

**A Sociological Analysis of :
MODERNIZATION EDUCATION
AND MASS MEDIA**

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation titled,
"A Sociological Analysis of Modernization Education
and Mass Media" by Mr.K.Jawaharlal, is in partial
fulfilment of 8 credits out of the twentyfour credits
required for the award of the DEGREE OF MASTER OF
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not been previously submitted for any other degree of
this University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be
placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Pages</u>
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	(i)
I	INTRODUCTION	1 - 18
II	THEORIES ON MODERNIZATION	19 - 43
III	MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION	44 - 69
IV	EDUCATION, MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION - THE INDIAN CONTEXT	70 - 85
	CONCLUSION	86 - 88
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	89 - 96

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(K.JAWAHARLAL)

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Modernization

Modernization has found varied conceptual formulations depending upon professional training and inclination of individual social scientists. Also there is an obvious lack of logical consistency or even uniformity of connotations in terms of operational set of variables results in the introduction of new ideas which have relatively little to do with the original concept. (Horowitz; 1966; 306, Andrain; 1965).

Despite this problem to define modernization and its synonymy with terms like development, growth, evolution, etc. (Singh; 1978; 1), an attempt to study the concept based on theoretical orientations is possible. It is also possible to uncover how various societies and governments in their aim to consciously bring about progress follow the same assumptions of the concept.

Conceptually modernization is used to connote a composite process that involves a variety of meanings: cultural, structural, attitudinal, political, economical, etc. Some of the important formulations that have attempted to define the concept modernization are: (i) the psychological (Lerner; 1958, Bafiel; 1958, McClelland; 1961, etc.); (ii) the normative (Almond and Verba; 1965, Gurtz; 1963, Pye and Verba; 1965, Shils; 1961, Bellah; 1964, etc.); (iii) the structuralist (Parsons; 1964, Eisenstadt; 1966, Riggs; 1964, Weiner; 1962, etc.) and

(iv) the technological (Levy; 1966, Rostow; 1960, etc.).

The psychological formulations of modernization link the process with a set of orientations and motivational attributes of an individual referred to as modernity.¹ The assumption is that there are certain given traits of the individual that make him active, mobile and innovational in nature thereby resulting in modernization. Daniel Lerner (1958) calls it 'psychic mobility', a characteristic in man that makes him respond to his environment in a rational, unconstricted manner and with a sense of unpathy. "The mobile person is distinguished by a high capacity for identification with new aspects of his environment; he comes equipped with mechanisms to incorporate new demands upon himself that arise outside his habitual experience". (Lerner; 1958; 69). McClelland refers to it as an 'achievement orientation', while Banfield calls it commitment to 'consensual ethos'.

When modernization is seen as a normative construct, the main concerns are: which set of norms or values is given and the extent of relative autonomy these norms

1 The literature on modernization, the concept modernity though is interchangeably used as to define the end product of modernization, in reference to both the individual and the society at large. The usage of the concept modernity frequently is more often used to refer to the individual traits. (Lerner; 1958, McClelland

and values receive over individual motivations or consciousness. The norms and values identified with modernization are: rationalism, universalism, individualism, humanism, pragmatism, commitment to liberal tradition, civic culture, secular values, etc. (Almond and Verba; 1965, Gurtz; 1963, Shils; 1961, Bellah; 1964, etc.).

The formulations of modernization in a structural framework included elements of both normative and psychological dimensions. Nevertheless, the emphasis is mainly seen at the macro level. According to Parsons structural indices such as bureaucracy, money and market complex, attachment to universalistic norms and democratic associations are pre-requisite of a modern society. Deutech (1961) uses a phrase 'social mobilization' to connote modernization. For Eisenstadt, Welner, Riggs and Bendix, a rational administrative, democratic power system, integrative and consensual basis of economic and cultural organizations are some of the attributes of modernization. "Historically, modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from seventeenth century to the nineteenth century and have spread to other European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth century to the South American, Asian and

African countries". (Eisenstadt; 1966; 4).

The technological definition describes modernization in terms of economic resources or use of inanimate power - 'the ratio of inanimate inputs to animate sources of power' (Levy; 1966). Modernization in these formulations is associated with material inputs and developmental infrastructure that brings about qualitative and progressive mobilisation in social relations in a society. For example according to Everette (1969), 'modernization is the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing style of life'. Blad (1967) defines modernization 'as a process of adaptation to rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied scientific revolution'.

Underlying all the above stated definitions, one observes certain common, core and implicit assumptions: Firstly, the assumption ^{that} / a typology of nations exist, either as modern or traditional wherein the nation's social, economic and political dimensions are taken as indices for classification. (Berger; 1971). Inkle puts it aptly "modern" ^{which} / generally means a nation state, characterized by a complex traits including