staff with no knowledge of TV have been posted in Doordarshan (Chatterjee, 1987). Generalists from the administrative service (the equivalent of the civil service in Britain) are usually appointed to the top directors' posts at the Centre and in the States in AIR and Doordarshan. Other categories of staff are recruited from the Central Information Service which also supplies staff to other units of the Ministry.

The two broadcasting units work in close cooperation with all Ministries and Departments where major policy issues are concerned. For instance,

the Director of External Services keeps in touch with the Ministry of External Affairs for guidance and information on foreign policy issues (ibid.). Regional Station Directors in the State capitals are expected to maintain contact with the departments of the respective State governments; problems arise when the opposition parties are in power, but the Centre has stoutly resisted any State government attempts to appropriate the Centre's absolute power and control over broadcasting policy.

Table 11. Budget Grants (and Advertising Revenue) of AIR and Doordarshan (In Million Rupees)

		ALL INDIA RADIO			DOORDARSHAN			
		Plan	Non-Plan	Total	Net Advert Revenue	Plan	Non-Plan	Total	Net Advert Revenue
1980-81	Revenue	21	509	530	110	24	206	231	81
	Capital								
1981-82	Revenue	14	593	607	129	29	269	298	115
	Capital			198				136	
1982-83	Revenue	18	631	649	133	35	388	425	159
	Capital			266				360	
1983-84	Revenue	24	698	722	158	46	433	479	198
	Capital			330				579	
1984-85	Revenue	37	778	815	104	95	616	711	260
	Capital			528				719	

(Source: Chatterjee, 1987:67)

A radical change in the organization and structure of broadcasting has been recommended by the three committees set up to examine broadcasting in India since Independence. The Chanda Committee (1966) recommended that radio and television be organized into two separate autonomous corporation like the BBC and run by a Board of Governors; the two corporations would 'have the frredom to evolve their own methods of recruitment, regulate scales of pay and conditions of service according to their needs and

devise a financial and accounting system appropriate to their creative activity'. The Verghese Committee (1977) recommended that a National Broadcast Trust called 'Akash Bharati' be set up as an autonomous body to look after both radio and television broadcasting. The service would be a four-tier structure - national, zonal, regional and local. The recent Joshi Committee on Software Policy (1984) has called for 'autonomy' in the functioning of All India Radio and Doordarshan, though not as a body separate from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

Areas of Contention

To whom is public broadcasting accountable? This is a question that is being currently debated in India. The Central Government argues that it has been elected to power and therefore represents the people; hence public broadcasting has to be accountable only to Parliament. The opposition view is that broadcasting should reflect differing points of view, not only that of the ruling regime. They have, therefore, advocated an autonomous set up (on the lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation) free of Government or political party control. The stock response of the Congress Party ever since Nehru has been that broadcasting autonomy 'was not an immediate issue' (Quoted in Luthra, 1986:224) or the assurance that broadcasters enjoy 'functional autonomy' (Masani, 1985; Chatterjee, 1987).

Decentralization is another contentious issue. While the ruling Indira Congress fears that decentralization of AIR and Doordarshan will endanger national unity, the oppostion parties plead in vain for regional and local broadcasting for the purpose of preserving local cultures (cf. Hegde Document, 1988 for a defence of the opposition's viewpoint). The languages used for broadcasting have also been a thorny issue: the centre persists in broadcasting mainly in Hindi and English, but so vehement is the movement against 'the imposition' of Hindi on the Southern States that the Hindi news telecasts to these States have had to be stopped.

5.3 The Press

The Indian press is 'the tamest democratic press in the world', according to the late Romesh Thapar, founder-editor of Seminar (Quoted in Kamath,

1984:87). However, recent Vidura (1987) interviews with veteran editors like Girilal Jain and Chanchal Sarkar, and journalists like Kuldip Nayar, and communication scholars like M V Desai, suggest that the press in India is 'in good shape... strong, vibrant and interesting'. Certainly, where growth and expansion is concerned, the press has made remarkable progress, and carried out some valuable investigative and developmental reporting; yet, a definite elitism prevails with regard to its 'news values'.

Ever since its uncertain beginnings nearly 200 years ago, the press in India has taken up a crusading role. In the years prior to Independence, it joined with the nationalist struggle; the Anglo-Indian press played either a pro-British role or adopted a neutral stance. During the struggle for freedom, news centred around political speeches, political infighting and the personalities of the freedom fighters. After Indpendence, the freedom fighters became the nation's leaders. The press, which had been so vehemently nationalistic, lost some of its crusading spirit in the flush of the early years of Indpendence. During the regime of Indira Gandhi, however, the press took on the role of a watchdog, adopting frequently an 'adversary' stance in the tradition of the Anglo-American press. Indeed, as the regime turned more dictatorial, the national press came to regard itself as the official opposition, since opposition political parties were in disarray, and could not muster enough strength to play an effective role. Sections of the press took over Western news values and professional standards, with little concern for the needs of a developing society. The emphasis was on politics, crime, sports and entertainment with a pronounced urban bias. Several studies of the national press came to these conclusions (Shah, 1988; Eapen and Rao, 1985; Haque, 1986; Ghorpade, 1986; Desai, 1977; Vilanalam, 1985; Yadava, 1985). That the press is largely urban is evident in the following data obtained from the Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, 1980:

- Four metropolitan centres account for nearly a third of the total number of newspapers and periodicals;
- 17% of the total publications come out from State capitals and the headquarters of Union teriitories, and 30% from other cities with a population of over 100,000; only 23% come out from towns with population of less than 100,000.

Press Ownership and Control

The Indian press has been a private commercial enterprise from the days of its pioneers, Buckingham and Hickey. The trend towards individual ownership and later concentration of ownership is already discernible in pre-Independent India. Today, individuals own the largest number of newspapers with a circulation of more than a third of the total circulation. Joint stock companies, many of them industrial and commercial ventures, constitute another third of the share of circulation. It is to be noted that Government publications are few in comparison, and have a mere two per cent of thne circulation. Most of these government publications would be by Government departments at the Centre or in the States. Finally, there is a small number of newspapers brought out by cooperatives, religious and political groups, or by journalists themselves.

Table 12. Ownership Pattern of Newspapers

Form of Ownership	Number for which Circulation Available	Circulation in 1000s	Percentage Share in Total Circulation
Individual	4,646	22,397	36.6
Joint Stock Companies	515	22,266	36.4
Firms/Partnerships	407	6,351	10.4
Societies/Associations	1,347	4,495	7.6
Trusts	275	3,306	5.4
Government	213	1,347	2.1
Others	219	985	1.5
Total	7,622	61,147	100.0

(Source: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987:179)

The Press Registrar of India classifies newspaper ownership into:

1) Common Ownership units (COUs), i.e. organizations owning more than a single newspaper including at least one daily;

2) Newspaper Groups, which are firms publishing more than one daily from the same centre under one ownership and in the same language (say a morning and an evening paper, under different names);
3) Newspaper Chains, which publish more than one daily under one ownership from more than one centre;
4)Newspaper Combines, which are chains or groups or multiple units appearing under different names.

The COUs publish from metropolitan cities like Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore. In 1982, 85 COUs accounted for only five per cent of the total number of newspapers, but took a third of the share of circulation. The eight largest COUs acounted for about 30% of the circulation. Besides, the 85 COUs accounted for as much as 72% of the total circulation of daily newspapers (Shah, 1988). Data on expenditure and revenue of newspaper groups, chains or combines are difficult to obtain, though the scanty data available, say from the Press Registrar, the Fact Finding Committee on Newspaper Economics (1975), and the Second Press Commission Report (1982) suggests that newspaper chains and combines earn a bigger 'surplus' than single unit publications.

Table 13. Surplus Gained by Four Newspaper Publishing Houses

Publishing House	Gross Block (Rs. Million)	Surplus (Rs. Million)	% of Gross Block
Bennet-Coleman, Bombay	61.5	117.0	190.28
Indian Express, Madras	75.5	27.5	153.28
Indian Express, Bombay	75.5	7.5	9.88
Tribune Trust, Chandigarh	16.4	3.2	19.34

(Source: Adapted from Second Press Commission Report, 1982)

The majority of giant newspaper chains in India are operated by family-owned industrial houses, with large interests in other industries. For instance, Bennett-Coleman, publishers of the Times of India, Navbharat Times, Economic Times and eight other publications, is owned by the Jain

family which has interests in jute, steel, cement and shipping. The Birla family is yet another publishing chain, the Hindustan Times and Allied Publications, with headquarters in New Delhi. It publishes the Hindustan Times, a daily and four other publications. But perhaps the most powerful of the industrial families is the Goenkas which own the Express Newspapers Group. It brings out the Indian Express from ten Indian cities, besides four other newspapers. The Goenka family has substantial interests in the service, trading, transportation and food industries (ibid.). These three major newspaper publishing chains have a share amounting to 8.66%, 4.30% and 10.45% respectively of the total newspaper circulation in the country. It is significant that these industrial families keep a close watch on the day-to-day functioning of their publications, and often do not allow for much editorial independence. Witness the frequent change of editors at the Indian Express, and the complaints of former editors of the Times of India about the interference of the owners. The autobiographies of former editors and journalists (such as Sheer Anecdotage by Mankekar (1984)) are valuable sources for this knowledge about direct influences.

These three business houses have close business relations with one another. For instance, the Goenkas and the Jains are not only related to each other but also have many intercorporate investments and interlocking relationships. Gwalior Rayon (a Birla company) has investments in Goenkas subsidiaries and K K Birla was once chairman of a Goenka company. Bharat Nidhi (a Jain company) holds shares in many Birla companies (ibid.). However, the chief interest of these families is not so much profit from newspaper publishing as 'the use of newspapers as a vehicle to further the owner's business interests and to extend his influence in the political sphere' (Ghorpade, 1986:12).

The Government of India has often spoken of the need to 'delink' newspaper ownership from individual houses. The First Press Commission Report (1952) recommended that every newspaper should be constituted as a single unit so that its profits and losses are definitely ascertainable. The Report of the Fact Finding Committee on Newspaper Economics (1975) made a similar recommendation. Nothing has come of these recommendations; instead the newspaper chains have expanded over the last decade.

Table 14. Recent Growth of the Press in India (1983-86)

	1983	1984 Estimate	1985 Estimate	1986
Total Publications	20,758	21,600	22,400	23,300
Publications with circulations above 15,000 copies	620	650	680	700

(Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, 1987)

Table 15. Number and Circulation of Newspapers by Language

Language		Dailies	Tri/Bi-Weeklies	Weeklies	Others	Total
Hindi	N	470	27	2709	2370	5936
	C	3684	32	4672	5596	13984
English	N	123	13	428	3276	3840
	C	3355	7	1849	5828	11039
Marathi	N	127	17	370	617	1131
	C	1386	17	647	820	2883
Other Indian Languages	N	703	51	2607	6842	9797
	C	6830	86	8122	8061	23117
Total	N	1423	108	6122	13105	20758
	C	15255	142	15290	20405	51102

(Note: 'N' indicates actual number of publications, including newspaers and magazines;'C' indicates circulation figures in thousands. Compiled from Gaur, 1988:179)

Table 16. Daily Newspapers with Circulation of above 200,000 Copies

	Name of Daily	Language	Place of Publication	Circulation
1.	Ananda Bazar Patrika	Bengali	Calcutta	413,494
2.	Jugantar	Bengali	Calcutta	345,273
3.	Times of India	English	Bombay	338,793
4.	Nav Bharat Times	Hindi	Delhi	307,007
5.	Panjab Kesari	Hindi	Jallandhar	276,933
6.	Hindustan Times	English	Delhi	269,228
7.	Malayala Manorama	Malayalam	Kottayam	241,621
8.	Loksatta	Marathi	Bombay	234,437
9.	Gujarat Samachar	Gujarati	Ahmedabad	220,681
10.	Malayala Manorama	Malayalam	Calicut	205,588

(Source: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987:178)

Thirty eight daily newspapers have a circulation above 100,000 copies each. Bennet Coleman (Times of India Group), Hindustan Times and Indian Express Publications, and the Malayala Manorama Group account for a majority share of the circulation. Although none of the ten Indian Express editions figure in the list of the top ten dailies, their total circulation in the country is well above the rest. Around 30 Indian cities have more than a hundred newspapers and magazines published in each of them.

News Agencies

Early attempts by Indian nationalists like K C Roy, S Sadanand and others to start their own news agencies countered vehement opposition from the British colonial regime and multinational agencies such as Reuters. Reuters began its operations in India on March 21, 1866, and until Independence held a monopoly over the collection and distribution of news in the country (Sapru, 1986:9). In 1949, Reuters drew up a three-year agreement with Press Trust of India (PTI), a newly formed agency sponsored by the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society (IENS) - the association of newspaper proprietors in India. The PTI took over Reuter operations in

India under this agreement. However, the agreement was found to be 'unequal' by Prime Minister Nehru and so it was terminated in 1953. The second national news agency, the United News of India (UNI) was established as a competitive news agency by Dr B C Roy, and was sponsored by eight of the national dailies. Two Indian language news agencies, 'Hindustan Samachar' and 'Samachar Bharati' serve the vernacular press. The first was stared by S S Apte in 1948, and the second by the State Governments of Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Karnataka. In addition, newspaper chains such as the Times of India and the Indian Express run their own news services, viz. the Times of india News Service, and the Indian Express News Service. Development loans are regularly made available to all four agencies by the Central Government. In 1986, however, the Government accepted the recommendation of a committee headed by R N Goenka that the two Indian language news agencies' services should be added to the infrastructure of the English news agencies. Accordingly, the payment of AIR's and Doordarshan's subscription was discontinued, and so was any subsidy.

Table 17. Subsidies/Grants of Central Government to the Press

	Rs. Thousands 1985-86	Rs. Thousands 1986-87
1. Press Council of India	1,382	1,659
2. Grants to News Agencies	2,500	3,922
3. Grants to PTI	3,295	-
4. Subsidy in Interest on loan to PTI	-	429

(Source: Annual Report, 1985-86, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting)

The First Press Commission of India (1954) had recommended that 'news agencies should not be State-owned or State-controlled',adding that 'it is essential if Indian news agencies are to function satisfactorily that any assistance from the State should have no strings attached and the State should not have any voice in the control of the agency either editorially or administratively'.Except for the period of the internal emergency (1975-77),this has been the guiding principle of news agency operations

in India.

The English language news agencies have correspondents in around 30 world capitals and in almost every major city and town in India. PTI subscribes to two international news agencies, Reuters and Agence France Press, and has bilateral agreements with many foreign national news agencies. The agencies derive their revenue from services provided to newspapers, radio and TV stations, Central and State Government departments and other institutions. PTI operates the Reuters Monitor Services which is an instant push-button facility providing information on the world money market. Both agencies have computerized their operations and transmit and recieve news copy via satellite. They have tie-ups with the major transnational news agencies such as Reuters, AFP, AP, UPI, Tass and others. PTI works in close cooperation with the Non-Aligned News Agency (NANA). A quantitative analysis on the news content of major Indian newspapers suggests that the transnational news agencies continue to be important sources, though their share appears to be declining (Yadava, 1984:114).

Table 18. Sources of News in the Indian Press

Sources	Percentage of News Items	
	1979	1984
Indian News Agencies	21.0	32.9
Reuters	15.0	15.6
Associated Press (AP)	14.6	9.1
Agence France Press (AFP)	9.0	6.4
United Press International (UPI)	0.4	5.5
TASS	0.5	-
Other agencies	2.6	4.6
Own Correspondents/Reporters	21.3	12.8
Other media (Home)	0.1	0.5
Other Media (Abroad)	11.3	4.2
Others	4.7	2.7
Unidentifiable sources	8.1	5.7

(Source: Yadava, 1984:114)

Areas of contention

The Indian press jealously guards its right to freedom of expression. That right was first suspended during the Emergency and since then there have been several attempts by the Centre and the States to curb reporting on politically sensitive issues such as communalism, regionalism and political corruption. The Tamilnadu Press Amendments to the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code (1981) and the Bihar Press Bill (1982) were two such attempts. The Government argues that the press should exercise freedom 'with responsibility', should not resort to 'scurrilous writing'; the press responds that these are matters for the courts and the Press Council, not for the Government. The laws on 'defamation' and 'libel', the Official Secrets Act of 1923, the Contempt of Court Act of 1971 are indeed adequate to keep the press under a leash.

The question of accountability is a contentious issue with the press. While the Government has urged the drawing up of a code of ethics by the journalists themselves, to be enforced say by the Press Counci, the press has resented this kind of 'interference'. It appears to want to enjoy 'freedom without accountability'. The role of the press in a developing country like India is yet another issue that has been debated: one school of journalists who term themselves 'nationalists' believe that the press should support the developmental efforts of the Government; a second group holds that the press has an 'adversary' and a 'watchdog' role, since the voice of the opposition is not strong enough. Few protests, however, are heard about evolving 'news values' relevant to the Indian social situation, and to the needs of the 'silent majority'.

Yet another sore issue with the press is the acute shortage of newsprint. The annual newsprint requirement is around 480,000 metric tonnes, but about half of this amount has to be imported from various foreign sources; the production of indigenous newsprint has not kept pace with the growth of the newspaper industry. The newspaper chains resent the 'quota' system initiated by the Central Government which exercises a monopoly in the import of newsprint. According to this system, 'small' newspapers are exempt from payment of customs duty on newsprint and 'medium' newspapers

pay duty at Rs.275 per metric tonne; the 'big' newspapers, however, are required to pay duty at Rs.550 per metric tonne. This Central control of newsprint supply is often interpreted as a form of indirect restraint on press freedom.

5.4 Cinema and Video

Cinema is one of the ten largest industries in the country, employing over 1.5 million people in the production, distribution and exhibition of feature and documentary films. Every day, an average 25 million people go to the cinema. With about 750 feature films produced annually, the box-office returns are estimated to be about a thousand crore (ten thousand million) rupees. However, crippling taxation and customs and excise duties by State and Central Governments (around Rs 700 crore or Rs 7000 million each year) reduce the industry's profits considerably.

The Central Government does make a concrete contribution to the cinema industry through its subsidies to film-related units of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The table below spells out this contribution.

Table 19. Central Government Grants/Subsidies to Film-related Units

Unit	Revised Budget Estimate 1985-86	Budget Estimate 1986-87
1. Central Board of Film Censors	3,119	NA
2. Censor Appellate Tibunal	122	NA
3. Cine Workers Welfare Fund	1,042	1,248
4. Films Division	96,765	102,569
5. National Films Archives	3,303	5,875
6. Children's Film Society	8,000	4,500
7. Film and TV Institute of India	16,013	14,302
8. Film Festivals	11,660	3,716

(Source: Compiled from Annual Report, 1985-86, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting)

The Government-run Films Division makes on average 800 short films and 400 newsreels every year. Its annual budget is around Rs.100 million, as much as that of the Directorate of Advertising and Publicity (cf. Appendix III of Annual Report, 1985-86). It is obligatory for every theatre to screen these short films and newsreels prior to each screening of a feature film, and to pay a fee for doing so. The Films Division obviously earns a tidy sum. The total number of cinema theatres including mobile theatres is estimated to be around 12,500. The Southern States (Tamilnadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka) account for 56% of the total. On average, there are 7.37 cinema seats per thousand of the population (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1984).

Table 20. Growth in Production of Feature Films (1951-1985)

Year	Hindi	Telugu	Tamil	Kannada	Malaya-lam	Bengali	Others	Total
1951	100	20	26	2	7	38	26	219
1956	123	27	51	14	5	54	21	295
1961	109	55	49	12	11	36	31	303
1966	108	41	60	21	31	30	25	316
1971	120	85	73	33	52	30	40	433
1976	106	93	81	45	84	32	66	507
1981	153	132	137	65	111	42	97	737
1982	148	154	141	51	117	49	103	763
1983	132	134	128	72	112	49	114	741
1984	165	170	148	81	121	35	113	833
1985	187	198	190	69	137	28	103	912

(Adapted from Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, 1987)

The competition from video has not yet led to the closure of many theatre cinema houses though there are fears that attendance at theatres has dropped as a result of the 'video boom' (cf Kumar, 1985; Agrawal, 1986). To counter piracy of their new productions, film producers have begun selling video copies of their films at reasonable prices, or releasing

them in several theatres across the country, simultaneously. The local term for this kind of strategy is termed 'saturation releasing'. However, there has been a definite decline in earnings from export of Indian feature films to the United Kingdom, the United States and the Gulf countries as the table below shows. There has also been a decline in the number of films exported. This is due to the closure of several theatres showing Indian films.

Table 21. Earnings from Export of Indian Feature Films

Year	No. of Films Exported	Earnings in US$ Million
1977 - 78	1697	195
1978 - 79	1559	117
1979 - 80	1338	104
1980 - 81	1075	94
1981 - 82	905	60
1982 - 83	NA	115

(Source: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1983)

The earnings of Films Division in 1985-86 from the sale of 26,620 prints of documentaries amounted to Rs178,579 (US$ 14,286) (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987:33); the National Film Foundation of India (NFDC) exported films and video rights worth Rs.11 million (US$880,000) (ibid.). The Foundation, which is the sole 'canalizing' agency for the import of films, cleared 81 films of non-resident Indians, and worked out an agreement with the MPEAA (Motion Pictures Exporters of America) to permit the import of up to a hundred films a year (ibid.).

Organization and structure

The studio-system (cf. Barnouw and Krishnamurthy, 1980:87-117) has been long defunct in Bombay, the major Hindi film production centre, though it continues to flourish in the Southern States. Yet, ownership of studios (72 in all) and of film processing laboratories (around 32) is rather scattered. There are over 3,200 'casual' film distributors across the six

'territories' (Bombay, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, East Panjab, Bengal, and Rajasthan and the South) who exercise control over chains of theatres, and even over producers. They are the primary financiers of the industry. Syndicates of distributors monopolize most of the theatres in the big cities, making it impossible for low-budget filmmakers to get their films released. The distribution system is totally unregulated and is a major cause for the inflow of black money into the industry. Hindi cinema, the only 'national' cinema in the sense that it is popular throughout the country, is a largely disorganized industry, seeking its finances from fortune-hunters, black marketeers, and more recently from banks and State Governments.

Video cassette companies, on the other hand, are better organized. The best known names of video-casette companies are: Esquire, Spectra, Eagle, MG Video and Star Video. The NFDC, a Central Government-run film financing body, has also entered the market with cassettes of old and new Indian films. These attempts to break the back of the video pirates do not appear to have borne much fruit, since the average price of taped cassettes is still considerably high, around Rs. 300 or more. The companies are secretive about the volume of production of casssettes. The estimate is that there at least 900,000 VCRs or VCPs in the country, and that these are to be found in high-income houselholds. More than fifty per cent of VCR households have a monthly household income of Rs. 8,000 and over (TV and Video World, June 1987). Video parlours, video shops and video buses make popular films available to those who cannot afford to buy or rent video-recorders.

Areas of Contention

Censorship is the most contentious issue in the film and video industries. Film producers protest that guidelines on censorship are arbitrary, and that their interpretation differs from one Regional Board to another. Films on political themes (such as the feature film 'New Delhi', the documentaries on the Bhopal tragedy involving the multinational Union Carbide, or the documentaries of Anand Patwardhan) have been known to be banned or withdrawn from circuit. The Censor Board's contention is that these involve sensitive political issues and friendly relations with

foreign countries.

High entertainment taxes on the industry, and more recently the challenge from the spread of video piracy are a threat to the future of cinema. The question is whether the industry should turn to TV and the video market or to persist in making films for the big screen. Some of the top directors and producers have already turned their attention to making serials for the TV screen. The relevance of the Indian cinema is an issue often discussed. On one hand is the view that Indian films have to be 'escapist' since Indian realities are so stark; on the other, the 'new wave' filmmakers (Mani Kaul, Satyajit Ray, Saeed Mirza, Mrinal Sen, Govind Nihalani and Shyam Benegal) advocate a more 'realist' cinema genre that challenges the filmgoer to reflect on his condition and that of his/her fellow Indians.

5.5 The Recorded Music Industry in India

Popular music in India is synonomous with film music (Joshi, 1982:624). The recorded music industry in India had its beginnings in 1907 when the Gramaphone Company of India (Gramco, or better known as HMV) opened its office in Calcutta (Reddi, 1985:376), though gramaphones were being imported since 1898. However, the first Indian song to be recorded was in 1902 in Bombay (Joshi, 1982:624). The gramaphone came to Tamilnadu in the early 'twenties, and it was something of a revolution (Bhaskaran, 1981:56) because that was the first time that music became accessible to all, irrespective of caste or class. However, during the first decade of the arrival of the gramaphone in India, the records released were confined to classical music, though eventually folk songs and patriotic songs came to be recorded and sold in large numbers (ibid.).

But it was only when the talkies became popular around 1931 that the record industry really took off in the country. Gramco's sales were initially of English songs but in a few years Indian artistes, especially the mehfil and quwali singers came to have their songs recorded and issued on discs. The standard disc was only seven inches in diameter, and had a speed of 78 r.p.m. This restricted the length of a song to three and a half minutes. Later, 12-inch discs were introduced to provide an extra

minute of playing time. Gramco ruled the roost until first Polydor, and then the Indian Record Company (INRECO) entered the Indian music market, in 1969 and 1973 respectively. In 1982, CBS/Tata launched its own venture at the height of the disco fever in Bombay. Gramco and Polydor are still partly foreign-owned or have foreign collaborators (Reddi, 1985:377). They distribute pre-recorded cassettes from the West among the English-educated urban middle-class, and the armed forces, throughout the country.

Organization and Structure

The organised sector (with just 11 units) accounts for only 25% of the production in the industry (Study Team Report, 1984:802-803). The production of tape recorders (including radio-tape recorders) increased from 0.113 million in 1977 to 0.706 million in 1982. In monetary terms this was worth Rs. 345 million. However, this production figure does not include what is 'unreported'. Tape recorder production is mostly in the hands of about 500 units in the small-scale private sector. One estimate of the 'unreported' production figure puts it at 1.10 million tape recorders in 1982 (ibid.).

The recorded music industry has today a market that is worth over Rs 70 million per annum (Shankar, 1985:15). However, almost 75-80% of the market is in the hands of pirates. Some of the reputed companies that are involved legally in the music industry are: Gramco (formerly His Master's Voice), Music India (formerly Polydor), CBS Records, Super Records and Casettes Co., Jyoti Communications, Venus Records, Oriental Records, Concord and Superhits. But all these companies together control less than a quarter of the market (ibid.). The total sales of the industry amounted to Rs 28 million in 1985, but the organised industry's share was only three to four million rupees (ibid.). According to another estimate, the audiocassette market is worth between Rs 150 and Rs 200 crore (Rs 1500 -Rs 2000 million) - way above such industries as typewriters, ball-bearings and flourescent tubes (Bhadwar, 1987:60). The sale of cassettes has been growing at over 100% per annum but the bulk is eaten up by pirates. For every one album, six cassettes sell in the metropolitan cities, while in the upcountry market 25 pirated casettes sell for every album released (Shankar, 1985:15). The most successful is Gramco, a subsidiary of the

Gramaphone Co. Ltd. of the U.K. - a part of the EMI group - with a business worth Rs. 1.3 million. It has largely depended on Hindi film music but is now going into small budget film production and television serials, and into sponsoring stage shows (Business India, 1986). Gramco's position as the market leader in audio-cassettes has recently been challenged by Supercassetes, a New Delhi company which has cornered 70% of the music market for new Hindi films (Bhadwar, 1987:60). Its total turnover from sale and export of magnetic tapes, empty cassettes and components is about Rs 80 crore (Rs 800 million) (ibid.). Its success has been attributed to the popularity of its 'version recordings' (i.e. new imitation recordings on stereo of popular hits from old and recent films). Its strategy is to purchase musical scores outright from film producers, and then to re-record them in its modern sound studios (ibid.).

Table 22. Production of Music on Records in India (1979)

Type of Music	No. of Recorded Discs Released
1. Film Songs	794
2. Devotional Songs	169
3. Popular Compositions	83
4. Folk Songs	56
5. Film Tunes	14
6. Classical (Vocal)	18
7. Classical (Instrumental)	13
8. Western Music	-
9. Others	68

(Source: Joshi, 1982:635)

Some Areas of Concern

Piracy of recorded music is a central area of concern in this industry. The Copyright Act has not been of much assistance in curbing the prolific output of illegal copies of records and audiocassettes. The shoddy quality of pirated copies is another concern, but music lovers seem to put up with it becasue of the affordable prices of the copies. Yet another issue

is the fact that film music dominates the entire industry; this has been responsible, it is argued, for the waning popularity of classical and semi-classical Indian music. Perhaps the most contentious issue is the Central Government's classification of records, cassettes and music systems as 'luxuries', and as a consequence the imposition of high duties and levies on them (Business India, 1986). This has pushed up the prices and given rise to even greater piracy. The multinational presence in the form of Gramco and Polydor, two of the most successful companies in the industry, is also an area of contention even though these companies are involved in propagating Western pop music as well as Hindi film music.

5.6 Book Publishing Industry

The first printers and publishers of books in India were Christian missionaries in the early eighteenth century (Israel, 1984). They published religious literature and also secular scholarship and educational materials. In 1881, in Bombay Presidency alone, over 900 books in European and Indian languages were published. Of these, barely 12% were in English. In 1885 the British Government took the decision that all higher education would be in English. This provided the impetus for large scale English publishing in India. Higher education still continues to be imparted in English, and more than 40% of the books published are in that language, making India the third largest publisher of books in English, next only to the United States and the United Kingdom.

Though the book industry has been in existence for over a century, reliable statistics on any aspect of the industry are hard to come by; there has been, for instance, no systematic attempt to enumerate Indian publishers (Singh, 1985:112). The annual production of titles by about 3,000 active commercial publishers (which includes various Central and State Government departments) is around 17,000, almost half of them in English and 13% in Hindi (Singh, 1985:113). Despite the fact that India's overall production of titles is quite large, the per capita publishing figures fall significantly below the world average, reflecting the nation's poverty and its low rate of literacy (Altbach, 1975).

Table 23. Output of the Indian Publishing Industry (1950-81)

Year	No. of Titles	Year	No. of Titles
1950-51	12,689	1973-74	17,600
1954-55	18,559	1975-76	22,000
1959-60	10,741	1978-79	18.584
1964-65	13,094	1979-80	16,466
1969-70	14,145	1980-81	17,158

(Compiled from: Altbach, 1975; Israel, 1984; Singh, 1985)

The Multinational Presence

The market for these books is the library system attached to colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning and research. The system is largely supported by grants from the University Grants Commission. Indian publishers (and especially British publishers in India) had also been active in meeting the needs of textbooks in schools, but the 'nationalization' of the school textbook industry has 'substantially closed this lucrative area to commercial publishing' (Israel, 1984).

Paperback publishing in English, Hindi and the regional languages is a vital part of the industry. Jaico Books, Bombay, and Hind Pocket Books, New Delhi, launched into paperback publishing some 20 years ago. Some of their titles have had printruns of over 100,000 copies. A nationwide distribution network, book clubs and small circulating libraries have made this possible. The focus is on religious literature, fiction, self-improvement, and translations of popular Indian writers into various languages. Other publishers with paperback units include Orient Longman, Oxford University Press, Arnold-Heinemann, Vikas and Vision. (For an account of the comics publication industry cf. Chap. 10).

The multinational publishing houses such as Macmillan's, Prentice-Wiley, Oreint Longman, McGraw-Hill, Sage, Oxford University Press and others are

in active competition with Indian publishers. Their presence is defended on the ground that they provide equity capital, professional expertise, and a valuable training ground for Indian publishers, and are able to supply foreign textbooks in the sciences and the humanities at moderate prices, and an international distribution system. Yet until the late 'seventies India's import bill on books was more than four times her export bill. Moreover, the larger percentage of exports was to Asian countries (around 60%) and African countries (around 13%); the United States and the United Kingdom to which most of the multinational belong, took only about 13% and 10% respectively of the books exported (Figures quoted in Singh, 1985:122). The Government has now stepped in with a new import policy which stipulates that all books published before 1978 can no longer be imported; and only a thousand copies of any book are allowed to be imported. This has led to piracy of foreign publications, particularly in the sphere of British and American fiction, but the multinationals have hit back by offering reprint rights to Indian publishers.

Structure and Organization

The Indian publishing industry consists of the public and the private sectors. In the public sector, book enterprises range from ministeries of the Central and State Governments to semi-official publicly-financed bodies such as the National Book Trust, the Sahitya Akademi and the Indian Standards Institution. About 450 agencies in the public sector publish on a regular basis. The largest publishing house in the public sector is the Publications Division, a unit of the Ministry of Information and Braodcasting. These efforts are only partly controlled by the usual economic incentives and constraints which affect the private sector. The Publications Division is perhaps an exception. In 1985-86 it netted a revenue of Rs. 4.27 crore (Rs. 42.7 million) from the sale of its books (around a hundred titles) and 21 journals (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987:47).

The private sector is organized around small and medium-sized firms. It is estimated that there are about 10,000 small publishers in India, 2000 medium-sized firms, and 200 large publishers. But perhaps only twenty of these large firms are fully equipped publishers, with adequate

distribution facilities, some sources of capital and professional expertise (Altbach, 1975:36). The medium-sized and small publishers issue books sporadically. There are an estimated 30,000 printing presses in the country. English langauge publishing is concentrated in the metropolitan centres; there are perhaps 50 firms which publish in English on a regualr basis (ibid.). The Federation of Indian Publishers negotiaties on behalf of the industry with the Government where book policy is concerned.

Areas of Contention

The Government's import policies, the domination of the industry by English language publishing, the multinational presence, and piracy are some areas of contention in the Indian book business. While the import policies are meant to protect the indigenous book trade, the strong multinational presence makes that protection meaningless. Indian publishers' titles have to compete with imported books. From another perspective, argues Singh (1985:125), himself a director of Sage (India), the import and sale of books is almost a necessity for the growth of Indian publishing. The novels of major fiction writers such as Harold Robbins, James Hadley Chase and James Clavell have a large market in India. Even though sold in small quantities, imported scholarly books also provide a substantial amount of turnover because of their high prices. Imported books, therefore, form an important financial resource base for the Indian book industry'. Piracy of imported fiction is, therefore, worrisome to Indian publishers; so is the practice of the current flooding of the Indian book market by 'remainders' from the United States and Britain, which are sold at throw-away prices to Indian importers.

5.7 The Folk and Traditional Media

From a countrywide perspective the folk and traditional media are still the only 'mass' media, in the sense that they have their roots in the tradition and experience of a large majority of the population, and also that they have a reach much more extensive than any of the modern technological media. It must be noted, however, that the numerous religious, caste and linguistic groups across the 22 States of the country have their own distinctive folk and traditional media, though there has

been some interaction among them. There has also been some interaction between the traditional and the technological media: the traditional have introduced 'film-style' and other elements of the cinema into their folk forms; and the technological media like cinema and television have integrated folk themes and formats into their techniques (Ranganath, n.d.; Malik, 1983).

Public and private organizations use the folk and traditional media on a large scale in their efforts in community and national development. The largest public body thus involved is the Song and Drama Division, a 'unit' of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Ministry publications describe the 'unit' as its 'live media wing' which utilizes the traditional folk and contemporary state forms like puppets, plays, dance-dramas, ballet, ballads, and harikathas 'for purposes of social communication, projecting the development activities in the country, especially in the rural areas'. The Division functions at three levels: at its headquarters in New Delhi, at eight Regional Centres in various parts of the country, and at nine Sub-Centres at district headquarters. The Division has 43 departmental troupes, two Sound and Light Units, and about 500 'registered parties' which are made up of eminent performers in the folk arts. During 1985, it presented 19,715 programmes all over the country - all oriented to 'intensive publicity' (Annual Report, 1987).

Table 24. Ministry's Annual Expenditure on Song and Drama Division

Year	Rs. in Thousands
1985-86	
Plan	2,937
Non-Plan	22,725
Total	25,662
1986-87	
Plan	1,539
Non-Plan	26,275
Total	27,814

(Source: Adapted from Annual Report, 1987)

The majority of private organizations utilizing the folk and traditional media are 'social action groups' (SAGs) owing allegiance to various political, social and religious bodies (Kumar, 1988). Marxist and Christian groups are perhaps the most active groups here. It is difficult to estimate the number of such groups or the nature of their use of the folk media. What is also difficult to investigate is the manner in which they are funded. Several foreign funding agencies are actively involved in the social work of these SAGs, with the connivance of the Central Government which desperately needs foreign exchange. Other private organizations such as theatre groups in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu and Kerala employ traditional media like street theatre, dance-dramas, community festivals, religious epics, and proscenium-style plays to disseminate social messages or just to keep these media alive (Cf. Kidd, 1980 ; Bharucha, 1983; Vilanalam and Jayan, 1988). The politics and economics of the folk media industries is a field largely neglected by scholars. The main areas of contention relate to the funding of social action groups by foreign agencies, Central Government control over funds, and the varying approaches to the use of the folk and traditional media for the purpose of empowering the people.

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of each of the major media institutions and industries in India with reference to their current situation, structure and organization and areas of contention point to three general conclusions. First, the multinational presence is an important factor in most of the media industries, especially in book publishing, the recorded music industry, and above all, in the private advertising industry. Its presence in the cinema and video, the press and broadcasting is not so dominant. Columbia Pictures, Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox and other American film production companies have their offices in India and do import films from Hollywood; so does Soviet Films. Television, as a public sector industry, does not appear to be touched by the multinational factor, but rather by overseas networks such as the BBC, United States Information service, Soviet Films, Transtel of West Germany and others. But since it is the private advertising industry that services the other media industries, it may be concluded that the multinationals have a

strong hold on each of them.

This leads us to the second conclusion: the media industries are heavily dependent on advertising revenue. This is particularly true of the press (which obtains over 40% of the total ad expenditure of Rs. 612 billion) and broadcasting (which obtains another 15%). Thus both the private sector (the press) and the public sector (broadcasting) stand to gain immensely from advertising.

A third conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence available is that the Central Government holds the reins in the development and growth of the media industries whether in the public or private sectors. Systems of licensing, entertainment taxes, administrative and legislative controls, controlled supplies of paper, newsprint, raw film stock, and other raw materials through the State Trading Corporation demonstrate the extent of dependence on government.

Implications for Media Education

These conclusions are not without implications for media education. One does not have to raise questions about 'cultural imperialism' or 'conspiracy theories' to understand that local cultures are under threat. They are equally under threat from the dominant Indian cultures; the North Indian Hindi-oriented culture, for instance, which is propagated by All India Radio and Doordarshan, and by the commercial Hindi cinema. These are issues that will have to be considered in media education programmes as much as the analysis of content and of technique.

It must be acknowledged, though, that it is often difficult to make direct linear causal links between say patterns of ownership and control or the dependence on advertising and the media product. Usually, the influences are more indirect and subtle. Generally, a whole lot of influences are at work together rather than each separately. The study of the media as 'industries' and as 'institutions' could help illuminate some of these influences at work. The indirect and subtle influences can be brought out in the classroom, for instance, through a discussion of some of the

reasons for the poor quality of television software: barely 10% of the annual budget is spent on programme production and payment to staff and outside artists; the centralized structure of Doordarshan; Government ownership; the rigid AIR Code does not allow for much creativity. A further reason is the day-to-day interference by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; this is well-documented by Masani (1985); Luthra (1986) and Chatterjee (1987) - all former directors of broadcasting. A similar kind of interference prevails in newspaper and magazine publishing houses (documented in editors' and journalists' memoirs and autobiographies). Further, professional ideologies in the media result in self-censorship and in internalization of news and programme values by media people. Raising questions about these issues and how they possibly relate to the form and content of the cultural product would be relevant to media education in High schools and colleges. Care should be taken, however, not to overload students' minds with facts and statistical data, but rather to draw out trends that lead to critical reflection on the media as industries and as institutions which are linked to other industries and other institutions. An analysis of the capitalist and socialist mix that makes up the Indian political and economic system could add further light on the shape of the media industries and their products.

The need for advertising revenues from the top advertisers (who happen to have multinational connections) is an important determinant of the way in which the public and private media function. In India the press gets the biggest slice of the advertising cake. What are its news values as a consequence? How frequently do the multinationals and their publicity material handed out as 'press releases' figure in the press? The distinctions between 'news' and 'views', between 'advertising' and 'public relations' need to be made. In Indian media education programmes, isolated advertisements are frequently analysed; so is say the structure of a newspaper; but rarely are there connections made between the two; even rarer is the attempt to look at the advertising industry or the media as a whole. Treating each mass medium separately has its pedgagical advantages but there is equally the need to look at the communication industries as a whole, and the interconnections among them, as well as their interconnections with other social institutions and industries.

PART II

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THE MASS MEDIA : A CASE STUDY

CHAPTER 6

HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BOMBAY : HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The educational system of a society is a part of the whole social system; since it is a part of the whole, it is inter-related with other parts of the social system (Desai, 1953:1). This is the conceptual framework within which we propose to examine High School education in Greater Bombay in its historical and contemporary socio-cultural and economic situation. It must be noted, however, that 'educational decisions in India are political decisions and certainly not the decisions of the technical experts in education. The political economy of education has remained a dominating factor in determining educational programmes' (Adiseshiah, in Foreword to Naik, 1982). These political decisions are taken at the national level.

This chapter provides an historical analysis of the pre-and post-Independence developments in High School education in Bombay and its suburbs, and examines the political economy of education for public and private school enterprises. Four types of schools which make up the 'mainstream' system of education are analysed from the point of view of the distinctiveness of their educational policies and practices. This is the educational context of our case study of Bombay's high school students and the mass media.

6.1 High School Education in India - The Early Years

The early Indian secondary schools established in the first years of the 19th century were modelled after the grammar schools of England, and like them, provided only the academic stream which led through the matriculation to the university. This early mould still continues to dominate the scene and even today ninety per cent of the secondary schools fall in this category (Naik, 1982:187-88). Even as late as 1902 the main

object of secondary education was described as teaching the English language (ibid.). Indeed, until the 1940s high schools in India were run in English. But the broad objective of the official (British) efforts was to create an educational system in India which would, by and large, be a pale imitation of that in England. The nationalist (or Indian) view, on the contrary, was that efforts should be directed to evolving a national system of education based on our own tradition and suited to the life, needs and aspirations of our people (ibid.).

Since 1882 the policy of the British administration was to maintain only a minimum number of government institutions as models and to leave the entire expansion of education, especially at secondary and higher stages, to Indian private enterprise (Naik, 1982:143). This private enterprise was managed by organizations representing various religious, linguistic or social groups.

The Christian Education Enterprise

The largest private religious enterprise was that of the Christian missionaries from Europe. The purpose of the early Christian schools (established in the 18th century by Danish missionaries) was to teach the English language and other subjects to British and Anglo-Indian children, and also to children of Indian converts. However, the schools used Indian languages as media of instruction, and aimed at building up literature in these languages, mainly Christian literature (Mathias, 1972). The East India Company opposed this activity 'for fear that it would disturb the people and make them less docile' (ibid.). The Macaulay Minute of 1835 which finally decided in favour of 'British' education as against 'oriental' learning, and the Hardinge Resolution of 1844 which prescribed English as a necessary qualification for service under government, turned missionary education from the emphasis on Indian languages to English as the medium of instruction (ibid.). Yet another reason for the change was summed up in the suggestion of Charles Grant (who had led the agitation in England to force the East India Company to be more tolerant of missionary work) that 'only the use of a superior language like English could improve the intellectual and moral quality of the Hindoos, and the study of English literature would slowly but surely lead to their embracing

Christianity' (Kaa Naa Subramaniam, quoted in Mathias, 1972).

During the post-Independence period, the increase in Catholic schools has been phenomenal; by over 250%, according to Mathias (1972). In 1969, for instance, the Catholic Church managed 7,072 primary schools, 1,198 secondary schools, 114 colleges, 183 technical schools, and 74 teacher training colleges (ibid.). Thus, the Christian education enterprise is larger than that of several States in the country (ibid.). Indeed, it is the largest non-governmental agency for education in India.

The State and other local governmental bodies like the Municipality have been content to conduct a small number of High Schools (Kamat, 1985), which are now known as 'Secondary Schools' to differentiate them from 'Higher Secondary Schools' or 'Junior Colleges' which aim at preparing students for university education or for careers.

The Private School System

The beginnings of the private school system in Western India can be traced to the establishment of the Bombay Education Society by the European inhabitants of the city, on 29th June 1815. Its prime objective was the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. But from the early years, Indian children were also admitted. Religious education was not compulsory in these schools, and Indian children attended them 'to learn the English language which was in a great degree necessary at Bombay to qualify themselves for many situations' (Government of Bombay, 1958).

In 1818 the Bombay Education Society opened three schools for boys at Fort, Girgaum and Mazgaon. The first Board was set up in 1840, and until the mid 'fifties the progress was rapid. By 1855, there were 13 schools all told in the Bombay Province, and a full-fledged Department of Education became necessary to supervise school education. In none of these 13 schools was any Indian language taught.

The first school for girls was started only as late as 1849 by the Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay (Gore, 1982). But school education for girls had to wait till the early twentieth century before it

could actually take off, and provide access to the growing middle class of Bombay. Nationalist leaders were instrumental in giving a fillip to girls' education in the years prior to Independence. Education for Indian boys through the vernacular languages was, in the early years, provided in schools started by religious and community leaders. In Bombay, the pioneers came from the advanced communities which established relatively cosmopolitan educational institutions. But there were several educational societies entering this field, each new society having a preponderance of sponsors belonging to a particular community: Brahmins, Saraswats, Marathas, etc. Two relatively backward communities from South Ratnagiri district, the gavadas and the bhandaris, founded their high schools in Bombay in the 1930s. Today, they are flourishing educational institutions open to all communities (Kamat, 1985:183-184).

The Brahmins were particularly interested in setting up educational institutions. Consequent upon the fall of the Peshwas to the British in 1818, the Brahmins had lost their political power. They could not forget easily and quickly that they were the ruling caste and they took to education as a means of driving off the foreign rulers. They believed that ultimately the knowledge of the Westerners was responsible for their victory over the Indians and if the Westerners were to be defeated, mastery over their knowledge was necessary. Government effort was not sufficient for this purpose and so they started their own educational institutions like the Deccan Society (Desai, 1953:15).

By 1875-76, therefore, there existed two parallel school systems, both privately managed: the 'English schools' and the 'vernacular' schools. In the first, English was a vital part of the curriculum; in the second, no English was taught at all. It was around this time too that the terms 'Secondary Education' and 'Secondary Schools' were brought into vogue by the Indian Education Commission, 1882. The 'English' schools came to be described as 'Secondary Schools' and their system of education labelled as 'Secondary Education'. This practice continued till Independence, though in fact teaching through English was generally in decline since the 1930s (Kamat, 1985).

6.2 Post-Independence Education

Primary and Secondary school education was the responsibility of the regional Provinces during the British regime though 'rigidly controlled by the Central Government' (Naik, 1982:143-144). Under the Constitution of the Republic school education continued to be a 'State' subject, while college and university education were declared to be under the jurisdiction of the Centre. The country became free in 1947 but in the realm of education 'the slavery of the schools and teachers to the grinding machine of administration only increased, with a corresponding deterioration in the freedom, spontaneity and creativity of the educational process' (ibid.).

The old 'matriculation' (or High School) examination conducted by the University of Bombay for the whole Bombay Province, was now replaced by the new School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examination conducted by the newly constituted SLC Board. The new curriculum offered a larger variety of optional subjects, and regional languages became the media of instruction. The former stress on English was considerably reduced. In fact, the teaching of English was discontinued at the lower secondary level (Stds. V-VII), and in its place Hindi, the national language, was made compulsory (Kamat, 1985: 63). However, after the first flush of Independence waned, English was restored to its former pride of place in the early 'sixties due to the demand from public pressure (Kamat, 1985: 77). Today, English is a compulsory subject at the final public school examination, the SSC (Secondary School Certificate), almost throughout the country.

Yet another post-Independence move by the Government strengthened English education. At Independence, many schools under private management were granted Government aid. The Grant-in-Aid rules were reformulated to encourage the opening of more 'aided' schools (Kamat, 1985: 63). Further, a number of High Schools run by the Government (mostly a legacy of the former princely States) were handed over to private agencies (ibid.). The newly-formed State Department of Education took on the responsibility of expanding primary education, so that by 1979 the share of private primary schools was reduced to a mere five per cent. These were mostly fee-charging schools for the affluent and elitist sections of society, some of

them being English-medium schools affiliated to High Schools (or 'English schools') under the same or allied or similar private management (Kamat, 1985:77). But in secondary education as many as 86% of the schools were in private hands (ibid.)

The excessively examination-oriented and English-dominated system of High School education today is perhaps traceable to the influence of the Grant Report which stated that 'the High Schools, in order to play their part, require to be characterised by a literary and classical spirit, such as we find in the great public schools in England. They should send up boys to the colleges not only just able to pass the University Entrance Examination, but also imbued with a fair amount of English Literature, and thoroughly founded in the rudiments of Sanskrit or Latin' (Grant Report, quoted in Government of Bombay, 1951).

The 'public school' spirit of this tradition has declined considerably. Few schools in Bombay, for instance, are residential, or are organized on a 'house' system. The interest both in Sanskrit and Latin has declined too, and so has the interest in English Literature, but the primary objective of High School education still remains passing the final or public examination in order to gain entrance to college, particularly to colleges of medicine and engineering, and more recently to colleges of science and commerce. Consequently, the education imparted in the large majority of schools is of the old literary - liberal variety, heavily influenced by the entrance requirements of university education (Kamat, 1985:40). Since the medium of instruction in college and university education is only English, the English-medium schools naturally have more prestige and demand (Damle, 1976:14). What is more, the educational system has been geared to the welfare of the upper and middle classes right from the start and they continue to be its principal beneficiaries even to this date. Education has thus become an instrument for the preservation of the status quo and the continuation of privilege. (Education Commission, 1964-65).

Yet this was not what the founding fathers of the Republic envisaged. The guiding spirit of Indian educational thought in the post-Independent years

was Mahatma Gandhi. The ideal social order visualized by him for the nation was a classless, casteless, and stateless society based on non-violence, and the decentralization of power and authority. He termed this ideal society 'Sarvodaya Samaj' (or 'Ram Rajya') in which 'the greatest good of all' was the end. The Indian Constitution's commitment to 'socialism' was inspired by this Gandhian ideal. Gandhi advocated a 'basic education' (in the mother-tongue) which stressed learning through work (Ramanathan, 1962). Perhaps the only trace of Gandhian thought that remains in Indian education today is the half-hearted commitment to 'socially useful productive work' (SUPW) which is taught as a subject in Central Schools, and a few centres scattered across the land dedicated to imparting 'basic education'. The new National Policy on Education (1986) takes a technicist approach to education in the goal to 'unversalize' primary school education but does not attempt to introduce any structural changes in the present inequitous education system (Cf. Chapter 4).

6.3 Types of Schools in Greater Bombay

Bulsara (1970:84) classifies schools in Bombay into 'private', 'missionary' or 'church', and 'municipal' schools. This is a classification we generally follow in our study though it must be admitted there are various types of 'public' and 'private' schools. The terms 'public' and 'private' have specific connotations in the Indian context. 'Public' schools generally connote the 42 schools like Doon and Mayo which follow the British public school tradition and are run by private non-governmental interests. They are basically boarding schools for the affluent and the elite classes, with the pupils organized into 'houses' named after Indian or foreign national leaders. Their exclusive nature is suggested in the definition of a 'public school': A public school is one whose headmaster has been admitted to the Indian Public Schools Conference. To qualify for membership a school has to comply with a set of technical criteria relating to freedom of the headmaster, conditions of service for the staff, facilities for sports and residential accommodation (D'Souza, 1974:2). Evidently, they 'form a distinctive value system and social structure' (ibid.).The Education Commission, 1964-65, advocated their abolition, arguing that 'whatever its part in history may be, the Public Schools have no valid place in the new democratic and socialist

society we desire to create'.

However, there are also official or government-run schools such as the Sainik or 'Military' school, controlled by the Ministry of Defence, which follow the public school tradition. These prepare students to take up careers of 'officers' in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. The public school tradition is to be found in 17 Sainik Schools, 5 Military Schools, and two girls' schools (D'Souza, 1974). Then there are the Kendriya Vidyalayas (Central Schools) set up primarily for the education of children of Central Government staff posted in different parts of the country. These do not adhere to the public school tradition, but follow the national curriculum of the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE).

Municipal Schools

Among the main official or government-run secondary school types in Bombay are the Municipal schools which are administered by the Greater Bombay Municipality for the Maharashtra State's Department of Education. The administration costs are fully borne by the State exchequer, and students don't need to pay any tuition or other fees unless the joint annual income of the parents exceeds Rs. 10,000. The majority of students attending these schools are from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other economically and educationally backward groups.

In the mid-'sixties, Bulsara (1970:370) estimated that Greater Bombay had a network of 1,000 primary, middle and high schools, with their complement of nearly half a million students in the six-to-eleven and eleven-to fourteen age groups, and 13,500 teachers. Today, the Greater Bombay Municipality is primarily responsible for providing educational facilities up to the primary school (Std. IV). In 1986-87 it had 1310 primary schools under its jurisdiction. Unlike High School education which is largely a private enterprise, primary school education in Bombay is for the greater part a 'state' enterprise. However, though it is not obligatory for the Municipal Corporation to conduct High School education, it helps out the Department of Education by allowing the use of the same

school buildings and other facilities, and indeed administering the schools on its behalf (Udvadia, 1986). The Municipal Corporation runs 51 secondary schools for the State Government which provides 100% grant on salary and 12.5% on actual admissable expenditure on other items. The Corporation received Rs. 700,000 for this purpose in 1986-87, according to the Superintendent of Secondary Schools in a letter to this researcher. The Municipal schools teach through several Indian languages. Most of the schools are multi-media, some of the larger schools teaching students from as many as four and five different linguistic backgrounds. The major media of instruction, though, are Marathi (the official language of the State), Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu. South Indian languages such as Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam are the media of instruction in a good number of schools. English is one of the media of instruction too in a number of Municipal schools, though this is a fact hardly known to the public. English is, of course, taught as a second language in the majority of schools from Standard VII onwards, and in the remaining schools from Standard V onwards.

Table 25. Distribution of Municipal Secondary Schools by Medium of Instruction (1986-87)

Medium of Instruction	No. of Schools
1. Marathi	44
2. Hindi	21
3. Gujarati	27
4. Urdu	16
5. English	7
6. Kannada	8
7. Telugu	1

(Source: Superintendent, Secondary Schools, 1987)

Table 26. Distribution of Municipal School Students by Medium of Instruction and Standard

Std.	Marathi	Gujarati	Hindi	Urdu	Kannada	English	Total
V	8,973	2,008	1,913	1,803	281	393	15,371
VI	8,157	1,817	1,827	1,789	294	371	14,255
VII	7,132	1,545	1,779	1,533	319	280	12,588
VIII	9,745	2,137	3,591	3,115	988	1,129	20,705
IX	9,713	2,017	3,011	2,262	979	607	18,589
X	1,805	902	1,083	588	141	133	4,652
Total	45,525	10,426	13,204	11,090	3,002	2,913	86,160

(Source: Superintendent, Secondary Schools, 1987)

Like the Catholic and other privately-managed schools, the Municipal schools run in two and sometimes three shifts. High Schools generally hold their classes in the 'morning shift', while the primary sections for the younger children hold their schools in the 'afternoon' shift. (Around 150 schools, 'aided' and 'unaided', have 'Night Schools' for working children, in addition to the day shifts).

Among the middle and upper income groups, municipal schools have a reputation for low standards, bad discipline and poor performance of students in public examinations. This researcher's experience during his visits to three of these schools to talk to the headmistresses, and to make a request for conducting a media survey, suggests that while they may appear shoddy by private school standards, they are by no means lacking in discipline and an atmosphere of study. On average 45-55% passed the S.S.C. public examination every year. The schools could, of course, do with better equipment, and a more reasonable teacher-student ratio. Currently, municipal secondary schools have a total strength of 86,160 students and 2,441 teachers, a teacher-student ratio of 1:35.

Other 'State' Schools

Other types of official schools in Bombay are those run by the Central Government for the benefit of its employees working in the city and the suburbs. These are known as 'Central Schools' and include those to which children whose parents are in the forces (the army, military and air force) and the services (all Central Government departments)go. Altogether there are now 17 Sainik Schools, one in each State, 5 Military schools, and 130 'Central' schools (D'Souza, 1979). Bombay has six Kendriya Vidyalayas, and three 'Central' schools which prepare students for the Central Board of Secondary Education Examination. Besides, there are the 'technical' and the 'special' (or 'special education') schools run directly by the State Government.

Private 'Aided' Schools

Among the private schools are two distinct types: the 'aided' and the 'unaided'. The aid in this case comes from the State Government, and covers salaries of teaching and non-teaching staff, and 'admissable' administrative expenditure. The conditions and extent of 'aid are set out in the Secondary Schools Code, Nagpur, 1972, drawn up by the government of Maharashtra's Education, Sports and Social Welfare Department. The Code deals with the grant-in-aid rules for recognition of schools, and the appointments of staff.

Students in these 'aided' and 'unaided' schools are required to pay tuition and other fees. However, students in 'aided' schools pay nominal fees (around Rs.10 per month), while those in 'unaided' schools pay full fees. 'Unaided' schools are in the main English-medium schools that need to charge high fees to maintain the running costs of the school from year to year. No newly-started English-medium schools has been sanctioned 'aid' during the last decade or so (Fernandez, 1979). Among the 'unaided' schools are those that prepare students for the High School (or SSC, the Secondary School Certificate) examination, and the ISCE (Indian School Certificate Examination). The latter has taken over from the prestigious 'Senior Cambridge' examination. These schools are managed by private religious, educational or linguistic bodies. Thus, the Catholic Diocesan Board of Education supervises schools conducted by the archdiocese and

religious orders. Protestant Christians such as the Anglicans have similar boards of education regulating their schools. A few private 'unaided' schools have been started by industrial and other corporate bodies primarily for the benefit of the children of their own employees.

Table 27. Distribution of Schools by School-type

School Type	No. of Schools
Municipal Schools	51
'Aided' Schools	326
'Unaided' Schools	238
'Central' Schools	12
Total	627

It is evident from the above table that the majority of private schools are 'aided' by the State Government. Such an apparently anomalous situation prevails because of the constitutional rights of religious and linguistic minorities to run their own education institutions. The principle of 'secularism' enshrined in the Constitution accords equal status to all religious and linguistic groups, and therefore equal 'aid' to them. 'Unaided' English-medium schools, therefore, charge the State Government with discriminating against those groups that wish to educate their children through the English medium.

For the purpose of this study, the 627 schools of Greater Bombay have been categorised into Municipal, Catholic and Private schools. Central, State and other types of schools such as the 'technical' and 'special' and 'Senior Cambridge' (or ISCE - Indian School Certificate Examination) schools make up a very small number, and are not a part of 'mainstream' High School education in Greater Bombay. Thus, High School education in Greater Bombay and indeed the entire country is largely in the hands of private organizations. The 'state' school system is restricted to running Municipal, State and Central schools (Kamat: 1985).

Catholic Schools

The Catholic Archdiocese of Bombay is the largest single body that has 107 schools under its charge. Catholic schools, whether conducted by parish churches or by religious orders or even by lay Catholics have much in common, and therefore could be said to form a distinct educational system. All are required to teach Christian Doctrine and pay particular attention to morality, discipline and charity. A common educational philosophy marks the conduct of these schools; they form a distinct school system, not only in Bombay, but in the country as a whole.

This is revealed in the aims set out in the School Calendars, and in the instructions to parents contained therein. The aim, according to these Calendars (or School Diaries) is 'to give all-round education, liberal and academical (sic), and also physical, moral and spiritual, primarily to Catholics for whose education the institute is established, and other children irrespective of religion, race or language in so far as seats are available'. In a note to parents, the Calendar states 'the main purpose and object of this school is to make your child a good student, diligent and industrious, self-reliant and resourceful, honest and truthful, just and fair in dealing with all, ever keeping the joy that God gives to a sinless heart and sharing joy with others'. It appeals to parents to 'please help us in this noble task', adding that 'children cannot be made good by making them happy, but they can be made happy by making them good'. The parents, however, have hardly any role to play in the governance of the school; nor have the teachers. The organizational structure is rigidly hierarchical with the principal representing the management, and with the sole responsibility of the day-to-day running of the school assisted by two headmasters/headmistresses, one from the primary school and the other from the secondary school. Municipal schools too are organized along similar lines.

Educational societies such as the Anjuman, the People's Education Society, the Gokhale Education Society, conduct a few schools, but by far the largest group of schools is run by private trusts and organisations. The breakdown of schools by management is as under:-

Table 28. Distribution of Secondary Schools by Management

Management	No. of Schools
Municipality	51
Bombay Archdiocese	107
Education Societies and Private Trusts	457
Central government	12
Total	627

6.4 Secondary Education in Maharashtra: Statistical Data

The number of Secondary Schools (Standards V to X) in the entire State of Maharashtra stands currently at 7,427. These schools have 29.2 lakh (or 2.92 million) students on their rolls. Teaching and non-teaching staff number 96,358, giving a teacher-student ratio of 1:30. During the last few years the increase in the growth of schools has been considerably slowed down by the State Government's policy decision not to permit opening of new secondary schools except in backward and tribal areas. However, where space and facilities permit, existing schools are sanctioned more divisions in each class, and more students in each division. The result has affected the teacher-student ratio drastically, with on average 60-65 students in each division of a class, and frequently more than three divisions for each class.

Greater Bombay has been particularly affected by this decision. The total number of schools in the city and the suburbs is estimated to be 627, with the majority in the non-government sector. 564 (90%) of these are what are termed 'aided' and 'unaided' schools. 'Unaided' schools make up less than five per cent of this number. Catholic schools fall under the 'aided' category and comprise 18.9% of the total 564 private schools, and 20% of the total number of private and municipal schools in Greater Bombay. Municipal schools make up the remaining 51, a mere 8% of the total number of schools in Greater Bombay.

Table 29. Ward-wise Distribution of Schools in Greater Bombay

CITY		SUBURBS	
Ward	Total No. of Schools	Ward	Total No. of Schools
A/B	49	H	75
C	50	K (West)	50
D	51	K (East)	52
E	53	R	56
G	51	P	75

(N.B. Figures were compiled from incomplete lists of schools obtained from the State's Department of Secondary Education. Details of schools in Ward F (City) and in Wards L, M, N, and T (Suburbs) were not available at the time of the survey).

Non-government schools had 15,820 teachers, while Municipal schools had 2,556, suggesting that the former had a far better teacher-student ratio. Non-government schools thus had one teacher for 27 students, whereas the Municipal schools had a teacher for every 51 students.

The Performance Budget of the Department of Education reports that in 1985-86, the total enrolment in Standard IX (whose students are the focus of our study) stood at 104,515, with the number of divisions at 2,091.

6.5 The Financing of Greater Bombay's Schools

The State of Maharashtra's budget estimate for secondary education in 1985-6 was Rs. 2,536,990,000. Out of this total estimate, assistance to non-governmental or privately managed schools amounted to Rs. 2,064,605,000. This is as much as 81.38% of the total budget estimate. As against this, the share of the local bodies such as the Municipality was Rs. 278,655,000 which works out to less than 10% of the budget estimate.

Thus the 51 Municipal secondary schools which employ around 2,556 teachers and cater to the lower and backward classes cost the State Exchequer

Rs. 1,360,000 towards salaries, maintenance and fees, and an additional Rs. 37,990 as a grant to the Book Banks.

Set against this is the estimated expenditure on reimbursement of institution fee to non-governmental institutions in the form of Grant-in-Aid which amounted to Rs. 1,690,000. The Grant-in-Aid to non-government aided schools includes the entire expenditure on salaries, and on rent, plus other admissable expenditure or 12% of the total admissable expenditure on staff salaries and allowances of the preceding year minus the total amount of the sanctioned tuition fees recoverable from fee-paying students during the preceding year (Grant-in-Aid Code, 1972). Fee-paying students are those whose parents' annual income exceeds Rs.10,000. Education for girls whether in Municipal or private 'aided' schools is totally free. An additional Book Bank Grant of Rs. 900,000 was disbursed to private aided schools during the same year. The per capita cost, therefore, to the State Exchequer, with reference to total enrolment is Rs. 531 in Bombay.

It is evident from the large-scale funds that are pumped into the private 'aided' schools that these schools are being subsidized by the public exchequer. The criticism frequently made is that the State is subsidizing (and thereby endorsing) what is patently an elite system of education. The Grant-in-Aid Code was introduced during the British regime because it was more economical for the Government of the time to financially support privately-run schools than conduct its own educational enterprise. Besides, it was politically expedient for the then Government to support schools run by various religious denominations. Its 'secular' policy of providing aid to private schools was meant to be a mark of its non-interference in the diverse native religions and cultures. This same 'secular' policy has been pursued since Independence, and has proved popular with the middle classes and with various religious and linguistic organizations.

CONCLUSION

The history of high school education in Bombay reveals that the structure and orientations of the education system, first introduced during the

British regime, has not developed in step with the democratic, socialistic and pluralistic aspirations of the Indian people. The hiatus between the English and the vernacular schools continues: there is a certain elitism that English-medium schools have acquired at the expense of the municipal and the private vernacular schools. Unaided private schools have built up a higher status than 'aided' private schools. It could, therefore, be generalized that the economically better-off classes send their children to the 'unaided' private schools, the middle-income groups to the 'aided' private schools teaching in English, and the poor, the low-caste and the working class to municipal schools.

The private school system was encouraged and subsidized by the British regime because it suited its interest in building up a bureaucracy that would help run the government. It also served to perpetuate the divisions in society along religious and linguistic lines, even as it served the interests of the better-off sections of society. Paradoxically, a socialist society committed to equality and social justice, continues that tradition. The system does, of course, permit the development of various religious and linguistic groups in their own ways in the spirit of plurlism but it actual practice it often gives rise to inequitous social and educational structures because economically better-off parents tend to send their children to the most reputed private schools, irrespective of their own religious or linguistic backgrounds. The present education system, therefore, serves to perpetuate the rich-poor divide in Indian society. In earlier times, one's caste determined one's status and power in society; today, it is money-power that is gradually replacing the older caste-power. On the whole, though, because of the better education that the upper-castes obtain in private schools, and consequently higher-salaried jobs too, their economic power is ensured.

The quality of the private schools, however, varies immensely. Some private Marathi-medium schools have over the years acquired a much higher reputation than many private English-medium schools because of the good results obtained at public examinations. But the demand for English-medium education has been so persistent that even these Marathi-medium schools have been forced to open English-medium 'divisions' at the

secondary school level. One of the Marathi-medium schools in our survey belonged to this bilingual-medium school-type.

What are the implications of this structuring of the education system according to management (municipal or private) and medium of instruction, for the type of media education to be imparted? We will need to investigate, in the first place, the differences (if any) in the media interests and preferences of students who go to the various types of schools. We will also need to examine the media interests and preferences of teachers who work in these types of schools. It must be noted that even as students from all school-types are exposed to the same textbooks and almost similar teaching and examination methods (as a consequence of a highly centralized system), they are also exposed to the same cinema and video films, radio and television programmes, and to print media such as newpapers, magazines, books and comics. The languages of the textbooks and the media offerings are, however, different. The type of media education to be imparted will, therefore, largely depend on the students' medium of instruction, their access and exposure to the various media, as well as their interests and preferences in genres or programme-types under each of the major media. In the chapters that follow, we examine these in detail through an analysis of a self-administered survey we conducted in Bombay's high schools.

CHAPTER 7

THE BOMBAY STUDY: RATIONALE AND DESIGN

This chapter presents the rationale and design of our 'microsocial' study of Greater Bombay's high school youth, with particular reference to their interests and preferences in the 'old' media such as the cinema, radio and the press, as well as with the 'new' media such as video and television. However, since we see our study in the tradition of earlier sociological studies of youth, education and the mass media in India, we sketch a brief review of these early studies before proceeding to introduce our own study.

7.1 Sociology of Indian Youth - A Review

Interest in the sociology of education is fairly recent in India (Chitnis, in Nayar, 1982:156-57). Desai's study (1953) on high school students in Poona, and Shah's study (1967) of the role of the secondary teacher from a sociological perspective are among the earliest research contributions to the discipline (ibid.). Desai's study examined high school students' use of the media in the wider context of their lives at home and at school.

A review of the research literature on Indian youth and the media reveals an abundance of studies on college-going adolescents but very few on the secondary or the primary school student. One of the earliest analysis of the Indian adolescent's relationship with the media was Panna Shah's Indian Film (1960) within the context of the film industry in Bombay. It included a content analysis of popular films of the time in terms of genre. Shah used the questionnaire-method to find out college-going students' cinema habits. She did not find any evidence of the students' 'addiction' to the cinema. Aggarwal's Cinema and its Effect on the Adolescent (1960) studied the responses of 300 high school and college girls of Allahabad on their hobbies. She found that book reading appeared

to be the most popular hobby, and collection of pictures of actors and actresses the least. Those who went to the cinema said they did not see films even once a month, and the types of films they saw were mainly the social and the religious types. Aggarwal's (1960) conclusion was that the girls in her sample did not go to the cinema as frequently as the boys.

The role and impact of films in the lives of adolescents of other cities has been the subject of much research right from the mid-'fifties. Naik (1957) investigated the place of public cinema in the life of boys attending secondary schools in Bombay, Mittal (1960) examined the impact of cinema on Chandigarh's schoolchildren, Hansa (1960) carried out a study of film preferences of Baroda's adolescents, and P. C. Aggarwal (1972) went into the impact of cinema on the adolescents of Jaipur. These early 'impact' studies were fairly crude and tentative and were restricted to the cinema. During the 'seventies the impact of radio broadcasts on children of secondary schools of Greater Bombay and more significantly, television effects came under scrutiny. Two studies of Bombay's student population at the time were Panchayil's (1976) Impact of Television on the Student Population of Jawahar Nagar, Goregaon, and Henderson's (1975) Mass Media among School Students in Bombay. Henderson is a forceful advocate of media education, especially film appreciation. It should be the objective of teachers, he argues, to build individual and social responsibility for motion pictures and other mass media; that is, we would have to make them take the role of the citizen and see how they could help to improve the quality of life of the city/village where they live. The greatest immediate need is to awaken a critical attitude in the film-going public and thereby to evaluate their tastes. This calls for some basic training in film appreciation and in the modern techniques and devices employed by film makers. Such training should enable film-goers to:-

a) discriminate objectively between films and to assess correctly what is valuable or objectionable in them under the two aspects of art and morality,

b) react rationally to what the screen projects so as not to be swayed by incomplete, warped or totally wrong ideas about life and love,

c) become discriminating in the matter of viewing films so that they do

not crowd cinema halls merely to pass the time or escape from reality.

Henderson called for film appreciation to be made a regular part of the school and college curriculum, or at least occupy a place among the co-curricular activities. He wanted students to discuss films from both the aesthetic and moral points of view in order to sharpen their critical faculties.

Moral and aesthetic concerns are not so blatant in an earlier media study of Bombay's school children. In her doctoral thesis on the Influence of the Sociological Factors on the Education of Children in Greater Bombay, Setranjiwala (1975) recommended film education in order 'to narrow the psychological and social gap separating teachers from pupils'. She concludes her thesis with these ringing words: It is time that authorities in India should seriously ponder over the relationship between the student unrest and the psychological and social gap separating teachers from pupils. One step for narrowing the gap would be to follow Hungary's example and introduce obligatory teaching of film aesthetics in schools (ibid.). Setranjiwala had surveyed 600 pupils of Standard X (aged 15-16 years) in 16 schools, and also 600 parents and 100 teachers.

These early reflections in India on media education appear to correspond with similar moral and aesthetic approaches advocated by the first media education advocates in the United States and Europe (Halloran and Jones, 1984; Masterman, 1985; Anderson, 1983). The clear assumption in such reflections is that the media are a significant means of 'socialization' and 'modernization'.

Mass media play a significant role in the socialization of the young, asserts a study on the exposure of Delhi youth to the mass media (Yadava, 1979). It is further asserted that an extensive exposure necessarily influences the young, always believed to be passive respondents. Yadava's (1979) study concludes that greater access and exposure to the mass media is noticed among youth of parents whose economic, educational and occupational status is higher. The mass media are, therefore, essentially class media. There is lower consumption of the media among youth from

poorer families, and they do so primarily for entertainment (ibid.). A more recent study of the college youth of Delhi (Patil, 1985) underscores a similar view.

Shingi, Singh and Jadhav (1980) found evidence to confirm these conclusions in a study they did on the rural youth of Gujarat. Their survey showed that a majority of rural youth visited movie theatres (63%), listened to the radio (78%), and read newspapers (69%). Youth from all categories of land-holdings saw films, though those coming from large-sized family holdings saw a greater number - an average of 37 films per year (ibid.).

Further confirmation of the 'mass media are class media' thesis is offered in an investigation by Haq (1981) of the newspaper and magazine reading habits of public school and non-public school students. The two groups, he discovered, differed not only in their selection of newspapers and magazines but also in their selection of the topics they read. For instance, most public school children were more oriented to English newspapers and periodicals such as Time, Life, Span, Science Today and the Illustrated Weekly of India which carry news of national and international events and personalities. Children from the non-public schools, on the other hand, read the Navbharat Times, a Hindi daily, and very rarely the Times of India or the Hindustan Times, both English dailies. The two groups of children differed also in their attitudes to newspapers and periodicals, and the degree of their exposure to the press (ibid.)

Modi (1985) carried out a comparative study of the free-time activities of urban and rural populations in Rajasthan. Urban and rural youth were included in the sample. Variations in free-time activities among the urban and rural groups were correlated with socio-economic data and found to be significant, as in earlier studies. But in her recent survey of students in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, Reddi challenges this thesis (Reddi, 1985). She gathered from her data that availability rather than socio-economic and cultural background determined exposure and choice. The degree of access and exposure to the mass media today, she argues, is the direct result of the media boom in the country

with the explosion in the number of newspapers and magazines, and the tremendous growth of television that has taken place since the Yadava (1979) study was conducted. Yet, 'income plays a critical role in the quantum of media exposure among adolescents', though family income does not influence exposure to films. This is perhaps because of the 'overwhelming presence of movies, and also because movies provide cheap entertainment. What effects quantum of movie exposure is parental approval which increases as disciplinary restrictions are removed with age'. This is not so with girls, however, for 'as daughters grow older, they share a greater part of the household chores, reducing the leisure time available for media exposure'. In any case, most exposure is in the company of the family or peer groups. In the twin cities, the families are also predominantly nuclear in structure, and media exposure takes place in the presence of the family. The study was restricted to English-medium high schools and colleges of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

Arimpoor(1982) conducted an empirical study of the attitudes and values of youth (14-26 years of age) in urban, semi-urban and rural Tamilnadu. Employing the self-administred questionnaire method on a sample of 500 school-going and out- of-school youth, Arimpoor found that Tamil-speaking youth showed a more favourable attitude to the mass media than English or Malayalam or Telugu speakers, and Hindu youth were more positive in their attitude to the media than Christian or Muslim youth.

This review of Indian studies on youth and the modern mass media suggests that mainly quantitative methods have been employed to examine correlations between demographic variables and media uses and gratifications. The results of the research studies demonstrate that the modern mass media are one of the many free-time activities of youth, and that socio-economic status rather than religion or language largely influence attitudes to the media, and also the extent of media use.

7.2 Reasons for Selecting Bombay as Focus of Study

This section sets out the reasons for selecting Greater Bombay as the focus of study. It is argued that this city is not only the financial and commercial capital of India, but also the media capital in many ways.

Further, since it is so cosmopolitan an Indian city, a comparison of the of students, teachers and parents of different religious and linguistic communities, can be made. The main types of public and private schools in the country are to be found in Greater Bombay as well. Finally, this metropolis has been the testing ground of an interesting experiment in media education known as 'Mediaworld' (Cf. Chapter 3).

Bombay: India's media capital

While New Delhi may be the controlling power of Indian broadcasting, it is in Bombay that the programmes of Vividh Bharati (the commercial radio channel), the newsreels and documentaries of Films Division, the 'sponsored' programmes and serials of Doordarshan (Indian Television) originate. Further, while the commercial film industry may be better organized and more efficiently managed in Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore and Trivandrum, or even Calcutta, it is the popular Bombay 'masaala' (pot-pourri' would be the closest English equivalent) film that continues to be acclaimed nationally, and internationally wherever there are Indian communities such as the East African countries, the United Kingdom, and Canada. the stronghold of the Indian press too is concentrated in Bombay. The two largest newspaper publishing houses, The Times of India, and The Indian Express, have their main offices in Bombay.

Indeed, it could be said that Bombay is the media capital primarily because it is the financial and commercial capital of India. The life-blood of the modern media is support from business, reflected in sponsorship and advertising. The top twenty advertising agencies with billings of over two crore rupees (or Rs. 2 million) function from Bombay. The largest advertising agency, Hindustan Thompson Associates (formerly the multinational, Thompson's of the U.K.), has an annual billing of Rs. 28.14 crore (or Rs. 2.8 million).

The investigation of media education in an Indian context made it imperative that the study be set in a part of the country where the modern media were easily available. Next to the capital, New Delhi, (where television has been available since 1955), Greater Bombay has the largest number of television sets (around half a million), and possibly the

largest number of video-cassette recorders, audio-cassette recorders, and transistors.

According to a recent market survey, 85% of all households in Greater Bombay, with a total income exceeding Rs. 750 per month, own a television set (MRAS, 1986). It is estimated that 82% of upper-income households watch television every day of the week. 'Samachar' (the national news in Hindi) and The News (the national news in English) attract a regular viewership of 56% in the same group. Further, it is estimated that 80% of adults in this upper-income group read an English publication, 27% read Gujarati and 22% read a Marathi publication regularly.

The Bombay press is mostly in private hands as in the rest of the country. The two large newspaper publishing houses, The Times of India and The Indian Express, operate from the city. Bombay has four English morning dailies and five English evening papers, besides two morning dailies in Marathi, two in Gujarati, one in Hindi, with several dailies in the regional languages freighted to Bombay from the South and other parts of India. Several weekly and monthly magazines too are published from Bombay.

Table 30. Circulation of Major Newspapers and Magazines in Greater Bombay

Newspapers	Circulation	Magazines	Circulation
Times of India	225,910	Illustrated Weekly	15,187
Loksatta	186,831	Debonair	13,037
Sunday Observer	118,152	Eve's Weekly	12,410
Indian Express	96,775	Sportstar	9,671
Janmabhoomi	33,568	Indrajal Comics (in Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Kannada, English, Malayalam)	9,481
Maharashtra Times	10,116	The Sun	5,446
		Femina	5,350
		Filmfare	5,119
		Sportsworld	1,575

(Source: INFA, 1985)

The Times of India has a readership of 620,000 in the upper income group, the Midday 240,000 and Indian Express a readership of 220,000.

Greater Bombay was selected for the survey also because an interesting experiment in Media Education has been conducted for the last decade by the Xavier's Institute of Communications. More than a dozen schools have had short-run courses in Media Education, under the auspices of the Institute. Further, school children in Bombay would be familiar with some of the terms used to talk and to report about the mass media. The question of convenience, and familiarity with the area under study had also to be considered. The researcher has been a lecturer in a local college in the suburbs for almost two decades. He has also been part of the team of media education teachers involved in drawing up a syllabus and a textbook on the subject.

7.3 Research Objectives

Up until now the assumptions, the content and pedagogic methods in media education in India and other countries have been founded on 'hunches' about students' access and exposure to the mass media, about their interests and preferences in the programmes and genres, and about the factors that draw them to spend so much time with the media. Indeed, such information was not believed to be essential since what was most vital was counteracting the 'power' of the media through education. What was most required was a committed, dedicated and crusading spirit on behalf of media education; research into the media or media education was taken to be of peripheral value. This perhaps explains the active involvement of religious groups in the media education movement in countries such as Australia, the United States, Canada, the Phillipines, India, Ireland and the countries of Latin America, as well as of international church bodies like UNDA which has lobbied for the subject in UNESCO and other world organizations.

The primary objective of our 'microsocial' study was to investigate the students' access and exposure to the various media available in Bombay and its suburbs, as well as their interests and preferences in the various media, in terms of the school-types they attended and other relevant

demographic variables; we assumed that students are active receivers, and that they have definite interests and preferences in each of the media. The socio-historical context of our study was the school and education system prevailing in Greater Bombay.

The relevance of such information about the 'clients' of media education needs some explanation. Just as our 'macrosocial' public policy perspective illuminated our understanding of media education, so the 'microsocial' study of students' social background, their access and exposure to, and their interests in the various media, would be of assistance in planning the form and content of the new subject, and its place in the school curriculum. Indeed, this is in tune with the Reyes Matta model of 'democratic communication' which we have selected as the analytical framework for our study: the 'clients' of media education are not looked upon as 'objects' but rather as 'subjects', actively participating in the media education process.

The specific objectives of the study, therefore, were the following:

1. To examine the social background of Greater Bombay's High School students from the principal school types: municipal (or 'State') schools, Catholic schools, private English-medium schools and private Marathi-medium schools. The purpose of this examination was was to find out possible relationships between social background and media access and exposure, on one hand, and between social background and media interests and preferences, on the other.
2. To examine the regularity with which some out-of-school activties such as shopping, helping out at home, and doing homework were given time and attention. This was considered necessary since the mass media such as the cinema, video, television, radio and the press were assumed to be in competition with these same activities in the daily round of life at school, at home, and with the community.
3. To investigate the extent of media ownership and actual access to the various mass media.
4. To look for possible patterns in the students interests' and preferences in the the audiovisual, audio and print media.

5. To see to what extent the major participants (students, teachers and parents) in the media education process, talk to each other about the media, and what their views were regarding the form media education should take in formal school education.
6. To draw out the implications of the findings from the above for the nature and form of media education in Bombay's high schools.

7.4 Research Design and Instruments

The above objectives determined the research design and choice of the Research Instruments. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed to obtain as comprehensive a picture as possible of the media interests of students, teachers and parents - the three main groups of participants in the media education process.

To get some idea of the subjective media interests of these three groups of respondents, it was imperative that strict confidentiality be assured. This ruled out formal personal interviews or group discussions, or the keeping of diaries. Moreover, formal interviews or discussions demand that a certain rapport be established before respondents can confide in the researcher. This requires time; both the researcher and the respondents were hard-pressed for time since the former had barely a month to complete the survey, and the latter were busy with the final school examinations during that same month. Examinations are taken extremely seriously by students and teachers, as well as by parents who see it as their bounden duty to prepare their children for them. However, efforts were made to talk to students, teachers and parents in school and out of school, informally, to supplement the data gathered from the questionnaire.

Yet another determining factor was the question of expenditure involved in the field work. The grant provided for the field-work did not permit the comprehensive survey contemplated. Since the employment of assistant-researchers was out of the question, it was felt necessary to restrict the survey to Bombay schools. The investigator had to carry out the survey himself, without any assistance from paid research assistants. The few teachers who helped out in the survey were fellow-media education

teachers.

The Research Instruments and devices used included the following:

1. A self-administered questionnaire for students, teachers and parents.
2. Formal and Informal discussions with students, teachers, parents, sociologists, educationists, communication researchers, and media persons.
3. Participant-observation of Teachers' Workshops on Media Education .
4. An ethnographic observation of eight families watching television in a home environment.

7.5 The Questionnaire

The self-administered questionnaire was the main research instrument employed (Cf. Appendix I). It was considered to be the most feasible research instrument in the circumstances. It was fairly detailed, encompassing the whole range of the mass media, and allowed for free expression of views and preferences. The respondents were given the option to answer or not to answer any of the questions.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections: the first dealt with personal demographic data; the second, with frequency of use and favourite programmes and genres in each of the mass media (cinema, video, TV, radio, popular music, and the press); and the third, with media education.

In the main two types of questions were used: 'open-ended' questions which allowed for free expression of views and preferences, and 'closed' questions which required the selection of one answer from two or more possible options. Open-ended questions were preferred for questions where issues of prestige were involved. For instance, questions on caste, parents' education and occupations were open-ended. So also questions asking students to name the films and television programs they had seen recently, or titles of favourite radio programs, of newspapers and magazines read regularly, or names of favourite songs and singers, were open enough to allow for a wide range of choice. No titles of films and television or radio programmes, magazines and newspapers, or the names singers were mentioned in the questionnaire. However, lists of genres in

each media were provided to facilitate quick response. To obtain measures of frequency, the respondents were asked to tick off the approximate hours spent in watching TV, listening to the radio, or the number of visits to the cinema theatre. The classification of the numerous titles mentioned under each of the mass media was carried out at the time of coding.

The questionnaire was drafted in English by the researcher, and translated for Marathi-speaking students by P.V. Padhye, lecturer in the Department of Marathi, Parle College, Bombay. Very few changes were made in the English questionnaire for teachers and parents. The changes related in the main to questions on personal data. The small samples of teachers and parents ruled out the possibility of having a separate questionnaire in Marathi. It must be noted, however, that most teachers even in Marathi-medium schools have a good working knowledge of English, since the majority of them would have studied English as a second language both at school and college. Further, most teachers' training colleges in Greater Bombay have English as the medium of instruction.

7.6 Administration of the Questionnaire

The English version of the questionnaire was printed on xerox-offset and bound neatly to make it look attractive to the respondents. The Marathi version of the questionnaire was cyclostyled, since similar facilities were not easily available for printing in Marathi, and the number of copies required was not large. Feedback from the headmistresses and teachers who supervised the filling in of the questionnaires in the Municipal and Marathi-medium schools suggests that the students did not find it difficult to follow the Marathi translation.

The questionnaire was piloted among 40 students and 25 teachers of a private English-medium school in February 1986. The survey itself was carried out in March and early April, 1986. The printed questionnaires were distributed and administered in the English-medium schools by the researcher himself, with very little help from a teacher or a headmistress. In most schools, however, the researcher was introduced to the students by a senior teacher or the principal or headmistress, and then left free to conduct the survey himself. In the Marathi-medium

schools, a senior teacher or the headmistress supervised the filling in of the questionnaires, after due briefing from the researcher.

The instructions for filling in the questionnaire were printed at the head of the questionnaire; hence little prompting from the supervisors was necessary. Students took about 45 minutes to finish filling in the questionnaire. Some took much less time, while a few required a little longer time. For the majority of students this was their first experience in filling up such a media-related questionnaire.

7.7 The Student Sample

The greater part of the schools in Greater Bombay are in the suburbs where 61% of the population resides, i.e. 5.6 million (D'Souza:1986). The island, on the other hand, has a population of 3.7 million, around 39% of Greater Bombay's population. It was inevitable, therefore, that the largest number of schools in the sample selected purposively would be from the suburbs. Accordingly, 14 of the 18 schools in the final sample were from the suburbs. The table below sets out the types of schools in the sample, and the number of divisions from each school type selected:

Table 31. Schools and Divisions in the Survey Sample

School Type	No. of Schools	No. of Divisions
Municipal Schools	3	4
Catholic Schools	8	9
Private English Schools	6	6
Private Marathi Schools	1	1
Total	18	20

Table 32. Students in the Survey Sample by School-type

School Type	No. of Students	Percentage
Municipal Schools	184	17.5
Catholic Schools	495	47.2
Private English Schools	326	31.1
Private Marathi Schools	46	4.4
Total	1051	100.2

7.8 Basis of Selection of Sample

The basis of the selection of schools for the survey was simple. Principals or headmistresses of schools were contacted in person or on the phone, and requested for permission to carry out the survey during school hours. Since no comprehensive lists of schools and their addresses were available at the time of the study, addresses and phone numbers were obtained from the telephone directory. Not all the schools, particularly the Municipal schools, were found to be listed in the directory. So the Municipal Education Department was approached, and a comprehensive list of the Municipal schools was obtained. This list was utilized to draw up a sample of ten schools initially from different Wards, and as far as possible from the poorest localities. A letter was sent out by the Department to the principals of these 10 schools granting the researcher the necessary permission to conduct the survey. As it happened, only three of the ten schools were ultimately selected because of the co-operation of the headmistresses. One school headmistress refused point blank to allow time for the survey, stating that the students were too busy preparing for the final examination, and after all, the benefit of the survey would accrue only to the researcher, not to any school. The headmistress of a night school run primarily for domestic servants, also offered the same reason for refusal, though more politely.

In the ultimate analysis, therefore, the willing co-operation of the principals and headmistresses, and the availability of students for the

survey in March and April 1986, when the researcher was in India for his field work, determined the selection of the purposive sample of schools and students. Catholic and private English-medium schools were over-represented in our sample for possibly these reasons.

7.9 The Sample of Teachers and Parents

The sample for the teachers and parents' study was drawn up with the help of school principals, headmistresses, and media education teachers. As in the case of the student survey, the sample here too was purposively selected so that the four types of schools under study were adequately represented, and that the composition of the sample was made up of teachers and parents from different Wards in the suburbs. The small sample of 50 parents was obtained from over 200 questionnaires distributed through school principals and teachers. The poor response (25%)could be explained by the fact that the parents were very busy preparing their children for the annual examinations; they may have also been put off by the length of the questionnaire.

The method followed for administering the questionnaire to teachers and parents differed from that for the students. 400 copies of the questionnaire were distributed among teachers either personally or through the principal or headmistress of the schools where the survey of students was conducted. Five to ten copies of the questionnaire for teachers and parents were either handed over to the principals or headmistresses for distribution among their staff and the students' parents. 150 copies of questionnaires were also sent by post to schools in distant suburbs; 25 teachers returned the questionnaires duly filled in. The over 200 teachers who were approached were those who taught in the High School classes, and the parents were those who had their children studying in High School. The filled-in questionnaires were returned to the researcher by post, through the principal or headmistress, or in person. Altogether, 115 (21%) teachers returned the questionnaires. The remaining 73 (38.8%) in our teachers' sample were B.Ed. and M.Ed. students.

Included in the teachers' sample were B.Ed. and M.Ed. students, the majority of whom would have had some teaching experience in secondary schools. Among the 56 B.Ed. students in the sample, 14 were practicing

teachers, 31 were full-time students, and 11 were parents with a little teaching experience. 8 lecturers from a local B.Ed. college were also in the teachers' sample. All told, 17 M.Ed. students completed the questionnaire.

Table 33. Distribution of Teachers' Sample

Teacher Type	No. in Sample
B.Ed. Students	56
M.Ed. Students	17
B.Ed. Lecturers	8
Secondary Teachers	107
Total	188

The questionnaire was administered by the researcher himself to the students of the B.Ed. and the M.Ed., while the lecturers filled the questionnaire on their own at home. The B.Ed. students filled in the questionnaires in their college lecture hall, while the M.Ed. students did so in a university lecture hall, supervised by the researcher. Permission to conduct the survey was obtained from the proper educational authorities. Thus, excluding the B.Ed. and the M.Ed. students who were not teaching at the time, 13 schools were represented in the sample for teachers:

Table 34. Types of Schools in Teachers' Sample

School Type	No. In Sample
Municipal Schools	2
Catholic Schools	6
Private English Schools	4
Private Marathi Schools	1
Total	13

Statistics of the number of Standard IX teachers in the four types of schools were unavailable. We have data about the total number of teachers in Municipal and private schools, but not a standard-wise break up. Municipal schools employ a total of 2,556 teachers, while all the private schools together employ a total of 5,113 teachers in both the primary and secondary sectors, with Catholic or Christian teachers making up 3,479 (68%) and remaining 1,634 (31%) from other religious backgrounds. (These statistics have been calculated from data given in the Government of Maharashtra's Performance Budget, 1985-86; the Municipal Secondary Schools office records; and the Catholic Directory of the Archdiocese of Bombay, 1986).

7.10 Method of Analysis of Survey Data

A total of 1065 High School students from 18 Bombay schools filled in the questionnaire. The questionnaires filled in by 14 students (1.3%) had to be discarded as they failed to provide even the minimum data about their social background, or in rare cases, gave frivolous answers. The main independent variable employed for comparison in the statistical cross-tabulations drawn up in the chapters that follow is the school type. All the personal data variables are examined in relation to school type. The primary tests of significance carried out to demonstrate the differences, if any, between the four school types (Municipal, Catholic, Private English and Private Marathi) are the Chi-square and the One-Way Analysis of Variance, with the latter following the LSD (Least Significant Difference) and the Scheffe Procedures. The Scheffe Range Test, a stricter measure of significance than the Chi-Square or the LSD Test, indicates pairs of an independent variable that are significantly different in regard to dependent variables, at the 0.05 level. Collapsing of schooltype categories was not resorted to because of the distinctive nature of each school type. Other categories were collapsed only occasionally.

Mean scores were employed to measure central tendency in numerical oriented variables such as age, number of brothers and sisters, and number of members in joint families.

CONCLUSION

Sociological studies of Indian youth and the media have for the most part focused on the 'effects' of the media, and on questions of 'access' and 'uses and gratifications'. Further, the majority of studies on youth have been more concerned with college-going youth; studies on school-going children in the primary and secondary schools have been few and far between. Research methodologies employed to study Indian youth have not gone beyond empirical quantitative surveys and case studies.

Our study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine the frequency of students' engagement with the mass media, their access and exposure to them, their specific interests and preferences, the people with whom they 'usually' attend to the media, and the factors that draw them to the various audiovisual, audio and print media.

CHAPTER 8

GREATER BOMBAY'S HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

High School students of Greater Bombay, like the population of the metropolis itself, come from varied religious, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. Student populations of the various types of schools differ significantly not only in their religious and linguistic backgrounds but also in their socio-economic backgrounds. These sub-structural variables are, as Modi (1985:80) concludes from his recent study of leisure, mass media and social structure in India, 'important factors in the study of patterns of leisure in any community especially where the structure of society suffers from inequalities and handicaps.'

This chapter looks at some of these 'important factors' which are likely to be related with patterns of ownership, access and exposure to the mass media among students. It also offers a brief analysis of the demographic background of teachers and parents since these groups are 'the three human components of the formal educational system in a modern society; they are not independent of each other and, therefore, cannot be completely isolated' (Desai, 1953:2).

The objective of this collection of demographic data at the microsocial level of our study is to attempt to uncover the the mix of religious, linguisitc and cultural groups in each school-type, and to investigate the socioeconomic status of students who go to different types of schools. Social status in India is determined by a number of factors such as religion, caste, education, occupation, and place and type of residence. The assumption in this study is that there is often a relationship between socio-cultural and economic background and media interests. Further, such data is of interest and value to the media education teacher and strategist. Much more so than for other school subjects, the teaching of

media education requires being sensitive to students' cultural backgrounds. It is this insensitivity with regard to subjects like Moral Science, Value Education, and History, say in Catholic schools, that has proved so controversial in India.

8.1 School Types

Since Catholic schools represent the largest single cohesive school type in Greater Bombay, 495 out of 1051 students (47.15%) in the sample were drawn from this type of school. Private English schools rank next as a prominent school type in Greater Bombay; so their students numbering 326 made up 31% of the total sample. 184 students comprising 17.5% were from Municipal schools, and 46 students making up 4.4% of the sample were from a private Marathi-medium school in the suburbs. The Municipal schools teach through various Indian languages (including English), but for the purpose of this study, only Marathi-medium schools were selected. Further, a private Marathi-medium school was selected out of several Marathi-medium and other Indian language medium schools for purposes of comparison.

Table 35. Distribution of Students by School type

School Type	No. in Sample	Percentage
Municipal School	184	17.5
Catholic School	495	47.1
Private English	326	31.0
Private Marathi	46	4.4
Total	1051	100.0

Boys and girls were well, though not equally, represented in each of the samples from the four school types. The distribution of the total sample by sex is as follows:-

Table 36. Distribution of Student Sample by Sex

Sex	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Boys	51.1	60.2	56.7	52.2	57.2
Girls	48.9	39.8	43.3	47.8	42.8

8.2 Male and Female Literacy

The larger percentage of boys over girls in the total sample is perhaps reflective of the general imbalance in male and female literacy in the country. Literacy levels for males are higher for males than for females in both urban and rural areas (Seventh Plan Report, 1985: 321). The female literacy rate, according to the Seventh Five Year Plan Report of the Planning Commission, has consistently been lower in rural as well as urban sectors. In rural areas, where 77% of the female population lives, female literacy rate is only 18%. The urban literacy rate for females is 48% (ibid.).

Table 37. School Enrolment in India (1984-85) (In Thousands)

Sex	Primary	%	Secondary	%
Boys	51,205	60	17,462	65
Girls	34,172	40	9,267	35
Total	85,377	100	26,729	100

(Source: Seventh Plan Report, 1985:266-267)

The enrolment of children in both primary and secondary classes is higher for boys than girls, in the entire country (Table 37) though in Maharashtra, of which Bombay is the capital, enrolment of girls is higher in the Secondary classes (Table 38). Recent enrolment figures for schools

in Greater Bombay are not available.

Table 38. School Enrolment in Maharashtra (1984-85) (In Thousands)

Sex	Primary	%	Secondary	%
Boys	5,130	56	1,031	34
Girls	4,030	44	1,067	66
Total	9,160	100	2,998	100

(Source: Seventh Plan Report, 1985:266-267)

However, the education of girls has continued to progress at a faster rate than that of boys throughout the post-Independence period. The gap between the education of boys and girls at all stages had therefore decreased considerably between 1947 and 1965; and it narrowed still further between 1965 and 1977 (Naik, 1982: 164). During the last decade, though, the gap appears to have increased judging by Planning Commission figures (Table 39).

Table 39. Progress of Girls' Enrolment in Schools

	Enrolment of Girls for every 100 boys			
Stage	1950-51	1965-66	1975-76	1984-85
Primary	39	57	62	40
Middle	20	37	46	35
Secondary	13	30	39	35

(Sources: Naik, 1982:164; Seventh Plan Report, 1985)

8.3 Age-wise Distribution of Students

Thus the ratio of boys to girls in our sample is fairly representative of the situation in the rest of Maharashtra, and indeed in the country as a

whole. It must be noted that 16 of the 18 schools in the sample were co-educational schools. Of the other two, one was exclusively for boys, the other exclusively for girls. Both the schools were Catholic, the boys' school run by the diocese, the girls' school by a religious congregation of nuns.

Education has now been made free for girls in all States, at the elementary school stage and incentives like uniforms, free textbooks and attendance scholarships are to be continued to the needy girls in all schools (Seventh Plan Report, 1985:325). The school principals of Bombay's private English-medium schools this researcher spoke to, however, complained that the scheme has not yet been fully implemented.

The mean age of students in Municipal Schools is, according to the Scheffe Test, significantly different ('p' less than 0.05) from those of students in Catholic, and private English and Marathi schools. Since Municipal school children generally start school later, and the drop-out level is known to be higher among them, the survey reveals that they are a year or two older than children of the other three types of schools. While the average age range of students in the latter types is 13-16 years, the average age range of Municipal school students is 15-18 years. Another reason for their being slightly older could be that Municipal school children spend longer periods in each class before they reach the High School level.

Table 40. Distribution of Students by Age

Age	Municipal		Catholic		English		Marathi		Total	%
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G		
13-14	23	19	153	137	115	93	21	14	575	54.7
15-16	53	54	130	55	62	44	3	8	409	38.9
17-18	18	17	15	5	8	4	-	-	67	6.4
Total	94	90	298	197	185	141	24	22	1051	100.0

(B = Boys; G = Girls)

8.4 Religious Background

The majority of students in the sample were Hindus (67.1%). Christians (mostly Catholics) made up 16.4% of the total sample, followed by Muslims (9.1%), Buddhists (or Neo-Buddhists) (4.6%), Sikhs (1.7%) and Parsis (0.3%). The large number of Christians in the sample is due to the preference given to them over students of other religions in Catholic schools. It must be noted, however, that despite this preference the majority of students in Catholic schools are from other religious communities. Out of 495 students in the Catholic school sample, only 156 (31.5%) were Catholics or Protestant Christians, and as many as 246 (49.7%) were Hindus, 69 (13.9%) were Muslims, 14 (2.8%) were Sikh, 3 (0.6%) were Parsi, and 4 (0.8%) were Neo-Buddhists.

The overwhelming majority (85.4%) of Neo-Buddhist students in the sample were from Municipal schools. The Neo-Buddhists are dalits (the downtrodden; literally, ground or broken to pieces) who under the leadership of Dr B.R. Ambedkar turned to Buddhism in 1956 to escape the stigma of untouchability. They are largely from the Mahar caste (Zelliott, 1978:77). In the words of Gangadhar Patwane (quoted in Zelliot, 1978:78), dalit is not a caste; a dalit is a man exploited by the social and economic traditions of this country.

Table 41. Distribution of Students by Religion

Religion	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Hindu	73.4	49.7	86.2	93.5	67.1
Muslim	1.1	13.9	7.1	4.3	9.1
Neo-Buddhist	22.3	0.8	0.6	2.2	4.6
Sikh	0.5	2.8	0.9	-	1.7
Christian	2.2	31.5	3.7	-	16.4
Parsi	-	0.6	-	-	0.3
NO RESPONSE	0.5	0.6	1.5	-	0.9

8.5 Caste Background

Caste is an important factor for a fuller understanding of any village community and its organization in India (Modi, 1985:80). It is an equally important factor in understanding Indian student communities in urban settings as other sociologists (Desai, 1953; Damle, 1976) have demonstrated. Some Indian sociologists believe that the growth of industrial towns and cities, and the consequent increase in social mobility have made caste barriers far less rigid than they used to be (Karnad, 1978:30). But it is a moot point whether the differences in Indian cities are due to caste or to class. Generally speaking, though, the higher castes are also economically better off groups (Desai, 1953:14), and education is largely confined to them (ibid.). In the political sphere, however, the dominant castes are not necessarily the higher castes. In Maharashtra, for instance, the Marathas (or the Kshatriya caste) have emerged as the dominant caste in politics (Karnad, 1978:77). In the political life of other Indian states the Patidars have become the dominant caste in Gujarat, the Rajputs, Jats, Gujars and Ahirs in Northern India, the Lingayats and Okkaligas in Mysore, and the Reddis and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh (Bhatt, in Srinivas, 1976).

Caste and High School Students

As against a 91% response rate to the query on religion, the response rate to information on caste was a mere 24.7%. 791 out of 1051 students (75.3%) did not divulge their caste, though the question was open-ended. Caste is intimately related to religion in India among all its numerous communities and tribes. Caste is not restricted to the Hindu communities alone. Indeed a rigid caste system prevails among Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other religious groups too, a carry over perhaps from their Hindu ancestry (Srinivas, 1986:159). According to Desai (1953), caste consciousness does not disappear. Suppressed by new environments caste consciousness seeks new channels; the view that the caste system will automatically disappear with the growth of industrialization of India, appears too facile (Desai, 1953:13). Caste is also related to the tradition of the joint family (Gore, 1983).

The poor response to the question on caste could be interpreted in many

ways. Caste is considered of little importance by High School students, especially in Catholic schools, where 'westernization' has had a greater influence than in the other school types. There was a certain embarrassment about caste as the researcher observed in Catholic and private English-medium schools during the conduct of the survey. He was asked several times if it was necessary to provide information on caste. He reiterated that the students were free to answer or not to answer any part of the questionnaire. Thus less than ten per cent of students from Catholic schools, and less than 20% from private English-medium schools named the caste they were born into. Several Catholic students used terms like 'Roman Catholic', 'East Indian' or 'Manglorean' when asked about their castes. Students of other religious communities mentioned the names of their linguistic or religious communities in place of caste.

However, more than 50% of students from Municipal and more than 80% from private Marathi-medium schools mentioned their castes, however low or backward they were. Can we infer from this that there is a greater caste-consciousness among the Marathi-speaking students whether from Municipal or private Marathi-medium schools? In 1951 Desai's survey of Poona's High School students got an 89% response to the request for information on caste and sub-caste (Desai, 1953:17). Damle (1976:53) obtained an 84% response from the 675 secondary school students of Maharashtra in his comprehensive survey in 1966-67 of teachers and students at various levels of school and college education in the State. The high response rate reveals an awareness rather than a consciousness of caste. In any case, consciousness is a state of mind and belief that is difficult to measure.

Out of the 260 students in all who mentioned their caste in our survey, 91 (8.7%) stated they belonged to the Brahmin caste, 54 (5.1%) to the Kshatriya, 22 (2.1%) to the Vaishya, 49 (4.7%) to the low castes (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), and 44 (4.2%) to other sundry castes. Evidently, there is no pride in admitting to one's caste except among those from the upper castes. Municipal schools have a larger number of students from the lower castes than the other three school types. This is explained by the fact that children from poor families go to Municipal schools and those from better-off families go to private

schools. The Education Commission (1964-65) recommended a Common School System as an integral part of the programme to promote the education of the poor, reduce its dual character in which the haves receive one type of education and the havenots another, and to create a socially cohesive and egalitarian society (Naik, 1982:77). But the recommendation did not find favour with the Central Government at the time.

Table 42. Distribution of Students by Caste

Caste	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Brahmin	1.1	6.7	12.6	32.6	8.7
Kshatriya	12.5	1.2	6.4	8.7	5.1
Vaishya	6.0	-	2.8	4.3	2.1
Backward/low	22.8	0.6	-	8.7	5.1
Others	9.2	1.4	2.8	23.9	4.2
NO RESPONSE	48.4	90.1	75.5	21.7	75.3

It could be concluded, therefore, that Catholics go to Catholic schools, Neo-Buddhists to Municipal schools, and the better-off Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Parsi children to Catholic or other private English-medium schools. The less well-off among these latter groups would go to private Indian-language schools. Marathi-speaking Hindus of the higher castes generally go to private Marathi-medium schools. Thus it appears that private schools teaching through English reflect the cosmopolitan character of Greater Bombay much more than Municipal or regional language schools. It must be noted that Bombay harbours the most cosmopolitan population among Indian cities in the ethnic and linguistic variety of its citizens (Bulsara, 1970:48). Such a conclusion is also borne out by the distribution of the sample by language spoken at home.

The language spoken at home is an extremely vital demographic variable in any study of Indian students and their media interests and preferences.

Students identify themselves as being Maharashtrian, Gujarati, Panjabi, Kannadiga, Tamilian, Malayalee and so on. As Bulsara notes, it is a specific feature of Indian metropolitan regions as equally of larger cities and town that people congregate in localities by certain affinities of language, religion, caste, native place or economic class (Bulsara, 1970:49). This sense of identification has its roots in the language they speak at home and the linguistic states they or their parents hail from. According to the 1961 census, 197 languages and dialects were spoken in Greater Bombay: 82 Indian tribal languages and dialects, 61 other Indian languages and dialects, 25 European, 21 Asian, two African and one Oceanic languages (Quoted in Bulsara, 1970:53).

Table 43. Distribution of Students by Home Language

Language	Municipal n=184	Catholic n=495	English n=326	Marathi n=46	Total n=1051	%
Marathi	180	76	72	44	372	35.4
Gujarati	-	46	64	-	110	10.5
Hindi	1	67	62	1	131	12.5
Urdu	1	36	8	-	45	4.3
Tamil	-	12	8	-	20	1.9
Telegu	1	5	-	-	6	0.6
Malayalam	-	28	15	-	43	4.1
Kannada	1	17	23	-	41	3.9
Panjabi	-	16	5	-	21	2.0
English	-	117	10	1	128	12.2
Bengali	-	5	3	-	8	0.8
Konkani	-	1	6	-	7	0.7
Sindhi	-	3	-	-	3	0.3
Other Indian Languages	-	65	47	-	112	10.7
NO RESPONSE	-	1	3	-	4	0.4
Total	184	495	326	46	1051	100.0

Most students (97.8%) in Municipal schools said they spoke Marathi at home, and so did 95.7% of the 46 students from the private Marathi-medium school Students in Catholic and the private English-medium schools, however, came from varied linguistic backgrounds. Only in Catholic schools did 117 out of 495 students (23.6%) state that they spoke English at home, and not all of them were Catholic or even Christian. It is likely there was over-reporting of English being the home language among Catholic children since Konkani was not specifically mentioned in the questionnaire. Catholic children from Goan and Manglorean communities speak variations of Konkani at home, while those from East Indian communities speak a dialect of Marathi. The other students from the Catholic schools spoke Marathi (15.4%), Gujarati (9.32%) and Hindi (13.5%).

In the private English-medium schools, on the other hand, only 10 out of 326 students claimed they spoke English at home, while the majority spoke Marathi (22.1%), Gujarati (19.6%), Hindi (19.0%) and other languages such as Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Kannada, Panjabi, Konkani and Sindhi. In addition to their home languages, all students in Standard IX study at least two languages. Marathi and Hindi are the most widely taught languages in Catholic and other private schools, and English and Hindi in the Municipal and Marathi-medium schools. Thus Bombay's school children, like children in other Indian schools, are conversant with a minimum of three languages. The lingua franca in Catholic and private English-medium schools is generally Hindi, not English or Marathi, while that in Municipal schools is Marathi or other Indian languages, depending upon the medium of instruction.

8.6 Housing Situation

Greater Bombay's housing stock is heterogenous and appears to be worse than most other major Indian cities (Harris, 1978:33). Bulsara's socio-economic survey of Greater Bombay in 1964 showed that 78.6% of the families he surveyed lived in multi-tenement 'chawls' with common taps and sanitary conveniences; 13.2% lived in flats, 5.5% in hutments, 1.1% in bungalows and 1.6% in other types of tenements (Bulsara, 1970:199). Over three-fourths of the tenements had a floor space not exceeding 200 square

feet (ibid.). The majority of the tenements were one-room households with an average occupancy rate of 4.8 persons (Harris, 1978:36). The situation has not changed very much during the last two decades.

According to the 1981 census, 22,608 families in Bombay were 'houseless' (Quoted in Nirmla Niketan, 1986). The number of persons 'houseless' was 44,289, of which 34,644 were males and 9,645 females. According to a survey in mid-1985, 35% of Bombay's population lives in pukka (built-up with brick or stone) chawls (one-room dwellings where baths and toilets are shared by several families), and a further 27% in either kuccha (half built-up with mud, bamboo and thatch) chawls or slums (MARG, 1985). The type of housing students and their families reside in is thus a reliable indicator of their economic status as much as the professional occupation of parents. Social status too is determined by type of housing as well as by type of occupation. Indeed, socio-economic status also influences the kinds of media one has access to, and one chooses to use and experience (Modi, 1985).

Table 44. Distribution of Students by Type of Housing

Type	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
One-room	75.0	21.6	15.0	26.1	29.1
Flat	15.8	63.2	75.2	54.3	58.2
Hostel	1.6	0.4	0.3	4.3	0.8
Paying Guest	0.5	0.8	0.3	-	0.6
Bungalow	0.5	5.9	5.2	6.5	4.8
Other types	4.9	5.7	2.1	8.7	4.6
NO RESPONSE	1.6	2.4	1.8	-	2.0

An analysis of students' responses to the request to state the type of accommodation they had, points to the fact that the majority (58.2%) lived in self-contained flats, a little more than a quarter (29.1%) lived in

one-room tenements (mostly in chawls and slums), and a tiny minority in hostels, in bungalows, and as paying guests. A small number (4.6%) resided in various other types of housing available in Greater Bombay.

The analysis, according to school type, clearly suggests that students from Municipal schools are more likely to live in one-room tenements than those from other school types. The headmistress of one of the Municipal schools where the survey was conducted told this researcher that most of the students in her school were from the nearby slums. The data from the questionnaire bears this out. As many as 138 out of 184 (75%) students in the Municipal school sample lived in one-room tenements while only 107 (21.6%) and 49 (15%) from the Catholic and private English schools respectively lived in similar type of housing. The majority of students in the private school types lived in flats.

8.7 Parents' Education, Occupation and Income

Education and occupation have an important status-value in India. The higher the education one achieves, the higher the social status, and the more prestigious jobs one is likely to obtain. In the matrimonial market too a diploma or degree is a greater asset than manual skills. Parents send their children to English or 'convent' schools in order that their social status may rise, and that they may marry into higher-status families. This high-class or Brahminical attitude to education has been internalized by all sections of society as caste gives way in urban Bombay to educational and socio-economic criteria for the attainment of social status.

Students were reluctant to provide the researcher information on their parents' education, occupation and income. Some frankly said they did not know. Desai (1953:27) found in his survey of Poona's High School students that nearly 200 out of 849 (22%) did not give information regarding their guardians' education. He argues that this could be because 'some of them may not have known it, while it is also possible that some may not have liked to state their guardians were illiterate or not much educated' (ibid.).

Education

Out of 672 (63.9%) who proferred information on their father's education, 131 (19%) said their fathers were non-matriculates, 220 (32.7%) that they were matriculates or studied up to High School, 26 (3.8%) that they had passed the Intermediate. Only 134 (19.9%) reported that their fathers were graduates, and 43 (6.3%) that their fathers were postgraduates. A mere 86 (12.7%) described their fathers as having professional qualifications, say in medicine, engineering, business management and education. The majority of students who said their fathers had a professional education were from the private schools.

Table 45. Distribution of Students by Father's Education

Level	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Illiterate	8.7	0.8	1.2	-	2.3
Non-matric	37.0	10.5	2.5	6.5	12.5
Matric	23.9	22.0	16.6	28.3	20.9
Intermediate	1.6	3.4	1.2	4.3	2.5
Graduate	0.5	14.3	17.5	10.9	12.7
Postgraduate	1.1	3.6	6.1	6.5	4.1
Professional	6.5	6.3	12.3	6.5	8.2
Don't know	-	9.9	1.8	8.7	5.6
NO RESPONSE	19.6	28.1	40.5	28.3	30.4

The data provides ample evidence that the fathers of children in the Catholic and other private English-medium schools as well as in the private Indian language-medium schools are better educated than those of children in the Municipal schools. There are, for instance, more graduates, post-graduates and professionals among fathers of children in private schools. Besides there are many more illiterates, non-matriculates, and matriculates among fathers of the Municipal school children.

Where mother's education is concerned there is a difference as well between the educational level of the mothers of children in Municipal schools and those of the other three school types. Interestingly, more students were aware of their mother's educational status than of their father's. Illiterate mothers figure prominently in the responses of Municipal school children. 21.2% of the Municipal school children reported that their mothers were illiterate, in comparison to less than 2.5% of all the children from the other school types. This is equally true of non-matriculate mothers. While 39.7% of students from the Municipal schools stated their mothers were non-matriculates, only 16.8% of those from Catholic schools, 12.8% from private English schools, and 17.4% from private Indian language schools admitted to their mothers being non-matriculates. As in the case of father's educational status, there were more graduates, postgraduates and professionals among the mothers of those children from the private schools than among those from Municipal schools. Indeed, there were no postgraduates and professionals at all among mothers of the Municipal school sample.

Table 46. Distribution of Students by Mother's Education

Level	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=-495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Illiterate	21.2	1.8	2.1	1.8	5.3
Non-Matric.	39.7	16.8	7.4	17.4	17.9
Matriculation	5.4	28.7	27.3	28.3	24.2
Intermediate	-	2.4	1.5	-	1.6
Graduate	0.5	10.9	13.5	2.2	9.5
Postgraduate	-	1.4	3.4	2.2	1.8
Professional	0.5	2.2	2.7	4.3	2.2
Don't Know	13.6	7.3	1.2	4.3	6.4
NO RESPONSE	19.0	28.5	40.8	39.1	31.1

Generally, the fathers of children in all four types of schools were more

highly educated than the mothers, with fewer illiterates, matriculates and non-matriculates among them. There were also more graduates, post-graduates and professionals among fathers than mothers of children in the various school types.

Parents' Occupation

Students were asked to state as precisely as possible the occupation of their parents. They responded with general terms such as 'private service', 'government service', 'business', 'worker' and 'manager'. Teachers and parents too resorted to the same terms to identify their occupations. Frequently the term 'service' alone was used in order to contrast an actual job in the government or the private sector with private business. Among the more precise occupations mentioned were teaching, medicine, engineering, selling fish or vegetables, or work in factories or in agriculture. The numerous occupations described were classified into manageable categories by the researcher, keeping as close as possible to the terms most favoured by students. The limitation of such a classification is that it gives no idea of the income-level or the income-range. Employees in 'government service' are known to earn less than those in 'private service' but have additional facilities such as pensions or subsidized housing and medical care. Much depends on the kind of job one does as also position, experience and the Central or State Government department where one is employed. Gadgil categorised all occupations into 13 different grades or groups for the Poona survey in 1945 (Quoted in Ghurye, 1961:253). Damle (1976:207) classified a wide range of occupations into ten categories, but even these do not adequately reflect the socio-income levels of different occupations in different sectors and organizations.

The students' own classification, incidentally, approximates to Ghurye's broad classification of the main urban occupations into 'services', 'professions', 'business or trade' and 'worker' (Ghurye, 1961:242-245). 261 students (26.9%) reported that their fathers were in 'private service' (i.e. employed in private companies), 165 (17.0%) in 'government service' (i.e. employed in Central or State government-run departments and services such as the railways, post and telegraph, banking, insurance, etc.).

A quarter of the students said their fathers were in 'business' (anything from owning a small shop to running a big company, or even a self-employed occupation). 12.6% of students said their fathers were in professions (such as teaching, medicine, journalism, engineering, etc.).

Table 47. Distribution of Students by Father's Occupation

Occupation	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Private	14.1	26.1	30.1	17.4	24.8
Government	22.3	11.9	15.6	30.4	15.7
Business	9.2	26.3	28.2	10.9	23.2
Professional	2.2	12.3	16.3	10.9	11.7
Manual Worker	17.9	4.4	1.8	6.5	6.1
Unemployed	7.6	2.6	.3	4.3	2.9
(Retired)	10.3	3.4	.6	2.2	3.7
(Expired)	5.4	2.4	2.8	8.7	3.3
NO RESPONSE	10.9	10.5	4.3	8.7	8.6

Further, more fathers of Municipal school children were employed in 'government service' than were the fathers of children in the private schools. In fact, fathers of children in the private schools were generally in 'private service', in 'business' or the 'professions'. These are higher income occupations than government jobs. Moreover, fathers of Municipal school children were more likely to be working in factories and other menial positions than those of children in the private schools. The former were also more likely to be 'unemployed'.

35 (3.3%) students stated that their fathers had expired. Ten (5.4%) of these students were from Municipal schools, 12 (2.4%) from Catholic, nine (2.8%) from private English and 4 (8.7%) from private Marathi-medium schools. 10 (0.9%) students reported that they had lost their mothers: one student each from the Municipal, and private English and Marathi-

medium schools, and 7 (3.8%) from Catholic schools.

Castes are not occupational in origin (Ghurye, 1961:241), though in popular culture they have come to be associated with particular occupations. The cross-tabulation of father's occupation by caste reveals that 34.1% of Brahmin fathers are in private service, 19.8% in government service, 17.6% in professions, 14.3% in business. Kshatriya fathers are mostly in the services, but Vaishyas mainly in business. Among the low-caste fathers, the services and worker occupations appear to be predominant.

Occupation is also closely related to housetype. 26% of the children who live in self-contained flats report that their fathers are in private service, and 17% in government service. In comparison, 23.5% of students who say they live in one-room homes state their fathers are in private service, and 15.7% in government service. Further, 25.8% of children who live in flats state their fathers are in business, while only 15.4% of students living in one-room homes have their fathers in business. This seems to suggest that there is a correlation between housetype and occupation though not a very strong correlation. A recent report in India Today (April, 1987) reveals that a good percentage of those in the services, in business and in the professions live in one-room homes and in the slums.

The overwhelming majority of students from the four school types reported that their mothers were 'housewives'. Among the few who were employed (172 or 16%), private and government service, small business and the professions such as teaching were the most common occupations. The researcher observed during his visits to schools to conduct the survey that most of the teachers, in both the elementary and secondary schools were women. In the Catholic diocesan schools, the principals were, with hardly any exception, diocesan priests, and lay Catholic women were the headmistresses. In the Municipal schools visited, women were observed to be heads of schools or headmistresses. Teaching is one of the few professions believed to be 'respectable' for educated women to take up.

Table 48. Distribution of Students by Mother's Occupation

Occupation	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Private	3.8	5.1	4.9	2.2	4.7
Government	4.3	2.2	2.5	4.3	2.8
Business	8.2	1.2	0.9	10.9	3.8
Professional	0.5	5.7	5.8	8.7	4.9
Manual Worker	4.9	0.4	0.6	-	1.2
Housewife	64.7	70.3	81.3	47.8	71.7
Retired	0.5	-	-	-	0.1
NO RESPONSE	12.5	13.7	3.7	23.9	10.9

The results of this survey suggest that it is still uncommon even for urban women to work outside the home. Interestingly, more mothers of students in Catholic and private schools have paid jobs than those of students in Municipal schools. This could be because mothers of students in private schools are generally more highly educated, and better trained for the professions than are mothers of students in Municipal schools.

Parents' Income

More than fifty per cent of the students were unaware of, or didn't really know, what their fathers' monthly incomes were. While 495 students (47.1%) stated that they 'didn't know' 95 (9.0%) did not respond to the query at all. Of the remaining 461 (43.8%) who responded, 27.5% said their fathers' income was Rs.5012-Rs.1000, 14.5% that it was Rs.1001-Rs.1500, and only 12.3% that it was Rs. 1501-Rs.2000. Incomes higher than Rs.2000 was claimed by 33.1% students from the four school types. The general tendency is clear: fathers of children in private schools have higher income and higher prestige jobs than those of children in Municipal schools. Almost fifty per cent of the fathers with children in Municipal schools earned less than Rs.1000 a month. Few illiterate, non-matriculate or matriculate fathers earned more than Rs.1500 per month, while graduate

and postgraduates earnings generally exceeded Rs.2500.

According to the Seventh Plan Report those who earn up to Rs.700 per month could be classified as 'economically weaker section', those whose salary is Rs.701-Rs.1500 as a 'low-income group' and salaries from Rs.1501-2000 would entitle one to belong to 'the middle income group' (Planning Commission, 1985: 295). The 'higher income group' would have salaries higher than Rs.2001 per month. Going by this official classification, fathers of children in private schools would belong to the 'middle' and 'higher' income groups while fathers of Municipal school children in the sample would belong to the 'low income group' and 'the economically weaker sections'.

Table 49. Distribution of Students by Father's Income

Income	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=362 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Less Rs.500	23.4	2.2	0.9	-	5.4
Rs.501-1000	29.9	9.3	7.1	6.5	12.1
Rs.1001-1500	8.2	5.3	5.5	17.4	6.4
Rs.1501-2000	1.6	6.1	7.1	2.2	5.4
Rs.2001-2500	1.1	3.2	7.1	4.3	4.1
Rs.2501-3000	1.1	5.5	5.5	10.9	4.9
Above Rs.3001	1.1	7.1	4.9	10.9	5.5
Don't know	13.0	53.9	58.9	26.1	47.1
NO RESPONSE	20.7	7.5	3.1	21.7	9.0

Of the small number of mothers (around 12%) who had paid jobs, the monthly income was considerably less than that of the fathers. While the average income of the fathers was around Rs.2300, that of the working mother was around Rs.1000.

8.6 The Family Background

The most common type of family in India is the 'joint' or 'extended' family, though in urban areas the nuclear family is gradually becoming the norm. It is the small nuclear family too that is massively promoted in the family planning campaigns of the Central and State Governments.

Our questionnaire asked whether or not the students' families were 'joint' families. The response was as high as 96%, with the majority (64.6%) answering 'No' and 31.4% answering 'Yes'. A scrutiny of this response in terms of school type suggests that children in Municipal schools generally belong to joint families (69.6%), while 71.5% from Catholic schools, and 79.8% report that they live in nuclear families. In the private Marathi-medium school sample, fifty per cent of the students came from joint families and 41.3% from nuclear families.

Table 50. Distribution of Students by Family type

Family Type	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=362 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Joint Family	69.6	24.4	17.8	50.0	31.4
Nuclear Family	25.0	71.5	79.8	41.3	64.6
NO RESPONSE	5.4	4.0	2.5	8.7	4.0

The 'joint' family is found among all religious groups. Religion-wise breakup of the 31.4% of students living in joint families is as follows: Hindus (30.6%), Muslims (28.1%), Buddhists (54.2%), Sikhs (38.9%), and Christians (29.1%). A one-way analysis of family type by school type demonstrates that Municipal school students are most likely to live in 'joint' families, and students from Catholic schools the least likely. Private English-medium school children are also more likely to live in nuclear than joint families.

Students who responded with a 'Yes' to the query whether or not they lived in 'joint' families, were further asked to state how many members there

were in their families. The majority (86%) of those who answered 'Yes' reported that their joint families consisted of five members or more. Families of Municipal school children appear to be larger than families of private school children, and Catholic and private English school children's families larger than those from private Marathi-medium schools.

Though only 330 students (31%) in the total sample admitted they lived in 'joint' families it is evident that these joint families are to be found among all school types, and are pretty large by urban standards in India. As many as 30.9% of the 330 students say their 'joint' families consist of nine or more members. Another 22.7% state their families have seven to eight members, and 30% state their families have up to five or six members. The mean size of the 'joint' family, therefore, is 6.3 members, with the Municipal school child's family having the highest number of members (6.7) and the student in Catholic schools the lowest (5.8). A cross-tabulation of family type by religious background of students reveals that the percentage of joint families under each school type is almost similar, i.e. around 30%, except for Neo-Buddhist students (who are mostly in the Municipal school sample) where 54% of the families are 'joint'.

8.9 The Teachers' Social Background

169 women and 19 men formed the teachers' sample for our survey research. The teachers were from the Secondary sections of municipal, Catholic, private English and private Marathi-medium schools. 49 teacher-trainees doing the B. Ed. or the M.Ed. courses at the University of Bombay were also part of the sample.

Table 51. Distribution of Teachers by Sex

Sex	Trainees	Municipal	Catholic	English	Marathi	Total
Female	48	23	49	38	11	169
Male	1	6	7	4	1	19
Total	49	29	56	42	12	188
%	26.1	15.4	29.8	22.3	6.4	100

Table 52. Distribution of Teachers by Age

Age in Yrs.	Trainees	Municipal	Catholic	English	Marathi	Total	%
20 - 30	40	4	13	12	2	71	37.8
31 - 40	6	15	22	19	8	70	37.2
41 - 50	3	5	18	8	2	36	19.1
51 - 60	-	5	3	3	-	11	5.9
Total	49	29	56	42	12	188	100.0

Most teacher-trainees were in their 'twenties, while a quarter of the Secondary School teachers in the sample were above 40. A little more than a third were between 31 and 41 years old, and therefore quite experienced in the field. Indeed, 40 (21%) of the teachers had a teaching experience of more than 15 years each, and 17 (9%) had been teachers for over 20 years. This purposive sample of teachers was from four different school types like that of the students.

The majority of the teachers were Hindus (59%), with Christians making up 33.5%, and Muslims, Parsis, neo-Buddhists and Sikhs the rest. Only in Catholic schools did Christian (mostly Catholic) teachers exceed the percentage of Hindu teachers in the various school types. Christian teachers comprised 66.1% of the teachers in the Catholic school sample, 23.8% in the private English school type, and 10.3% in the municipal schools. In the teacher-trainee sample, 65.3% were Hindu and 26.5% Christian.

Like their students, the teachers too fought shy of mentioning their castes. 59.6% did not respond to the question on caste, and of those who did 17.6% were Brahmin and 7.4% Kshatriya or Maratha. Only two teachers, both teaching in municipal schools, stated they were low-caste.

The teachers belong to as many linguistic groups as their students. 27.1% spoke Marathi at home, 20.2% spoke English - mostly from the Catholic

schools - 12.2% Malayalam, 10.6% Hindi, Konkani (7.4%), Tamil (4.8%), Gujarati (4.3%). The remaining spoke Urdu, Sindhi, Bengali and other languages at home.

The teachers in our sample seem to be better placed than their students where housing is concerned. The majority of teachers (69.7%) live in self-contained flats, with only 14.9% staying in one-room homes. 10.6% of the teachers live in bungalows or detached houses.

27.7% of the teachers in the sample were unmarried, mostly from the teacher-trainee group. The married teachers had their partners working mainly in the 'services': 22.3% in private service, 8.5% in government service. 9% were in the professions . The average income of their partners, where employed, ranged from Rs. 2500 to Rs. 3000 per month. The teachers themselves earned far less than those with an equal educational status whose children they teach. Graduates and postgraduates among students' parents earned on an average Rs. 2500 - Rs. 3000 while teachers earned Rs. 1000 - Rs. 2000. As many as 64.9% of the teachers in our sample are graduates with almost half having done the B.Ed. and 3.2% the M.Ed. A quarter of the teachers in our sample are postgraduates.

A little more than a quarter of the teachers live in 'joint families' whose average size is six members. Married teachers had on average a son and a daughter - the ideal family of the Central Government's slogan in family planning advertisements - 'Hum do, hamare do' (We two, our two).

Secondary school teachers in Greater Bombay and other parts of the country are usually required to teach more than one subject. English language teachers, for instance, often have to teach Social Studies, and teachers of Mathematics generally take Science as well. The main subject taught by most of the teachers in our sample was English (40.4%), followed by Mathematics (20.7%). 13.3% of the teachers taught Indian languages, 9% Science, and the rest Social Studies, Art and other subjects.

8.10 The Parents' Social Background

The small sample of 50 parents formed a fairly homogenous group. They

sent their children to private schools: 50% to Catholic schools, 42% to private English-medium schools and the rest to private Marathi-medium schools. There were no parents in our sample who sent their children to Municipal schools. 82% of the parents were fathers, 18% were mothers. 52% of the parents were aged 41 - 50 years, 30% were 31-40, 12% were 51-60, and the remaining 6% between 20 and 30. There are no significant differences in the occupation and income of the parents who send their children to the three school types. Nor is there a significant difference in the family type each of the three groups belonged to: only 16% of the parents in the sample lived in 'joint families' the average size of which was seven members (The Scheffe Test of Significance was carried out in both these cases). 50% of the parents had on average a son and a daughter.

As in the students' and teachers' samples, Hindus made up the majority (72%) in the parents' sample too, with Christians (mostly Catholics) comprising 22%, and Muslims and Parsis the remaining six per cent. Just a little over half the teachers (54%) responded to the question on caste; and, as with the students and the teachers, the majority stated they were Brahmins (63%) and the rest that they were from intermediate castes. None was from the lower castes.

As far as home language was concerned, there was a good spread of 14 Indian languages in the parents' sample. The home language of 18% was Marathi and of 14% English. 12% reported they spoke Tamil and Malayalam, 10% Konkani and Gujarati, with the remaining stating they spoke Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, Kannada and Bengali. The greater majority of parents (66%) were born in States other than Maharashtra: 26% were born in Karnataka, 20% in the southern States of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra, and the rest in northern and easter States.

Most of the parents (90%) in our sample lived in self-contained flats and worked in private service (70%), the professions (12%), government service (8%)and business (2%). Three out of the nine mothers in the sample were 'housewives'. The parents who were employed earned higher salaries on an average than the teachers. 68% of the parents in the sample stated they

earned over Rs. 2500 per month. The majority of the parents (68%) were graduates or postgraduates while 16% were matriculates and non-matriculates.

19.5% of the parents stated their partners were employed. Of the six parents who were 'working women', 50% reported their income per month was less than Rs. 2500 whereas as many as 31 out of the 40 men in the sample stated their monthly income exceeded that amount. 30 of the 40 men in the sample were in 'private service', and so were five of the six women. Eight out of nine women reported that their partners earned more than Rs. 3000 per month. It is apparent, therefore, that both the men and the women in the parents' sample were from the upper income class.

CONCLUSION

The wealth of demographic data that 1051 High School students, 188 Secondary School teachers, and 50 upper middle-class parents of Greater Bombay have provided about themselves and their families point to significant differences in the religious, caste and linguistic backgrounds of students from the four distinct school-types.

The overwhelming majority of students in the four school-types are Hindus. This holds true for the teachers' and parents' samples too. Only in Catholic schools do Hindu students comprise slightly less than one half of the student population. Catholic students make up 31.5%, Muslims 13.9%, with a sprinkling of Sikhs, Parsis and Neo-Buddhists in Catholic schools. This mix of religious communities is also found in the private English-medium schools, and to a much less extent in municipal and private Marathi-medium schools.

Marathi is the predominant home language among students with 35.4% reporting it as their home language, followed by English (12.2%), Hindi (12.5%) and Gujarati (10.5%). Marathi is the majority language in all school-types except Catholic schools where 23.6% claim they speak English at home. As with religion, so too with language, there is a greater mix of students with different linguistic backgrounds in Catholic and private English schools than in municipal and private Marathi schools. Evidently,

this cosmopolitanism in religion and language must be taken into account in any attempt at media education. This is because such diverse cultures which these religions and languages represent are the contexts in which students make sense of media products; indeed, these are the cultural contexts too of their media choices and preferences. Far too often do media education programmes ignore such value-loaded contexts. As we shall see in the following chapters, religion, language and other demographic variables frequently relate, sometimes significantly, with media access, exposure, and interests.

Caste is an embarrassment among students, teachers and parents. The few who mentioned their castes in the three groups belonged in the main to the higher castes. Only among municipal school students was there a significant representation of the lower castes: 22.8% were from the lower-castes in this group. Of equal interest are the vital differences in the education, occupation and income of parents who send their children to the four different school-types. Municipal school students are from economically and educationally poorer 'joint families', speak an Indian language at home, and belong to the lower castes. Their fathers are usually employed in government service or in factory/manual jobs which do not pay as well as jobs in the private service or business. Their mothers are mostly 'housewives' (like the mothers of students in private schools) and if they should be working outside the home would be largely 'self-employed' in jobs such as selling fish or vegetables, delivering bottles of milk to homes, or working as domestics. If they happen to be well-educated they would be in 'government service' or teachers in schools. Municipal students by and large live in one-room homes which are mostly in the shanty areas. These students are slightly older than children in private school types.

Students in Catholic schools and the other private English schools have much in common. They come from better-off families, with their fathers employed mainly in 'private service', in business or in highly paid professions. Though a large number of their mothers are 'housewives' they are far better educated than the mothers of municipal school children.

The few who are employed are in 'private service', or in professions such as teaching. The majority of students in private schools live in 'flats' situated in the better areas of the suburbs, and so do the majority of teachers and parents according to our samples.

Students in the private Marathi-medium school sample are as equally well off as their counterparts in Catholic and private English schools. Their fathers too are generally in 'private service' or in the professions, and their mothers mostly 'housewives'. They live in self-contained flats, and belong to nuclear rather than 'joint' families. Since they are Marathi-speaking like the students in our municipal school sample, they appear to share similar interests and preferences in the media, as the chapters that follow clearly suggest.

Language, religion, caste, parents' education and occupation, family type and accommodation type are often assumed to be influential social factors as much perhaps as the school-types which students attend, in the students' access and exposure to the mass media. Are there any significant relationships between the students' access and exposure to the media and these personal variables? It is to the analysis of this media access, exposure and preferences among High School students and their teachers and parents that we now turn. The results of such a 'microscial' analysis will assist us in coming to some conclusions about the nature and form of media education relevant to the students of Greater Bombay's schools.

CHAPTER 9

STUDENTS' ACCESS AND EXPOSURE TO THE MASS MEDIA

Questions of access, exposure, availability and use are crucial to any analysis of the media experience in the Indian context. This is primarily because of the impecunious situation of the greater majority of the population. The emphasis on these questions in recent communication research in India (cf. Yadava, 1975; Shingi and Modi, 1976; Shingi, Kaur and Rai, 1982; Reddi, 1985; Agrawal, 1986; Srivastava, 1986; Ghorpade, 1986) represents a marked shift in focus from 'media effects' on the population's attitudes and beliefs to an examination of audience needs and interests, and the role of politics and economics in media operations. In the Natya Shastra and the Vakyapadiya, classical Indian texts on aesthetics and linguistics respectively, the 'situation' of the audience is in fact where the communication process begins (Saral, 1980; Tewari, 1983; Yadava, 1984; Iyer, 1970; Oliver, 1971; Dissanayake, 1983.).

However, the distinctions and interrelationships among the various concepts are rarely examined. Indeed, the terms are invariably used interchangeably as though they were synonomous concepts. The exorbitant cost of electronic receivers and of print material, the unequal distribution of media infrastructures and transmission facilities, and the differential levels of income and literacy point to the far greater importance of these questions than ones related to 'media reach' or 'to media coverage' -concepts and terms from market research favoured by the public broadcasting organizations and the privately-run press and cinema. What is frequently overlooked is that the continuing pervasiveness of the traditional or folk media and interpersonal networks act as a safeguard against total lack of access to information. In fact, 'from the oldest times up till the present day, the spoken word, and not writing, has been the basis of the literary and scientific activity in India' (Winternitz,

quoted in Oliver, 1971:22). To this day, 'conversational sitting places' (Majumdar, quoted in Oliver, 1971:23) or what Yadava (1986) terms 'gossip groups' are the principal means by which ideas and information are exchanged.

This chapter examines the questions of access, exposure, availability and use, first at the 'macro' or national level, and second at the 'micro'level of the family. It needs to be noted that the electronic media in India are largely organized on a national and regional level rather than on a local basis, and are rigidly controlled by Central Government policy on communications. Media ownership among students, teachers and parents in our sample is compared so as to shed light on its relationship to actual media exposure and use.

9.1 Defining Access, Availability and Exposure

Access is generally considered to be the financial capacity to afford a broadcasting receiver, an audio- or video-cassette recorder, or where print media are concerned the wherewithal to subscribe to a newspaper or magazine, or to buy books and comics. But 'access to communication' is much more than this financial capacity: it is 'the right to receive and to emit messages through the appropriate channels and as efficiently as possible according to the conditions under which the media operate' (Reyes Matta, 1981:90). Further, active participation in communication implies the right to participate in decisions on the content and nature of messages, and to influence decisions regarding communication policies approved by the community for internal and international purposes (ibid.).

Access to Electronic Media

Television today can potentially reach 72% of the population (67% rural and 88% urban) with a network of 225 low/high power transmitters and eighteen programme production centres (Audience Research Unit, 1988). The total number of sets, including the community sets, is estimated to be around 13.2 million sets, with an expected annual growth of three million sets (ibid.). But even in 2000 A.D. when the projected population is estimated to reach 986 million, a bare 38.4% will be viewers with around 63 million TV sets available (Srivastava, 1986:13). Thus the wide gap

between the reach of television signals and the population having access to TV viewing will continue to exist even after 2000 A.D. (ibid.). The total hours of television transmission would increase three-fold to 59,391 hours but this would benefit only those with access. That is primarily because prices in India for both black and white and colour sets are substantially higher than the international prices for the comparable sizes (ibid.).

Community receivers, which could provide access to larger numbers, do not number more than 25,000 sets in the entire country; they are installed in Panchayat Ghars (Village Assembly offices) and schools, and at four SITE Continuity clusters and six INSAT stations (Audience Research Unit, 1986:1). However, most of the community sets do not function and remain idle (Indian Express, April 18, 1988). What is more, the great majority of an estimated 80 million viewers in the country are served by low-power transmitters which relay telecasts only on one channel, and from Delhi alone.

At the end of 1985 there were an estimated 45.5 million transistor/radio sets (Ghorpade, 1986) for a population of around 780 million. But these figures hide the fact that 'access to radio is still limited in certain regions and among certain sections of the population' (Verghese, 1979: 28). In 1984-85, for instance, the majority of sets were to be found mainly in the urban areas though technically radio was available to 90% of the entire population and 79% of the country's land area (Audience Research Unit, 1986:17; Ghorpade, 1986).

Going to the movies demands the capacity to travel to a theatre and to pay for a cinema ticket which could be up to Rs. 3-7 (the average monthly income is around Rs.700) depending on the location and seating facilities of the theatre. Around 760 films are produced annually but only 11,000 cinema houses with 1.2 million seats are available for exhibition (Yadava, 1987:6).

Access to Print Media

India has around 20,000 newspapers of which 1,334 are dailies. The

combined circulation of these newspapers is over 55 million copies (Yadava, 1987:6) but the readership is much higher, on average five readers per copy sold. A monthly newspaper subscription bears a far higher proportion to monthly family income in India than in a corresponding American family budget (Verghese, 1979:2). Public libraries and reading rooms are rare even in large cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. University, college and school libraries are usually restricted to students, and so are libraries run by the American, British, West German and Russian consulates in metropolitan areas. Most of these libraries, moreover, are in the city centres. The suburbs of cities like Bombay are served by a private network of 'circulating libraries'. In any case, low-income groups have very limited access to bookshops and information on books (Singh, 1985:127), and therefore books reach only a small, educated minority (Verghese, 1979:18).

One could therefore argue that mass media in India have four broad audience categories based on the economic power needed to purchase radio and TV sets and to subscribe to the print media, and whether they live in the cities, towns or villages. The first is a small urban power-elite which has easy access to all the media; the second is made up of the urban and rural rich; the third consists largely of the white-collar middle class; and the fourth of the urban industrial worker class. A fifth category would include the few rural communities that have access to community radio and television.

9.2 Access and Availability

Financial capacities apart, access is intimately related to availability of media and media-related hardware and software. By and large, both media hardware and software are more easily available in metropolitan areas than in the districts and rural areas. Further, access is related to language and culture. With so many languages and cultures to cope with a national network for television and regional networks for radio just cannot fill the bill. As a result, though coverage is wide and programming extensive most television viewers or radio listeners do not get much of a chance to have access to programmes in their own languages. There is a further anomaly: though 99% of television transmission is in

colour (Audience Research Unit, 1986) the reception is largely in black and white because of the predominance of manufacture and ownership of black and white sets. In 1985, for instance, the estimated sets manufactured was two million but only half of these were colour TV sets (ibid.).

Yet another aspect of access frequently overlooked relates to parental permission and approval. Parents, as a general rule, approve of their children reading newspapers, magazines and books. To a less extent they approve of their children's exposure to comics and to radio. When it comes to the cinema and television, however, the majority of parents are not very approving (Reddi, 1984:58). Shah (1950) noted as early as 1946, almost 34 years after the advent of cinema in India, that college going adolescents of Bombay had to seek permission from their parents to go to the cinema. Reddi's (1984) survey of High School and college students in Hyderabad and Secunderabad that only 54% of the students reported that their parents approved of their frequent exposure to the movies. The disapproval of daughters' frequent exposure to the TV and the cinema was much stronger (ibid.). Rao (1986:251) found in her survey of video use in South India that there was a certain guilt associated with watching video, especially in a video parlour. One Christian community, for instance, reported to her that in their community there was a general though unspoken disapproval of films by the church; consequently, public viewing in cinema theatres was avoided by the parish members. Indeed, in traditional Indian homes the cinema, and now video and TV too arouse feelings of hostility and moral guilt. It is perhaps traceable to the Brahmin attitude to pleasure. Media educators cannot bring about a change in this attitude, but they could reinforce it if they themselves are hostile and negative in their approach to the media. The media educator must necessarily keep an open mind on this subject and be wary of imposing his or her 'superior' morality on students. This is a responsibility that must needs be left to the parents and their children to sort out for themselves.

9.3 The 'Knowledge-Gap' Hypothesis

Access to the modern media is a major concern among Indian social

scientists. Srivastava (1986) and Agrawal (1986) argue that in India 'the cultural elite in the social hierarchy' are 'media rich' whereas the poor and the illiterate are 'media poor'. They visualize the social hierarchy as an obtuse cone in which the cultural elite would form the apex and the poor and illiterate the base. Consequently, lack of access to television, for instance, insulates any possibility of information percolation. The people who would have access to TV would already have high media exposure from newspapers, radio, video and the movies. The media poor would not be able to afford most of the means of receiving external information through the electronic media. This would increase the 'knowledge gap' between the haves and the have-nots (Srivastava, 1986:18).

The 'knowledge-gap' hypothesis states that 'as the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socio-economic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease' (Tichenor et al, 1970) No distinction is made here between 'vehicles of information' (such as radio and television) and 'information', or between 'information' and 'knowledge'. The fact that the electronic media transmit great masses of 'information' is equated with the assumption that it is useful, and that it is used with understanding. Thus the 'knowledge gap' is taken as proven because of the assumption that the 'media rich' will receive information that will increase their knowledge, and that the kind of information the 'media poor' are deprived of impoverishes them further. The 'knowledge gap' (or what Verghese (1979) terms the 'communication gap') hypothesis stands or falls on the kind and nature of media software, and the multifarious ways the media are experienced in the cultures and sub-cultures of the sub-continent. The hypothesis equates media ownership with access and with exposure; media consumption is believed to be proportionate to media ownership, and the 'knowledge gap' is thought to be inevitable . But this need not necessarily be so as Shingi and Modi (1976) and Shingi, Kaur and Rai (1982) have demonstrated in their research in rural India. If, for instance, information is provided according to the needs of the 'have-nots', and such information proves superfluous to the 'haves', the knowledge-gap can be closed.

9.4 Access and Exposure

Exposure is the extent of actual use of the media which is largely dependent on both access and availability, but also on a number of other factors such as motivation, attention, comprehension, media literacy and level of education. There is no Indian research study which takes account of these other factors related to use. In his study of the exposure of Delhi youth to the mass media Yadava (1976) found that youth of parents whose economic, educational and occupational status was high had greater access and exposure to the mass media than the youth of lower-status parents. The youth from poorer families not only had a lower rate of media consumption; they also went to the media primarily for entertainment. Yadava concluded that the mass media are 'class media' in India. Shingi, Singh and Jadhav (1975) came to a similar conclusion from their study of rural youth of Gujarat. They found that youth from large-sized land holdings saw a greater number of films than those from small-sized family holdings. Haq's (1980) comparative study of the media consumption of students in public and private schools appeared to confirm the 'mass media are class media' thesis. In a more recent study, Modi (1985:275) compared urban and rural groups in Rajasthan with regard to their leisure activities and concluded that 'patterns of leisure and recreation are significantly determined by the structural realities of a society. The variations that are discerned in the leisure-recreation phenomenon are related to substructures and are also influenced by them'. An early socio-economic survey of Greater Bombay (Bulsara, 1970:185) found that 82% of the sampled families in pucca (built-up) areas were 'in the habit of visiting pictures weekly or oftener' compared to 63% of families living in hutment areas.

The consistent differences in media consumption between the economically better off and less well off can be interpreted in other ways. Reddi (1984:94), for instance, accepts 'socio-economic class' as a determining variable but believes 'the degree of access and exposure to the mass media today is the direct result of the media boom in the country with the explosion in the number of newspapers and magazines and the tremendous growth of television. The 'explosion' and 'the tremendous growth' of the media is, however, limited to metropolitan areas. Reddi's clubbing

together of concepts like 'media access' and 'media exposure' fails to differentiate between the fact of access and the fact of exposure; though exposure depends on access, it does not necessarily follow that greater access leads to greater exposure. There are various other factors at play: the uses and gratifications provided, social approval, availability of time. We shall examine this relationship between access and actual exposure later in this chapter.

9.5 Early Indian Studies

In earlier Indian studies of students' exposure to and use of the mass media (Desai, 1953; Agrawal, 1965; Setranjiwala, 1975; Patil, 1985) the students were asked to provide a list of their 'hobbies'. Desai (1953:61), for instance, asked the High School students of Poona whether they had any 'hobbies' and how they would spend a free evening. The most frequently mentioned hobbies turned out to be 'reading' and 'going to the cinema' among both boys and girls. However, these two hobbies were ranked only fourth and tenth respectively in the list of activities for spending a free evening. Listening to the radio ranked fifth. The activities that were ranked above reading, the cinema and radio were sports, going for a walk, learning art, chatting with friends, going to the theatre, and attending musical concerts. But the students did have a problem with the Marathi equivalent of the English term 'hobbies'. Some of them believed that they were being asked about what they would like to do 'in the future', not what they actually did during their spare time.

The term 'hobby' like 'leisure' is a concept and a term borrowed from Western cultures. There are few precise equivalents for it in Indian languages. 'Time pass' is a common Bombay colloquialism among Hindi and Marathi speakers for 'whiling away the time'. The closest equivalent in Hindusthani for leisure, 'aaram' as in the well-known saying 'Aaram haraam hai' has connotations of relaxation and ease and comfort rather than free time activity. Attempts to classify 'hobbies' have not proved very helpful. Bulsara (1970:173) arbitrarily classifies free time activities into 'recreational activities', 'hobbies' and 'pastimes'. Thus, reading, playing games, going to the pictures or to plays or concerts are 'recreational activities', but photography, going for a walk, playing

musical instruments, and doing embroidery are 'hobbies', and going to the temple, attending lectures, visiting relatives, chatting with neighbours, listening to the radio and playing cards are 'pastimes'. In his study of leisure and social structure in urban and rural Rajasthan, Modi (1985) classifies free time activities into 13 categories, with much overlapping among them. For instance, he puts 'audiovisual activities' such as television and the cinema on the one hand and 'artistic and cultural' activities on the other, into separate categories. Such attempts at classification stem from an eagerness to force free-time activities of one culture into the straitjacket of another culture and another language.

Our questionnaire, therefore, deliberately avoided terms like 'hobbies' or 'leisure'. We kept the classification simple so that media-related activities could be studied in a socio-cultural context. We classified out-of-school activities into school-oriented, home-oriented, religion-and-culture-oriented, and social-oriented activities.

9.6 Out-of-School Activities

Our questionnaire asked students of Greater Bombay about the activities that most engaged their time. A list of the most common activities was enumerated for them with the request that they state how frequently ('regularly', 'occasionally', or 'never') the activities took up their time and attention. No attempt at comparing students' participation in these these activities with their engagement with the mass media was made. However, we thought it essential to look at participation in these activities since they are in competition with media activities.

The greater majority of students reported that the three activities that 'regularly' engaged their time and attention were: doing school-related homework, reading books (school-oriented), and doing housework (home-oriented) (See table below). In all four school-types, a higher percentage of girls than boys reported they did homework 'regularly'. This holds true for housework too, though there is a much higher percentage of girls than boys stating that housework is a regular activity for them. Where reading books is concerned, the difference is not so remarkable; only in muncipal schools do more boys than girls report that reading 'regularly' engages their time and attention. It is very likely that some of the books read were related to subjects studied in school.

Table 53.Some Out-of-School Activities Students 'Regularly'Participate In

Activities	Municipal n=184		Catholic n=495		English n=326		Marathi n=46		Total n=1051	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
	94	90	298	197	185	140	24	22	601	440
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Doing homework	76.6	83.3	63.1	74.1	68.1	75.7	65.2	81.8	66.8	76.8
2. Reading books	75.5	68.9	49.0	20.3	62.2	62.9	70.8	77.3	58.1	62.4
3. Doing housework	51.1	75.6	27.2	54.3	22.7	60.0	20.8	63.6	29.3	60.8
4. 'Chit-chatting'	42.6	41.1	37.6	41.6	34.1	49.3	70.8	54.5	38.6	44.5
5. Going for a walk	35.1	25.6	36.9	33.0	39.5	38.6	41.7	31.8	37.6	33.2
6. Going out with friends	26.6	21.1	35.2	20.3	27.0	20.0	33.3	4.5	31.3	19.6
7. Looking after siblings	41.5	60.0	25.5	22.8	29.7	34.3	13.0	36.4	28.8	34.5
8. Going shopping	41.5	45.6	25.2	23.4	21.6	35.7	50.0	40.9	27.6	32.5
9. Video Games	25.5	17.8	28.9	14.7	25.9	17.9	37.5	18.2	27.8	16,5
10. Taking part in religious festivals	14.9	18.9	14.8	11.7	14.6	15.7	33.3	31.8	15.5	15.4
11. Pop Music Performances	6.4	2.2	18.1	11.7	10.8	7.9	4.2	4.5	13.5	8.2
12. Going to parties	13.8	13.3	10.4	6.1	13.0	4.3	8.3	22.7	11.6	7.8
13. Going to plays	13.8	11.1	7.4	2.5	6.5	7.1	29.2	13.6	9.0	6.2
14. Going to Discos	14.9	13.3	6.7	3.0	7.6	5.7	20.8	9.1	8.8	6.2
15. Classical Music Performances	9.6	1.1	7.4	4.1	7.0	5.7	4.2	4.5	7.5	4.0
16. Folk drama/music Performances	12.8	7.8	4.0	1.0	3.2	3.6	20.8	13.6	5.8	3.8
17. Others	3.2	8.9	5.7	4.6	10.8	7.9	13.0	9.1	7.2	6.7

Note:

The figures in the table represent the percentage of students under each school type who stated that these activities took up their time and attention 'regularly'.

Besides, the figures in the table suggest that a higher percentage of students from municipal schools had to look after children than students in the private schools. Clearly, more municipal school boys and girls are required to help out at home in doing housework and in looking after younger brothers and sisters, than students of the three private school-types in our sample.

A greater percentage of Marathi-medium school students 'regularly' participate in religious festivals in comparison with students of other school types. Where cultural activities are concerned, more students from private Marathi-medium schools and municipal schools than from private schools say they go to plays and folk drama/music performances on a regular basis. However, fewer of them attend pop music and Indian classical performances 'regularly' compared to students from the private school types.

Going to discotheques, playing video games or going to parties do not appear to be regular activities of students. But going for a walk, going out with friends and 'chit-chatting'(an Indianism for idle talk) engage the time and attention of a good percentage of boys and girls, on a regular basis.

9.7 Ownership of Electronic Media among Students

Table 54 indicates that ownership of electronic media receivers is significantly higher ('p' less than 0.05, according to the Chi-Square Test) among the families of private school students than among those of municipal school students. This is particularly true in the case of television, video and the audio-cassette recorder/record player. Less than 50% of municipal school students have access to television, and just five percent to video, at home. Video ownership is pretty low among private school students too (less than 30% among the private English and private Marathi-medium schools, and less than 35% among students in Catholic schools). However, 'guest-viewing' is very common; according to Trends and Scenarios (1987) about 35% of the estimated 60 to 70 million television viewers in India are 'guest-viewers'.

Table 54. Students' Ownership of Media by School-type

Medium	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Television	46.4	81.6	87.7	69.6	76.7
Video-recorder	5.4	33.4	28.8	23.9	26.6
Radio	69.6	84.2	85.8	89.1	82.3
Audio-recorder	25.7	97.5	78.3	76.1	68.0

Video in Bombay and elsewhere in India is used primarily for watching feature films in Hindi, English and the regional languages. It is hardly ever used for time-shifting as in Western countries (Agrawal, 1985; Yadava, 1987). As the above table suggests video ownership is still rare among Bombay families. Yet video viewing is fairly frequent among students of the four school types. This is due to the widespread practice of hiring video-cassette players and cassettes from the many video shops in the city and the suburbs. A good percentage (nearly 55%) of the municipal school students stated they 'usually' watched video at the neighbours' or at friends' homes; 23% said they 'usually' watch with the family. Students from the private schools, on the other hand, watched usually with their families: 40.7% of students in Catholic schools, 37.1% in private English schools and 28.3% in Marathi. It appears that the common practice is for several families to get together to hire video-recorders for watching films in the comfort of home or a neighbour's home. Videos are easily available on hire for Rs. 100 a day, and recorded film cassettes for Rs. 5-10 each. (The average monthly income is around Rs.700).

Radio ownership is fairly high among all groups, though the percentage of municipal school students whose families possess a radio or transistor set is almost 15% lower than for students in private schools. This is a significant difference ('p' less than 0.05), according to the Scheffe test.

Ownership of audiocassette-recorders is above 75% among private school students but only 25.7% in the case of their fellow-students from municipal schools. It is very likely that in most instances radio-cum-audiocassette recorders have been mentioned as two separate listening sets rather than one; hence the high percentage of ownership. Audiocassette-recorders are almost twice or thrice as expensive as transistors, and so are record-playing turn-tables. The radio/transistor-cum-audiocassette recorder (known colloquially as 'two-in-one'), however, is the most widely bought listening machine. The compact disc-player has yet to make its mark in Greater Bombay.

9.8 Media Ownership and Personal Variables

Parents' occupations and types of residence are important economic indicators of students' status. There are, for instance, differences in ownership levels of electronic receivers between students who live in one-room homes and those who live in self-contained flats, and in some cases between those who live in flats and those who reside in bungalows.

Table 55. Students' Electronic Media Ownership by Housetype

Housetype	N	TV %	Video %	Radio %	Audio %
One-room House	306	54.9	11.5	74.5	46.7
Flat	612	86.3	33.5	87.1	79.6
Bungalow	50	88.0	50.0	90.0	88.0
Other Types	60	82.7	17.3	77.3	53.0
Total	1028	76.8	26.6	82.5	68.7

Where father's occupation is concerned there appears to be no major difference in ownership of electronic media receivers between students whose fathers are in private service and those in government service. However, factory and other manual workers have the lowest level of electronic media ownership among the occupations. Students whose fathers

are unemployed, or retired are as badly off.

Table 56. Electronic Media Ownership among Students by Father's Occupation

Occupation	N	TV %	Video %	Radio %	Audio %
Private Service	261	80.1	26.4	87.3	73.0
Government Service	165	78.8	22.6	87.3	70.3
Business	244	81.1	38.5	86.5	78.7
Professional	123	84.6	33.3	78.0	70.2
Manual/Factory Worker	64	60.9	6.3	79.7	39.1
Unemployed	30	53.3	20.0	43.3	46.7
(Retired)	39	69.2	12.8	69.2	51.3
(Expired)	34	67.6	8.8	82.4	64.7

A similar percentage of boys and girls in our sample stated they owned TV sets. Fewer joint families, though, owned TV sets: 68.5% of students living in joint families owned TV sets as against 81.7% of those who lived in nuclear households. Evidently, students who live in nuclear households are in a better financial situation than their fellow-students who live in joint families.

Religious background is a reliable cultural indicator. The urbanization of different religious groups does tend to produce a common city culture but this in in no way means giving up traditional cultures.

Table 57 confirms the evidence that the economically deprived groups such as the Neo-Buddhists who go to municipal schools have the lowest level of ownership of electronic media receivers. Video ownership, for instance, is less than 35% among Hindu, Christian, Muslim and Sikh students' families but hardly five percent in the case of neo-Buddhist families. The Parsis are a tiny but fairly well-off community in Bombay; this perhaps explains the very high level of media ownership among them.

However, it must be noted that there were only three students from that community in our sample.

Table 57. Electronic Media Ownership among Students by Religion

Religion	N	Video %	TV %	Radio %	Audio
Hindu	705	26.8	77.7	84.1	68.4
Christian	172	26.3	74.4	79.7	71.9
Muslim	96	33.3	82.3	81.1	80.0
Neo-Buddhist	48	4.2	56.3	66.7	27.7
Sikh	18	33.3	88.9	88.9	94.4
Parsi	3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The figures also suggest that Hindu, Muslim and Sikh students are generally far better placed than Christian students where the four electronic media are concerned.

9.9 Electronic Media Ownership among Teachers and Parents

The level of ownership of electronic media units is much higher among teachers than among students. This holds true for teachers of all school types.

As with the students in municipal schools, the teachers too had a lower level of electronic media ownership than their fellow-teachers in the private schools, except for teachers in private Marathi schools. The teacher-trainees in our sample appeared to better off where the 'new' media were concerned, but less well off than teachers in Catholic and private English schools. This could imply that the next generation of teachers are likely to be better informed about the media and perhaps more enthusiastic about media education. The training in media education could start at schools of education. Less than a third of teachers in all religious groups own a video-recorder, but ownership is fairly high for TV, radio and audio-recorder sets.

Table 58. Electronic Media Ownership among Teachers by School-type

Medium	Trainee n=49 %	Municipal n=29 %	Catholic n=56 %	English n=42 %	Marathi n=12 %	Total n=188
Television	95.9	82.8	89.1	85.7	66.7	87.7
Video	38.8	10.3	39.3	19.0	16.7	28.7
Radio	73.5	78.6	82.1	83.3	75.0	79.1
Audio	71.4	60.7	75.0	78.6	50.0	71.1

Table 59. Electronic Media Ownership among Teachers by Religion

Religion	N	Video	TV	Radio	Audio
Hindu	111	30.6	87.4	79.3	69.4
Christian	63	37.0	88.7	79.0	77.4
Muslim	6	33.3	100.0	66.7	50.0
Sikh	3	33.3	100.0	79.0	66.7
Parsi	2	0.0	66.7	66.7	66.7
Neo-Buddhist	2	0.0	50.0	100.0	50.0

Parents in the sample were better off than their children's teachers in regard to electronic media ownership. As high as 96% in the small sample of 50 parents owned TV sets; 92% owned radio or transistor sets; 88% owned audio-recorders; but a mere seven per cent had video-recorders.

Amount of TV Viewing

There is concern worldwide that children and adolescents spend too much time with television. In India, the Joshi Committee Report (1986:14) speaks of 'children glued to the TV, and having no time to listen to their parents'. The restricted hours of TV transmissions in India (on average five hours every evening) except on weekends (10-12 hours on average) makes such an assertion difficult to verify.

Table 60. Amount of TV Viewing among Students (in Hours)

School-type	N	Weekdays	Weekends	Total Viewing
Municipal	184	4.5	5.8	10.3
Catholic	495	6.9	5.6	12.5
English	326	9.6	6.4	15.0
Marathi	46	4.7	6.0	10.7
Total	1051	6.9	5.9	12.8

Respondents in our survey were asked to give the approximate number of hours spent on watching TV on weekdays and on Saturdays and Sundays, separately. Going by the students' own record of their TV viewing hours it appears that on an average they spend 12.8 hours per week watching the box, i.e., 1.8 hours per day. But on weekends this daily viewing figure goes up to 2.9 hours each on Saturdays and Sundays. There is a significant difference in the amount of viewing between students in Catholic and private English schools, and also between municipal and private English schools ('p' less than 0.05, according to the Scheffe Test). There is also a significant difference in the time spent on watching TV between students who had TV sets at home and those whose families did not own a set (See table below).

Table 61 Amount of TV Viewing among Students by TV ownership (in Hours)

	N	Total for Weekdays	Total for Weekends	Total for Whole Week	Average Daily Viewing
TV Owners	806	7.5	6.3	13.8	1.9
Non-Owners	146	5.5	6.0	11.5	1.6
Total	952	6.5	5.9	13.6	1.9

Further, a breakdown by mean viewing time according to religious background suggests that Hindu and Muslim students spend longer hours watching TV than Christian/Catholic and Neo-Buddhist students: Hindu and Muslim students watch TV for 13.4 and 12.6 hours a week respectively, while the Christian/Catholic students watch for 11.3, and the Neo-Buddhists for 8.5 hours during an entire week. But there is a difference in viewing figures (in hours per day) for weekdays and weekends. For weekdays they are: Hindus (1.4), Muslims (1.3), Christians (1.2), and Neo-Buddhists (0.6); on weekends the figures rise appreciably: Hindus (3.0), Muslims (2.9), Christians (2.5) and Neo-Buddhists (2.5).

Municipal school students (most of the neo-Buddhist students in our sample went to this school type) spend much more time, however, listening to the radio on weekdays and during the weekend. Is there then necessarily a link between ownership and actual viewing or listening? Community listening or viewing as a formal arrangement does not exist in Greater Bombay except in a few municipal schools, but it is widespread at an informal level. TV viewing at the neighbours' or friends' places is fairly common, particularly during weekends.

Table 62. Amount of TV Viewing among Teachers (in Hours)

School-type	N	Weekdays	Weekends	Total Viewing
Teacher-(Trainees)	49	7.0	6.1	13.1
Municipal	29	9.0	6.4	15.4
Catholic	56	5.0	4.7	9.7
English	42	5.8	4.7	10.5
Marathi	12	6.7	4.1	10.8
Total	188	6.4	5.3	11.7

The pattern changes slightly in the case of teachers. Teachers of municipal schools watch TV for longer hours than teachers in the private schools. They also watch for longer hours than their own students. But teachers in private English-medium schools watch on average a few hours less than their students. Teachers in private Marathi-medium schools too spend almost as much time on TV as their students.

Parents watch more TV than the teachers in our sample but a little less than High School students. They, however, watch as much as High school students and more than the teachers both on weekdays and on weekends.

Table 63. Amount of TV Viewing among Parents (in Hours)

School-type	N	Weekdays	Weekends	Total Viewing
Catholic	25	6.8	5.7	12.5
English	21	6.7	5.5	12.2
Marathi	4	7.5	6.5	14.0
Total	50	6.8	5.7	12.5

9.10 The Social Context of TV Viewing

Municipal school students appear to watch TV 'usually'with their friends and neighbours, while fellow-students in private schools say they usually watch with their families. Almost a third (32.1%) of the students in municipal schools said they watched with their neighbours or with friends. In contrast, the majority of students in private schools stated they watched TV with their families. Almost 10% said they 'never' watched TV.

The majority of students (79.4%) across the four school types reported they watched TV with their families: 59.2% from municipal schools, 75.6% from Catholic schools, 86.8% from private English schools, and 71.7% from private Marathi schools. Teachers and parents also reported that they watched TV mostly at home, with their families.

Because of the expense of buying a video for personal use the practice of watching video with friends and neighbours or sharing the cost of hiring a video-player for the day or the weekend has become quite common. Yet, video viewing like TV viewing is usually with the family. Of the 52.1% of the teachers who gave information on their video viewing habits, 36% stated they watched video usually with their families at home, the remaining at friends' or neighbours' places , or in the community hall or in schools. 24% of the parents reported they watched video usually with the family at home, 12% at the neighbours' or friends'.

Table 64. Where Students 'Usually' Watch Television

Place of Viewing	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
At home	52.7	82.4	90.5	73.9	79.4
At neighbours'/friends	32.1	6.0	5.3	10.9	10.5

The pattern changes slightly when it comes to listening to the radio and the audio-cassette recorder. 23.4% of the teachers said they usually listened to the radio at home but alone, while 21.8% reported they listened with the family. This is equally true of parents and students in the sample.

9.1f Frequency in Viewing Cinema and Video

In studies of cinema and Bombay youth during the pre-television and pre-video years (Shah, 1950; Desai, 1953; Setranjiwala, 1970) the consensus was that going to the pictures was extremely popular, though not as popular as reading, for instance. Shah (1950:105) noted that during the mid-'twenties, according to evidence presented to the Indian Cinematograph Committee (1927-28) 30-40% of the cinema audience in Bombay comprised adolescents (áged 14 to 20), and less than 15% of the audience was made up of children under 14. She also found that 9.4% of the adolescent college girls who returned her questionnaire said they went to the cinema twice a

week, 25.9% once a week and the rest irregularly. Adolescent college boys saw movies a little more frequently: 4.1% thrice a week or more; 9.8% twice a week, 26.8% once a week, 8.8% occasionally, and 5.2% regularly (ibid.). However, even though the students went to the cinema quite frequently their most favourite pastime, according to Shah's study, was reading: 77.6% of the girls aged between 14 and 20, and 55% of the boys in the same age range, gave their vote in favour of reading as an activity they indulged in most frequently during their spare time (ibid.).

Modi (1985:135) discovered from his recent field study in the city of Jaipur and a rural area of Rajasthan that 'in such activities as cinema, radio, excursions, and deviant activities while none, or a very significant percentage of rural boys and girls reported participation, the participation of both urban boys and girls is not only significant (except in case of deviant activities) but also almost equal'. On holidays, however, more boys (22.3%) than girls (17.9%) went to the movies (ibid.).

An early study of Poona's High School youth (Desai, 1953:67) suggests that 'contrary to popular belief, the High School student is not a cinema addict'. The study found that only four per cent of the boys and three per cent of the girls in his sample of 601 boys and 248 girls went to the cinema once a fortnight. The rest went once a month or occasionally; the girls seemed to be the more regular cinema-goers (ibid.). Yadava (1979) and Reddi (1985) report similar findings for the youth of New Delhi and Hyderabad respectively, though their studies were restricted to the mass media in isolation, and not in the wider social context of out-of-school activities. None of these studies compare the frequency of engagement with the old media (cinema and radio) and the new media (television and video) among school-going youth.

This study of High School youth of Greater Bombay demonstrates that the frequency of movie-going was only slightly less than for television or video-viewing. Eleven per cent of the total number of student respondents said they 'never' went to the cinema now or watched video, and 35.1% and 26.4% reported they went to the cinema and watched video, respectively, 'less than once a month'. A larger percentage (23.9%) stated they went to

the cinema 'once a month' in comparison to 16.5% who said they watched video 'once a month'. Only 27.6% of all students said they went to the cinema more frequently than once a month, but as many as 43.8% said they watched video much more than once a month.

Table 65. Students' Frequency in Viewing Cinema and Video

Frequency Per Month	CINEMA				VIDEO			
	Mun. n=184 %	Cath. n=495 %	Eng. n=326 %	Mar. n=46 %	Mun. n=184 %	Cath. n=495 %	Eng. n=326 %	Mar. n=46 %
Never	8.7	11.9	11.4	8.7	12.0	10.1	13.2	21.7
Less than once	20.7	34.5	42.8	45.7	27.2	21.8	31.7	34.8
Once or twice	37.5	37.2	34.2	28.3	46.7	30.3	29.5	30.4
Thrice or more	29.3	15.6	11.1	15.2	9.2	36.8	24.9	13.0
NO RESPONSE	3.8	0.8	0.6	2.2	4.9	1.0	0.6	0.0

There is a significant difference ('p' less than 0.001, according to the Chi-square Test) in the frequency with which municipal students and private school students go to the cinema and the video. Municipal school students tend to go to the cinema much more frequently than their fellow-students in Catholic, English and Marathi schools, but watch video just a little less frequently. A Chi-Square analysis of cinema frequency in terms of TV ownership suggests that students whose families did not own TV sets went a little more frequently (though not significantly so) to the cinema than those whose families had TV at home. TV-owning students, on the other hand, watched video a little more frequently (but not significantly so) than those who did not have TV sets. This clearly points to the conclusion than TV and video are the media of the better-off students, and the cinema (and the radio, as we shall see later) the media of the less well-off.

Among the teachers, 59% report that they go to the cinema 'less than once a month', 12.3% go 'more than once a month', and 16.5% 'never'. There is

no marked difference among the teachers of the various schooltypes. Parents visit the cinema with a frequency similar to that of teachers: 74% go to the pictures 'less than once a month', 14% 'once or twice a month, 2% 'thrice or more a month', and 10% 'never' go to the cinema at all.

32% of the parents in our sample state they watch video 'less than once a month', 14% 'once or twice a month', and 8% 'thrice or more a month'. However, as many as 46% of the parents and 43% of the teachers 'never' watch video.

Table 66. Cinema and Video Frequency among Students, Teachers & Parents

Frequency Per Month	STUDENTS		TEACHERS		PARENTS	
	Cinema	Video	Cinema	Video	Cinema	Video
	n=1051	n=1051	n=188	n=188	n=50	n=50
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never	11.0	11.9	16.5	42.6	8.0	46.0
Less than once	35.1	26.4	59.0	74.0	74.0	32.0
Once or twice	35.9	33.0	15.4	13.3	14.0	14.0
Thrice or more	16.6	27.2	8.0	14.9	2.0	8.0
NO RESPONSE	1.4	1.5	1.1	4.8	2.0	0.0

Has video reduced attendance at the cinema theatres? 45% of all students across the school types believe that video had indeed reduced the frequency of their visits to the cinema. Only 25.6% stated that video had no effect on their movie-going, while 15.6% admitted they didn't know or were not sure. Almost the same percentage of all students (43.3%) believe that they now go less to the cinema because of TV; a third (33.8%) say that TV has not decreased their cinema-going frequency; 14.5% didn't know or were not sure. The most striking response is from municipal school students: 65.6% state that TV has indeed decreased the frequency of their trips to the cinema; but a third hold that TV has not decreased their visits to the cinema; 14.5% didn't know or were not sure.

The teachers and parents have a different story to tell. A third of the teachers believe they now go fewer times to the cinema because of video, but two-third say it is TV that is responsible for making them go less frequently to the cinema. Among the parents,only 18% state that video has decreased their cinema-going while 64% say that TV is the actual reason.

9.12 Frequency of Listening to Radio

As many as 69.4% of all students across the school-types affirmed they did not listen to the radio now. Of the remaining 30.5% who listened to the radio the majority said they listened to the radio at home. Only among municipal students was there a small number (10%) who usually listened to the radio outside the home.

Table 67. Time Spent by Students on Listening to the Radio (in Hours)

School-type	N	Weekdays	Weekends	Total for Week
Municipal	184	3.7	3.7	7.4
Catholic	495	2.1	1.1	3.2
Private English	326	2.8	1.4	4.2
Private Marathi	46	1.6	2.0	3.6
Total	1051	2.6	1.7	4.3

Table 68. Time Spent by Students on Listening to Radio by TV Ownership (in Hours)

	N	Weekdays	Weekends	Total for Week
TV Owners	806	2.5	1.5	4.0
Non-Owners	146	3.0	3.0	6.0
Total	952	2.5	1.9	4.4

It appears, then, that listening to the radio has been edged out by TV and video viewing though All India Radio and Vividh Bharathi (the commercial channel) are available all day right through the week. Table 67 suggests that High School students spend less than an hour on average per day listening to the radio. The mean figure for the whole week is 4.3 hours but it drops dramatically during the weekends when television becomes available almost round the clock. The mean figure for TV, on the other hand, is 1.8 hours per day, but during weekends it rises to 2.9hours per day. According to the Scheffe Test of significance, the difference between municipal and private schools is significant. Also significant is the difference between students in Catholic schools and those of the other private schools when it comes to listening to the radio.

The teachers in our sample spend more time than both students and parents listening to the radio. However, a scrutiny of the listening figures reveals that teachers from municipal schools and Marathi-medium schools report listening to the radio for 8.3 and 6.9 hours a week respectively. In striking constrast, teachers from the private Catholic and English-medium schools report a low listening figure of 2.7 and 4.2 hours per week. Teacher-trainees said they were tuned to the radio for on average 5.7 hours per week. These figures are scaled down considerably during the weekends.

The mean time teachers and parents spent on the radio per week was 4.9 and 4.1 hours respectively, that is around 0.7 and 0.6 hours respectively per day. Parents report that 28% of them listen to the radio with the family but 24% listen to it 'alone'. The rest of the parents say they hardly ever listen to the radio.

CONCLUSION

Access, availability and exposure are concepts that need to be more precisely defined and distinguished one from the other. An analysis of ownership and actual use among Greater Bombay's High School students and their parents and teachers suggests that there is a significant relationship: higher ownership does lead to greater exposure. Higher TV ownership also means that the radio becomes a medium of secondary

interest. Students spend only a little more time with the cinema, video, TV and the audio-cassette recorder than their teachers and parents, but much less time than their teachers on radio. But there is a difference, often significant, between the time spent with the various media by students of the municipal and those of private schools. Municipal school students have a lower level of ownership of all electronic receivers but they listen to the radio for longer hours, go the cinema more frequently, and watch TV for fewer hours than their fellow-students in private schools. This is equally true of teachers from municipal schools when compared with their fellow-teachers from private schools. It can be safely concluded, therefore, that for students and teachers of municipal schools (among whom ownership of electronic receivers is low in comparison) radio rather than TV is the primary medium. Where films are concerned, the cinema rather than video is a more accessible medium for students and teachers of municipal schools.

Our empirical quantitive measurement of amount of TV viewing, of time spent on listening to the radio, of the frequency of visits to the cinema or the viewing of video, has its limitations both conceptually and methodologically. We have, for instance, not been able to assess whether TV viewing is a 'primary', 'secondary' or 'tertiary' activity. Further, the nature of the activity termed 'TV viewing' or 'TV watching' cannot be isolated from other activities in the home which may be engaged in simultaneously. The questionnaire-based survey is an inadequate research instrument for investigating the nature or quality of the phenomenon of what is loosely called 'watching television', 'watching video' or 'listening to the radio'. Hence our attempt to conduct a small ethnographic study of families 'watching' television at home, which we describe in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10

STUDENTS' MASS MEDIA INTERESTS AND PREFERENCES

Media education programmes usually start with the general assumption that the media are important socializing agents, and therefore need to be critically studied. As the 'Statement of Purpose' of the Mediaworld Project of Bombay expresses it: In spite of the fact that the mass media influence the adolescent more strongly than either school, church or family, very little has been done in this country to help young people understand what communication is all about (Pereira, 1981:1). A similar sentiment is expressed in the brochure of the Association for Media Literacy (AML, the nationwide association of media educators in Canada). It argues that the mass media are 'perhaps the most persuasive social influence of our times; school, church and family - the traditional cornerstones of social development- are now considerably less influential' (AML, 1988).

Two of the reasons (out of the seven altogether) Masterman (1985:2) advancess for giving 'the most urgent priority' to media education, tacitly make the same assumption: 'the high rate of media consumption and the saturation of contemporary societies by the media', and 'the ideological importance of the media and their influence as consciousness industries'. The 'influence' of the media that Pereira, the AML, and Masterman take for granted is a moot question. There is limited research that has conclusively demonstrated influence or 'effects'. There is little research too which compares the relative 'influence' of the media with that of school, church or family. The reasons for this are many: the complexity of the meaning and nature of 'influence', the practical difficulty of isolating media influences from the other socioeconomic and cultural variables, and the knotty problem of devising psychological and sociological measures for purposes of comparison. Impact studies related

to adolescents are scarce in Indian communication research. In any case, what is of greater interest to the media educator is not so much what the media 'do' as what children and adolescents 'do with' the media.

Further, the programmes are based largely on hunches as to what ought to be the content of curricula. There are few full-fledged programmes in media education which have a solid basis in research, say on public policy on communications, or on the media industries. Moreover, the programmes rarely take into account the students' own media interests and experiences, except in a general haphazard manner.

This chapter, therefore, takes a close look at the media interests and preferences of Bombay's High School students and of their teachers and parents with particular reference to: 1) the audiovisual media (cinema, video and television), 2) the audio media (radio, audio-cassette/tape recorders), and 3) the print media (newspapers, magazines and comics). The chapter is thus divided into three Sections. Patterns in the choices and preferences among students in the various school types are investigated. In addition, a comparison of students' preferences with those of teachers and parents is attempted with the aim of discovering any common interests which could bring the three groups together for a common purpose; namely, for education about the media.

An investigation into the media interests and preferences of students is vital to the planning of media education curricula, and to media education practices in the classroom. Such an investigation is a search for answers to questions like the following: Which media should figure prominently in the curriculum? Which genres in each medium? Which programmes in each genre? What are the media habits of the 'clients' of media education? What are the general trends in viewing, listening and reading among students and their teachers? Who are possibly the significant mediators in the media experiences? Media education practice has to take into account the students' tastes and interests; that is where media education should ideally begin; else, it might alienate students. One of the aims of media education, according to our conceptual framework, is critical awareness. A cardinal principle of a critical pedagogy

their home language is English; 15.3% of students in the Catholic school sample say their home language is Marathi. Other regional languages which are the home tongues of students in the private English-medium schools are Konkani, Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam and Bengali.

Table 69. Students' Viewing Frequency - Cinema, Video and Television by Language

Language	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Cinema					
Hindi	91.3	71.5	75.5	82.6	76.7
English	47.8	64.2	55.2	50.0	57.9
Regional	59.2	20.8	24.8	52.2	30.2
Video					
Hindi	74.5	69.7	70.9	54.3	70.2
English	28.3	67.3	60.1	30.4	56.6
Regional	24.5	14.1	17.8	19.6	17.3
Television					
Hindi	91.3	86.5	92.3	87.0	89.2
English	37.0	79.0	84.4	58.7	72.4
Regional	48.9	25.1	37.1	32.6	33.3

(N.B. The percentages in the table indicate students in each school-type who 'often' or 'sometimes' watched cinema, video and TV in the languages shown. The two categories 'often' and 'sometimes' were collapsed.)

Another trend clearly discernible is that the majority of students from the four school types watch (either 'often' or 'sometimes) Hindi films in the cinema and on video. On television, however, the majority from both the municipal and the private schools watch (either 'often' or 'sometimes') Hindi television serials and programmes, and also English

(Freire, 1987:141) is that it should serve as 'the means to a critical appropriation of one's own culture and history'. It is also a key principle of 'democratic communication' as envisaged by Reyes Matta and others. Students, after all, bring the variety of their media interests (as much as the variety of their religious and cultural backgrounds) to bear on their participation in media education programmes. A lack of knowledge of the media interests and preferences of the 'clients' of media education would possibly lead to the imposition of elite and dominant cultures and tastes.

I. THE AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA: CINEMA, TELEVISION AND VIDEO

10.1 Trends in Viewing

A general trend in students' exposure to the audiovisual media is that regional language films and programmes are watched 'often' or 'sometimes' by a higher percentage of students of municipal schools than by those from private schools. But even among municipal school students a greater majority watch Hindi films and Hindi TV programmes 'often' or 'sometimes' than regional language ventures. This is despite the fact that almost 80% of the films produced every year are in the regional languages (Dharap, 1985). However, except for Marathi films, regional language films are hardly ever screened in Bombay theatres; in fact, the paucity of cinema theatres does not allow for the release of even the Bombay-produced Hindi films.

Regional language programmes on television, on the other hand, comprise hardly 10% of the total transmission, but are watched by a third of all students, and in particular by Municipal students. One reason for this could be the early evening timing of the Marathi programmes; another could be that most students study Marathi as a 'third' language in school, and so understand it well enough to enjoy the programmes. The main regional language spoken in Greater Bombay is Marathi, the official state language of Maharashtra, though Hindi too is widely spoken and understood throughout the region. In our sample, Marathi is the home language of about a third of the students. In Catholic schools alone is there a higher percentage of students (23.6%), most of them Catholic, who claim

language programmes. Narayanan (1987:19) learned from her survey of 300 families of Bombay that the mother-tongue or other demographic attributes of viewers or their socio-economic background did not appear to be a very strong barrier to the viewing preferences for programmes in languages other than one's own. The reason could be that Hindi films and programmes are available more easily and in greater quantity than those in English or in Indian regional languages. On television, all sitcoms and soap operas are in Hindi, the news and current affairs programmes in Hindi and in English, as also sports, quiz and other popular programmes. Regional language programmes are telecast generally only by regional stations such as the one at Bombay. (The programme policy of Doordarshan is dependent on the communications policy laid down by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting).

Hindi clearly emerges as the main language in which films on cinema, video and television are watched by most students. This holds true for students of all school types despite the fact that Marathi is the home language of the majority of students, except in Catholic schools where the home language of more than a third of the students is English. This is particularly striking for the Marathi-medium Municipal and private school children. 90% of the Municipal students said they saw Hindi films at least sometimes; less than 50% watched English films in the cinema or on video. They do, however, watch Marathi films/programmes in the cinema and on television. There was no remarkable difference here between boys and girls in the sample.

Teachers' language 'preferences' in the viewing of cinema, video and television follow a pattern similar to those of their students. Since they are part of the cosmpolitan culture of Bombay as much as their students this is no surprise. Irrespective of the school types they teach in, a greater majority of teachers watch Hindi films and programmes 'often' or 'sometimes' than those in either English or the regional languages, though Hindi is not their home language. A higher percentage of Municipal school teachers watch regional language films in the cinema than on video, and English programmes than those in Marathi (the regional language of Maharashtra) on television. Two reasons account for this:

video versions of regional language films are not as abundantly available as Hindi and English films, and TV carries a larger percentage of English than Marathi programmes. There is virtually no Marathi language TV programme on the national network.

Table 70.Teachers' Viewing Frequency - Cinema, Video and TV Frequency by Language

Language	Trainee n=49 %	Municipal n=29 %	Catholic n=56 %	English n=42 %	Marathi n=12 %	Total n=188 %
Cinema						
Hindi	57.1	75.9	62.5	52.4	83.3	62.2
English	36.7	48.3	62.5	47.6	25.0	47.9
Regional	14.3	37.9	23.2	35.7	58.3	28.2
Video						
Hindi	49.9	20.7	41.1	42.9	8.3	36.7
English	32.7	17.2	46.4	38.1	16.7	34.6
Regional	16.3	6.9	10.7	19.0	12.8	13.1
Television						
Hindi	95.9	93.1	87.5	85.7	83.3	89.9
English	91.8	75.9	91.1	83.3	50.0	84.6
Regional	36.7	62.1	28.6	52.4	41.7	42.0

Fewer school teachers from Catholic and private English-medium schools than those from the municipal and Marathi-medium schools on the other hand, tend to watch regional language films and programmes; they would rather watch English programmes on the big and the small screen. One cannot escape the conclusion, therefore, that the cosmpolitan culture of Greater Bombay is dominated by the Hindi language. English language cultural products in the various media also play a conspicuous role. Private English-medium schools contribute immensely to perpetuating this

role.

10.2 Students' Favourite Films

When the students were asked to mention (in an open-ended question) any three films they had seen recently and to rank them in order of preference, they gave current and recent Hindi films the highest ranking, and old Hindi films the second highest. However, there was no single film which was named a favourite by more than four percent of the 1051 students in the sample. Out of the more than 100 film titles listed by the students the following four films received the largest number of mentions: Mard (102), Swarag Se Sunder (89), Ram Teri Ganga Maili (87), and Dhumdadakha (79).

The first three were current Hindi commercial films, and the fourth, a popular Marathi film at the time the survey was conducted in March-April 1986. However, the Marathi film ranked fourth only because of the high rating it received from the Municipal school students, and from the Marathi-medium private school in the sample. 38 (21.8%) of the Municipal students chose it as one of their three favourite films. It did not figure at all in the lists of favourite films drawn up by students from Catholic and private-English schools.

Students of the private English medium schools appear to have little in common with their fellow students from Catholic schools (even though both receive instruction in English) where favourite films are concerned. Students of Catholic schools rated these as their favourite films: Mard (42 mentions), Ram Teri Ganga Maili (40), and Meri Jung (39). Students of private English schools chose Love 86 - a Hindi film despite its English title - (42), Mard (28), and Jaal (27) as their favourite films. (Figures in brackets indicate the number of mentions each film received as one of three favourite films).

However, private Marathi- medium school children do share common preferences with Municipal school children. For municipal school students Swarag Se Sunder (41), Dhumdadakha (38), and Mard (27) received the highest number of mentions , whereas for private Marathi-medium students

Dhumdadakha (7), Mard (5) and Jaal (4) were mentioned most frequently. Boys and girls do not appear to have very different tastes where recent films are concerned. Boys liked Love 86, Dhumdadakha and Ilzaam most, while the girls put Meri Jung, Love 86 and Mard at the top of their lists of favourite films. Dhumdadakha, a remake of Pyar Kiye Jaa (Hindi) in Marathi, is a favourite among both boys and girls, particularly among those studying in municipal and Marathi-medium schools.

Recoding all the titles in Hindi, English, Marathi and other Indian languages into manageable categories we find that current and recent Hindi films remain at the top with 1197 mentions all told, followed by English films getting 730, mostly from Catholic (42.4%) and private English (43.6%) schools. Old Hindi films rank next with 411 mentions all told. Interestingly, regional films (other than Marathi) and 'new wave' films receive a mere 11 and 5 mentions respectively. Marathi films get a total of 159 mentions, mostly from Municipal students (18.6%).

A comparison of the films seen in the cinema theatres and on video indicates clearly that similar kinds of films are seen on the big and the small screens by students, teachers and parents. Obviously, video is used primarily for watching Hindi and English feature films among students of the four school types, as well as among teachers and parents. Foreign and Indian TV serials figure inconspicuously in the video viewing of the three groups in the sample. This could be because they are not so easily available . The more likely reason, however, is that given the choice most students, teachers and parents would rather watch a popular Hindi or English feature film than a foreign serial in a strange accent. Video-cassettes of British serials like Mind your Language or the Benny Hill series are stocked by some video shops but on the whole they are not easy to come by.

Table 71. Students' Favourite Films in the Cinema and on Video

Film Types	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
In Cinema Theatres					
Current & Recent					
Hindi films	56.3	42.4	43.6	40.0	45.3
English films	2.7	39.3	29.1	20.0	27.9
Old Hindi films	20.3	10.9	18.0	26.7	15.6
Marathi films	18.6	1.6	3.7	14.2	6.0
Regional films	0.2	0.5	0.3	1.7	0.4
'New Wave' films	0.8	0.1	-	-	0.2
NO RESPONSE	1.1	4.7	6.6	-	4.6
On Video					
Current & Recent					
Hindi films	56.4	28.2	31.8	59.8	35.8
English films	3.8	44.6	36.7	15.7	33.5
Old Hindi films	19.7	13.7	19.4	12.7	16.5
Marathi films	16.6	0.9	1.4	6.9	4.2
Regional films	0.4	1.0	0.4	-	0.7
'New Wave'	0.4	0.2	0.1	-	0.2
NO RESPONSE	2.7	1.4	0.2	4.9	9.1

Current and recent Hindi films are at the top of the lists of favourite films of students, teachers and parents when seen in the theatre, A close second on the list are English feature films for students of private schools, though for Municipal school students Marathi films are clearly second favourites, not English films. Old Hindi films rank third for all school types. As in cinema films, the regional and 'new wave' films get short shrift from students from the four school types, as well as from teachers and parents.

Table 72. Teachers' and Parents' Favourite Films

Film Type	TEACHERS n=188 %	PARENTS n=50 %
In Cinema Theatres		
Current and Recent		
Hindi films	46.7	28.7
English films	19.9	44.8
Old Hindi films	6.2	4.6
Marathi films	4.5	2.3
Regional films	7.5	4.6
'New Wave'	-	4.6
NO RESPONSE	15.2	7.0
On Video		
Current & Recent		
Hindi films	22.1	24.4
English	5.5	44.4
Old Hindi	8.1	13.3
Regional (incl. Marathi)	9.0	7.0
Indian TV Serials	5.4	-
Foreign TV Serials	4.1	-
NO RESPONSE	4.9	14.9

It is noticed that among teachers, though, Hindi films are the choice in the cinema but English films are the first favourite films for video viewing. 45% of the teachers watch English films on video. The majority of parents, however, watch English films both in the cinema and on video. These are parents, it must be noted, who send their children to English-medium schools, and would be from 'higher income' groups. It is evident that any programme in media education that has to have relevance to the Indian situation must necessarily give the popular Hindi cinema a pride of place in its curriculum. It is this cinema that is watched

either 'often' or 'sometimes', and with great interest, in theatres, on the video and even on television. This holds true for students and teachers of different school types, though not so much for parents like those in our sample. Clearly, the cinema is a thriving medium in India, unlike the dying medium it is in several developed countries.

The switch in interest from foreign to Indian films is evident over the last four decades. In pre-Independence India, Shah (1950:109) found in her survey of Bombay City's adolescents and young adults that foreign films were much more popular than Indian products. As many as 69.8% of the younger generation sampled voted in favour of foreign films because of their all round superiority; 15.9% reported that they preferred Indian films mostly because they followed them with less effort, while 14.5% said they liked both Indian and foreign films. High School students today, except perhaps for a small percentage of students from Catholic and private English schools, would rather go to a Hindi film than to an English film. Our study provides evidence that this switch in interest has indeed taken place.

10.3 Favourite Film Genres

Contemporary Indian cinema can be broadly classified into:
(1) Popular Commercial Cinema in Hindi and the regional languages, (2) the 'New Wave' Cinema, or the 'cinema of realism', and (3) the 'Middle' Cinema. The popular commercial cinema defies categorization into Western-type genres for its products have a structure and a narrative style all their own. As one director of commercial films put it: the Indian film is a series of 'items' strung together with a loose narrative (Quoted in Ramachandran, 1985). There are, for instance, no strict 'musicals' or 'detectives' or 'Westerns' or even 'comedies' or 'tragedies'. A commercial film is a happy mix of all these genres and many more. Indeed, the structure has its origin in folk theatre as in the 'tamasha', the 'jatra' or the 'nautanki' which tell familar tales interspersed with plenty of songs and dances. Elements of horseplay or religous and moral didacticism may be introduced at will without distorting the folk forms. Improvisation is the essence of Indian folk theatre: the pace is casual (by Western standards) but entertainment is promised right through to the

end.

However, over the years certain labels have come to be used to describe commercial films with certain dominant characteristics. Panna Shah (1950:121) was perhaps the first researcher to categorise the Hindi commercial cinema in the following way: histories and biographies; comedies; mythology and folklore, socials; stunt and adventure; devotional and religious; melodrama; crime; and war. Our classification keeps close to to the terms young people use to classify popular films, Indian and foreign. In a closed question, we provided a list of types of films they were most likely to be exposed to in the cinema theatre and on video, and asked students, teacher and parents to state whether they liked each of the types 'a lot', 'moderately' or 'didn't like at all'. The types liked a lot or moderately were exactly similar for both theatre and video viewing. The three groups listed the same types of films as the ones liked at least 'moderately'. This was a closed question with the respondents having to tick off the ones they liked 'a lot', 'moderately', or 'don't like'.

Thrillers, Social Comedies, and Kungfu films are clearly the most liked film genres among High School students as a whole but differences in taste emerge when one compares the genres favoured by students from each of the four school types. Municipal students rate family dramas, historicals and popular commercials films much higher than the top three favourites of the other school types. Two-thirds of the Municipal students said they liked family dramas most, and about half of them liked commercial films 'moderately'; a little more than a quarter liked them 'a lot'. There was no marked difference in the preferences of boys and girls. Even thrillers were liked as much by girls as by boys. Only where kungfu films were concerned was there a clear difference noticed: fewer girls than boys stated they liked 'kungfu' films either 'a lot' or 'moderately. (The percentages in the . table represent the two categories 'a lot' and 'moderately' collapsed.)

Table 73. Favourite Film Genres Among Students

Film Genre	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
In Cinema Theatres					
1.Thrillers	69.6	84.2	82.8	76.1	80.9
2.Social Comedy	46.2	79.8	83.4	56.5	74.0
3.Kungfu	77.7	63.6	71.0	64.4	68.8
4.Family Drama	83.7	58.4	68.1	71.7	66.4
5.Historical	81.5	58.2	62.9	82.6	64.8
6.Commercial	81.0	57.4	66.6	60.9	64.5
7.Science Fiction	73.4	57.2	62.3	82.6	62.7
On Video					
1.Thrillers	60.9	81.6	78.2	71.7	76.5
2.Social Comedy	52.7	80.4	78.8	45.7	73.5
3.Kungfu	70.7	66.7	69.3	60.9	67.9
4.Foreign Serials	36.4	71.1	69.9	59.2	63.0
5.Historicals	74.5	57.4	54.6	71.7	60.1
6.Commercial	76.1	52.7	59.2	60.9	59.2
7.Science Fiction	71.2	51.9	55.8	69.6	57.3

This is equally true of films seen on video. While private school students liked foreign serials very much, the Municipal students rated them far below the other genres. If there is one genre that appears to be liked a lot by students across school types it is the kungfu film. There are no science fiction films in Hindi or Marathi, but Municipal students rank them higher than private school students. Municipal and private Marathi-medium students share a common interest: they both like to watch science fiction on the big and small screen much more than English-medium students. This interest in science fiction needs further investigation. A later section of this chapter looks at the students' interest in comics that deal with science fiction. In the case of comics

too municipal and private Marathi-medium students demonstrate a greater preference for science fiction than their counterparts in private English-medium and Catholic schools. Science fiction as a genre in Marathi fiction is well developed; this factor perhaps explains the interest of Marathi-speaking students in the genre.

Teachers like to see (in order of rank) family dramas (69.8%), social comedies (65.1%), 'new wave' films (58.2%), musicals (54.5%), and thrillers (54.0), in cinema theatres. On video the rank order is slightly changed with foreign serials being ranked after family dramas, social comedies, musicals and thrillers. Popular commercial films, kungfu and science fiction do not figure in the top five genres liked by teachers. There thus appears to be a distinct difference in taste between students and teachers here. This difference is not necessarily attributable to socio-economic class for teachers from the municipal and the private schools rank similar film genres as the ones they like 'a lot' or 'moderately'.

10.4 Factors Influencing Choice of Films

'Which are the three major factors that influence the choice of the films you go to?' the students, teachers and parents in the sample were asked, in a closed question. They were given some examples of the kind of responses possible: directors, the story, film critics' views, friends' views, exhibition theatre, film posters, songs, dances, etc.

Except for Municipal school students, all other students gave their vote to the 'story' factor. For the municipal school students, however, 'songs' most influenced their selection of films, though 'story' was ranked as the second most influential factor. 'Stars' ranked second for students of the private schools, but third for those in Municipal schools; 'Songs' ranked third for the private school students. Interestingly, 'film directors' were an important factor for the municipal school and private Marathi school students, whereas few English-medium students noted it to be a factor worth reckoning.

Table 74. Factors Influencing Students' Choice of Films

Factors	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
In Cinema Theatres					
Story	16.6	28.9	28.1	29.2	24.8
Stars	15.8	25.6	25.4	23.3	23.7
Songs	24.0	17.9	21.9	16.7	20.3
Directors	13.0	5.8	5.3	17.5	7.5
Critics' Views	12.6	6.7	5.6	5.0	7.4
Friends' Views	11.6	5.3	4.8	1.7	6.2
Posters	1.1	3.1	2.0	0.8	2.8
Exhbition theatres	2.3	0.6	1.1	2.5	1.1
Other factors	2.3	5.7	3.4	2.5	4.2
NO RESPONSE	0.7	0.4	2.4	0.8	12.5
On Video					
Stars	31.2	28.3	29.2	29.6	29.2
Quality of Print	19.4	25.2	25.8	25.0	24.3
Friends' Views	7.1	19.4	18.9	13.9	19.9
Directors	19.0	12.3	12.6	21.3	14.1
Other factors	1.9	8.0	7.9	8.4	6.8
NO RESPONSE	21.4	6.8	0.6	1.8	5.7

Where video was concerned, 'stars' took first place with students, 'quality of prints' the second, and 'friends' views' the third. With parents and teachers, on the other hand, 'story' had a preeminent place, followed by 'stars', 'critics' views' and 'film directors'. 'Songs' was not a very important factor for the majority of teachers and parents as much as it is for students in the sample. Film songs are of immense interest to students. This is demonstrated again in the next section where their favourite songs and singers are examined.

Table 75. Factors Influencing Teachers' and Parents' Film Choice

Factors	TEACHERS n=188 %	PARENTS n=50 %
In Cinema Theatres		
Story	27.3	21.9
Stars	18.4	20.7
Directors	15.6	16.3
Critics' Views	7.6	17.8
Friends' Views	5.4	9.6
Songs	7.6	5.2
Posters	3.5	-
Other factors	5.8	2.2
NO RESPONSE	16.4	6.3
On Video		
Quality of video prints	23.1	21.1
Stars	22.0	21.1
Film Directors	23.1	14.0
Friends' Views	15.6	21.1
Other factors	8.6	8.8
NO RESPONSE	7.6	13.9

10.5 Interests and Preferences in Television

A Typical TV Evening

A typical weekday evening on Bombay Doordarshan starts at six o'clock with a run-down in Marathi of the evening's programmes. This is usually followed by a children's programme (in Hindi, English, Marathi or Gujarati) which could be a story-telling or quiz or singing session, concluding often with a short animation film. The majority of animation films screened are from the archives of Films Division, but on occasion Russian or Canadian cartoon films are transmitted. Marathi programmes for workers or farmers, not more than half an hour's duration are slotted usually between 7.00 and 7.30, just before the Marathi news. A youth

programme or a song-sequence could then follow. All these programmes are produced at Bombay Doordarshan studios.

From 8.30 to around 11.00 the national programme is relayed from New Delhi, the capital. It begins with commercials and the national news in Hindi. The news in English is at 9.00 which is followed by a Hindi TV serial. Another Hindi serial may come on at 10.00. Discussions on current affairs and a National Programme of song and dance, or a quwali performance may round off the evening's TV fare. Commercials are screened in short clusters before and after programmes; only in the case of Hindi serials are commercial 'breaks' allowed. On weekends, programmes are telecast from 4.00 p.m. on Saturdays, and almost the whole day long on Sundays. The programmes include Hindi serials, feature films in Hindi and the regional languages, and sports.

Favourite TV Programmes

In an open-ended question all the respondents were asked to write down any five TV programmes they had seen during the previous fortnight and to rank them them in order of preference. Numerous were the titles of programmes listed. The over 300 titles of Hindi, English and regional language programmes listed were recoded into the following six groups based on language and genre: (1) Hindi serials, (2) Foreign serials, (3) Marathi programmes, (4) Film-based programmes, (5) Hindi feature films, (6) English feature films, (7) Regional language feature films, (8) News and Current Affairs, and (9) Sports programmes.

Table 76. Students' Favourite TV Programmes

Programme	Municipal n=170 %	Catholic n=445 %	English n=308 %	Marathi n=42 %	Total n=965 %
1. Nukkad	19.2	12.4	13.0	12.7	17.3
2. Karamchand	12.5	16.3	18.5	14.1	16.4
3. Yeh Jo Hai...	10.6	9.1	9.5	10.3	9.5
4. Khandaan	4.3	9.7	10.4	8.7	8.9
5. Ek do teen...	4.5	4.1	4.1	5.5	4.0
6. Rajani	6.9	4.5	2.7	1.6	4.1

These were the six sponsored serials in Hindi that were mentioned most frequently by students from the four school types. Only one of these, Ek, do, teen, chaar (One, two, three, four), based on an Enid Blyton story, is a children's serial in Hindi. Telecast on Sunday mornings it has proved a popular draw. Nukkad (Street Corner), on the other hand, is a witty and sentimental attempt at national integration and at socio-political satire, telecast during mid-week, and played by an assortment of characters the Bombay chawl-dweller can easily identify with. It is a depiction of the warmth of chawl-life in the street dialect of Hindi that is common in Bombay. Significantly, it is the Municipal students in the sample who rate it as their first favourite TV programme, not the students of the private English and Marathi schools. Karamchand (a fast-paced detective serial) is the top favourite of the latter, and the second favourite of the Municipal students. Yeh Jo Hai Zindagi (This Thing Called Life) is sheer slapstick for the family. Rajani is a Sunday morning serial about a young married Bombay woman who crusades for social issues, but offers solutions that are often impracticable. The solutions offered invariably involves Rajani, the protagonist, buttonholing the officials in the police and the bureaucracy, and almost bullying them to take up her social causes. The last three serials are directed by well-known film directors of Bombay's 'middle' cinema: Saeed Mirza, Kundan Shah and Basu Chatterjee. The directors of popular commercial films have, however, now taken over sponsored serials on television.

It is clear, therefore, that Hindi serials are most liked by a majority of students (70.2%) across the four school types, with foreign serials being mentioned as favourites only by 10.8% of students. A breakdown by school type gives a clearer picture of the preference for Hindi serials among municipal students, and for foreign serials among private school students (Table 7.7). It is significant that more students in private English-medium schools (14.3%) favour foreign serials than students in Catholic schools for many of whom English is the home language. Among municipal school students alone are Marathi programmes liked much more than foreign serials.

Table 77. Comparing Liking for Indian and Foreign TV Serials

	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Hindi Serials	73.7	67.4	72.1	72.5	70.2
Foreign Serials	1.1	12.8	14.3	4.3	10.8
Marathi Programmes	10.1	.9	.3	.7	2.6

The foreign serials that were telecast during the few months prior to the survey included the BBC sitcoms Sorry, To the Manor Born, and Some Mothers like 'Em, and the BBC series on nature and wild life. On occasion, Shakespeare's plays produced by the BBC and Telematches produced by German Television, Frankfurt, were telecast.

In their spontaneous lists of favourite television programmes, Hindi feature films were mentioned by only 1.1% of the students, regional language feature films by 0.3%, English feature films by 0.3%, film-based programmes such as Chhaya Geet and Chitrageet by 0.2%, sports programmes by 0.9%, and news and current affairs by a mere 0.1%.

Among teachers too, Hindi serials (39.3%) are liked much more than foreign serials (13.6%). Marathi programmes (9.7%) and Hindi feature films (4.4%) are favoured by a minority, and so are sports programmes (1.6%), regional language feature films (0.9%) and news and current affairs programmes (0.4%). Khandaan (Family) which does not figure so prominently in the students' list, is the most popular Hindi sponsored serial among teachers. Clearly, the tastes of students and teachers differ where TV programmes are concerned: students opt for the light entertainment serials, while the teachers prefer the more serious news, current affairs and quiz programmes. This difference was noticed also by Murdoch and Phelps (1973) in their survey of British secondary schools.

It must be noted, however, that the categorization of TV programmes into

light entertainment and serious educational programmes is rather artificial in the Indian context. Strong social messages on family planning, national integration, devotion to the family are, for instance, included in the TV serials. This is Doordarshan policy, and appears to be in keeping with Indian folk traditions 'where the various folk forms such as the Jatra, the Nautanki, the Yakshagana and the Burrakatha defy classification as entertainment, information or education (Joshi Committee Report, 1986:39).

The preference for Indian TV serials over foreign serials and also film-based programmes is a recent phenomenon. A content-analysis of 14 days of Doordarshan offerings from March 25 to April 7, 1983 showed that feature films and film-related programmes occupied the largest single chunk of telecast time (21.1%). This was followed by news and current affairs (18.9%). Programmes related to development including civic affairs, consumer prices and the like added up to less than 14% (ibid.). 13 foreign serials were telecast during May-July of the same year, on average six-to-seven episodes/programmes a week (Tanwar and Mehta, 1983). Thus foreign serials accounted for 7.2% of total transmission time in May, 5.6% in June and 10.3% in July (ibid.). This picture had changed remarkably by Spring 1986, the period of our survey. The composition of programmes was as follows: 25% of total transmission time was devoted to serials/plays/skits, and only 3% to feature films and film-based programmes, 10% to foreign programmes (including serials) (Audience Research Unit, 1986).

How much do students like what they watch on television? Could it be that they watch simply because it is easily available? After all, they do not have much of a choice because of the single channel (the second channel at the time of this study was available for only an hour each evening, and not all sets could receive it)and the restricted hours of transmission. The questionnaire asked each of the three groups: How much do you like the following types of TV programmes? The options given were: 'like a lot', 'like moderately', and 'don't like'. They were asked to leave the columns blank if they did not watch a particular programme type. A list of programme types was provided. For the purpose of analysis, the two options 'like a lot' and 'like moderately' were collapsed. The

percentages in the table, therefore, represent the collapsed variable for each programme types. The total in the last column represents the row total in each programme type.

Table 78. Students' Favourite TV Genres

TV Genre	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
1. Hindi Serials	68.5	87.9	92.3	80.4	85.5
2. Hindi films	77.2	83.8	90.2	69.6	84.0
3. Sports	73.9	81.4	87.4	71.7	81.5
4. Quiz	53.3	84.2	88.0	73.9	79.5
5. Song Excerpts	70.1	73.3	78.2	67.4	74.0
6. Foreign Serials	49.5	79.0	82.2	47.8	73.5
7. News & Current Affairs	69.6	67.1	76.1	76.1	70.7
8. Programmes for Schools	57.1	68.7	74.8	58.7	68.1
9. Science & Health	48.9	67.9	79.4	45.7	67.2
10.Pop Music (Foreign)	30.4	72.1	68.1	39.1	62.1
11.Regional films	56.5	54.3	69.6	28.3	58.3
12.FD Documentaries	52.7	56.4	65.3	47.8	58.1
13.Pop Music (Indian)	39.7	62.6	64.4	30.4	57.8
14.UGC's Countrywide Classroom	29.9	57.6	60.4	39.1	52.8

There appears to be a consistency between what students watch and what they like. The top three programme types (sponsored Hindi serials, Hindi feature films, and sports) they most frequently watch are also the programme types they like most. Reddi (1984:96) found that film-song based programmes remain the most popular among Hyderabad's school and

college students. This was in 1983 when sponsored serials had yet to make a profitable start. The commercialization of Indian television took a dramatic turn only when Doordarshan decided to allow more advertising spots before, during and after the sponsored programmes. That decision made it cheaper for advertisers to produce their own programmes or to sponsor indigenous programmes than to buy foreign programmes.

In contrast, teachers spend more time with more serious information-oriented TV programmes such as news, current affairs and quiz programmes. 87.3% of the teachers in the sample said they watched the news 'often' or 'sometimes'. Quiz programmes were watched 'often' or 'sometimes' by 86.3% of the teachers, sponsored serials by 80.4%, Hindi feature films by 76.7% and foreign serials by 66.7%. 64.6% watched sports programmes and 'film song excerpts' (as in Chaaya Geet, Chitrageet and Phool Khile Hain Gulshan Gulshan), and interestingly, 55.5% watched the TV programmes for schools, and 46.6% watched the UGC's Countrywide Classroom. Almost a similar percentage of students stated they watched these two educational programmes at least 'sometimes'.

Table 79. Teachers Viewing TV Genres 'Often' or 'Sometimes'

TV Genres	N=188 %
News & Current Affairs	87.3
Quiz Programmes	86.3
Hindi Serials	80.4
Hindi feature films	76.7
Foreign Serials	66.7
Sports	64.6
Film Song Excerpts	64.6
Science and Health	64.5
Programmes for Schools	55.5
Regional Films	50.3
Indian pop music	49.3
UGC's Countrywide Classroom	46.6
Western pop music	39.7

The TV genres parents watched most either 'often' or 'sometimes' were: Quiz programmes, foreign serials, sponsored serials, and science and health.

Factors Influencing TV Programme Choice

An analysis of the table below shows that it is not so much the time of telecast or the educational value of TV programmes that influence students' choice of programmes as the entertainment value and the type of programme telecast. For the Municipal student, however, educational value is as important a determining factor as programme type much more than it is for students from private schools. On the entertainment factor though there is near unanimity that it is a prime factor in the choice of TV programmes.

Table 80. Factors Influencing Students' TV Programme Choices

Factors	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
Entertainment value	27.4	27.5	28.7	25.8	27.7
Programme types	26.8	25.1	26.3	24.2	25.8
Educational value	26.8	22.3	24.0	25.8	23.8
Time of Telecast	15.7	15.8	15.5	19.2	15.9
Other factors	-	3.1	2.8	1.8	2.3
NO RESPONSE	3.3	6.2	2.7	3.2	4.5

For teachers, on the other hand, the type of programme is as important an influencing factor as its entertainment value. The educational value of a TV programme and the time it is telecast are also factors to contend with, though they apear to be a little less influential than other factors.

Table 81.Factors Influencing Teachers'and Parents' Choice of TV Programmes

Factors	TEACHERS N=123 %	PARENTS N=45 %
Entertainment value	23.3	28.1
Programme Type	25.5	23.0
Educational Value	22.5	17.0
Time of Telecast	20.8	23.0
Other factors	3.3	3.7
NO RESPONSE	4.6	9.0

10.6 Limitations of Survey Method

There are obvious limitations in this type of empirical and quantitive survey. We have no doubt come to know of the interests and preferences of students, teachers and parents in the audiovisual media, but such knowledge is restricted to the frequency with which they watch the media, what they frequently watch, which programme genres they watch 'often' or 'sometimes', which they 'like a lot' or like 'moderately', the factors that influence their programme choices, and with whom and where they watch 'usually'. However, this gives us little idea of what their 'experience' of cinema, video or TV is; we have no idea too of the appeal of programme genres, of how they make sense of plot, character and structure of each genre. We would have liked to do in-depth interviews with the respondents to probe individual or family 'experiences', but lack of time and resources restrained us from doing so. We, however, carried out a modest ethnographic study of eight families watching television, in order to make up in some measure for this lacuna in the quantitive data.

10.7 Families Watching Television: An Ethnographic Study

The ethnographic method focuses on 'the understanding of the perspectives of the people under study, and on observing their activities in everyday life rather than relying solely on their accounts of this behaviour or experimental simulations of it' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The main objectives of our ethnographic study were to observe the kind of programmes watched, the interaction among members of the family during viewing, and in general the conditions under which viewing took place.

This section briefly reviews the methods and findings of earlier family studies on television viewing in the United States, Britain and India, and then proceeds to take a close look at how eight families from different parts of India watch television at home. The section concludes with an examination of some patterns of TV viewing in an Indian family setting.

10.8 Early Studies

The study of television viewing in a family situation to supplement survey research is recent. As a consequence, theory and research in the area has been surprisingly limited (Ellis, 1983:276). Most of the literature is limited to speculation and advice to parents (ibid.). The main reasons are the difficulties involved in the researcher entering the privacy of a family and a home, and the fact that his or her very presence alters the viewing situation, particularly where the researcher is a total stranger. The researcher, no matter how inconspicuous his or her presence, 'intrudes' upon the family's privacy. Such privacy, however, is cherished far more in Westernized societies than in India where it is quite common for friends and neighbours who do not have TV sets to join a family on a Sunday evening, for instance, to watch a Hindi feature film. Even where no TV programme is to be viewed, the stream of relations, neighbours and friends dropping in for social visits, the small houses and flats, the joint family system, and other factors do not allow for much privacy in an Indian home. Privacy is, after all, a luxury which few can afford. In most studies of the Indian family (e.g. Kapadia, 1955; Gore: 1960; Shah, 1973) the question of privacy is rarely discussed; perhaps because there is so little of it.

In early attempts at ethnographic studies of television and the family, the use of video-cameras, tape-recorders and microphones was resorted to in order to overcome the problem of 'intrusion' to a minimum. These recording machines were felt to be less 'intrusive' than a researcher living in with the family. Bechtel, Achelpohl and Akers (1972, cited in Lull, 1980), for instance, placed television cameras on top of the television sets in 20 homes in order to document viewing behaviour. Microphones were placed around the rooms to record conversations and personal reactions to the programmes. Their study concluded that 'television viewing does not occur in a vacuum; it is always to some degree background to a complex behaviour pattern in the home' (ibid.). The study admitted, however, that even the most accurate record of movements and conversations failed to provide much insight into the nature of interpersonal networks which characterize family communication systems. Further, the sampling of conversation alone did little to advance knowledge of actual uses and gratifications, or the meanings that media hold for their audiences (Lull, 1980:199). More recently, Collet (1986, Quoted in Root, 1986; Morley, 1986) carried out a similar experiment in 20 British homes for a week each, using cameras built into the specially devised TV sets. The video tapes revealed that families engaged in various activities such as eating, arguing, knitting, listening to music, reading books, doing homework, kissing, writing letters and even vacuum-cleaning the carpet while the TV set was on. In Collet's words, 'People spend hours on end doing all kinds of things that have absolutely nothing to to with TV viewing' (Quoted in Root, 1986:25; Morley, 1986:47). Yet the evidence provided remains at best anecdotal; there is need to probe further, as Morley (1986) does with in-depth interviews of 18 families in a home situation. Initially the two parents were interviewed, then later in each interview their children were invited to take part in the discussion along with the. parents. The one to two-hour-long interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed in full for analysis (ibid.). The basic limitation in Morley's research is that he does not go beyond the interviews with the families to actually observing their viewing behaviour. Collet (1986) stops at mechanically recording behaviour in front of the screen; Morley (1986) stops short at in-depth interviews with parents, and only occasionally with children. Morley believes that 'this

evidence is strong enough for me to hypothesize that my findings would be replicated by behavioural research' (ibid.). He offers no suggestion, however, on how such 'behavioural research' could be carried out, or of the contribution of such research to our knowledge of family TV viewing.

Ethnographic or qualitative studies which borrow from participant-observational techniques of anthropology have been employed in recent communication research either exclusively or to supplement survey research (cf. Ellis, 1983; Lindlof (1987)). Lull (1980a, 1980b, 1982, 1987) has drawn up an elaborate typology of the 'social uses of television'. This followed his ethnographic investigation of more than 200 families representing blue-collar, white-collar, and farm types. His studies led him to conclude that television was useful to family members for purposes which ranged from structuring daily activities and talk patterns to far more subtle and involved tasks such as conflict reduction, the reinforcement of family roles, and intellectual validation as a means of dominating another family member (Lull, 1980b: 322). He categorized Individual uses of television into a six-part typology comprising 'structural' and 'relational uses' (ibid.). 'Structural' uses are environmental (background noise, companionship, entertainment) and regulative (punctuation of time and activity, talk patterns). 'Relational' uses' of television, on the other hand, include communication facilitation (experience illustration, common ground, conversational entrance, anxiety reduction, agenda for talk, value clarification); affiliation/avoidance (physical, verbal contact/neglect, family solidarity, family relaxant, conflict reduction, relationship maintenance); social learning (decision making, behaviour modelling, problem solving, value transmission, legitimization, information, dissemination, substitute schooling); and competence/dominance (role enactment, role enforcement, substitute role portrayal, intellectual validation, authority exercise, gatekeeping, argument facilitation) (ibid.).

An international study entitled World Families Watching Television which makes use of this typology has now been coordinated by Lull (1987). The Indian study of this project was carried out by Yadava and Reddi (1987).

They admit that they could study the 'structural' uses of television in Indian homes, but found it difficult to study the 'relational' uses. The Latin American study too complained of having to look at Venezuelan families using a 'Western' perpsective (Barrios, in Lull, 1987). Clearly, the typology has been drawn up from a study of American families; Indian families are by and large 'extended' families, organizing their lives according to distinctive norms. Further, the novelty of watching television has still not worn out in Indian families, possibly because of the restricted hours during which programmes are telecast, and the type of programming as well.

Emerging theoretical formulations on the issue of television and the family include observational approaches (e.g Messaris, 1983; Bryce and Leichter, 1983), a 'contextualist framework' (e.g. Brody and Stoneman, 1983)), a 'symbolic interactionist perspective' (e.g Davis and Abelman, 1983; Ellis et al, 1983; Palmer, 1986), and 'systems theory' (Goodman, 1983). All these approaches, however, have their origin in research on the television experience of American families. Appropriate approaches for the study of family television viewing in other cultures will need to be developed.

Indian Studies

Extensive communication research on Indian television, especially on its use for developmental purposes, has been conducted over the last decade (Agrawal, Joshi and Sinha, 1986; Narula and Pearce, 1986), but in-depth sociological and anthropological studies of the role of television in family life are few. Indeed, there is hardly any comprehensive research study on television and family life in India (Yadava, 1987). Narayanan (1987) conducted a sociological study of the TV viewing habits of 300 families in Bombay in 1981, using the self-administered questionnaire method. The questionnaire was filled in only by heads of families. There was no in-depth interviewing of the families and no attempt whatsoever to study the viewing situation in a family context. Tanwar and Mehta (1983) conducted brief 'case studies' of nine families of New Delhi as part of a larger study on Foreign Serials on Doordarshan. Reddi (1984) too employed a questionnaire method to investigate the 'uses and

gratifications' provided by television to adolescents in Hyderabad. Yadava and Reddi (1987) looked more closely at the urban Indian family environment in which TV viewing took place, limiting themselves, though, to unstructured interviews with adults in families about about set ownership, the placement of sets, and the programmes watched. A doctoral thesis in social anthropology on the subject of television and the family is currently under way at the University of Delhi (Yadava, 1987).

10.9 TV Viewing with Indian Families

This researcher believed it was necessary to sit down with families to watch television with them, and to observe their viewing experience at first hand. The observation study of eight families that follows was done by the researcher himself among families where he was a known visitor, rather than a stranger. He was accepted into the family as a friend, not as a 'researcher'. The families were not informed of the study, and no notes were taken at the time of viewing. The eight families were selected from different cities though mostly from Greater Bombay and belonged to different socio-economic strata and religio-cultural backgrounds. Two of the families were Christian; the rest were Hindu families. The two Christian families spoke English at home; in the Hindu families English and an Indian language were used; only in one was no English spoken at all. Three of the families owned video-cassette recorders, one frequently obtained a VCR on hire. Two of the less well-off families had black and white TV sets; one a portable colour set, and the remaining five families colour sets. None of the eight families owned more than one set, nor was there any plan among them to buy a second set in the near future.

The researcher spent a whole evening with each of the five families, and two consecutive evenings with the other three families. Since he was a friend of the families studied he was in most cases invited to share the evening meal. His social visits to the families did not disturb their daily evening routines, such as helping children with their homework, preparing the evening meal or watching television.

FAMILY I

This is a fairly well-off family of five: husband, wife, their two boys of

school-going age (both are in secondary school), and grandmother (the wife's mother). The parents are graduates from reputed universities; he is an arts graduate, she a science graduate. He is in 'private service', holding an executive's job in an Indian company, and earns a monthly salary of about Rs.6000; she is a 'housewife' (i.e. an unemployed married woman), though formerly she was employed as a science teacher in a secondary school. This is a traditional Hindu joint family of a high-caste status. The languages spoken at home are English and two Indian languages. The family employs a part-time maid-servant for washing up the dishes and for other menial tasks such as sweeping and dusting.

Family I lives in a rented two-bedroom rented apartment on the ground floor of a two-storeyed house in an up-market residential area of an Indian city. The well-furnished modern apartment gets a regular supply of water and electricity except for occasional stoppages. The family owns a colour TV set, a video, and a radio-cum-cassette player. (It also has the use of a car and a telephone provided by the private company for which the father works). These electronic receivers are displayed prominently in what may be termed the 'sitting room' of the house. This is the largest room of the house in which visitors are received. A three-piece sofa set is neatly arranged in front of the TV set. Beyond the sofa set is a dining table for six.

On the weekday evening that I visited this family, the husband had just returned from work, and the wife was busy helping out her younger son with his school homework at the dining table. The elder son was doing his homework in one of the bedrooms. Neither the TV set nor the radio was on. It was apparent that school homework was taken seriously in this house, and that TV programmes were carefully selected for common viewing. It was also apparent that the authority for such selection rested with the mother.

At 9.00 p.m. the family sat down to watch a Hindi adaptation of the Balzac short story, The Girl Who Changes Her Mind in the Katha Saagar series. The colour television set was switched on by the younger son a few minutes before the titles of the story came on. It was preceded by a few

commercials which hardly anyone paid much attention to. The story was structured in the form of episodes, and moved at a slow pace, each shot being held for a pretty long time. It told the tale of a woman who chooses an elderly man for her husband in sheer defiance, as the young man she loved was not approved by her family. The young man, however, turns up at the wedding reception (the marriage itself takes place at a registrar's office), and on noticing his presence she is filled with anguish. Her tortured mind is suggested in the changing emotions depicted in close-ups.

The whole family (except for the maternal grandmother) came into the fairly spacious living room, one end of which was the dining area, to watch the popular series started by the film director, Shyam Benegal. The mother took a chair from the dining table and sat right behind all of us, nearest the kitchen. The two boys,aged 14 and 10 respectively, sat on sofas nearby. The father was more interested in leafing through papers in his office files and in talking to me rather than in watching the TV programme.

The short story was followed by the national news at 9.30 after a brief commercial break. The news began with the headlines, read and presented on the screen, much like radio news. There were hardly any on-the-spot reports, few visuals, mostly talking heads of two newsreaders, a man and a woman. The news items included: tightening up laws on terrorism, government's determination to get on with the new educational policy, and its readiness to spend six percent of national budget on education during the eighth plan, Sanjiva Reddy and his wife's meeting with Rajiv (which was presented visually).

There was hardly any exchange during the programme among the parents and the children, or between the children, except for a question from the father on the relationship between two characters. The mother and the elder son explained the relationship briefly. The commercial break that divided the story into two equal halves did not appear to disturb anyone in the family. The story itself lasted for 22 minutes; two and a half minutes were devoted to commercials of the company sponsoring the programme.

Only the younger son watched both the serial and the national news that followed. The elder boy returned to his studies immediately after the serial, and the mother had gone off into the kitchen (behind the dining room area) even before the serial had ended. She had made a quick visit to the kitchen also during the commercial break.

After the serial and during the news I ventured to ask the younger lad which was his favourite programme. 'Can't say', he said, but then went on to name The Famous Five and Secrets of the Sea (Sunday morning programmes) as ones he liked very much. The first was a BBC serial, and the second a French documentary. He informed me that the BBC serial was concluded. The father chipped in with the information that other serials which were wound up during the previous few months were Yeh Jo Hai Zindagi, and Satayjit Ray's short stories. He also spoke of how Nukkad, a hard-hitting satire on corruption in high places was forced to wind up because of protests from Members of Parliament. I asked father and son if the Royal Wedding or the Commonwealth Games were transmitted live to India from Britain. They said that there was no coverage whatsoever since India had boycotted the Games. The father expressed amazement at the worship of the royal family in Britain which claimed to be a democracy. I asked about Ek Do Teen Chaar, a Sunday morning children's serial in Hindi based on an Enid Blyton story, and the younger son informed me that this too had concluded. The TV set was switched off by the younger son when the evening meal was served; it was apparent this 'no television during meals' rule was laid down by the mother.

FAMILY II

This is a 'lower income' family, with two sons and two daughters, three of school-going age, two of whom are in secondary school. Both father and mother are illiterate. The father has a manual job with a Central Government department, and earns a monthly salary of about Rs. 700. The mother is a 'housewife'. The only language spoken in this home is an Indian language. While it is true that no English is spoken by any of the members of this family, the children do study the language in school. The family is Hindu and of an intermediate caste.

This large family (large by urban standards) lived in a two-room house which has a small open yard and three small attached rooms used as a kitchen, a bathroom and a store-room. The house itself was in a 'bazaar' area, not very far from the inter-city bus station, and the railway station. The single room which served as bedroom, sitting room, dining room (these terms have little meaning in an Indian context) and various other purposes, had an electric fan and light. The house had no toilet facilities, and water for drinking and washing had to be carried in buckets from a nearby public tap. The community toilets were a few minutes' walk from the house. The main fuel used for cooking was kerosene-oil; a coal-fire provided the only form of heating during winter. The 'housewife' managed all cooking and other household responsibilities without any outside help.

The family owned a black and white television set which must have cost around Rs.3000. It was placed on a low stool in a corner of the only large covered room in the house. The other furniture in the room included a large bed, a table, a chair, and a whole lot of packing cases. The children and some of the elders sat on the floor, but the guests were provided charpoys (wooden cots strung with rope) and chairs.

One of the children sat hardly a foot away from the screen as he had very poor eyesight. The others sat a little away, but none of the viewers was more than four to five feet from the screen. Yet none complained, and there was hardly any exchange on the film, though the elders did talk to each other off and on. The film was frequently interrupted by printed advertisements over the running film. There were also interruptions for news and for regular commercials, but these were not too frequent.

I watched the Sunday evening feature film with this family. The neighbours too joined us. Others included the brother of the woman of the house who was spending the weekend here with his family. The feature film was interrupted twice during that evening. Power transmission failed twice, taking at least 10 minutes to be restored. The viewers took the interruptions in their stride; they did not seem to be unduly ruffled for it was a regular occurrence in their small town, as I was informed later.

The moment the lights and the set went off, everyone moved outdoors.

The mother came in only occasionally to watch the feature film. She spent most of her time preparing the evening meal, or talking to the neighbours. The father too was not very interested in the feature film; he took a greater interest in the news that followed. He was quite knowledgeable about national politics. It was clear that the television set had been bought primarily for the children's use. It was also evident from the evening I spent with the family that the parents exercised little or no control over what the children watched.

For this family, television was still a novelty; it was hardly six months since television entered their lives. Yet, except for some elders who stayed on to watch the national news, the children and the others got up and walked out of the room as soon as the Hindi feature film was over.

FAMILY III

This is a single-parent family comprising a retired government official and his unmarried and unemployed daughter. They live in a two-bedroom flat, comfortably but not luxuriously furnished. The languages spoken at home include English and an Indian language. The family could be termed a 'higher income' group whose average monthly income exceeds Rs. 2000 (mainly from freelance work). Both father and daughter share in household tasks, though they employ a young lad to help with the cooking, the shopping and the cleaning up.

The family has a colour TV set placed in the main living room in which visitors are received. Besides the TV set, the father and daughter own a radio-cum-cassette recorder, and a phone. They have a small car which is driven only by the father.

I joined them on two occasions to watch the evening telecast. On the first occasion we watch a Tagore story in the Katha Saagar series; on the second it is an episode of Buniyaad and the news. There is much vehement exchange on the incidents in the Tagore narrative of a woman who unquestioningly submits to every humiliation she is subject to in a

Bengali household. The daughter protests that she ought to fight back; the father argues that this is the reality of a Bengali family. There are arguments also about the episode of Buniyaad that follows a little later. Evidently, the television serials are used here as occasions for airing one's strong views, and getting things off one's chest, especially for the daughter. On the second occasion, the family has visitors from the neighbourhood. Instead of turning on the television, they listen to ghazals on the cassette-recorder, and chat all the while, with occasional comments on the sentiments of the ghazals. The phone rings frequently and there is much movement in and out of the room and animated conversation all the while as the cassette-recorder is on. No one expresses an interest in switching off the ghazals in order to watch some TV serial or the news.

FAMILY IV

They are a childless couple living by themselves in a small one-bedroom nondescript flat. Both husband and wife are post-graduates. The husband is in 'government service' earning a salary of about Rs.3000 per month. The wife also used to be employed in the same kind of service but has given it up to do some freelance writing at home. The husband's brother too lives with them. The family is high-caste Hindu and very religious. Two Indian languages and English are the languages spoken in this household. Like most of the 'upper income' families in our sample, they employ a maid to help with the washing up of clothes and dishes.

This family has a colour television set, a cassette player and a phone. On the evening I spend with them, it is the festival of Ganpati, the elephant god of the Hindus. The couple have installed an image of the god in the living room. The image is decorated with palmyra leaves on an improvised altar. In the kitchen is their permanent altar and place of worship. No one may enter the kitchen wearing any kind of footwear.

It is Sunday evening. The Hindi feature film is just over, and the national news in Hindi is on. Both husband and wife watch the news interestedly, even as they occasionally talk to me, and make brief comments on the news, and the newsreaders. We then sit down to 'Quiz

Time', a popular general knowledge programme (as popular as the 'Bournvita Quiz' programme on Sunday afternoons on Vividh Bharati). Both husband and wife make attempts to answer the questions while the participants are struggling to guess the correct answers. The questions range from history to poetry and sports. The couple guess once or twice correctly, but they evidently enjoy the suspense and the interest engendered by the programme. For this family, television is a companion and a friend. The level of involvement with certain TV programmes and TV presenters is much higher than for other families in our ethnographic study.

As the national news in English comes on, the wife gets ready to lay the table and serve a vegetarian dinner. Buffet-style, we serve ourselves and watch the news as we eat and converse. This time the news is hardly paid any attention to.

FAMILY V

This is a family of four, living on a ground floor one-bedroom flat in a middle class neighbourhood. Both parents work away from home; the father for a government agency, the wife for a private company in the city. Their combined income would place them in a 'higher income' category (i.e. income exceeding Rs. 2000 per month). They have two girls aged 12 and 14 respectively, who go to a Catholic 'convent' school for girls. They are church-going Christians, speak English at home, but also speak Hindi and Marathi with colleagues and neighbours. They employ a girl part-time to help with the household chores.

Their Sony television set was bought in Singapore,and their VCR in the U.K. They have a record-player and a transistor radio but no phone. As in most middle and lower-middle class Indian homes, these electronic receivers are displayed prominently in the room where visitors are received. In consequence, the visitor's rooms frequently have a rather cluttered look, particularly where the rooms are very small and serve as dining room, study room, and bedroom as well. Wall hangings which include family photographs, religious pictures and calendars add to the cluttered appearance.

I watch a Tolstoy story in the Katha Saagar series, and Chaya Geet with them one evening. The father is away on night duty; the children about to go to bed for the following morning they have to get to school by seven. Only the children appear to watch the story with rapt attention; the mother is much too busy working in the kitchen or occasionally talking to me. It is an extremely sentimental tale, but the children like it immensely. The watch intently, listening carefully to the dialogue, and apparently grasping every turn in the narrative. They also enjoy the programme that follows, Chaya Geet, made up of song clips from popular Hindi films. All the while, however, the mother goes about her work, getting dinner ready, and only occasionally casting a glance at the screen. Comments about what is going on, on the screen are few and far between, but the response is loud and animated. The TV set is not switched off as the family sits down to dinner. The national news in English comes on preceded and followed by advertisements of competing brands of washing powder, toothpastes, soft drinks and other consumer items. The children often join in the singing of the jingles. They and their mother watch the news in snatches. But no sooner is dinner over than the set is switched off by one of the children. Yet, the control of the switch is clearly with the mother who strictly oversees what the children watch. Besides, the TV may remain on during meals, but not when school homework has to be completed.

FAMILY VI

Family VI is an 'upper income' family, living on the top floor flat of a fairly rich neighbourhood in the suburbs of a metropolitan city. This is a family of four: husband, wife, a 12-year old daughter and an 8-year old son. The children go to an English-medium Catholic school in the neighbourhood. The father is employed in a private export-import agency that pays him over Rs. 3000 per month; the mother is a 'housewife'. Both have had education up to High School, and have never felt the need to go to college, but are keen that their children should. As with Family V, the parents are from different communities. The only language spoken in this home is English. Surprisingly, this family does not have a maid or a help though it can well afford to employ one.

The flat has a large bedroom, a small bedroom and play-room for the children, and a spacious living room furnished with a four-piece sofa set, and wall-hangings. Indeed, the whole flat is tastefully furnished. A dining table for six is part of the living room furniture.

The family has a portable colour TV set, a video-cassette recorder, and a phone. The TV set and video are prominently placed in the living room, while the phone is in the parents' bedroom. Both the parents keep a strict check over what programmes are viewed by the children.

I spend a whole Sunday afternoon visiting with this family that has been known to me for many years. Most of the regular television serials On this Sunday afternoon, however, have been cancelled in favour of a live telecast of the one day cricket test match between India and Australia. As I enter the home of this English-speaking family, the father, his son and daughter, and a teenage girl from the apartment next door, are watching Quo Vadis on the video. The mother is in the kitchen. As I greet the family the neighbour's daughter leaves the flat, but the VCR is not switched off until much later. When it is switched off, Khazaana, a Hindi series on short stories, is on the air though hardly anyone is actually watching the screen.

We chat along most of the time; the children going in and out of the living room, little concerned about what's on the screen. The mother comes in to greet me, sits to talk for a while, hardly ever looking at the screen. When she does, she asks her husband what's going on. We talk about short stories in the Katha Saagar and other series that have been given a Goan background. She remarks on how these stories are often botched up. The father then gets up to serve us a drink. As he does so we talk about how cheap armed forces in India get their drinks, and other sundry matters. All along the set remains switched on: the mother returns to the kitchen to get lunch ready; the children have gone into their room to play, popping in and out of the living room as the desire takes them.

Now the cricket match against Australia is on; and we watch in between

our conversation; we discuss Gavaskar's controversial inclusion in the team; his stonewalling tactics; Kapil Dev as a cricket captain. On the screen, the Indian team's runs pile up ever so slowly thanks to Gavaskar's stonewalling pace. Every few minutes advertisements interrupt play to tell us who has sponsored 'this part of the programme'.

Lunchtime for the cricketers - and for us too. The set is switched off by father; mother and children join us for lunch. The TV set is switched on again just as play begins after the lunch break. The children don't watch the match at all. At around four they pick up their play-things and go down to play. They return when the match is over, and in time for Dada Dadi ki Kahani, a children's series of short stories, which they expect will be followed by Vikram aur Betaal, a serial based on the legendary exploits of King Vikramaditya and the mischievous spirit Betaal who tries and baits the king into answering profound questions in each episode. The kids watch the story with deep interest, hardly every taking their eyes off the screen. The boy is confused with the constant shift in scenes from the storyteller to the story, and the heavenly creatures comments on the earthlings as they float through the scenes as it were on a magic carpet. He asks his sister; she explains the situation in this tale of magic spells, spirits and princes and princesses. The boy describes the ugly villainous spirit as a 'female bhooth' (ghost), and we all join in the laughter. Sibling co-viewing, it is clear, 'mediates' comprehension and enjoyment of television in this family. Though she may not actually be the one to switch the TV on or off, it is the mother who decides when the children can watch the box, and also what they should be allowed to watch. This control of the TV switch is not resented by the husband, as I observed was the case in most of the families studied.

FAMILY VII

Family VII too could be said to belong to the 'upper income' rung of Indian society. The couple are in their early forties, with three boys aged 15, 12 and 10 respectively. The eldest boy goes to college in the city; the other boys are in an English-medium secondary school for boys. The husband is employed in 'private service' as an executive (with an average monthly income of around Rs. 2500); the wife has chosen to be a

full-time 'housewife' even though she is a graduate and was employed before marriage. They own a two-storeyed house in an affluent part of the suburbs. They have lived in the same house ever since their marriage around 18 years ago. This is a church-going Christian family closely involved in church-related activities. The language spoken at home is English, but there is knowledge of at least one Indian language. The children study two Indian languages in school.

This family owns a colour TV set, a record-player, a radio and a phone, but has no VCR. They have the use of a private company car and a driver on weekdays. The TV set is placed in the room where visitors are received. The room is fairly well-furnished with a sofa set, a coffee table and some settees. The dining room is independent of the two bedrooms and the visitors' room.

I watched an episode of Buniyaad with this family one weekday evening. The set was switched on by the 12-year old son just a few minutes before the episode began. The three children had already settled themselves on settees in front of the screen, the youngest and the eldest hardly five feet from the screen, the middle son a little behind the youngest. The father, a company executive, paid much attention to the advertisements that preceded the programme, but they did not appear to hold any interest for his sons. A little before the programme was about to start, the mother breezed in from the kitchen, asking me if I would mind waiting for dinner until the episode was over. She had come in specifically to watch Buniyaad. She sat on a piano stool next to the piano, just behind the eldest son's settee. The father and I sat on sofas behind them sipping drinks, and chatting occasionally.

The whole episode of about 20 minutes, interrupted only by a short commercial break was watched by everyone with intense interest. During the break, the mother went in quickly to the kitchen and the dining room, perhaps to put the finishing touches on the dinner, but returned in time for the second half of the episode. The episode itself dealt with the search of a father who could not be traced in any of the refugee camps opened in Northern India to receive the fleeing Hindu refugees from

Pakistan. The distraught mother is assured by her sons that father has not been killed; she herself lives on the hope that he lives somewhere. The search itself involves encounters with swamis and teachers, until the father's clothes appear to provide evidence that he has indeed been killed.

The family's viewing is concentrated, intense. There is little or no conversation among the children and the parents, or among the children themselves. During the break, the husband asks his wife about the movement of the narrative; who a certain character was and the implications of a certain incident. Apparently, the wife and the children followed every part of the episode quite effortlessly. The language of this family was English at home, but evidently they were exposed to a lot of Hindi outside the home; in school, college, and the marketplace. The family suffered in no way because of the partition; yet it seemed to identify easily with the depiction of what partition had done to a single Panjabi family.

The episode was followed by another commercial break, and then the national news in English came on. No one really listened to it, but no one cared to switch off the set, either. Soon, we were called in to dinner. In fact, the mother and the children left the room immediately after the episode and the concluding title and theme song came to an end. They did not wait to watch the national news in English. I did not observe any attempt to control the children's TV viewing on the part of the parents, but it was clear that the mother was in charge, since it was she helped the children with the homework and took up their lessons.

FAMILY VIII

A family of four, husband and wife in their late thirties, and two children: an 11 year old son and a six-year year old daughter. The children go to a private English-medium school. An uncle too lives with them in a small one-bedroom flat in a middle-class neighbourhood. They have lived here ever since their marriage. The husband is a graduate; the wife has studied up to High School but is now going to college. The husband is in 'private service' earning above Rs. 2,000 per month; the

wife, like most married women in Indian cities, has opted to be a 'housewife'. The two are from different religious and cultural backgrounds, speak English and two Indian languages at home,

They have a black and white TV set but intend to buy a colour set very soon. They also own a radio-cum-record-player. These, and their collection of records are to be seen in their living room, furnished with a dining table for six, a sofa set, and a divan.

I watch the national telecast with them on two evenings. The father watched the news in English with great interest and attention, while the mother watched only intermittently, since she was mostly busy with getting dinner ready, or entertaining guests (I was not the only one that evening). I observed that she hardly ever sat down. The children took a lot of interest in the Chitra Mala programme (a melange of song excerpts from films in different Indian languages) and the Katha Saagar story. The newscasts in Hindi and later in English did not appeal very greatly to them, though they did sit quietly through them. All the while, through the programmes and the news, conversation continued; this did not seem to hamper the viewing of television in any significant way. Nor did television viewing in any way interrupt the flow of conversation. The box was not switched off during the meal either. The wife served us at table, joining us at the table only after we had almost finished our meal. The TV set remained on till transmission closedown around 10.30.

I was with this family the following evening as well. The viewing behaviour was very similar to that of the previous evening. The television set was switched on all through the evening, with the children, the parents and the visitors watching occasionally, and conversing most of the time. The TV programmes appeared to serve as an audiovisual backdrop to the conversation. The elders watched the news in English with some interest but the children evidently enjoyed the Hindi serials and the advertisements much more. The parents exercised no control at all on the children's viewing. It must be added, though, that the majority of programmes on Doordarshan are suitable family fare; excessive violence and sex is rarely seen on the Indian TV screen except when Indian or foreign

feature films are shown.

10.10 Some Tentative Generalizations

This ethnographic study of eight families in India must be seen only as a limited exploratory study. No statistical significance can be attached to this small sample; no claims about the representative nature of the families are made. The discussion that follows must, therefore, be seen as tentative, until a more systematic field study is undertaken, with a larger number of families and over a longer period of time.

From our observations of eight families living in different parts of the country it is apparent that there are certain patterns in television viewing in a home and family environment. These patterns, however, are shaped by the structure of the family and the relationship among its members. Lull (1980a) speaks of 'concept-oriented' and 'socio-oriented' families as the main determining factor. Our observations lead us to speculate that family structure rather than psychological orientations are more meaningful and relevant in an Indian context.

The eight families with whom we watched television were distinctly different one from the other. Families II, VI and VII were 'nuclear' families, but in close touch with members of their 'extended' families living in their native places or elsewhere; Families I and VIII were 'joint' families though not as large as traditional families of the same structure; Family III a single-parent family, and Family IV a 'childless' family.

Interaction among members of a family while watching television depended on the structure of the family. We observed that the interaction was most lively and animated in the single-parent family (III) and the childless families (IV). In the single-parent family, father and grown-up daughter discussed the question of an unequal inter-communal marriage rather excitedly. Similarly, response to a quiz programme was animated in the childless family. The couple participated in the programme by guessing answers to the questions, and relishing its every moment. Our survey research suggests that quiz programmes are more popular among teachers and

parents than among High School students.

We also observed that there was very little conversation between parents and children in most of the eight families as they watched TV; among siblings, however, there were frequent exchanges especially when there was a large age-difference among them. The exchanges related mainly to explanations of the narrative. Our survey also came to a similar conclusion: there was little discussion about the media between students and their parents, but some discussion between students and their brothers and sisters.

Amount of Viewing

Where amount of viewing is concerned it appears that mothers in both 'nuclear' and 'joint' households watched the least, and children the most, with fathers watching mostly the news and discussions. The programmes liked most by adolescent children were dramatised short stories, film clips from popular Hindi films, and the Hindi serials. This is indicated also in our survey of High School students the majority of whom mentioned popular Hindi films and Hindi TV serials as their favourite viewing. The favourite programmes of the parents, especially the mothers, were very similar. The fathers did watch the serials but were not so enthusiastic about them. However, since choice of programme is limited because of a single channel and hours of programming are restricted, parents and children have often to watch whatever programme is screened at a convenient time; say, after homework is done, or before and after the evening meal. Evidently, meal times are changed slightly in some families, but in others the TV set remains on all through the evening, and meals are eaten during TV shows. Evidently, too, homework is finished before the popular programmes come on, as Narayanan (1987) found in her study of Bombay families.

Television has apparently come to be accepted as part of the routine of daily life. There is little evidence of children being 'glued' to television; of course they do evince a lot of interest when a programme they like is on, but not all programmes catch their attention. Since TV is still a novel medium of entertainment in urban Indian homes, the

interest has not yet worn thin. It has not upset the schedule of daily life very radically. Nor have the patterns of communication in family life been altered drastically. True, there is little conversation during an interesting serial in some families, but in most cases TV is watched in snatches, especially by the busy housewife. She is selective about what she watches, and what she allows her children to watch. She exercises greater control in selecting what her children watch if she happens to belong to a higher-income and higher social status family and is a working woman; she is more permissive if in a low-income family and not very highly educated herself.

SYNOPSIS

Certain distinct patterns in the students' and teachers' viewing experiences of cinema, video and television are apparent from an analysis of the survey data. The first is that no matter what the home language, the school type or the medium of instruction in school, Hindi films and programmes dominate the viewing experience of the greater majority of students and teachers. This is a pattern immediately discernible in the analysis of the respondents' spontaneous lists of favourite films and programmes seen on the big and the small screen. It is also discernible in the lists of film, video and TV genres most frequently watched and most liked. Foreign films and TV serials do not figure very prominently in the students' lists, except to some extent in the case of students from Catholic schools where the majority claimed to speak English at home, and to a less extent in the case of private English-medium students. Yet, even among these two groups, foreign films and foreign TV serials are ranked much lower than popular Hindi films and TV serials. Similarly, Municipal and private Marathi-medium students do watch and do like Marathi films and Marathi TV programmes, but not as much as Hindi films and TV serials.

The second distinct pattern that appears to emerge in the analysis above is that while students generally opt for light entertainment films and programmes, the teachers usually prefer the more serious. There are of course vital differences among various school types. While municipal

students, for instance, like family dramas, historicals and popular commercial films for viewing in the cinema and on video, private school students like thrillers, social comedies and kungfu films. Further, for municipal students the 'song' factor is much more influential in the selection of films, while for private school students it is largely the 'story' factor that is most influential.

A third trend that is noticeable is that for the majority of respondents the viewing of cinema, video and TV is 'usually' with the family, though 'guest-viewing' of video and TV at neighbours and friends' homes is fairly common too, especially among municipal school students.

Our ethnographic study of eight TV -owning families suggests that some measure of control is exercised by parents, especially the mothers. Not only is there control on what is watched, but also on when TV viewing takes place. During the actual viewing, there is little interaction between parents and children, but some exchanges between siblings on the programme being shown. It must be noted that, in general, interaction between parents and older children, especially between fathers and older children, is often formal and restricted in many Indian homes.

II.THE AUDIO MEDIA

This section examines the relevance of Western concepts like 'youth culture' and 'popular music' to the Indian cultural situation, and reports on what the students and teachers in our survey had to say about them. A brief account of the contemporary music scene in Bombay follows. The phenomenon of the Hindi film song which has dominated the music scene in the entire country is analysed next so as to place the massive popularity of film songs and film singers among the respondents in context. The section concludes with a close look at the respondents' listening patterns to the radio, and also at their spontaneous lists of favourite singers and favourite songs.

10.11 Concepts of 'Youth Culture' and 'Popular Music'

Few concepts have attracted Indian cultural thinkers in recent years as the concept of 'popular culture' (Ranade, 1984:50). This is equally applicable to the related concepts of 'youth culture' and 'popular music' which, like 'popular culture' have their roots in Western sociology (cf. Hall and Jefferson, 1975; Martin, 1981; Murdock, 1982; Frith, 1983; Brake, 1985; Chambers, 1986). 'Youth' and 'Youth Culture' are concepts that have their origin in socio-cultural and political developments in the United States and Britain in the 1950s and 1960s (Frith, 1983:18). They are traceable to the post-War boom, which gave rise to new patterns of leisure, family life, and social welfare in Western industrialized countries. For the first time in Britain, for instance, there were now working-class adolescents with considerable sums of money which they could legitimately spend on their own pleasures. The result was a distinctive culture and a specialized commodity and service market devoted to the leisure activities of youth - music, fashion, cosmetics, drink, bowling alleys, amusement parks and a segment of the car and motor-cycle trade (Martin, 1981:138)

Further, the movement for women's liberation expressed in the feminist movements in the West gave a new meaning to the concepts of 'youth' and 'youth culture'. In fact, the term 'youth' itself was usually applied to the middle-class young, particularly to the followers of the Beatles (ibid.). Working -class young in Britain, on the other hand, were 'teenagers' especially if they were the followers of Elvis Presley. The class distinctions of these two groups were quite marked. There was a clear distinction also between 'a culture largely based on working-class peer solidarity and the commercialized entertainment world, on the one hand, and the individualistic middle-class, high schools and the university career-systm on the other (Frith, 1983:182). Class-based distinctions were not so marked among young people in the United States. The term 'youth culture' was coined in the 1940s, and the notion of a youth culture itself is of recent origin (Murdock, 1982:73-74).

Indeed, Murdock (ibid.) questions the validity of the concept of 'youth

culture' even in the context of British youth experience.The rediscovery of class inequalities, he argues, has revealed the bankruptcy of the 'youth culture theory', and though it has retained a certain currency in academic discussions an increasing number of commentators and researchers recognize the need to restore class to the centre of the sociology of youth. In fact, British sociologists have in recent years abandoned the use of these concepts of 'youth' and 'youth culture' because they tend to gloss over class differences.

The Indian Situation

There has been no Western-type cultural or counter-cultural movement among school and college youth in India, based on class distinctions, on music, or on particular life-styles. Indian adolescents even in large metropolitan areas have never had much money of their own to spend on leisure activities, or to take up new life-styles. They remain dependent on their parents and relatives long after they have left High School and college. Indeed, the majority remain close to their parents and relatives as long as they live. The break that one observes between parents and adolescents in Western societies is not the norm in India. Indeed, the period of adolescence is perhaps not as traumatic or competitive for Indian youth as it is in Western societies where individualism and economic independence are cherished values. Further, the 'generation gap' that exists between parents and adolescents in the West is not as wide between Indian parents and their children. As the evidence of our survey demonstrates, parents, teachers and High School students have some tastes in the media that are common to all three groups. The commercial Hindi film and the Hindi television serial, for instance, are liked by young and old alike.

High Schools, colleges and universities in India have known student protests but they have been related to political and economic rather than cultural issues. For instance, student movements in West Bengal, in Gujarat, Panjab and other States have been inspired by political rather than cultural demands. The Naxalite movement in West Bengal, Andhra and some other States of India, had its basis in Chairman Mao Zedong's Red

Book, and in Gujarat the youth uprising was aimed at the Congress government in the State, and during recent years, at the system of reservation which favours lower-caste students. In the Panjab, young activists in the Khalistan movement have taken to terrrorism in their struggle for an autonomous Panjabi State. Studies of Indian youth (Mehta, 1971; Gore, 1977) rarely take High School students and their socio-cultural background into account; the focus generally is on college-going youth.

10.12 Students' Views on 'Youth Culture' and 'Pop Music'

The three groups of respondents in our survey - High School students, teachers and parents- were asked whether they agreed fully or moderately or disagreed with these two statements on youth:

1. There is no such thing as Youth Culture in India.
2. Pop Music expresses the mood of young people in India.

The objective was to get their views on the two subjects. Preliminary discussion at an informal level with some students and teachers suggested that both the terms 'youth culture' and 'pop music' did not have the connotations they possessed in the West. Youth culture, we learned, would generally be understood loosely as the fondness of young people (especially fairly well-off educated youth) of going to the pictures, to parties or to discos, or of taking part in strikes, and of listening to Western pop music. Similarly, the term 'pop music' would have different connotations for students, teachers and parents from different backgrounds. Where English is spoken at home and at school, and where assimilation of Western culture is widespread. 'pop music' would obviously have connotations similar to those in the West, though without the class and bohemian life-style orientations. However, for the majority of students who speak Marathi or any other Indian language at home and at school, the term 'pop music' would mean Hindi film music. The Hindi film song laced with a disco or any foreign beat would be described as 'pop music' by such groups. Indeed, 'popular music in India is synonomous with Hindi film music' (Joshi, 1982).

A higher percentage of students agreed fully with the second than with the first statement. Only 52.9% agreed fully with the first statement; whereas 70.1% of those who responded agreed fully with the second. There was only a slight difference among students of the four school types. Students of all school types tended to agree more with the second than the first statement.

Table 82. Students' Views on 'Youth Culture' and 'Pop Music'

Statement No.	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
AGREE WITH					
1. Youth Culture	55.4	53.2	50.0	58.7	52.9
2. Pop Music	67.4	71.4	70.1	65.9	70.1

The teachers in the sample too tended to agree more with the statement on 'Pop Music' than with the one on 'Youth Culture'. As many as 65.4% of the teachers agreed fully with the second compared to 55.9% agreeing with the first.

Table 83. Teachers' Views on 'Youth Culture' and 'Pop Music'

Statement No.	Trainee n=49 %	Municipal n=29 %	Catholic n=56 %	English n=42 %	Marathi n=12 %	Total n=188 %
AGREE WITH						
1.Youth Culture	44.9	62.1	64.3	54.0	50.0	55.9
2.Pop Music	87.8	37.9	64.3	69.0	33.3	65.4

Among the parents, 18% fully agreed with the statement that pop music expresses the mood of young people in India, and 32% agreed with it

moderately. Regarding the statement on 'youth culture', 18% agreed fully, and 40% moderately. The parents are almost equally divided on both issues, while among the students and teachers there is a clear majority agreement that pop music expresses the mood of young people, and also with the view that there is no such thing as youth culture in India.

10.13 The Recorded Music Scene in Bombay

This researcher spoke to the managers of two record and cassette dealers in Bombay in April 1986, to investigate the extent of sales of records/cassettes in Bombay. Both managers were agreed that 'Wham' and 'Dire Straits' recorded the highest sales among the foreign groups in Greater Bombay at the time. Wham's 'Make it Big', for instance, sold 500 records/cassettes since December 1985, while 'Dire Straits' Brothers in Arms sold around 20-300 during the previous three months at one of the Bombay outlets. Bruce Springstein's 'Born in the USA' too had done well, according to one manager, with 400 records/cassettes sold since December 1985. Other current top sellers in Bombay city included Stevie Wonder's 'In a Square Circle','Big Chair' and 'Tears for Fears'. Bob Geldoff's 'We are the World' also did well, around 500 during the previous five months. A steady seller through the years has been Cliff Richard, around 40 - 50 cassettes per month.

Among the Indian steady sellers are Pankaj Mullick and Kundanlal Sehgal. In recent months ghazal singers have reached the top of the charts. Pankaj Udas, Anup Jalota, Jagjit and Chitra Singh. Udas has had eight albums to his credit and each sells at about 100 per month, especially among the older generation. His last album 'Nayak' has sold 500-600 copies during the last five months. Film songs that have proved most popular have been those from Ram Teri Ganga Maili and Saagar. According to the manager of Rhythm House, they were the biggest sellers of 1985. Two to three thousand copies of each have been sold since first released.

As for classical music which younger people are now getting interested in, according to the manager, Bismillah Khan and Shiv Kumar Sharma were the musicians most liked. Folk songs did not appear to be very popular.

10.14 The Indian Film Song

The Indian film song is at the core of the new popular cultures that are now emerging in the sub-continent, especially in urban areas. Songs dominate the commercial cinema in all Indian languages as they have indeed done since the first talkies in Hindustani in the early 'thirties. On an average, ten film songs are written, composed, sung and recorded every day for six days of the week the whole year through. Another five a day are put on cassette or disc as non-film songs which are not very different from film songs (Chandavarkar, 1985:245). But it is the Hindi film song due to the continuing and ever-increasing cross-fertilization between films of various Indian languages that has cast its spell on the regional language film songs too (Siquiera, 1987). Nothing since the Bhakti movement of the tenth to the fifteenth centuries has had such impact on the life of the common man in India. Nothing in our culture is more hybridized. Nothing is perhaps as shallow and yet produced in such large quantity. And yet nothing is lapped up more greedily by the public (Chandavarkar, 1985:245). Ranade (1984:61) terms the film songs 'synthetic versions of all folk manifestations including musical ones.. vulgarly saturated with sound, studded with cliche-embellishment, and embedded in grossly imitative orchestration'. He attributes this to the dominance of the mass media such as the cinema and radio. His explanation of the dominance of songs in Indian films is that 'the Indian cinematic impulse is congenitally bound with music' since mythology from the early years of Indian cinema provided the chief source of thematic content, and music is invariably employed to establish links with the supernatural, Further, since Indian music is primarily vocal, Indian films came to be dependent on songs (Ranade, 1984:70).

The film song writer in India uses folk idiom, trusted and tried tenets of classical music such as raga-tala concepts, scales, and sounds that have been used in our culture for a long time (Chandavarkar, 1985:249). But he (there are hardly any women song writers) also experiments with non-Indian concepts. According to Siquiera (1987:127), Hindi film music is a combination of Indian classical ragas and American jazz rhythms, or American tunes played to Indian rhythms on the tabla. Barnouw and Krishnaswamy (1980:157) go further in arguing that this 'hybrid music'

borrows from American jazz and Latin American rhythms. Satyajit Ray, the widely acclaimed Indian film director, desists from the film song in his oeuvre, but is struck by the tunes and the orchestration of popular Indian film songs. They first embrace, he observes, all possible musical idioms - classical, folk, Negro, Greek, Panjabi, Cha-cha, or anything you can think of from any part of the world... and show a brashness and verve in the combination of instruments and a feeling for tonal colour and contrast which call for high praise. And the main thing is that it all makes sense (Ray, 1983:75). The Indian film song arouses such passionate and extreme views among musicologists and film-makers because of its inexplicable popularity throughout the length and breadth of the land, and beyond. It is a phenomenon which few can make any sense of.

Song Types

Before the arrival of Western music on the scene, Indian music directors drew largely from native traditions, such as classical Hindusthani music and folk music of different regions of India (Arora, 1987:149). Hindusthani music was introduced into South India by touring Parsi and Marathi drama troupes in the middle of the last century, and popularised by the local 'drama companies' (Bhaskaran, 1982:19). The religious bias in Indian classical and semi-classical music is perhaps traceable to the temple-origins of popular music and dance. In the nineteenth century, however, these temple songs and dances moved to the courts of rajahs and nawabs, and in the process became secularized. So we have film songs of the 'kotha' (court) variety such as kajri, thumri, dadra, khayal, and the ghazal, which are a cross between two traditions: Hindusthani classical music and 'shringar rasa' (romantic melody) and further corrupted by the demands of rich people without taste (Arora, 1987:153). A second variety is the quwali, born out of the interaction of two traditions - the Sufi tradition of the Muslims and the 'bhakti rasa' of the Hindus (ibid.). Then there are numerous patriotic songs which go back to the British raj when poets such as Rabindranath Tagore, Jogindranath Sarkar and Subramanya Bharathi expressed their longing for a country free from the foreign yoke (Arora, 1987:163; Bhaskaran, 1981:47).

In the early 'eighties, the Indian film song came under the spell of the

the 'disco fever' which was popularized in the country by Biddu and Nazia Hassan. Ten songs by them sold 100,000 records on the first day, thus establishing a record (Joshi, 1982:625). But by the mid-'eighties the urban audiences seem to have turned away from big orchestration, big sound and banal lyrics to cool, soft, and the quiet virtuosity of ghazal singing (Chandavarkar, 1985:251). The romantic ghazal, however, does not fit into the pace and rhythm of commercial cinema, and therefore is not likely to oust the more lively beat of the ever-changing, ever fresh film music, as this survey of Greater Bombay's High School students and teachers demonstrates.

In a recent study of music listening patterns among the school and college-going youth (aged 16-17 years) in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, Reddi (1985:377) found that exposure to music is mainly in the home, over the radio and on audio-cassettes. 59% of Reddi's respondents said they 'liked the rhythms of rock n' roll -Indian style (disco music)'. They preferred popular Indian music to Western music which, according to Reddi (ibid.), appears to be preferred by youth from the upper-class homes, mostly where English is spoken. The majority of students like to listen to film songs on radio and on television.

10.15 Students' Radio listening Patterns

About 35% of All India Radio and Vividh Bharati's air time is devoted to music. News and information programmes take up another one-fourth of air time. Sports, quiz programmes, plays and special programmes for women, youth and children make up the remaining 40% of air time.The Indian Institute of Public Opinion, New Delhi, found in a recent survey that 76% of radio listeners turned on the radio primarily to listen to film music (Quoted in Ghorpade, 1986:15).

Only 30.5% of the 1051 students in our sample from Greater Bombay reported that they spend some time listening to the radio now. On average, they listen to the radio about 4.3 hours a week. Municipal school students are the main listeners to the radio. They spend 7.4 hours per week on listening to the radio whereas students from Catholic schools and private English schools listen for 3.2 and 4.2 hours per week respectively.

Private Marathi-medium students state they give 3.6 hours per week to the radio. Further, Municipal students listen to as little radio on weekdays as on weekends, but for private school students in Catholic, English and Marathi-medium schools listening to the radio loses in importance over the weekends. Teachers and parents in the sample also spend more time with television than with radio during weekends. The teachers in our sample stated that on average they listened to the radio for 4.9 hours a week, i.e. about 0.7 hours per day. Teachers in private schools, especially in English-medium schools listened to the radio for less than an hour a day, while municipal school teachers tuned in for a little over an hour a day. Parents, on the other hand, switched on the radio for on average a little more than half hour every day.

What are the kinds of radio programmes frequently listened to and liked by students and teachers, and which are the factors determining their selection of programmes? The questionnaire asked students and teachers to name their favourite radio programmes, the programme genres they watched most, and the radio stations they liked listening to most. The first question was open-ended, but the others were closed with a list of programme genres and names of radio stations provided.

Favourite Radio Stations

Vividh Bharati is clearly the network more widely listened to than either the national or the regional services of AIR. 48.9% of the Municipal students stated they listened to Vividh Bharati at least 'sometimes'. In contrast, only 28.8% reported they liked the channel 'a lot' or 'moderately'. The national service ranked next among Municipal students with 41.3% tuning into it 'often' or 'sometimes', and 44% saying they liked it at least 'moderately'. 35.3% of the Municipal school students ranked the regional service third in their list of preferences, 44% reporting they liked the service at least 'moderately'. Students from the private schools reported much less listening frequency and much less liking for the three Indian radio channels. The difference between the Municipal and the private school students in the matter of listening frequency and liking for the services is significant ('p' less than 0.05, according to the Scheffe Test.

Among the overseas channels, the BBC and Radio Sri Lanka (formerly Radio Ceylon) are the most popular, particularly among Municipal students. 21.2% of students from municipal schools said they listened to Radio Sri Lanka 'often' or 'sometimes', 16.3% said they listened to the BBC (most probably the Hindi service), since the BBC does not have a Marathi service. It is also likely that they switched on occasionally to the BBC's World Service's English broadcasts as both English and Hindi services are available daily on medium-wave at convenient hours. 22.8% stated they liked both these overseas stations. Less than 15% of private school youth switch on to the BBC or Radio Sri Lanka, though the latter has excellent Hindi and English pop music programmes. Less than 10% of students from all school types switched on to the other overseas radio stations easily available in Greater Bombay: Voice of America, Radio Moscow, Radio Pakistan and FEBA (Seychelles).

Favourite Radio Genres

Listening to the radio is a more regular activity among Municipal school students than among their fellow-students in private schools. In Chapter 9 we saw that a small percentage of Municipal students owned TV and video sets, and a smaller percentage audio-cassette recorders, but over half of them possessed radio/transistor radio sets. Hindi film songs on Vividh Bharati, the commercial radio network, news and current affairs on All India Radio, the national hook-up, and sports are the top three programmes where listening frequency and preference are concerned. Devotional music, which can be heard every morning on the national and regional channels of All India Radio, is also listened to 'often' or 'sometimes' by 46.7% of Municipal students, but by less than 15% of students from each of the private schools. It is ironical that over 85% of students in private schools own radio/transistor sets but rarely switch them on. If they do at so at all, it is to listen to Hindi film songs on the commercial service, or to sports commentaries on All India Radio. AIR's programmes for schools put out on weekday afternoons are listened to 'often' or 'sometimes' by 41.3% of the Municipal students, but by less than 15% students in each of the private schools. Some Municipal schools are provided radio receivers and generally make provisions in the time-table for listening to the schools programmes, but private schools generally do not provide for such

a facility. Yuv Vani (Voice of Youth), the programme for youth is switched on to by 35.3% of Municipal students, but by less than 15% of private school students.

Table 84. Radio Genres 'Often' or 'Sometimes' Listened to by Students

Radio Genres	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
1. Hindi Film Songs (VB)	59.8	20.2	25.2	19.6	28.6
2. Sponsored Programmes	51.1	18.2	22.7	19.6	25.4
3. Sports	51.6	15.4	20.2	15.2	23.2
4. Quiz	35.3	16.0	19.3	19.6	20.6
5. News & Current Affairs	53.3	11.1	15.0	17.4	20.0
6. Request Music (VB)	35.3	12.9	17.8	13.0	18.4
7. Schools	41.3	11.5	14.7	13.0	17.8
8. Radio Features	43.5	9.9	13.5	15.2	17.1
9. Devotional Music	46.7	8.7	11.0	13.0	16.3
10.Regional Film Songs(VB)	35.9	8.7	12.3	10.9	14.7
11.National Prog.of Music	30.4	10.3	13.2	4.3	14.5

Hindi film music programmes are listened to 'often' or 'sometimes' by more than fifty per cent of students in municipal schools. Regional film music (of Maharashtra, in this case), even among Marathi-speaking students does not get as much attention as Hindi film music. Request programmes in English (e.g. 'Saturday Date' broadcast by the Bombay station every week) have fewer than 15% students tuning in, even from Catholic and other private English-medium schools. Western classical music too, which the Bombay station puts out regularly every afternoon and late evening gets hardly any student listeners. In all the radio genres listed in the above table (the percentages represent the categories 'often' and 'sometimes' collapsed) there is a significant difference between the frequency with which municipal and private school students listen to the radio ('p' less than 0.05, according to the Chi-square Test). When students were asked to

name three of their favourite radio programmes in an open-ended question, sponsored programmes on Vividh Bharati were listed by 39.9% of all students, followed by request programmes (15.7%) and sports programmes (6.7%).

10.16 Teachers' Radio Listening Patterns

Among the teachers too, the response to the questions on radio was poor in comparison to their response to the sections of cinema, video and television. There was no striking difference between the listening patterns of municipal and private school teachers. A greater percentage of teachers (34.6) listened to the regional stations of All India Radio than to Vividh Bharati (29.3%), or to the national service (23.9%). Where preference was concerned, however, 71.3% stated they liked the national service whereas only 39.4% liked Vividh Bharati, and only 20.7% liked the regional service. This is futher evidence that what one listens to most frequently is not necessarily what one likes most.

The BBC's World Service is the overseas channel most tuned in to (23.9%) and also the most liked (26.1%) by teachers. Radio Sri Lanka is switched on to by 9% of teachers but liked by 19.7%. Other overseas stations get short shrift from Bombay's secondary school teachers.

The teachers' favourite radio genres are in order of preference: sponsored programmes (20.3%), request programmes (12.7%) and news (10.3%). The factors that determine their selection of radio programmes include 'type of programme' (26.8%), 'convenient time' (26.6%), and 'mood at the time' (14.2%). Fewer than 50% of the 50 parents in the sample responded to the section on radio. It appears that parents, like the teachers and the students spend very little time listening to the radio.

10.17 Students' Favourite Film Singers and Film Songs

Hindi film songs were at the top of the radio listening charts of students and teachers. They were also at the top where listening to music on audio-cassettes or record-players was concerned. It must be noted that film songs are important influential factors in the selection of films to watch in the cinema theatre or on video.

In an open-ended question, the questionnaire asked students, teachers and parents in the sample to write down their three favourite singers and three favourite songs. The greater majority of singers and songs listed were associated with the Indian cinema, and in particular the Hindi cinema. So numerous were the songs (from Hindi, Marathi, English and other Indian languages) that simple categorization genre or theme-wise was out of the question. It was decided, therefore, to classify the songs language-wise since our main purpose was to investigate the difference in musical tastes between students of four school types: two receiving instruction in Marathi, and two in English.

Table 85. Students' Favourite Singers

Singers	Municipal n=178 %	Catholic n=435 %	English n=297 %	Marathi n=44 %	Total n=954 %
1. Lata Mangeshkar	27.2	18.5	21.4	23.5	21.2
2. Kishore Kumar	16.3	13.2	16.9	12.9	14.9
3. Mohd. Rafi	10.9	9.8	11.0	14.4	10.6
4. English Singers	0.0	18.2	6.4	0.0	10.3
5. Asha Bhosale	12.7	8.3	9.9	12.1	9.8
6. Mukesh	6.2	4.1	4.9	4.5	4.8

The medium of instruction apparently did not have much of an influence in shaping the musical tastes of students, for no matter which school type they attended, Hindi film songs and singers were rated as favourite. For instance, the home language and the medium of instruction of municipal students is Marathi, but few of these students named Marathi singers and songs as the ones they liked best. Not a single municipal student, though, named an English singer (whether local or from overseas) or an English song in his/her list of favourites. A small number (2.6%) of students from the private Marathi-medium school in our sample named English songs among their three favourite songs. Students from private English schools too named Hindi film singers and songs among their

favourites much more than English or Marathi singers and songs. Hardly any of these students named a Marathi singer or song in their list of favourites although the majority are Marathi-speaking. English songs were on the favourite list of 40.4% of the students from Catholic schools, and of 22% of the students from other private English-medium schools. Some of the overseas English singers listed were Michael Jackson, Stevie Wonder, and Cliff Richard.

Table 86. Students' Favourite Songs

Songs	Municipal n=165 %	Catholic n=369 %	English n=266 %	Marathi n=38 %	Total n=838 %
1. Hindi Songs	81.4	55.1	74.6	74.6	67.3
2. English Songs	0.0	40.4	22.0	2.6	24.9
3. Marathi Songs	12.9	0.0	0.1	18.4	3.4
4. South Indian	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
5. Others	5.5	4.4	3.4	6.4	4.3

10.18 Teachers' and Parents' Favourite Singers and Songs

For both teachers and parents too Lata Mangeshkar is at the top of their chart of favourite singers. 15.3% of the teachers and 19.2% of the parents in the sample rank her as their favourite singer. Asha Bhosale ranks as the second favourite singer for the teachers (6.6%) but only as the fourth for parents. Parents ranked Mohommed Rafi and Mukesh above Asha Bhosale. 13.3% of the 50 parents in the sample rank Rafi as their second favourite singer, and Mukesh the third. For teachers, on the other hand, Kishore Kumar is the third favourite, and Rafi the fourth. The only Marathi singer to figure in the students' and teachers' list of favourites was Sudhir Phadke.

The response from teachers on the subject of favourite songs was 43.3%. Of the 81 teachers in our sample, 28.4% said that Hindi film songs were

their favourite songs. English songs were mentioned by 38.8% of the teachers in their lists of favourite songs, but the majority of these (65.8%) were teachers from Catholic schools. Only 6.4% of the teachers listed Marathi songs as one of their three favourite songs; more than 90% of these were municipal school teachers. 1.6% of the teachers responding listed South Indian songs as their favourites. Among parents, 19.2% named overseas English singers as their favourite singers. Michael Jackson, Stevie Wonder, and Jim Reeves were some of the singers on their lists.

SYNOPSIS

Concepts like 'popular culture', 'youth culture', and 'popular music' have their roots in the socio-cultural experience of youth in Western countries They need to be redefined in the Indian cultural context if they are to have any meaning here. The concepts and the terms have differing connotations for young people from various home and school backgrounds as we gathered from our informal discussions with both students and teachers. In our study, students and teachers were generally agreed that 'pop music' expresses the mood of young people, but were not so sure that there was such a phenomenon as 'youth culture' in India. However, most students and teachers seem to have taken popular Hindi film music to be 'pop music', not the music of Western pop groups. Students across the four school types listen to and like Hindi film songs and singers. Even students from Catholic schools and private English-medium schools rated Hindi film singers and Hindi film songs as their favourites, though not as high as students from the municipal and private Marathi-medium schools. No English singers or songs figure in the list of favourites among municipal students, just as no Marathi singers or songs figure in the lists of favourites among students from Catholic schools. British and American songs and singers figure conspicuously as favourites in the lists of students from Catholic schools, and less conspicuously in the lists of students from private English-medium schools. Over a third of the teachers in Catholic schools named English songs and singers as their favourites; the majority who did so were Catholic/Christian teachers. But they listened to Hindi songs as well. The small sample of parents were almost equally divided in their preference for Hindi and English songs and singers.

III.THE PRINT MEDIA: NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND COMICS

This section investigates the reading interests and preferences of Greater Bombay's High School students and their parents and teachers in newspapers, magazines, and comics with a view to discovering patterns in the respondents' use of these three types of publications.

10. 19 The Press in Bombay

Maharashtra has the highest circulation of dailies and periodicals in India. With more than 166 daily newspapers, 226 weeklies, 10 bi-weeklies and tri-weeklies, 942 monthlies, 38 quarterlies and 113 annual issues, the State which enjoys a literacy of 45%, second only to that of Kerala, the circulation of dailies runs to 2,384,000, and of all periodicals to 86,51,000 (Naik, 1984). Greater Bombay, the capital, has the highest number of newspapers, around 1,330. The English press has a greater prestige value than the local Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi press which has a far wider readership. The latter tends to depend upon English dailies and periodicals for obtaining economic news and commentary for their readers (Ibid.). The Marathi papers with the highest circulation figures are those that run as sister publications of English dailies. The Loksatta, Maharashtra Times and Navshakti fall into this category. Next in importance is the Kirloskar group of magazines, which publishes titles such as Kirloskar, Stree, and Manohar. These three cater exclusively to the interests of men, women and youth respectively. Other popular women's magazines are Lalana, Maher Manini and Savasani. Among the general interest magazines in Marathi are Vasudha, Maneka, Prapanch, Rupa, Mohini, Ragini, Sobat, Deeplakshmi, Prasad, and Navyug, and among the popular dailies are Kesari, Mahratta, and Sakaal (Naik, 1984).

The Times of India, the Indian Express, the Free Press Journal, and The Daily are the main morning English papers published in Greater Bombay. The evening papers include Midday, Evening News, Free Press Bulletin, and the Afternoon Dispatch and Courier. Among the general interest magazines are Bombay, the Illustrated Weekly of India, India Today and a host of others. Numerous film magazines compete for readership, though the most popular are Filmfare, Screen, and Cine-Blitz. There are few English

magazines for children and youth published in Bombay. Among the sports journals are Sportstar, Sportsworld and Sportsweek, and the Marathi Kreedangan.

10.20 Bombay Students' Reading Interests

Reading habits of High School students in India have not been widely surveyed or researched, possibly because students as a group possess little purchasing power. The National Readership Surveys which are carried out periodically by a marketing agency, concern themselves mainly with literate adults. An early study of 192 High School students of Lucknow and Moradabad found that the overwhelming majority selected fiction for the kind of books they most liked to read (Slater, 1965). The reasons the students gave for their choice of two books they liked most were their interest in the title, the subject, the author, a new subject and that they were recommended (ibid.). Most other studies of students' reading patterns have focused on college and university students (Patil, 1985; Yadava, 1979; Reddi, 1984).

The three groups of students, teachers and parents in our sample affirmed that reading was an important free time activity for them. The majority of students, teachers and parents also affirmed that they were 'regular' or 'occasional' readers of newspapers and magazines.

62.1% of the total sample of 1,051 students said they read newspapers 'regularly', and 22.8% 'occasionally'; only 15.2% reported that they 'rarely' or 'never' read newspapers. There was no significant difference (according to the Scheffe and Chi-Square tests) between the reading frequency of students in different school types, or between boys and girls. When, in an open-ended question, the students were asked to name the paper they read regularly, the newspaper that was mentioned by most English-medium students was found to be The Times of India, and that of the Marathi-medium students the Marathi paper, Loksatta. The Indian Express and the Maharashtra Times (Marathi), were next in popularity. The other dailies in English, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi were mentioned by less than five percent of the students.

Table 87. Newspapers Read 'Regularly' by Students

Newspapers	Municipal n=179 %	Catholic n=462 %	English n=303 %	Marathi n=42 %	Total n=986 %
1. Times of India	0.6	61.9	60.1	4.8	47.8
2. Loksatta (Mar.)	70.4	0.9	1.7	64.3	16.4
3. Indian Express	0.0	13.6	18.8	4.8	12.4
4. Mah. Times (Mar.)	14.0	1.5	3.3	21.4	5.2
5. The Daily	0.0	9.5	2.3	2.4	5.3
6. Midday	0.0	7.4	3.0	0.0	4.4

The pattern of students from the private English-medium schools reading English papers and those from Marathi-medium schools reading local Marathi papers is to be found in the case of teachers too. Teachers from the private English schools were 'regular' readers of the Times of India and the Indian Express whereas teachers from the municipal and the private Marathi-medium schools were 'regular' readers of the Maharashtra Times and the Loksatta. 62.8% of the teachers said they read the Times of India, 11.7% the Indian Express. Teacher-trainees in the sample also read the same two English dailies published in Bombay. Municipal school teachers, however, read the Maharashtra Times which had a readership of 10.6% among the entire sample of 188 teachers. Each of the other English, Hindi and Marathi dailies were mentioned by less than 10 teachers. Among the parents, the Times of India was read by 79.6%, the Indian Express by 8.2% and the Maharashtra Times by 8.2%. The rest said they read the Daily or the Navbharat Times (Hindi) regularly.

10.21 Preference for Newspaper and Magazine Topics

Among the least liked items in newspapers and magazines by students are: editorials, regional/local politics, advice columns, business and commerce, and astrology. Advertisements appear to be more liked than news about national or international events or celebrities, and even letters to the editor. The private lives of famous people is liked by 68.7% of

students. There is no significant difference ('p' less than 0.05, using the Chi-Square Test) among the students of the four school types when it comes to cartoons, advertisements, TV columns, though there is in the case of film reviews, sports, and regional and national politics. Municipal school children, for instance, rate comic strips and sports higher than private school students. Besides, municipal school students have a greater interest in reading about national and international politics, and also interviews than students of private schools. It is evident that students of municipal and private Marathi-medium school share many a common interest, and so do students from the two types of private English-medium schools.

Table 88. Newspaper Items Liked by Students

Topics	Municipal n=188 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1050 %
1. Comic Strips	94.0	83.0	85.0	82.6	85.5
2. Cartoons	80.4	84.0	85.3	84.8	83.8
3. Sports	92.4	80.8	81.6	82.6	83.2
4. TV Columns	83.7	79.8	79.4	76.1	80.2
5. Film Reviews	89.7	74.3	76.1	65.2	77.2
6. Advertisements	72.8	69.1	69.3	69.6	69.8
7. Accidents	67.9	67.1	73.9	71.7	69.6
8. Humour Columns	90.8	63.0	64.1	87.0	69.3
9. Private Lives	67.4	67.9	70.6	69.6	68.7
10.Interviews	89.7	64.6	61.7	65.2	68.1

Table 88 suggests that there are more students who like to read comic strips, cartoons, TV and film review columns, advertisements, humour columns and sports news than those who like to read about local, regional, national or international politics, or about business and commerce. Among the topics liked by the least number of students were: editorials, advice and astrology columns. There was a significant difference ('p' less

than 0.01, according to the Chi-Square Test) between the school types for topics like comic strips, humour columns, interviews, and film reviews. The percentages for the above table were obtained by collapsing the two variables 'like a lot' and 'like moderately'.

Teachers appear to have very similar interests to their students in High School, where newspaper items are concerned. The majority of teachers liked 'a lot' or 'moderately' the following items: cartoons (79.3%), national politics (78.2%), comic strips (75%), humour columns (75%), advertisements (70.7%), international politics (70.7%), TV columns (69.7%), film reviews (69.7%), editorials (68.1%) and letters to the editor (68.1%). Thus, the majority of teachers and students like to read comic strips, cartoons, humour columns, film and TV reviews, sports and advertisements. The main difference in their reading interests is in the area of 'hard' news about regional, national and international politics - 'an area which dominates the English press rather than the Indian language press' (Eapen and Rao, 1984).

10.22 Factors Influencing Selection of Newspapers

Among the majority of students, the major factor that influened the choice of newspapers to read (few students would have the wherewithal to buy their own newspapers and magazines) was 'interesting articles'. The 'reputation' of the paper was considered influential by 12.6% of the students and the 'quality of paper' by 12.2%. Among teachers too, the main determining factor for reading newspapers and magazines was 'interesting articles' (28.3%), followed far behind by the paper's 'reputation' (15.3%) and its 'availability' (13.1%). 'Interesting articles' was the primary factor in the selection of newspapers and magazines among 27.1% of the small sample of parents as well, followed by the paper's 'reputation' (20.2%), 'availability' (8.5%) and the name of the editor (8.5%). Cost as a determining factor in the choice of newspapers and magazines was mentioned only by 7.8% of the parents.

10.24 The Interest in Magazines

Of the 984 students who responded to the question on their magazine reading habits, 27.7% stated they read magazines 'regularly' and 45.5%

read 'occasionally'. More than a quarter (26.7%) said they 'rarely' or 'never' read magazines. There are more 'regular' readers of magazines among students of the private English and Marathi-medium schools than among those from municipal and Catholic schools. While 32.3% of the private English-medium students and 32.5% of the private Marathi students read magazines 'regularly', only 26% and 25% from the municipal and Catholic schools respectively, read magazines with the same frequency.

The students' favourite magazines were film magazines (24.8%), followed by general interest English magazines (20.8%). Children's magazines in Marathi were named favourites by 11.8% of students, and general interest Marathi magazines by 10% of the students, particularly those from municipal schools. There was no significant difference here between boys and girls. Sportstar, an English sports weekly was the favourite magazine of a bare 8.7% (mostly boys) of the 823 students who responded to an open-ended request to name their favourite magazines.

Teachers appeared to be more avid readers of magazines than their students. Fifty per cent of the teachers reported they read magazines 'regularly', 38% 'occasionally', and 8% 'rarely' or 'never'. The rest (4%) did not respond. Further, 71.8% of the teachers, most of them (82.1%) from Catholic schools, said they read English newspapers and magazines. But only 34.5% of the municipal teachers said they read English dailies and magazines. A similar percentage of municipal teachers read the Marathi press. All told, however, few teachers (14.4%) read Indian language newspapers and magazines.

The teachers' favourite magazines were women's magazines in English (47.1%), followed by general interest magazines in English (21.9%) and English film magazines (11.8%). Marathi women's and general interest magazines were read by 7.5% of teachers, mainly those from municipal and Marathi-medium schools. There were hardly any readers among teachers of Hindi and regional language magazines. The 50 parents in the sample were divided in their readership of magazines. Half the parents said they read general interest magazines in English, 22.7% read women's magazines, and 20.5% English film magazines. The rest said they read sports magazines.

10.24 The Interest in Comics

India has been a regular importer of comics from the United States and other Western countries since pre-Independence times. Most Indian newspapers and magazines carry comics in serial form in each of their issues. Comic strips and comic books such as Dennis the Menace, Archie, Asterix, Tin Tin, Iodine, and Bringing up Father are sold and circulated widely in almost every major Indian city. Local 'circulating libraries' and bookshops are the primary sources of comic books for Greater Bombay's children. The Times of India publishing group has acquired the rights for reprinting Phantom and Tarzan in their Indrajal Comics series, published in several Indian languages. India Book House, Bombay, has over the past decade or so been publishing popular comics versions of the lives of great men and women, and on Indian mythology. Their comics series is known as the Amar Chitra Katha (Eternal Tales in Pictures) series, and are like the Indrajal series translated into various Indian languages. The circulation of both the series runs into several thousands across the country. Other series include Star and Diamond.

The Amar Chitra Katha series has come in for much criticism. A content-analysis of the series suggests that they are sexist, communal and casteist. They perpetuate, according to one study, the Aryan myth that heroes are fair and handsome, the villains are dark and snub-featured. The Indian Federation of University Women's Association did a content-analysis of 67 comics in the series and came to almost similar conclusions (Vaz, 1984).

10.26 Reading Patterns of Comics among Bombay students

Greater Bombay's High School students are fairly regular readers of comics. 32.3% of the students in the total sample said they read comics 'regularly', 45.7% 'occasionally', while only 22% said they 'rarely' or 'never' read any comics. A higher percentage of students in the private schools were 'regular' readers compared to that in municipal schools. The highest percentage of 'regular' comics readers was from Catholic schools (37.4%), followed by students in private English-medium schools (36.2%). A bare 19% and 14.5% of Marathi-medium students from private and municipal schools respectively read comics 'regularly'. There were more

'regular' readers of comics among boys than among girls in the sample: 33.6% of the 538 boys who responded stated they were 'regular' readers compared to 30.4% of the 424 girls.

Table 89. Students' Favourite Comics

Comics	Municipal n=179 %	Catholic n=462 %	English n=303 %	Marathi n=42 %	Total n=986 %
1. Indrajal	9.3	19.2	19.2	21.3	18.1
2. Tinkle	2.8	11.7	10.8	4.6	10.0
3. Amar Chitra...	2.4	7.9	9.0	6.5	7.6
4. Archie	1.7	8.3	6.9	2.8	6.8
5. Diamond	13.9	3.6	4.9	13.9	5.8
6. Chandoba (Mar)	32.6	0.2	0.5	18.5	5.0
7. Champak	8.3	0.7	1.3	5.6	2.0
8. Others	10.1	36.1	37.9	16.7	32.8

Tinkle, Chandoba (Marathi) and Champak (Hindi and Marathi) are not comics so much as children's magazines that carry plenty of comic strips. The pattern for newspaper and magazine reading among students of different school types is repeated here: students of Catholic and private English. schools read English comics while those from the municipal and private Marathi-medium schools read Marathi comics such as Chandoba and Champak.

Except for students from Catholic schools (who appear to read 'mystery' and 'horror' comics regularly) the humour genre is the one read 'regularly' by the majority of students. That few students in the four schooltypes are interested in myth and legend and biographies is surprising since there is an abundance of comics of these genre being published, especially in the Amar Chitra Katha series. Evidently, there is much less interest among students in comics dealing with science fiction than with films and TV serials related to the same subject.

Table 90. Comics Genres Read 'Regularly' by Students

Comics Genres	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1050 %
1. Humour	27.7	15.4	17.4	21.0	18.7
2. Horror	19.1	15.8	16.7	21.0	17.0
3. Mysteries	8.7	20.1	20.7	19.3	14.8
4. Classics	9.2	8.6	7.3	5.8	8.2
5. Science Fiction	8.2	6.5	7.9	13.0	7.5
6. Myth & Legend	0.2	6.1	6.6	0.0	4.9
7. Biography	7.1	2.5	3.2	0.0	3.4
8. Other Genres	11.1	2.0	2.1	15.2	11.4
NO RESPONSE	8.5	23.0	18.1	18.8	18.8

Only 20.8% of the 188 teachers in our sample reported that they read comics 'regularly'. 30.4% read them 'occasionally' and the remaining 48.8% 'rarely' or 'never' read them. This stands in contrast to the students' interest in comics. Out of the 39.7% of the teachers who responded to the request to name their favourite comics, 6.4% said they liked Archie comics, 3.5% liked Indrajal comics, and 3.4% liked the Amar Chitra Katha series. There were very few comics readers from among the municipal and private Marathi-medium school teachers. A mere 8% of the 50 parents in the sample read comics 'regularly', and 52% 'occasionally'; 34% 'rarely' or 'never' read them. Of the 38% who named their favourite comics, 47.4% liked Archie, 63.2% liked Indrajal comics.

SYNOPSIS

The majority of students across all school types are fairly regular readers of newspapers, and books too (as we noted in Chapter 9); a smaller percentage of students are regular readers of magazines and comics. The patterns which emerged from an analysis of the respondents' experience of the audiovisual media such as the cinema, video and television, and audio-media such as the radio and popular Hindi film music, do not hold in the

case of the print media. In the former audiovisual and audio-media the trend was towards Hindi-oriented films, programmes and music no matter what the home language or the medium of instruction at school. Where the print media are concerned, however, English-medium students read English papers, magazines, and comics, and Marathi-medium students whether in municipal or private schools read Marathi newspapers, magazines and comics. But the newspaper items/topics that are of interest to them are almost similar: both groups like most of all to read comic strips, cartoons, advertisements, humour columns, and TV and film review columns. Teachers too tend largely to follow this reading pattern, and their interests are in similar newspaper topics, except that serious topics too are high on their reading preferences.

CONCLUSION

Most media education programmes for school children leave the family out of the picture. They are, therefore, cut off from the actual viewing situation of students, and the role of parents and 'significant others' as well of the structure of the family in 'mediating' the understanding and influence of television. Our ethnographic study demonstrates how common sibling co-viewing is; indeed television viewing (like cinema and video-vewing) - as our survey data makes clear - is 'usually' with the family rather than an isolated individual experience, in television-owning households; in non-TV-owning households, 'guest viewing' takes place at the neighbours' or at friends' homes.

This has various implications for media education. In the first place, media educators need to recognize the crucial fact that an 'informal' unstructured media education takes place in the home and outside school, and that the meaning and values of the media are negotiated generally within the context of the family structure and family relations. Peers too play an important role in this negotiation of meanings and values. Secondly, it has to be understood that TV viewing is 'active', that televisual images and messages are interpreted; indeed, that they are frequently rejected or resisted despite the 'preferred' readings built into media texts. Thirdly, both the ethnographic study and the self-administer ed survey suggest that, though television hours and programmes

are restricted to only one channel, a process of selection is at work. For instance, we noted that doing homework is a 'regular' out-of-school activity for the majority of students from all four school-types; for the majority of girls in our sample 'doing housework' was a 'regular' activity too. Our ethnographic study also revealed that in some of the upper-income families, homework had to be completed before the TV was switched on. Finally, our survey results demonstrate that students have clear interests and preferences in the mass media. The 'power' of the media, therefore, to influence culture, thought and action must be seen to be limited.

The evidence from our survey of the interest of students, teachers and parents in the audio media clearly suggests that the Hindi film song has taken on the characteristics of a mass cultural product. It holds appeal for the majority of respondents (except among the small section of Catholic/Christian students, teachers and parents) irrespective of differing socio-cultural and economic backgrounds in Greater Bombay. This has implications for a media education curriculum in the secondary schools of India. So far no programme in media education has included the analysis of the film song though it is quite clearly the kind of music students most frequently listen to, and like the most. Indeed, it is the film song that draws the greater majority of students as well as teachers to particular films in the cinema theatre and on video, to Hindi feature films and film-based series on television, and to Vividh Bharati, the commercial service of All India Radio, devoted to film music.

Media education in the secondary school classroom has also to capitalize on the common interests and preferences of teachers where newspaper items/topics are concerned: these can facilitate discussion about the media. Talking about common media interests, however, does not come easily to either students or teachers. How frequently do students, teachers and parents talk about the mass media with each other, or with others? What form should media education take in the school curriculum? These are two questions we take up for discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11

MEDIA EDUCATION IN SCHOOL: THE PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS

Educational policies for High Schools are drawn up by Central Government organizations such as the NCERT (National Council for Education and Research Training) on the recommendations of the General Advisory Board of Education (Aranha, 1983). These central bodies (and the State bodies too such as the SCERTs and the SCETs) have few representatives of parents or school teachers on their boards. Besides, the views of parents, teachers or students are rarely taken into account, or even elicited. Such a 'top-down' hierarchical model of educational planning does not often take the interests and needs of students, teachers and parents, very seriously.

The undue haste with which the new educational policy was drawn up and pushed through Parliament is a case in point. This researcher was in Bombay at the time the policy was being discussed in the national press. He participated in a seminar for teachers on the 'Challenge of Education: the New Educational Policy', but copies of the draft document were not easily available. Later in New Delhi he met officials at the NCERT and other organizations directly involved in the framing of the policy. The rapidity with which the new educational policy was put into effect recently, and the ten-plus-two-plus-three structure for school and college education a few years earlier, suggests that consultation with parents and teachers in matters of educational policy is not given enough importance. Computer literacy too has been introduced without adequate consultation with teachers or parents; this is yet another instance of educational planning that is influenced by ad hocism rather than by systematic long term plans and policies, after due consultation with the participants.

This chapter brings together the views of students, teachers and parents on media education. It points to the presence of interest in media

education among the three groups. The discussion of 'media education' is set in the larger context of the home and school where there is likely to be some interchange on the media. This leads us to an analysis of the extent of interchange on the various media among students and their parents and teachers. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the implications of the findings for the teaching of media education in a classroom situation.

11.1 Interest in Media Education

The three groups of respondents in our sample were asked five questions related to media education. Some questions were closed, others were open, but all were meant primarily to elicit the views of the students, teachers and parents on media education. None of the students or the parents in our sample had taken part in any course on media education. Among the teachers, only the 46 teacher-trainees out of the total 188 teachers in the sample had attended such a course. The teacher-trainees had been introduced to media education as part of their B.Ed. course in educational technology. (Cf. Chapter 3 for an account and evaluation of this introductory course).

Would you be interested in learning more about television, radio, cinema, the press, the folk and other media? Would you take media education in school if it were introduced as a subject? Would you like to be guided by teachers in your media experience? These were the three questions related to media education that the students were asked in our questionnaire. The options given were: 'yes', 'no' and 'don't know'.

Table 91. Students' Interest in Media Education

	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1051 %
1. Interested in Learning	63.6	45.5	58.8	35.6	52.4
2. Would take media educ.	81.5	38.3	49.2	22.2	48.6
3. Would like guidance	89.7	47.6	52.3	57.8	56.9

As the above table indicates, a little more than fifty per cent of the students responded that they were interested (i.e. answered 'yes' to our question) in learning more about the media. School-wise, more students from municipal (63.6%) and private English-medium schools (58.8%) showed interest than students from Catholic schools (45.5%) and private Marathi-medium schools (35.6%). Among teachers, 59% stated they would be interested, and among parents 66% showed interest. Going by this response, the enthusiasm for learning about the media is greater among parents and teachers, and not so fervent among the students. This could be because of parents' and teachers' concern about what the media, especially television, are doing to children. This concern is fuelled by the press and the other media. It is also clear that students enjoy watching TV and video and engaging with the other media, and would therefore like to learn more about them.

It appears that municipal students have a greater interest in media education than students from other schools. As many as 81.5% of municipal students stated that they would take media education as a subject if it was offered in school, as against 38.3% from Catholic schools, 49.2% from private English schools, and 22.2% from private Marathi schools. All told, 48.6% students said they would take media education as a school subject if there were provisions for it in the curriculum. 58.5% of the teachers in the sample responded positively that they would be interested in teaching the subject, and 70% of the parents said they would let their children take the subject in school.

But would the students like to be guided by teachers in their use of the cinema, TV, radio, the press, and folk media, and would teachers, in their turn, like to guide their students? More than half of all students replied that they would like such guidance. Municipal school students were overwhelmingly in favour of guidance; students from Catholic schools the least enthusiastic. A little over half the students in the private English and Marathi-medium schools preferred such guidance. One explanation for this remarkable difference between municipal and private school students is that there is perhaps a greater confidence and a greater sense of independence among the better-off students. Further,

students in municipal schools perhaps expect more from school than their counterparts in private schools. This question needs further investigation.

The response from teachers was more enthusiastic: 73.4% reported they would like to guide their students, with the younger teacher-trainees (89.8%) showing the greatest inclination to do so, followed by teachers in private English schools (76.2%), municipal schools (65.5%), Catholic schools (64.3%) and private Marathi schools (58.3%). 50% of the parents said they would like their children to be guided by teachers in the use of the media. This is understandable in the Indian context where parents look up to teachers and expect them to guide their children in all aspects of life.

11.2 Media Education in the School Curriculum

The next question that arises is : How should media education be taught in a formal classroom situation? Taking into account the Indian school traditions and practices, and the limited experience of media education in that country, the question set out the possible alternative strategies: as a compulsory, optional subject, as one integrated with other subjects, or as a subject to be studied outside the curriculum? Given the choice, about a third of the students would opt for media education as an optional subject, 20.2% as a compulsory subject, 17.2% for it to be taught outside school, and a mere 11.5% for it to be integrated with other subjects.

Table 92. Students' View on the Place of Media Education in the Curriculum

Media Education as .... Subject	Municipal n=184 %	Catholic n=495 %	English n=326 %	Marathi n=46 %	Total n=1050 %
1. Optional	42.9	30.6	38.2	37.8	35.4
2. Compulsory	10.3	23.5	22.2	11.1	20.2
3. Outside school	17.9	16.6	17.2	20.0	17.2
4. Integrated	24.5	7.3	11.7	2.2	11.5
NO RESPONSE	4.3	22.1	10.8	28.9	15.7

Table 93. Teachers' View on Place of Media Education in the Curriculum

Media Education as .... Subject	Trainees n=49 %	Municipal n=29 %	Catholic n=56 %	English n=42 %	Marathi n=12 %	Total n=188 %
1. Optional	30.6	24.1	23.2	42.9	41.7	30.9
2. Integrated	38.8	17.2	26.8	35.7	16.7	29.8
3. Outside School	12.2	20.7	17.9	11.9	16.7	15.4
4. Compulsory	14.3	27.6	8.9	2.4	-	11.2
NO RESPONSE	4.1	10.3	23.2	7.1	25.0	12.8

The majority of students, teachers and parents would like to see media education taught as an optional subject rather than as a compulsory subject. Almost a third of the teachers are in favour of integrating media education with other subjects, but few support it as a compulsory subject. This could be because , by and large, 'compulsory' subjects are resented more by teachers than by students. More than a third of the parents too support media education as an optional subject. There appears to be a greater interest among the students than among the teachers, in media education as an optional subject.

There is majority support for joining film societies were schools to start them. 55.7% of the students would like to join a film society. Municipal school students are the most keen on this: 83.7% state that they would like to join one. Students from the private schools too responded positively : 52.2% from Catholic schools, 48.3% from private English schools, and 33.3% from private Marathi schools. 55.9% of the teachers and 42% of the parents favour joining a school film club.

11.3 Interchange about the Media at Home and at School

Students and their parents and teachers, we have seen in Chapters 9 and 10, do give some of their time to the audiovisual, audio and print media. We have noted that the cinema, video, and television are 'usually' watched with the family. Research into family viewing situations in the United

States by Lull (1982, 1987), in England (Morley, 1987) and by Yadava and Reddi (1987) and Narayanan (1987) in India suggests that TV does provide topics for conversation. This investigator found that only a limited amount of conversation took place in the majority of the eight TV families he observed. These are important findings for media education. It must be remembered, however, that TV and video are still novel media in the Indian context, though in Greater Bombay the effect of novelty appears to be wearing thin as is evident in the drop in attendance at video parlours and hardly any dramatic increase in TV viewing despite the introduction of a second channel and extra viewing time during weekends (MARG, 1985; MRAS, 1986). Breakfast TV and late-night TV were started only a year after the field work for our study had been completed.

How frequently do High School students talk about what they see on the big and small screen, or listen to on the radio, or read in the press, with their parents and teachers, and with siblings and friends. Data on this could provide the basis for a discussion of relationships among the three major participants in the media education process.

The majority of school-going adolescents in the sample said they 'rarely' or 'never' discussed their media experiences with their teachers or parents. But with their peers and siblings they admit to discussing the media either 'often' or 'sometimes'. Where talking about cinema films was concerned, the students discussed films with friends (78.3%) and siblings (63.0%) either 'often' or 'sometimes', but with parents and teachers only 40.1% and 9.4% of the students talked about the films they went to. This was a pattern to be found among all students irrespective of school type or medium of instruction. The pattern is repeated in the case of video too. An analysis of the data reveals that as many as 89% who responded reported that they 'rarely' or 'never' spoke about what they watched on video with their teachers. Only 8.5% admitted to having talked about video films with their teachers at least 'sometimes'. 39% said that they discussed video with their parents. In contrast, 69.9% of the students talked, at least 'occasionally', about video films with their friends, and 59.4% with their siblings.

With regard to talking about TV programmes, 25.7% of the students stated they 'rarely' or 'never' discussed TV with their parents: 25.4% said they spoke 'often' and 37.9% only 'sometimes'. Much fewer children (36.4%) from municipal schools discussed TV with their parents in comparison with their counterparts from the private schools. One of the reasons for this could be because a good many of them watch TV outside the home. The percentage of students from Catholic, private English schools and private Marathi schools talking about TV with their parents 'often' or 'sometimes' was 67.1%, 74.2% and 52.2% respectively. In comparison, only 16.5% of all the students from the four school types reported that they discussed TV with their teachers. The majority of students (69.9%) said they 'rarely' or 'never' spoke about TV with their teachers. In contrast, 75.8% from all four school types discussed the medium with their brothers and sisters, and 75.5% with their friends.

A third of the students said they spoke about topics in newspapers and magazines with their teachers, in contrast to over 60% of the students reporting they discussed the topics with their parents (62.8%), brothers and sisters (63.6%), and friends (63.0%). There was no significant difference among the various school types, according to the Chi-Square Test we used.

A bare 28% of the students responded to the question dealing with talking about radio. Of these, only 4.2% said they talked about radio with their teachers, and 14.2% with their parents. In contrast, 20.8% discussed the medium with their siblings, and 17.7% with their friends. Here again there was no significant difference among students from different schools, according to the Chi-Square Test.

Just as students like to talk about the media more frequently with their friends and siblings rather than with parents or teachers, so do teachers appear to discuss their experience of the various media more with fellow-teachers and friends than with fellow-parents, and much less with their students. For instance, whereas only 23.9% and 14.4% of the teachers admitted to discussing (either 'frequently' or 'sometimes) films and video respectively with their students, 49.5% and 31.9% reported they discussed

films and video respectively with fellow-teachers. Only a little more than a quarter (26.6% and 25.5%) talked about films and video with fellow-parents. Where TV is concerned, the percentages of teachers discussing television with various groups are much higher. As many as 67% of the teachers said they talk about television programmes with fellow-teachers, 60.1% with fellow-parents and 47.3% with their students. This suggests that media education has to build on this mutual interest in talking about television among students and teachers. The percentages were calculated by collapsing the variables 'often' and 'sometimes'. The respondents pointed out more than one group with which they discussed their media experiences.

The relationship between the teachers and students is rather formal. Parents are not encouraged to meet the teachers except on 'open'days which are held in a few private schools. One of the few studies that has looked at the academic interaction among students, teachers and parents in a High School setting was conducted by Kankunla (1984) in Andhra Pradesh.. Kankunla's analysis of 281 students and 53 teachers in six High Schools of rural Andhra Pradesh points to the fact that interaction is minimal. The study found that less than 50% of the students consulted their teachers outside class hours, and that those who did so were also active in the classroom. Under-achievers were found not to consult the teachers inside or outside school, though their interaction with teachers who did not teach them was much higher. An interesting discovery of tne study was that the majority of students were afraid of their teachers. Further, few parents were found to have discusssed education with their children.

We have no such study examining the interaction among students, teachers and parents of Greater Bombay. But from his visits to various schools to conduct his survey, and from his many contacts with students, teachers and parents, this researcher found that the great majority of schools have a tightly-packed five to six hour schedule (most schools surveyed ran in two shifts: primary in the mornings, and secondary in the afternoons; more than 150 secondary schools also ran a third shift: 'night schools' for working students). The curriculum comprises maths, science, three

languages, history, geography, moral science and physical training. The syllabus of each subject is heavy, and the whole system is geared to the passing of the final examination. This leaves little time to discuss any subject not directly related to the unit tests and exams. Further, classes in most of the schools survey had an average strength of at least 55 students. The classrooms were not large enough to allow for much movement, as this researcher found for himself during his visits to the schools surveyed.

Parents too do not appear to talk very much about the media with their children, and much less with the teachers of their students. This is linked to communications in the family, and the formal relationship between parents and teachers. Few schools have PTAs and fewer schools encourage parents to come to school to enquire about their children's progress in studies.

CONCLUSION

The evidence from the survey on the frequency of exchanges between students and teachers on the media in the classroom, points to the problem of too formal a relationship, and therefore, the difficulty of initiating a dialogue on the media. There is interest in the various media, and also in media education at the High School level. Clearly, learning media education would be welcome to all three groups, since students have expressed an interest in learning more about the media, teachers have expressed willingness to teach the subject, and parents would be happy to have their children guided in this new social activity.

The teaching strategies will have to be geared to the particular classroom situation of each school. Media education, however, is a 'subject' very different from other school subjects. Unlike other school subjects which are related to academic disciplines, media education is concerned with an out-of-school free-time activity that is a source of much personal enjoyment and pleasure for both teachers and students; a 'liminoid' experience in terms of Turner's (1982) anthropological interpretation of media experiences. Further, unlike most other subjects it is an area of interest in which students are perhaps as well-informed as the teacher or

the parent, at least as regards the content. This is perhaps because the mass media are not as 'information-loaded' as are school subjects. Further, students will have opinions to express on say, television programmes as much as their teachers and parents. The teacher has, of course, more information and greater insight especially when he/she is dealing with the media as industries, or the role of the media in a large democracy like India. Indeed, media education is a 'challenge' to the curriculum and to pedagogic methods (Alvarado et al, 1987:3).

There is no reason why media education cannot become part of other subjects (as is favoured by a good percentage of students, teachers and parents); perhaps it might act as a catalyst to bring about a change in a staid formal environment; perhaps it could spark off a dialogue on the media, which easily lend themselves to this exchange. Such an 'integrated' approach where media education is dealt with across the curriculum by all teachers has met with some success in a few British (especially Scottish) experiments in media education (Butts, 1986); it has not proved so successful in Austrian efforts (Bauer, 1984). The stage has to be set for this approach, however, in schools of education where all teacher-trainees should be provided skills in the teaching of media education. A few schools of education in India have already taken this first step. Yet, Indian schools need greater experience in teaching the media in a formal classroom environment before any dogmatic pronouncements about media pedagogy or curriculum content can be made.

PART III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This final Part summarizes the main findings of our macrosocial and microsocial investigation into media education in India, though with specific reference to media education in Greater Bombay's high schools. At the 'macrosocial' level we explored the relationship between media education and public policy on communications (using Reyes Matta's 'model of democratic communication' as our conceptual framework), and examined the communication industries from a political economy perspective; while at the 'microsocial' level we conducted three studies: 1) a participant-observation study of some media education experiments in India; 2) an historical analysis of the education and school system in Greater Bombay, and 3) a self-administered survey of the media interests and preferences of the city's High Schools students from four 'mainstream' school types, and of a small sample of teachers and parents as well.

Some conclusions that can be drawn from our multiperspective investigation for the nature and practice of media education are then spelt out. Finally, we set out some of the limitations of our study.

THE MACROSCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Media Education and Public Policy

Our exploration into the dialectical relationship between media education and public policy on communications has led us to three important findings. In the first place, we have found that Indian public policy on communications and on related areas such as education, culture, and science and technology, is highly centralized, and as a consequence the Central Government exercises control over the development of every aspect

of these areas, including media education.

Secondly, this policy is characterized by a technicist approach to the nationwide needs for information and development. In the attempt to 'catch up' with the Western industrialized nations, technological solutions inform public policy today as much as they have done ever since the launch of the First Five Year Plan in 1951. Indeed, the 'extension' or 'modernization' paradigm of development (which is a Western paradigm) informs all economic, cultural and educational planning, even as the Indian State istelf is committed to socialism. Communication technologies are held to be most effective for 'transfer' of information, skills and literacy, and for promoting national integration and what the New Education Policy (1986) calls 'the scientific temper'.

Thirdly, such centralized planning and policy has led to rigid control over broadcasting, regulation and censorship of cinema and video films, and a close surveillance of the private enterprise press, and of other technological and traditional media.

The Media Industries

Our political-economic analysis of the media industries in both the public and the private sectors points to the fact that they flourish under the remit of public policy. Though ostensibly committed to 'development', the broadcasting and documentary cinema units of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have as their political goal the legitimation of the present regime of the Indira Congress party. Further, our analysis suggests that AIR and Doordarshan are commercial ventures too dependent on advertising and sponsorship from multinational and Indian companies. The private enterprise press, cinema, video and music industries too are dependent on multinational advertising and support. Thus multinational business firms and advertising agencies are actively involved in the media industries; so are Indian companies and Indian advertising agencies.

THE MICROSOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Indian Experiments in Media Education

The few attempts made to introduce programmes in media education in India have been outside the sphere of the formal school system.
These attempts by committed individuals and organizations have, however, not been very regular or systematic. They have indeed been difficult to sustain over the years because of various economic and other restraints. Moreover, they have been based largely on untested assumptions about the extent of use of the mass media, of students' interests and preferences in the media, about the power and the threat from the media, and of its potential, for instance, to 'socialize' the students, who are taken to be passive recipients. In other words, a communication research perspective has been lacking in these experiments. Besides, media education has in most cases been approached in isolation of public policy on communications; it has not gone beyond a critical analysis of the content of media products or of media rhetoric, and simple practical work in drawing up posters, charts and slide-shows.

There is, however, a good deal of interest in the new subject. This is clear from our discussions with educationists in different parts of the country, and from our participant-observational study of teacher-training programmes. Trained teachers in media education are scarce; so are teachers volunteering to participate in media education programmes for school children outside school hours. This is not so much due to lack of interest as to the over-burdening of teachers with an extra teaching load, the pressures of periodical 'unit tests', and a markedly exam-oriented education system.

Educational and School System in Greater Bombay

High School education in Greater Bombay has a long history (Chapter 6). Independence has not altered the orientation of the kind of education offered or the types of state and private schooling which continue the pre-Independence practice of providing English education to the elite groups and vernacular education to the not so privileged. Though the textbooks used by students in the various school types are the same, and all students sit the same examinations, there is a marked difference in the environment and the facilities provided for learning. Of the four school types that predominate in Greater Bombay, the 'private' schools had

a teacher-student ratio of 1:27, while the Municipal schools had a ratio of 1:51. Private secondary schools, which are in the majority in Greater Bombay, were generally also better equipped say with audiovisual aids, had fewer students in a class, and a more pleasant study environment. They also had a reputation for discipline and higher standards of teaching. Our survey results sugggest that a hierarchical structure prevails in the school and the classroom; the relationship between teachers and students is formal, and there is little exchange on the media in the school environment.

Our analysis of the financing of schools in Greater Bombay showed that the State was heavily subsidizing a patently elite system of private education. It also showed that the public policy on 'secularism' according to which all private schools run by religious or linguistic groups would be provided equal State aid has worked largely in perpetuating an elitist private education system that favours English-medium education.

Survey of High School Students

Social Background

Students from four different school types in Greater Bombay were included in the Greater Bombay survey. Two of the school types teach through Marathi, and two through English. Only one of the school types is run by the State; the other three are private schools. Our survey suggests that there are significant differences in the religious, caste and linguistic backgrounds among students who attend the four types of schools. The demographic data points to the finding that students of municipal schools were of a much lower socioeconomic status than their counterparts in the Catholic, private English and private Marathi schools.

There is a reluctance among most students (and among their teachers and parents as well) to mention their castes, but from the limited data we have gathered it appears that the greater majority of students in municipal schools are Neo-Buddhists, of the lower castes, and have Marathi as their language at home and at school. In contrast, students of the private Marathi-medium school are generally high-caste Hindus, speaking

Marathi at home and from a higher social class. The private English-medium schools could be categorized into Catholic and other private English-medium schools. Both these latter school types educate students from varying religious, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. By and large, though, as our survey demonstrates, students in both school types are Hindus of the higher castes, speak Marathi or other Indian languages at home, and are from a higher social class. Only in Catholic schools do Catholic children make up about a third of the student population, and speak English at home, and would not belong to as high a socio-economic class as their fellow-students from other communities.

The teachers appeared to be from a somewhat similar social background as the students. (It is difficult to be precise here because of the lack of full and complete demographic data from both groups). The majority were Hindus (except in Catholic schools where Catholic teachers made up two-thirds the total number), spoke Marathi or an Indian language at home. As in the student sample, the majority of teachers did not mention their castes. Also, as in the student sample there was a greater mix of teachers with varying religious and linguistic backgrounds in Catholic and private English medium schools than in the municipal and private Marathi-medium schools. The majority lived in self-contained flats but earned less than some of the students' parents with a similar qualification. The 50 parents in our sample (41 fathers and 9 mothers) were those who had children studying in private English-medium schools. The majority were Hindus of the higher castes; also the majority were in the professions; only nine of the parents were graduates or postgraduates.

Media Ownership, Access and Use

Our survey indicates that ownership of electronic media receivers is higher among the private school students than among municipal school students. Ownership of radios/transistors is high among all school types (69.6% among municipal, and above 80% among the private school students). Video ownership is as low as 5.4% among municipal school students; slightly less than a third of the students in each of the private school types owned video sets. Less than 50% of the municipal students had a TV set at home compared to more than 80% of students in the Catholic and

private English schools, and more than 75% in the private Marathi schools. Just a quarter of the students in the municipal school sample owned audiocasette recorders, but more than 75% of the private school students had access to them at home. Clearly, there is a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and ownership and access to the technological media.

Patterns in Media Use

Our study provides evidence of a good amount of interest in the mass media, especially in television and video, among students, teachers and parents. Three distinct patterns are discernible in their viewing habits where the cinema, TV and video are concerned. The first is that no matter what the home language, the school type or the medium of instruction, popular Hindi films and popular Hindi TV serials are at the top of their lists of favourites. It is notable that foreign films and TV serials do not figure very prominently in the students' lists, except to some extent in the case of Catholic students, and to a much less extent in the case of private English-medium students. Secondly, whereas students prefer light entertainment films and TV programmes, teachers appear to prefer the more serious films and programmes. Further, while municipal school students like family dramas, historicals and popular commercial films for viewing in the cinema and on video, private school students like thrillers, social comedies and kungfu films. What draws municipal students to films is 'songs'; private school students stated that the 'story' was a more important factor. Thirdly, among both students and teachers viewing of films, video and TV programmes is 'usually' with the family.

Over two-thirds of the students said they 'never' listened to the radio now, though among those who reported that they did, Hindi film songs or sports commentaries were the main programmes listened to. On average students spend less than an hour listening to the radio on a weekday; around four hours for for the entire week. In contrast, they spend 1.8 hours per day watching TV, and during weekends up to 2.9 hours; a total of 12.8 hours per week. Thus there is a significant difference in amount of viewing between the municipal and private school students. Municipal school teachers, like their students, report listening to the radio for

longer hours than teachers in the private schools. For students and teachers in municipal schools, therefore, radio is the primary medium, and television the secondary medium.

Our survey also pointed to the students' regular habit of reading the dailies and magazines. The items most liked in the dailies and the periodicals, were film and TV review columns, besides cartoons, comics and advertisements. Comics were read regularly by about a third of the students, especially by the students of Catholic schools and of private English-medium schools. Their favourite comics were Indrajal, Tinkle and Amar Chitra Katha, and their favourite comics genres were 'humour', 'horror', and 'mysteries'. Fewer than 15% of municipal school students read comics regularly. Almost 50% of the teachers 'rarely' or 'never' read comics; 34% of the parents too hardly ever read them.

The mass media are not the only out-of-school free-time activities students spend time on. Doing homework and housework, reading books, and 'chit chatting' are some activities that 'regularly' engage the time and attention of a good number of students from all four school types. The majority of municipal school students, especially the girls, report that they do housework and look after brothers and sisters 'regularly'; the majority of girls in the private school types too have to do houseowrk regularly.

Participants' Views about Media Education

Three important groups of participants in the media education process at the formal school level are the children, parents and teachers. Our survey results suggest that the three groups share an interest in media education. A little more than half the students have expressed interest in learning more about the media, and more than fifty per cent of the teachers have expressed a willingness to guide students in the use of the mass media; parents have shown interest in having teachers guide their children in the use of the media. The three groups favoured the introduction of integrating courses in media education with other subjects, or as an optional course (i.e. as a separate subject) rather than as a 'compulsory' subject. Municipal school students and teachers

have expressed as much interest in media education as the students and teachers from private schools.

CONCLUSIONS

Our close analysis of public policy on communications and of the phenomenal development of the media industries in India leads us to conclude that media education as a broad social process (involving not only schools, colleges and universities but also organised groups such as trade unions, youth clubs, women's groups, parents associations, teachers associations, consumer groups, and so on) would need to be considered a part of public policy if it is to play an effective role in the 'democratization' of communications. This implies that citizens of a democracy should have an active say in the development of public policy, and are provided the means, the opportunities and the structural mechanisms to do so. The constitutional right to freedom of thought and expression which implies the right to be informed and to inform, has little meaning if the training and the opportunities to do so are lacking, and if communication is centralized, hierarchical and one-way in a society that is fundamentally pluralistic and federal in character. As public policy currently stands there is no commitment to democratization of communications. There is a long-term commitment, however, to the expansion of the technological media and to exploiting them as tools for development and education. That is official policy; the latent policy, however, appears to be the legitimation of the ruling regime and its interests. The recent initiative of the Prime Minister in calling for a consensus on the nation's media policy, perhaps promises an opportunity to lobby for a greater democratization of communication structures. It affords an opportunity too for lobbying to make media education at various levels a part of media policy.

Our study points to the need for making media education an integral part of public policy. Indeed, only when media education is an integral part of public policy on education and on the media can there be a systematic and well-planned effort to make it an effective means for 'the democratization of communication' in India. 'Democratization' entails the participation of all sectors of society in the decision-making processes

of a democracy; only the right kind of education can prepare communities for enlightened participation. Media education has an important role in this effort.

Media Education and Power-Interests

However, there exist several restraints, mainly political, in making media education a part of public policy. For, the decision to introduce media education as an integral part of public policy or indeed of the school curriculum is a political act involving power-interests. The ruling Indira Congress party which, except for a brief period, has been in power since Independence has not been known to countenance any criticism of the Central Government's monopoly in radio and television broadcasting and documentary cinema, as has been shown in its response to the Joshi Committee Report on (1984), and to earlier media reports such as those of the Verghese Committee (1978), the Karanth Working Group on National Film Policy (1980) and the Chanda Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media (1966). Except for occasional election broadcasts, political parties in opposition at the Centre or in the States are rarely allowed to express their views on radio or television. Consequently, the voice of political and other groups who do not agree with the party in power, is not heard often enough except through 'alternative' means of communication such as the 'small media' and 'group' media. Is the Government in power, therefore, likely to pay much attention to the need for media education? It is undeniable that without effective lobbying by teachers', parents' and women's associations in particular the ruling regime will not wake up to the need. It was lobbying by teachers over many years, for instance, that forced school authorities in Britain, Australia and Canada to accept the subject as part of the school curriculum. The danger, however, is that public policy could use media education to promote its own media policy. This is how education policy is now being used to promote an ideology that favours the ruling regime, the dominant community and the elites; indeed, to legitimize the status quo. This calls for alertness on the part of leaders of organized groups, and for non-governmental autonomous institutional mechanisms (like the law courts, 'lok ayukts' or 'ombudsmen', educational and media authorities, for instance) that will ensure the proper use of channels of communication.

Opposition is also likely from other quarters such as the bureaucracy, business and the communication industries. These three power groups are serviced by the educated elite, especially the English-educated elite. Indeed, these educated elites play a key role as intermediaries and common links between the rulers at the top and the masses at the bottom. Thus, it is likely that this loose alliance of politicians, industrialists, businessmen, professionals and other educated groups will not actively support the move to empower young people, and citizens in general, to become part of the communication processes in a democracy.

School authorities and teachers too are often part of this same alliance; the structures of school and the classroom are for the most part authoritarian and hierarchical. The long road to 'democratization of communication' is, it must be conceded, paved with several obstacles. But popular movements at the grassroot level have already begun to use alternative communication media such as traditional and folk media to raise awareness about the need to participate in public policy decisions through education, agitations, representations and memoranda. Several political and non-political organized groups for tribals, the dalits, landless labourers, oppressed women, consumers, and workers have made their appearance on regional and local levels, demanding to be heard. It is from these popular movements in urban, rural and tribal areas that the means of communication alternative to the big media are being fashioned. This resistance to the power of the public and private enterprise media is gaining strength; media education plays a vital role in the resistance.

Nature and Practice of Media Education

The nature and practice of media education should ideally be based on the actual media experiences of school children, on what the children have an interest in and preference for rather than on what the teacher or the parent sees as worthy of study. The attempt to impose the teachers' taste on students would only lead to an alienation of students from any discussion about the media. Our survey has shown that students and teachers may have different interests and preferences because of age, education, background, and other factors; but they also have some interests and preferences which are common (Hindi films, TV serials, and

popular songs, for instance). The approach has to be positive: the media are a valuable and enjoyable individual and social experience - an experience worthy of attention and analysis in the classroom.

Our study suggests that municipal school students have media interests and preferences different from those of students from private schools. The popular cinema and popular television are of great interest to High School students of all school-types, and offer good starting points for media education. But the differences in the genres liked by students from the various school-types needs to be taken into account. English films, foreign TV serials and 'pop music' programmes hold little interest for municipal school students; the Hindi film song is not as popular among private school students as among municipal school students. Lack of sensitivity to the students' programme or genre preferences could easily alienate them. Where groups are of different sociocultural backgrounds, sensitivity to their different values and beliefs is equally vital. Teachers, media educators and communication researchers will need to collaborate to draw up appropriate curricula for different groups.

While the principles of media education and pedagogic methods would remain similar in both private and municipal schools, the 'content' of media education courses would need to differ from school-type to school-type. Our study suggests that the focus should be on the Hindi and Marathi cinema, radio, and film songs in the media education curricula in municipal schools; television serials, video films and comics in that of Catholic and private English-medium schools; and Marathi cinema, Hindi video films, and TV serials, in that of private Marathi-medium schools.

At earlier stages of education, it would be advisable to start with dissection of the content, of questions of gender and stereotypical portrayals of religious and linguistic minorities, of the gap between reality and media representations. At a later stage, the manner of 'construction' of media images and media rhetoric could be taken up for study and analysis. By High School or college, however, the questions probed should include: Why do media representations and media rhetoric take a particular shape and form? What are the roles of advertising and

public relations in promoting those representations and rhetorical techniques and genres? What are the ideologies/values thus promoted, say by the multinationals? Thus, there ought to be a gradual progression from simple concepts like 'perception', 'representation' and 'construction' to more complex ones like 'ideology', 'power', 'control' and the media as 'cultural products' and 'communication industries'. Ultimately, though, media education programmes will need to raise critical questions about society, and the role of media in that society; about public policy, and the role of media education in moulding that policy. Critical social analysis of public policy and the media is an important goal of media education in Reyes Matta's model of democratic communication.

Strategies for Media Education in Schools

The new national curriculum introduced in India with the launch of the new educational policy leaves little space for media education; hence the need for a multi-pronged strategy. Out-of- school programmes in media education must continue where it is possible. At the formal school level, integration with already-existing subjects such as languages and social science is a more realistic strategy than as a separate optional subject; but this should not rule out the possibility of teaching it also as an an optional subject where such facilities exist, say in higher secondary and college levels; or as an 'enrichment' course (as recommended by CBSC school principals of Bombay).

The trend in Indian educational policy currently is to focus on 'themes' which are taught across the curriculum, or as 'components' of particular subjects. This is a trend which does provide some space for media education. For instance, in history classes, a consideration of the role of the media (traditional and modern) in the Independence movement would lead students to ask questions about the importance of contemporary media and their role in Government and in private business and industry. The freedom of expression and belief is a subject of discussion in the Civics class; the function of the traditional and modern media in the exercise of this constitutional right could be highlighted here. Questions asked could include: Who own and run the media? Do they run the media to allow

for freedom of expression? Whose views generally find free expression in the public and private media? What are the systems of controls that regulate the media?

The Geography class is ideal for raising questions about representations of peoples and cultures say in cinema and TV documentaries, of ethnocentric descriptions like 'Third World', 'the South', 'underdeveloped' countries, or geographical terms like 'Near East', 'Far East' and 'South East' (from whose pont of view?). Other relevant questions would relate to world maps in atlases and globes which show Western countries to be larger than they actually are; the distribution of resources in information technology, and who benefits most from them; the imbalance in exchange of information (like the imbalance in international trade); the voyeurism (and 'orientalism') in TV serials on nature, wild life, and 'primitive' cultural groups of Asia and Africa.

The language classes are ideal for the integration of media education into the study of language and literature. An insight into media rhetoric could be obtained through an examination of advertising techniques, of the language of persuasion and propaganda, of the popular versus elitist uses of language, or through a 'deconstruction' of the front page of a newspaper. Exercises in comprehension, or written composition related to the media would not only enliven the language class but would lead students to reflect about the media. The stress, though, should always be on critical analysis of the media rather than a blind imitation of media rhetoric. The question of why media has adopted certain rhetorical modes should also be raised. This could then lead at an advanced stage to questions of ideology, power and control.

Further, the media educator's discussion of a TV serial, for instance, could be linked with reviews of the serial in the various papers and magazines, and this could lead to the linkages between the various media. The media do not operate in isolation; though they appear to be critical of each other, the fact is that they do sustain each other, and have similar professional attitudes and interests, as Yadava and Haq's (1986) comparative study of news reporting in the private press and public

broadcasting demonstrates. They are, in the ultimate analysis, both linked to advertising and power interests.

The strategy of 'integrating' media education into as many areas of study as possible does challenge traditional school pedagogy. It calls for pedagogic skills which will need to be specially imparted either as part of teacher-training, or through orientation courses. Yet, the strategy has not always proved to be succesful, as the experience of efforts in Norway and Austria reveal. To guard against failure of the 'integration' strategy, media education will need to be built into the syllabus of relevant subjects.

Practical Work

Pedagogy involving practical work in the media, or 'simulation' exercises (suggested in various manuals for teachers, e.g Masterman, 1980, 1985; Alvarado et al, 1987; or in journals such as The Media Education Journal, METRO, ASTHA/CONCERN, Initiatives, etc. could be tried out in a classroom situation, keeping in mind that large and crowded classes are the norm in Indian schools where equipment does not usually go beyond a blackboard. This is true of most municipal and private schools in Greater Bombay too. Audiovisual aids are rare; practical exercises in media education difficult to find time and space for. Group work on simple projects should be encouraged where such facilities exist. Simple classroom exercises could include: putting together an advertisment for the print medium, drawing up a chart or a poster, organizing a display of news items about school on a notice board, putting up simple skits or street plays,. What is most important is that all these exercises should be followed up by an analysis of the products made, not so much from an aesthetic point of view (combination of colours, the qualities of the sketches, the montage, etc.) but from a critical perspective (the stereotypes in the representations, the constructed nature of the project, the selection of materials, point of view, ordering and arrangement, and most importantly, the reasons behind them).

But good media education does not need sophisticated teaching aids. The point of practical work that media education theorists insist so much upon

(what Alvarado (1987:30) terms the 'expressive skills' approach) is not the practical work itself, but rather media analysis. This researcher saw for himself during his participant-observation of teacher training courses how practical work for its own creative sake left little time for understanding the media stereotypes and media representations, or the methods employed by the media to 'construct' meanings.

Limitations of Media Education for Democratic Communications

Media education is not a panacea for the inequalities and injustices in Indian society, for the rigid control over broadcasting and other media,or for an elistist press. It cannot by itself ensure active public participation; it can only contribute to a greater awareness of the need. Democratization of communications is dependent on several other factors in society as well : social and economic structures, the freedom and the ability to participate, the communicative competences of the majority of groups, not only of the educated; a non-threatening environment for participation by all caste groups; the incentives to take part in public life; political and legal structures that facilitate participation; and a constantly alert public. Media education in schools, it must be noted, is only part of a wider social process (within the conceptual framework of Reyes Matta's model of democratic communications) in which organized social groups impart media education and training to their members. Further, parents and the home provide the ideal environment for an informal media education. Parents need to be encouraged to discuss TV and video programmes with their children, to mediate their viewing, to ask questions about the issues raised in entertainment and information programmes.

In sum, the data collected from our 'microsocial' and 'microsocial' analysis of media education in the Indian context lead us to the following conclusions:

1. Media education needs to be integrated with public policy on communications if it is to have a place and a status in formal school education, and if it is to play an effective role in the 'democratization' of communications.
2. Media education will need to be integrated with other school subjects

as a 'theme' across the curriculum in the manner of say Environmental Education, Population Education or Value Education. It may be a full-fledged 'optional' subject at higher levels of education or for students who would like to specialize in media studies.

3. The dominant media interests and preferences of students from the municipal and private schools are different; so is their access and exposure to the various media. Media education curricula will need to be informed by these findings. They will also need to be informed by our findings about the vital role played by Government, private enterprise and the multinationals in the media industries.

4. We have noted the domination of Indian cinema, television and radio by what may be loosely termed 'North-Indian urban' culture. Media education has a role to play in creating a critical awareness of the cultural diversity of the many regional, local and tribal communities of India, and of the need of the mass media to reflect that diversity.

5. Training and orientation courses for teachers of media education (which should preferably be conducted at schools of education or institutes of communication) would need to take account of recent communication research on children's and adolescents' 'active' experiences with the media, and on the sociology of the media. Media education research in the Indian context would need to be promoted so that programmes in media education are based on research findings and not on popular untested assumptions about media effects.

6. A media pedagogy suited to the Indian school-room would need to be developed; practical work will have to be necessarily limited to simple low-cost exercises because of overcrowded classrooms and the lack of audiovisual resources. Schools of education and institutes of communication could, however, be developed into a network of 'resource centres' for media educators, perhaps supported by the centres of educational technology now being established in every State.

7. The limitations of the power of media education to 'democratize' communications in an over-centralized political situation and an authoritarian, hierarchical caste-bound society must be recognized.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This exploratory study is the first attempt to analyse media education in India from a public policy perspective, and in the context of formal high school education. As an exploratory study it does have its limitations, conceptually and methodologically. It sought to break new ground by looking at media education within the conceptual framework of Reyes Matta's model for democratic communication.

The canvass of the study was extensive, taking in both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Three groups of respondents - students, teachers and parents - were compared for their interests and preferences in the cinema, video, TV, radio, the press and popular music. A further comparison was made between students from four distinct types of schools in Greater Bombay. Since the Catholic schools and the private-English-medium schools were over-represented in our survey sample, the comparisons were perhaps not always justified.

As a consequence of the extensiveness of the research, questions could only be raised, but rarely explored in depth. For instance, the self-administered survey in 13 schools did provide a comprehensive account of the amount of time spent on each of the media, the interests and preferences in films and TV and radio programmes, but the actual 'experience' of students from different types of schools could not be explored through a questionnaire. In-depth interviews with groups of students, teachers and parents, and ethnographic studies of a larger number of families viewing television, could have yielded more reliable data than could possibly be gained from a self-administered survey. It was necessary to investigate not only which media or which genres are attended to but also the conditions under which media experiences take place.

Further, the questionnaire was much too long for High School students, and covered too much ground. It took students at least 45 minutes to fill in the questionnaire. Besides, the students did not appear to be very familiar with common terms used to talk about the media: the pilot survey did not suggest that some technical terms were unfamiliar. Moreover, most

students, we gathered, felt embarrassed to answer questions on caste, their parents' occupations, incomes, and educational qualifications. Much of this data could have been obtained from school records, but not all principals or headmistresses of schools would have granted access to the researcher. The purely quantitative information obtained was useful for comparisons across the various media and among groups of respondents from different school types. But such comparisons, though interesting, could not be contextualized satisfactorily because of the lack of time and money to conduct in-depth interviews or close observation studies.

The emphasis in this study has been on media education in a formal school setting. This might give the impression that such education is an isolated social process, and one which does not take place in other social situations, or indeed through the media themselves. In fact, media education is a process that is continuous and on-going, taking place also at home when parents and siblings experience the media together as a family or a community, in society when we discuss the media portrayal of events, for instance, and through the media themselves when they review and comment upon the cinema, television, radio, the press popular music, theatre, books and other media. Indeed, it is part of a broader social process which involves youth clubs, women's groups, trade unions, teachers and parents' associations, consumer groups and several other similar social organizations. A comparative study of media education in schools with that in youth clubs, for instance, would have made for a more complete analysis.

The collection of statistical data about the media or about education is a formidable task in India. Access to official documents and data is not easy to obtain; access to other agencies such as audience research units of All India Radio and Doordarshan, or to advertising and market research agencies, is equally difficult. The data collected from these public and private agencies is often unreliable and incomplete, but in most cases such data alone are available. The limitations of the accuracy of some of the statistical data quoted in this study must, therefore, be acknowledged.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Survey Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRE FOR MASS COMMUNCATION RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER (U.K.)

Survey of Secondary School Students' Exposure to the Media

Case No.

(The Centre for Mass Communication Research conducts and supervises research projects in the mass media in different parts of the world. This survey is part of my research project at the Centre on 'Media Education in India'. Your help in filling out this questionnaire will be very valuable in drawing up a model of Media Education relevant and meaningful to our country, and in promoting further research in the field.

The questions are simple and straight forward, and most of them require you to indicate your answers by encircling a numbered option (e.g. 2) or putting a tick (✓) in the appropriate column. Please answer as many as possible of the questions that apply to you. All your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence; please do not write your name anywhere in the questionnaire.)

1. Which type of school do you go to ?

Central School (Kendriya Vidyalaya/CBSE)	1
State Government School	2
Christian School (English Medium)	3
Christian School (Indian Language Medium)	4
Private School (English Medium)	5
Private School (Indian Language Medium)	6
Any other type (Specify) _____	7

2. Does your school have the following equipment for the use of teachers and students ?

	TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
1.	Black Boards			
2.	Film Projector			
3.	Slide Projector			
4.	Overhead Projector			
5.	Television Set			
6.	Video-cassette recorder/player			
7.	Cassette/Record Player			
8.	Radio/Transistor Set			
9.	Computers/Microprocessors			

3. How frequently is such equipment used in your school ?
(Tick (✓) the appropriate column).

	TYPE OF EQUIPMENT	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	Black Boards				
2.	Film Projector				
3.	Slide Projector				
4.	Overhead Projector				
5.	Television Set				
6.	Video cassette recorder/player				
7.	Cassette/Record Player				
8.	Radio/transistor				
9.	Computers/Microprocessors				

4. What is your age ?

10-12 years	1
13-14 years	2
15-16 years	3
17-18 years	4

5. Your Sex : Male 1
Female 2

6. Your religion :

Hindu	1	Sikh	4
Muslim	2	Christian	5
Buddhist	3	Parsi	6

any other (Specify) : _____

7. Your Caste : _____

8. Which language do you speak at home ?

Marathi	1	Tamil	5	Panjabi	9
Gujarati	2	Telugu	6	Oriya	10
Hindi	3	Malayalam	7	English	11
Urdu	4	Kannada	8	Bengali	12

any other (Specify) : _____ 13

9. Mention two other languages you know :

_____ ; _____

10. Your place of birth : _____

_____ State

11. Which type of house do you now live in ?

One-room tenement	1
Self-contained flat	2
Hostel	3
Paying Guest	4
Bungalow	5
Any other type (specify) _____	6

12. What is your father's occupation ? State as precisely as possible what job he does : If he is unemployed or retired please mention that fact :

13. What is his approximate income per month (including all allowances) ?

Less than Rs.500/-	1
Rs.501 - 1,000	2
Rs.1,001 - 1,500	3
Rs.1,501 - 2,000	4
Rs.2,001 - 2,500	5
Rs.2,501 - 3,000	6
Above Rs.3,001	7
Don't know/Can't tell	8

14. What is your father's highest educational qualification ?

15. What is your mother's occupation ? If she is employed state as precisely as possible what paid job she does.

16. What is her approximate income per month (If employed) ?

Less than Rs.500	1
Rs.501 - 1,000	2
Rs.1,001 - 1,500	3
Rs.1,501 - 2,000	4
Rs.2,001 - 2,500	5
Rs.2,501 - 3,000	6
Above Rs.3,001	7
Don't know/Can't tell	8

17. What is your mother's highest educational qualification ?

18. How many brothers and sisters (not cousin brothers and sisters) do you have?

_____ brother/s; _____ sister/s

19. Is your family a joint family ? YES/NO

20. How many members live together in this joint family including yourself ?

_____

21. What was your rank or grade in the last examination ?

_____ out of _____

22. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about yourself or your family ?

(In the next Section we request you to tell us something about your use and experience of the cinema, video, television, radio, newspapers, video games, computers and other 'leisure' activities).

CINEMA

23. How frequently do you go to the cinema ? (Ring the appropriate number):

Never	1	(Go to Q.32 if your answer is 'Never')
Less than once a month	2	
Once a month	3	
Twice a month	4	
Thrice a month	5	
More than thrice a month	6	

24. How many cinema theatres are there in your locality or neighbourhood ? (Ring appropriate number) :

None	1
1-2	2
3-4	3
5 or more	4
Don't know/Can't tell	5

25. What are the three major factors that influence your choice of the films you go to ? (e.g. Stars, Directors, Story, Film critics views, friends' views, Exhibition theatre, Posters of films, Songs and dances, etc.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

26.

	HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU WATCH	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	English Films				
2.	Hindi Films				
3.	Regional language films (specify language) _____				

27. How much do you like the following types of films. (Tick the appropriate column) : If you don't see a particular type, leave the column of that type blank.

	FILM TYPE	LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
1.	Popular Commercial (Hindi film type)			
2.	Family drama			
3.	Social comedy			
4.	Detective/Thriller			
5.	Westerns/'Cowboy'			
6.	Kung Fu/Karate			
7.	Musicals			
8.	Science fiction			
9.	'New Wave' ('Art' films)			
10.	Disaster			
11.	Mythological/Religious			
12.	Historical			
13.	Any other (specify) _____			

28. Name up to five films you have seen recently (in any language).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

29. Rank them in order of preference :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

30. Do you usually go to the cinema. (Ring appropriate number)

alone	1
with the family and/or relatives	2
with friends of the same sex	3
with friends of the opposite sex	4
with friends of both sexes	5
with any others (specify) _____	6

31. How frequently do you talk about films ? (Ring the appropriate column) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	With parents				
2.	With brothers and sisters				
3.	With teachers				
4.	With classmates/friends				
5.	With others				
	(Specify) _____				

VIDEO

32. How frequently do you watch video films ? (Ring appropriate number) :

Never	1	(Go to Q.44 if your answer is 'Never')
Less than once a month	2	
Once a month	3	
Twice a month	4	
Thrice a month	5	
More than thrice a month	6	

33. How many video 'parlours' (which show films) and video shops (which rent out VCRs and videocassettes) are there in your locality/colony/village ? (Ring appropriate number) :

	Video Parlours/Restaurants	Video Shops
None	1	1
1 - 2	2	2
3 - 4	3	3
5 and more	4	4
Don't know/Can't tell	5	5

34. What are the three major factors influencing your choice of video films ? (quality of prints, stars, director, friends' views, etc.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

35. (Tick the appropriate column) :

	HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU WATCH	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	English video films				
2.	Hindi video films				
3.	Regional language Video films (Specify language) _____				

36. How much do you like the following types of video films ? (Tick the appropriate column) : If you don't see a particular type, leave the column of that type blank.

	VIDEO FILM TYPE	LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
1.	Popular Commercial (Hindi film type			
2.	Family drama			
3.	Social comedy			
4.	Detective/Thriller			
5.	Westerns/'Cowboy'			
6.	Kung Fu/Karate			
7.	Musicals			
8.	Science Fiction			
9.	'New Wave' ('Art' films)			

	VIDEO FILM TYPE	LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
10.	Disaster			
11.	Mythological/Religious			
12.	Historical			
13.	Foreign Serials			
14.	Any other (Specify) _____			

37. Name up to five video films/serials you have seen recently (in any language) :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

38. Rank the same video films/serials in order of preference :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

39. Do you usually watch video films/serials. (Ring the appropriate number) :

alone	1
with the family and/or relatives	2
with friends of the same sex	3
with friends of opposite sex	4
with friends of both sexes	5
with any others (specify) _____	5

40. How frequently do you talk about video films? (Tick the appropriate column):

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	With parents				
2.	With brothers and sisters				
3.	With teachers				
4.	With classmates/friends				
5.	With others (Specify) _____				

41. Where do you usually watch video films ? (Ring appropriate number) :

at home	1
in a video parlour or restaurant	2
at a friend's place	3
at a neighbour's place	4
at any other place (Specify) _____	5

42. Does your family own a video-cassette recorder (VCR) or video-cassette player (VCP) ? YES/NO

43. Do you now go less often to the cinema because of video ?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know or not sure	3

TELEVISION

44. How much time do you generally spend watching TV ? (Ring appropriate Number) :

On a week day	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5 Hours
On a Saturday	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5 6 Hrs.
On a Sunday	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5 6 7 8 9 Hrs.

(Go to Q.58 if you never watch television)

45. Is there a community television set in your locality/colony/village

Yes	1
No.	2
Don't know	3

46. What are the three major factors influencing your choice of television programmes ? (e.g. time of telecast, type of programmes, entertainment value, educational value, etc.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

47. (Tick the appropriate column) :

HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU WATCH		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	English programmes				
2.	Hindi programmes				
3.	Regional language programmes (Specify language)_____				

48. How frequently do you watch the following types of TV programmes ? (Tick appropriate columns) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	News & Current Affiars				
2.	Quiz programmes				
3.	Sports				
4.	Sponsored Serials in Hindi				
5.	Feature Films (Hindi)				
6.	Feature Films (Regional language)				
7.	Films Division Documentaries				
8.	Foreign Serials				
9.	Song excerpts from Indian films				
10.	Pop Music (Indian)				
11.	Pop Music (Foreign)				
12.	National Programme of Dance				
	and Music				
13.	Programmes for Schools				
14.	UGC Programmes				
	(Countrywide classroom)				
15.	Science & Health programmes				
16.	Any other type (Specify) _____				

49. How much do you like the following types of TV programmes ? (Tick appropriate columns). If you don't watch a particular type, leave the column of that type blank.

		LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
1.	News & Current Affairs			
2.	Quiz Programmes			
3.	Sports			
4.	Sponsored Serials in Hindi			
5.	Feature Films (Hindi)			
6.	Feature Films (Regional language)			
7.	Films Division Documentaries			
8.	Foreign Serials			
9.	Song Excerpts from Indian Films			
10.	Pop Music (Indian)			
11.	Pop Music (Foreign)			
12.	National Programmes of Dance and Music			
13.	Programmes for Schools			
14.	UGC Programmes (Countrywide Classroom)			
15.	Science & Health Programmes			
16.	Any other type (Specify) _____			

50. Name up to five television programmes you have seen recently (say, in the last two weeks) :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

51. Rank the same television programmes in order of preference :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

52. Do you usually watch T.V. (Ring appropriate number) :

alone	1
with the family	2
with friends of the same sex	3
with friends of opposite sex	4
with friends of both sexes	5
with any others (Specify) _____	6

53. How frequently do you talk about television programmes? (Tick the appropriate columns) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	With parents				
2.	With brothers and sisters				
3.	With teachers				
4.	With classmates				
5.	With others (Specify)				

54. Where do you usually watch television ? (Ring appropriate number):

at home	1
in the community hall	2
at a friend's place	3
at a neighbour's place	4
in school	5
at any other place (Specify) _____	6

55. Does your family own a television set ? YES/NO

56. Do you now go less often to the cinema because of television ?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know or not sure	3

RADIO

57. How much time do you generally spend listening to the radio ? (Ring appropriate number) :

On a weekday	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5	6	7	8	More than 8 hours
On a Saturday	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5	6	7	8	More than 8 hours
On a Sunday	0	1/2	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½	4	5	6	7	8	More than 8 hours

(Go to Q.70 if you never listen to the radio)

58. Is there a community radio in your locality/colony/village ?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

59. What are the three major factors influencing your choice of radio/transistor programmes ? (Convenient time, kind of programme, mood at the time, radio station broadcasting programme, announcer etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

60. (Tick the appropriate column) :

HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU LISTEN TO		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	English programmes				
2.	Hindi programmes				
3.	Regional language programmes (Specify language) _____				

61. How frequently do you listen to the following types of radio programmes? on All India Radio and Vividh Bharati ? (Tick appropriate column) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	News and Current Affairs				
2.	Yuva Vani (Youth Programmes)				
3.	Quiz programmes				
4.	Sports				
5.	Sponsored Programmes on Vividh Bharati				
6.	Hindi film songs on Vividh Bharati				
7.	Regional language film songs on V.B.				
8.	Radio Features				
9.	Request Music Programmes (Hindi) - Vividh Bharati				
10.	Request Music Programmes (Regional Languages)				

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
11.	Request Music Programmes (English)				
12.	National Programme of Music (AIR)				
13.	Devotional Music				
14.	Classical Music (Western)				
15.	Programmes for Schools				
16.	Any other (Specify) _____				

62. How frequently do you listen to the following radio stations ?

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	All India Radio (National)				
2.	All India Radio (Regional)				
3.	Vividh Bharati				
4.	BBC World Service				
5.	Radio Sri Lanka				
6.	FEBA, Seyschelles				
7.	Voice of America				
8.	Radio Moscow				
9.	Radio Vatican				
10.	Radio Pakistan				
11.	Any other (Specify) _____				

63. How much do you like the following types of radio programmes on All India Radio/Vividh Bharati ? (Tick appropriate columns). If you don't listen to a particular type, leave the column of that type blank

		LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
1.	News and Current Affairs			
2.	Yuva Vani (Youth) Programmes			
3.	Sports			
4.	Sponsored Programmes on Vividh Bharathi			
5.	Hindi film songs on Vividh Bharathi			

		LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
6.	Regional language film songs on Vividh Bharathi			
7.	Radio Features			
8.	Request Music Programmes(Hindi)			
9.	Request Music Programmes (Regional language)			
10.	Request Music Programmes (English)			
11.	National Programme of Regional Music			
12.	Devotional Music			
13.	Classical Music (Western)			
14.	Programmes for schools			
15.	Any other (Specify)_____			

64. How ~~frequently~~ much do you like listening to the following radio stations ?

		LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE
1.	All India Radio (National)			
2.	All India Radio (Regional)			
3.	Vividh Bharati (Commercial)			
4.	BBC World Service			
5.	Radio Sri Lanka			
6.	FEBA, Seychelles			
7.	Voice of America			
8.	Radio Moscow			
9.	Radio Vatican			
10.	Radio Pakistan			
11.	Any other (Specify)_____			

65. Name up to five radio programmes you have listened to recently (say, in the last two weeks) :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

66. Rank the same five radio programmes in order of preference :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

67. Do you usually listen to the radio...?(Ring appropriate No.) :

alone	1
with the family	2
with friends of same sex	3
with friends of opposite sex	4
with friends of both sexes	5
with any other (specify) _____	6

68. How frequently do you talk about the radio programmes you listen to, with the following : (Tick appropriate column) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	With parents				
2.	With brothers and sisters				
3.	With teachers				
4.	With classmates				
5.	With others (specify)_____				

69. Where do you usually listen to the radio ?

at home	1
in the community hall	2
at a friend's place	3
at a neighbour's place	4
in school	5
at any other place (specify)_____	6

70. Does your family own a radio/transistor ? YES/NO

71. Does your family own a record/cassette players ? YES/NO

72. Name three of your favourite singers :

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

73. Name three of your favourite songs :

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

74. How much on an average do you spend per month on buying records/ cassettes ? Rs._____

NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, COMICS ETC.

75. Do you read newspapers.... (Ring appropriate number) :

regularly	1
occasionally	2
rarely	3
never	4

76. Which newspapers do you read regularly (i.e. almost every issue published)?

1. _____

2. _____

77. Which newspapers do you read occasionally (i.e. at least one out of four issues published) ?

1. _____

2. _____

78. Do you read magazines...(Ring appropriate number) :

regularly	1
occasionally	2
rarely	3
never	4

79. Which magazines do your need regularly (i.e. almost every issue published)?:

1. _____

2. _____

80. Which magazines do you read occasionally (i.e. at least one out of four issues published) ?

1. _____

2. _____

81. What are the three major factors that influence your choice of the newspapers and magazines you like to read ? (e.g. reputation, name of publisher, name of editor, easy availability, cost, interesting articles, good quality paper and printing etc.)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

82. What is the language of the newspapers and magazines you usually read ?

English 1
Hindi 2
Regional language (specify) _____ 3

83. How much on an average does your family spend per month on buying newspapers and magazines ? Rs. _____

84. How much do you like reading about the following kinds of news/topics in newspapers and magazines ? (Tick the appropriate columns) : If you don't read a particular type, leave column blank.

		LIKE A LOT	LIKE MODERATELY	DON'T LIKE AT ALL
1.	International politics			
2.	National politics			
3.	Sports			
4.	Regional/local politics			
5.	Private lives of famous people			
6.	Comic strips			
7.	Cartoons			
8.	Advertisements			
9.	Business & Commerce			
10.	Accidents/Disasters			
11.	Advice Columns			
12.	Editorials			
13.	Letters to the Editor			
14.	Humour Columns			
15.	Interviews			
16.	Film Reviews			
17.	Television Columns			
18.	Science & Industry			
19.	Crosswords			
20.	Astrological Forecast columns			
21.	Any other (specify) _____			

85. How frequently do you talk about topics you read in newspapers and magazines, with the following : (Tick appropriate columns) :

		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
1.	With parents				
2.	With brothers and sisters				
3.	With teachers				
4.	With classmates/friends				
5.	With others (specify) _____				

86. Do you read comics...(Ring appropriate number) :

Regularly	1
Occasionally	2
Rarely	3
Never	4

87. Which type of comics do you read regularly? (e.g. classics, horror, humour, mysteries, biographies, science fiction, legends and myths etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

88. Which are your favourite comics ?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

89. What is your view about each of the following statements ? (Tick the appropriate column) :

		AGREE FULLY	AGREE MODERATELY	DISAGREE
1.	Folk media are more important than mass media for India.			
2.	An advertisement tells the truth about a product			
3.	TV news is government propaganda			
4.	Newspapers have a lot of freedom			
5.	Vividh Bharati is the arm of the film industry			

		AGREE FULLY	AGREE MODERATELY	DISAGREE
6.	TV serials like 'Rajani' don't help to solve social problems.			
7.	TV serials deal only with problems of the urban rich.			
8.	Video does more good than harm.			
9.	Sponsored TV and radio programmes should not be increased.			
10.	There is no such thing as 'youth culture' in India.			
11.	Pop music expresses the mood of young people in India.			

COMPUTERS

90. Does your school teach courses in computers ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

91. Have you ever attended a Computer Class/Course ? YES/NO

92. Would you like to see computers used in your school ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

93. For what purpose would you like to see them used ? (e.g. as teaching aids, for programmed learning, for storing data on students and teachers, in library etc.)

_____

94. Would you be interested in learning how to use and operate computers ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

95. Would you be interested in 'computer literacy' classes i.e. not so much in learning how to operate and employ them but in the influence they have on our lives and on society ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

96. Give the names of any magazines on computers you have seen or heard about :

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

OTHER ACTIVITIES

97. How frequently do the following activities take up your time and attention? (Tick the appropriate column) :

		REGULARLY	OCCASIONALLY	NEVER
1.	Going out with friends			
2.	Going to parties			
3.	Reading books			
4.	Going to plays in theatres			
5.	Going to folk drama folk music performances.			
6.	Taking part in religious festivals			
7.	Going to discotheques			
8.	Helping out in housework (e.g. cooking, washing)			
9.	Going for a walk			
10.	'Chit-chatting'			
11.	Going shopping/marketing			
12.	Attending pop music performances			
13.	Attending Indian classical music performances			
14.	Playing video games			
15.	Looking after brothers & sisters			
16.	Doing home work			
17.	Any other activity (Specify) _____			

III. (In this Section we ask for your views on education about the media such as television, cinema, radio, folk media, etc., at the secondary school level).

98. Have you ever attended a course in 'Media Education/Media Acquaintance (or 'Educommunication'). ? YES/NO (Go to Q.106 if your answer is 'NO').

99. Which organization/institute conducted the course ?

_____

100. Where was the course held ? _____

101. What was the duration of the course ? _____

102. What specifically did you learn from the course ?

THE COURSE TAUGHT ME		VERY WELL	MODERATELY WELL	NOT AT ALL WELL
1.	to appreciate films more intelligently			
2.	to analyse advertisements critically			
3.	to see the bias in news in the mass media			
4.	to understand that audiences use the media in different ways			
5.	to understand the role of media in society			

103. How do you think such a course could be made more useful to you ?

_____

_____

104. Would you be interested in studying about TV, radio, cinema, folk and other media in school ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

105. If a subject called 'Media Education' (Study of TV, cinema, radio, newspapers and folk media) were to be introduced in your school, would be you be inclined to take it ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

106. Would you like to join a film society/club if your school were to start one? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

107. Would you like your teacher to guide you in your use of the cinema, TV, radio, the press and folk media ? YES/NO/DON'T KNOW

108. If you were given the choice, would you like to study 'Media Education' in school

as a compulsory subject 1
as a separate optional subject 2
as integrated with other subjects 3
as a subject outside the school curriculum 4

109. Is there any comment you would like to make about this questionnaire, or about anything else related to the questions asked ?

110. Please write the name of the place, the date on which you filled up this questionnaire :

PLACE : ..... Date : .....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND YOUR HELP.
PLEASE RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO
PROF. K.J. KUMAR,
F4/9, Sunder Nagar, Malad, BOMBAY 400 064.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

1. Dr Binod C Agrawal, Senior Scientist, DECU, Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad.

2. Dr Karuna Ahmed, Head of Department of Education, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

3. Mr T Appavoo, Lecturer, Department of Communication, TTS, Madurai.

4. Dr Bengalee, (Former) Head of Department of Education, University of Bombay, Bombay.

5. Dr M M Chaudhari, Joint Director, NCERT, New Delhi.

6. Mr Dwara, Education Officer, Secondary Schools, Gauhati, Assam.

7. Fr. Mark Fonseca, Former Director of Media Utilization Course, Amruthavani, Secunderabad.

8. Head of Department and Faculty, Department of Sociology, Loyola College, Madras.

9. Francis Jayapathy S.J., Director, Culture and Communication, Loyola College, Madras.

10. Prof. Karna, Head of Department of Sociology, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

11. Dr John Kurrien, author of Elementary Education in India.

12. Dr Indira Kulshrestha, Researcher, NCERT, New Delhi.

13. Mrs Mawlong, Director of Public Instruction, Shillong, Meghalaya.

14. Dr Narain, Head of Department of Sociology, University of Bombay.

15. Dr Uma Narula, Research Officer, Department of Communication Research, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi.

16. "Mediaworld" Team: Myron Pereira, Marie Fernandez, Rita Monteiro, Noeline D'Costa, Asha Andrews and Mercy Fernandes.

17. Principal and Faculty, Hansraj College of Education, Bombay.

18. Prof Abdur Rahim and Faculty Members, Department of Journalism and Communication, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

19. Ms. Taruna Tanwar, Senior Lecturer, Department of Development Communication, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi.

20. Fr Theo Remedios, Principal, Xavier's Institute of Education, Bombay.

21. Prof Emmanuel Raja, Student Counsellor, Loyola College, Madras.

22. Dr Rajani Reddy, Educational Media Research Centre (EMRC), Hyderabad.

23. Dr Verghese, CIET, New Delhi.

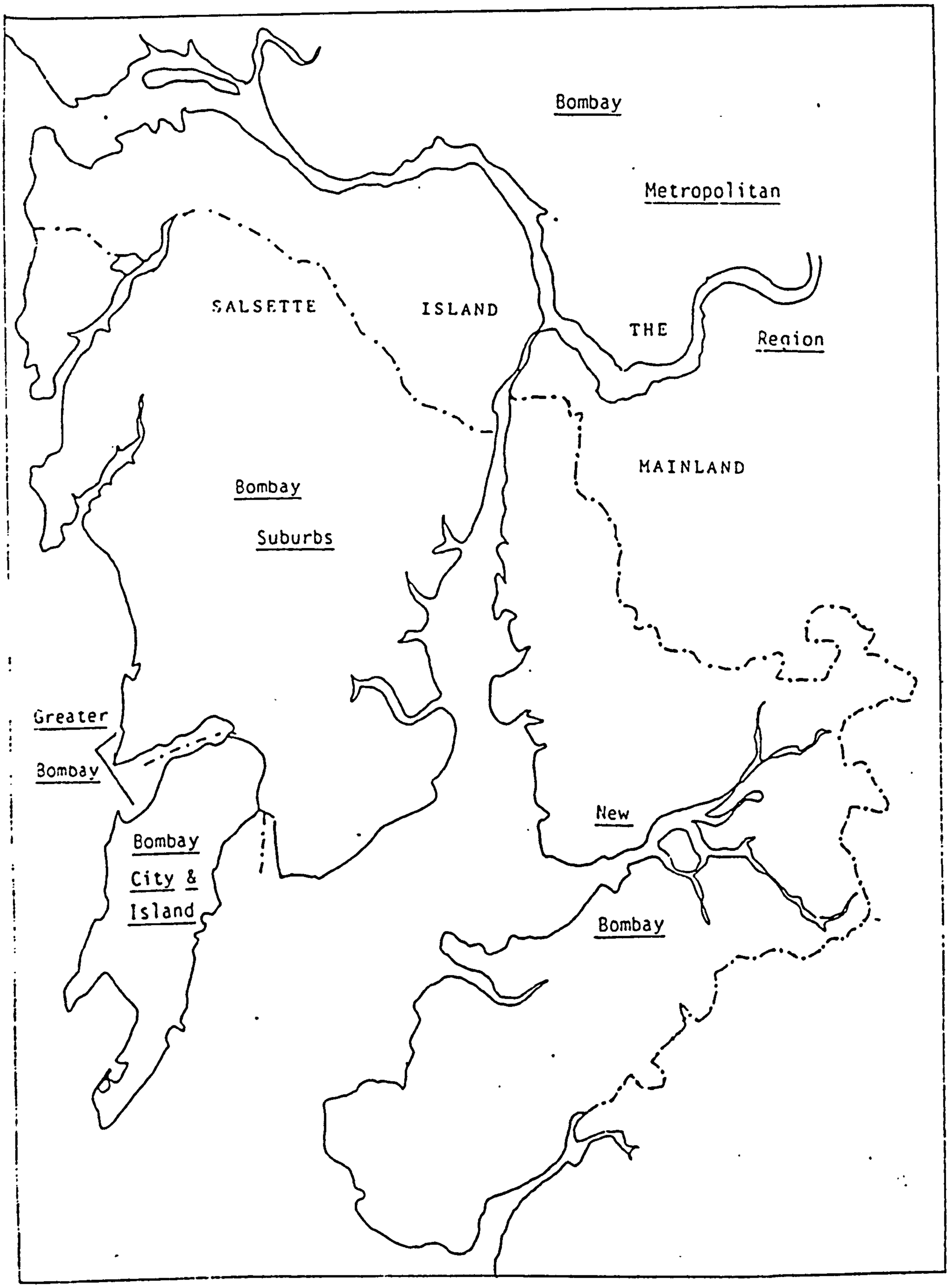
24. Dr Xaxa, Department of Sociology, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya.

25. Director and Faculty, Amruthavani Centre of Communications, Ahmedabad.

26. Dr J S Yadava, Head of Communication Research, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi.

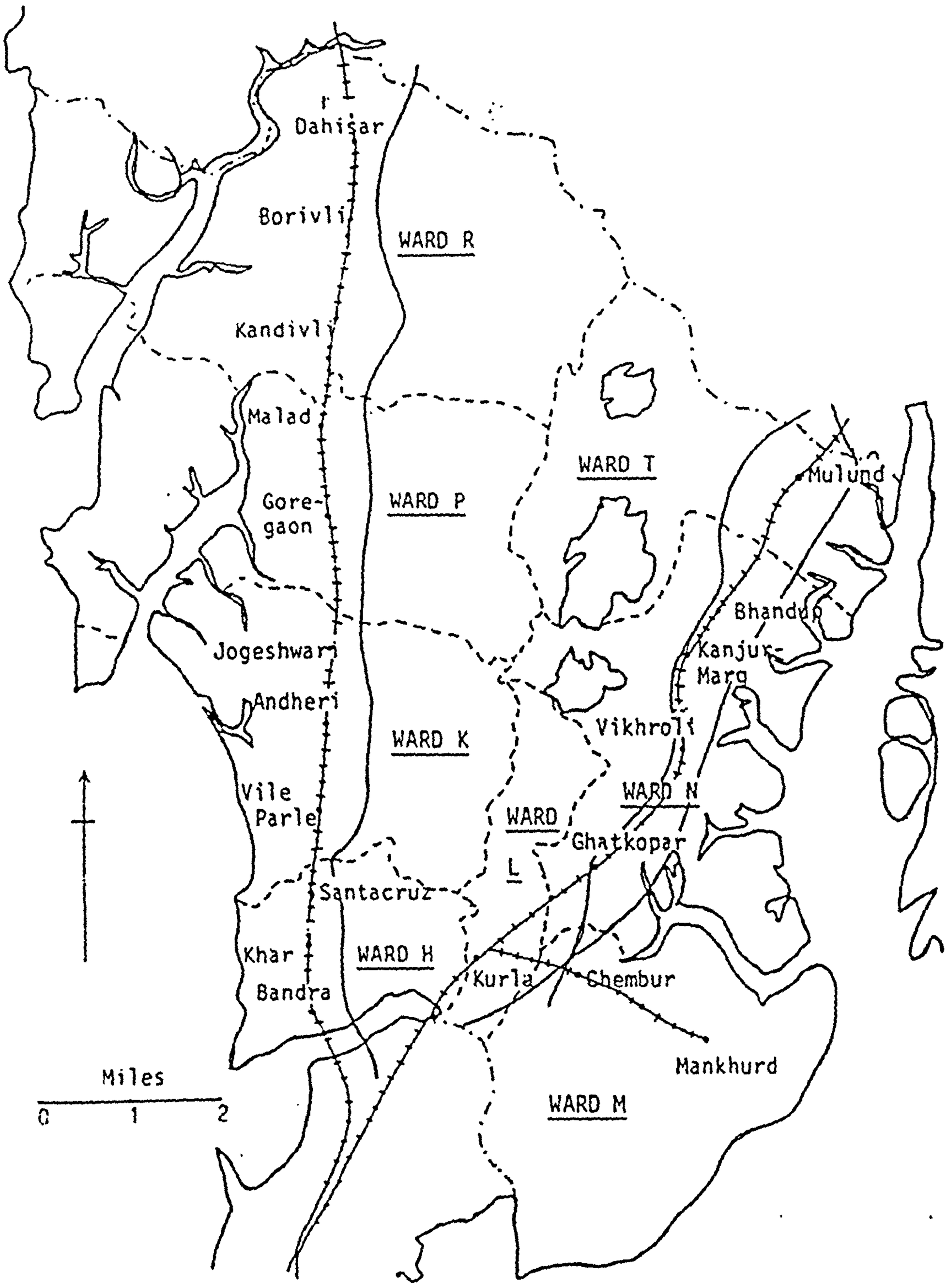
APPENDIX III:

BOMBAY CITY, GREATER BOMBAY AND NEW BOMBAY



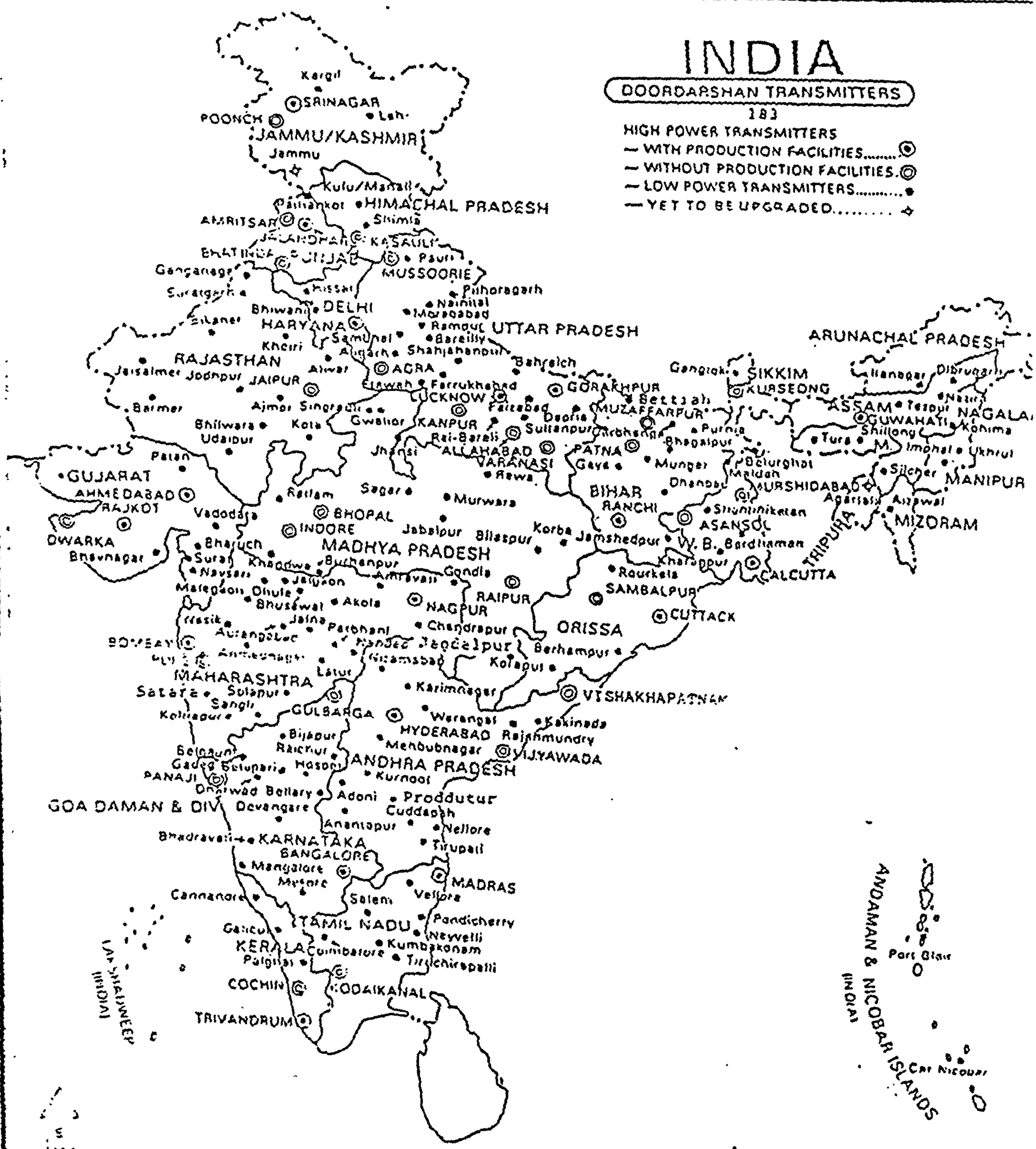
APPENDIX IV:

BOMBAY SUBURBS



APPENDIX V:

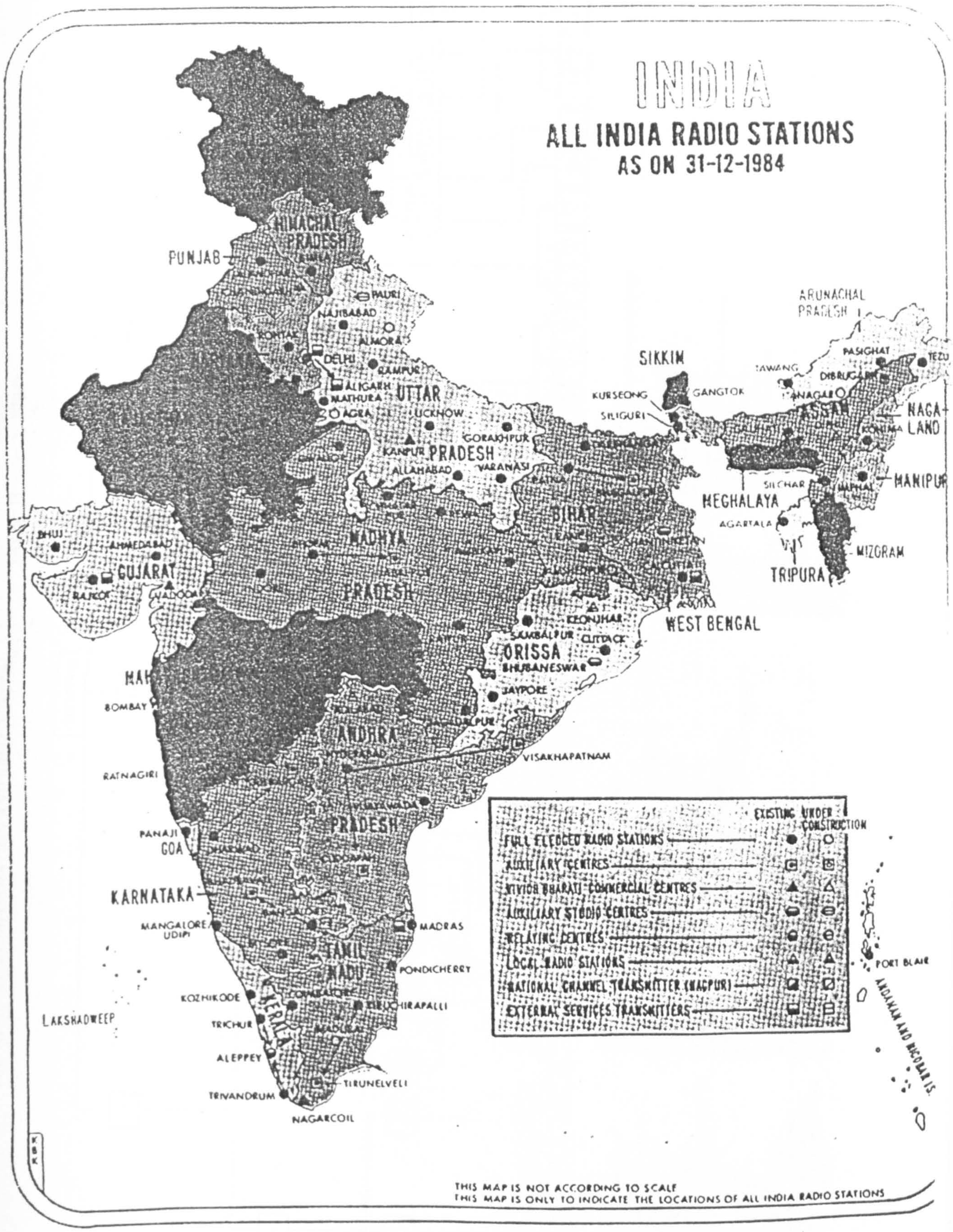
TELEVISION MAP OF INDIA



AUDIENCE RESEARCH UNIT, DIRECTORATE GENERAL DOORDARSHAN

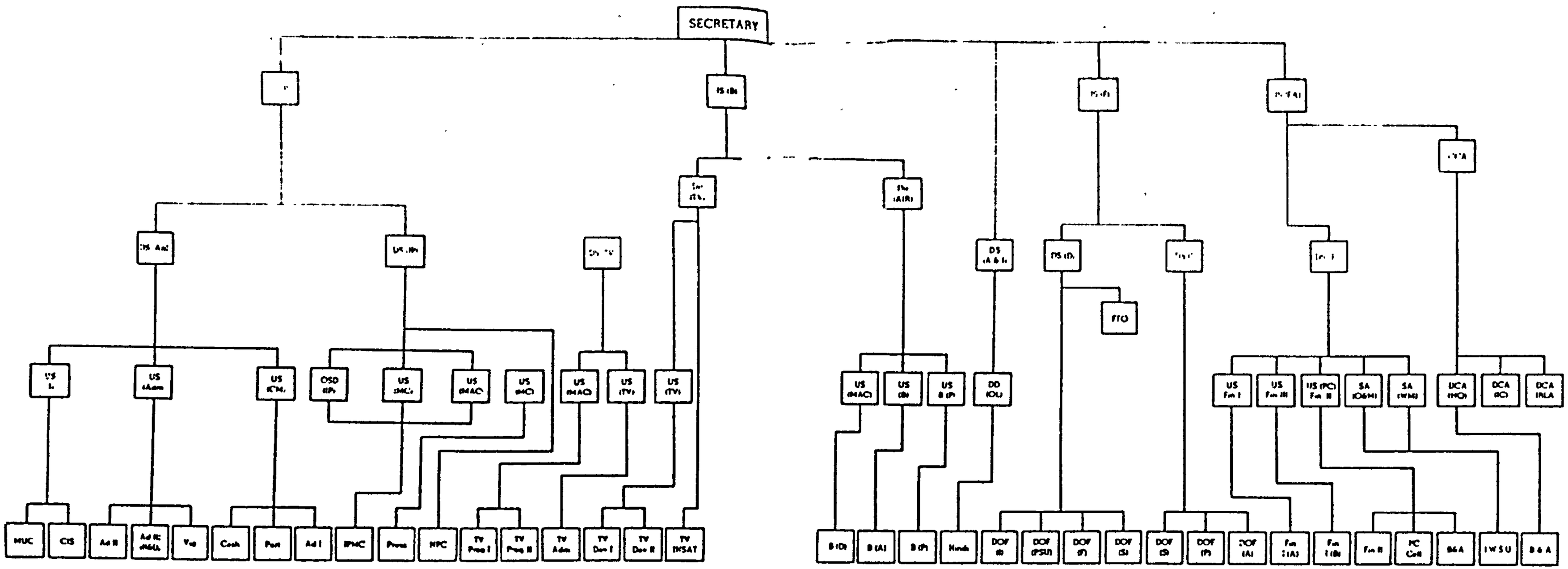
APPENDIX VI

RADIO MAP OF INDIA



ORGANISATION CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

(As on January 1, 1986)



LEGEND

1 IS (P) – Joint Secretary (Policy)
2 IS (B) – Joint Secretary (Broadcasting)
3 IS (F) – Joint Secretary (Films)
4 IS (FA) – Joint Secretary (Financial Adviser)
5 CCA – Chief Controller of Accounts
6 Dir (TV) – Director (TV)
7 Dir (AIR) – Director (All India Radio)
8 Dy Secy (TV) – Deputy Secretary (Television)
9 DS (A & I) – Deputy Secretary (Administration & Information)
10 DS (IP) – Deputy Secretary (Information Policy)
11 DS (D) – Deputy Secretary (Films)
12 DS (F) – Deputy Secretary (Films)
13 DS (Fin) – Deputy Secretary (Finance)
14 FFO – Facilities Officer (Films)
15 US (I) – Under Secretary (Information)
16 US (A) – Under Secretary (Administration)
17 US (CM) – Under Secretary (Career Management)
18 US (MC) – Under Secretary (Media Coordination)
19 US (MAC) – Under Secretary (Media Advisory Committee)
20 US (B) – Under Secretary (Broadcasting)
21. U.S. (BP) – Under Secretary (Broadcasting Policy)
22. U.S. (TV) – Under Secretary (Television)
23. U.S. (Fin.)-I – Under Secretary (Finance)-I
24. U.S. (PC & Fin.)-II – Under Secretary (Plan Coordination & Finance)-II
25. U.S. (Fin.)-III – Under Secretary (Finance)-III
26. O.S.D. (IP) – Officer on Special Duty (Information Policy)
27. S.A. (WM) – Senior Analyst (Work Measurement)
28. S.A. (O & M) – Senior Analyst (Organisation & Methods)
29. D.D. (OL) – Deputy Director (Official Language)
30. D.C.A. (HQR) – Deputy Controller of Accounts (Headquarters)
31. D.C.A. (IC) – Deputy Controller of Accounts (Internal Check)
32. D.C.A. (IRLA) – Deputy Controller of Accounts (Internal Running Ledger Accounts)
33. Admn. I – Administration I Section
34. Admn. II – Administration II Section
35. Admn. III (R & D) – Administration III Section
36. Cash – Cash Section
37. Parl. Cell – Parliament Cell
38. M.U.C. – Media Unit Cell
39. Press – Press Section
40. Vigil – Vigilance Section
41. I.P. & M.C. – Information Policy and Media Coordination Section
42. N.P.C. – News Pool Cell
43. T.V. – Television Section
44. B (D) – Broadcasting (Development) Section
45. B (A) – Broadcasting (Administration) Section
46. B (P) – Broadcasting (Policy) Section
47. Hindi – Hindi Section
48. D.O.F. (I) – Desk Officer, Film (Industry)
49. D.O.F. (PSU) – Desk Officer, Film (Public Sector Undertakings)
50. D.O.F. (F) – Desk Officer, Film (Festivals)
51. D.O.F. (P) – Desk Officer, Film (Production)
52. D.O.F. (S) – Desk Officer, Film (Societies)
53. D.O.F. (A) – Desk Officer, Film (Administration)
54. B & A – Budget and Accounts
55. Fin. I (A) – Finance I (A) Section
56. Fin. I (B) – Finance I (B) Section
57. Fin. II – Finance II Section
58. P.C. Cell – Plan Coordination Cell
59. I.W.S.U. – Internal Work Study Unit
60. C.I.S. – Central Information Service Section

APPENDIX VIII

LANDMARKS IN DOORDARSHAN

1.	TV Experimental Service Inaugurated by the President of India	: 15th Sept. 1959
2.	School Television Project launched	: 24th Oct. 1961
3.	Daily One Hour General Service started	: 15th August 1965
4.	Krishi Darshan - the first rural programme started in Delhi	: 26th Jan. 1967
5.	The Second TV Station inaugurated at Bombay	: 2nd Oct. 1972
6.	Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) introduced in six States in 2,400 villages	: 1st August 1975
7.	Introduction of Commercials in TV	: 1st Jan. 1976
8.	TV separated from All India Radio	: 1st April 1976
9.	Satellite Instruction Television Experiment (SITE) completed	: 31st July 1976
10.	First Post-SITE Centre commissioned at Jaipur	: 1st March, 1977
11.	Launching of INSAT-1A	: 10th April 1982
12.	Operationalisation of INSAT-1A and inauguration of National Programme and Colour Telecasts (INSAT-1A abandoned on 6th Sept. 1982)	: 15th August 1982
13.	Commissioning of 20 Low Power Transmitters and Coverage of IX Asiad through TV Network	: 19th Nov. 1982
14.	Coverage of Non-Aligned Meet through TV Network	: 7th-12th March 1983
15.	Launching of INSAT-1B	: 30th August 1983
16.	Operationalisation of INSAT-1B	: 15th Oct. 1983
17.	Coverage of CHOGM through TV Network	: 22nd-28th Nov. 1983
18.	Programme of Higher Education	: 15th August 1984
19.	Silver Jubilee of Doordarshan	: 15th Sept. 1984
20.	Inauguration of 2nd Channel in Delhi	: 17th Sept. 1984
21.	Inauguration of 2nd Channel in Bombay	: 1st May 1985
22.	Inauguration of INTEXT Service	: 19th Nov. 1985
23.	Terrestrial Transmitters in Maharashtra are linked with Bombay	: 9th August 1986

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APPENDIX IX

DOORDARSHAN RATE STRUCTURE W.E.F. 1.11.1985

(IN RUPEES)

Proposed Grouping	Delhi and relay Trans.	Bombay and relay Trans.	Calcutta/ Madras/ Bangalore/ Trivandrum/ Ahmedabad/ Hyderabad/ Lucknow and relay Trans.	Nagpur/ Jalandhar and relay Trans.	Srinagar/ Guwahati	National Network
10 SECONDS SPOT						
Super A Spl.	25,000	15,000	6,000	5,000	2,500	45,000 *
Super A	20,000	12,000	5,000	4,000	2,000	40,000 *
A	10,000	7,000	4,000	3,000	1,500	25,000 *
B	5,000	4,000	2,000	2,000	1,000	15,000 *
'X' **	--	--	--	--	--	20,000
SPONSORED PROGRAMMES OF DOORDARSHAN						
Super A Spl	40,000	30,000	15,000	10,000	10,000	150,000
Super A	35,000	25,000	12,000	7,500	7,500	125,000
A	22,000	12,000	7,000	4,000	4,000	75,000
B	15,000	8,000	5,000	3,000	3,000	50,000
SPONSORED PROGRAMMES PRODUCED BY SPONSORS						
30 minute Programme	20,000	12,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	70,000
15 minute Programme	12,000	8,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	40,000
SPONSORED PROGRAMMES IMPORTED BY SPONSORS						
30 minute Programme	70,000	40,000	20,000	14,000	14,000	200,000
15 minute Programme	35,000	20,000	10,000	7,000	7,000	100,000
SPONSORED TELEFILMS MADE FOR DOORDARSHAN BY SPONSORS						
90 minute Film						100,000
60 minute Film						70,000

APPENDIX X

PROGRAMME COMPOSITION BY PRODUCTION KENDRA/AGENCY
(May 1986)

PRODUCTION KENDRA/AGENCY	AVERAGE DURATION IN PERCENTAGE	
	Main Kendras	INSAT Kendras
Delhi	27	31
Bombay	7	*
Calcutta	4	2
Madras	6	2
Lucknow	4	*
Jalandhar	6	*
Srinagar	*	*
Bangalore	1	1
Trivandrum	*	-
UDK Delhi	*	4
Cuttack	-	4
Hyderabad	1	2
Nagpur	-	2
Rajkot	*	*
Ranchi	*	*
Ahmedabad	*	*
Gorakhpur	-	1
	56	50.5
Production from other Indian Sources		
Sponsored	15	17
Feature Film/Chitrahaar	12	14
Films Division	2	1
Other Indian Sources	*	*
	29	32.5
Production from Foreign Sources	10	13
Misc. Items	5	4
TOTAL :	100	100

NOTE : Star indicates less than .5 %.

APPENDIX XI

PROGRAMME COMPOSITION BY LANGUAGE
(May 1986)

LANGUAGES	AVERAGE DURATION IN PERCENTAGE	
	Main Kendras	INSAT Kendras
Hindi	38	46
English	29	32
Other Indian Languages	24	13
Instrumental Music/Dance	4	5
Misc. items like Slides/Fillers/ Highlights/Commercials/ Announcements	5	4
TOTAL :	100	100

NOTE : Main Kendras includes Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Jalandhar and Lucknow.

INSAT Kendras includes UDK Delhi, Nagpur, Gorakhpur, Cuttack and Gulbarga.

APPENDIX XII

PROGRAMME COMPOSITION BY FORMAT
(May 1986)

FORMAT	AVERAGE DURATION IN PERCENTAGE	
	Main Kendras	INSAT Kendras
Spoken word	19	14
Serial/Play/Skit	21	21
Feature Film/Chitrahaar	14	14
Sports	8	8
News	11	10
Music	7	6
Documentary	8	14
Dance	2	4
TV Report	1	1
Cartoon/Puppet/Muppet	1	1
Quiz	1	1
Recitation	1	1
Demonstration	1	1
Misc. like Slides/ Fillers/Highlights/ Commercials/Announcements	5	4
TOTAL :	100	100

NOTE : Main Kendras includes Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Jalandhar and Lucknow.

INSAT Kendras includes UDK Delhi, Nagpur, Gorakhpur, Cuttack and Gulbarga.

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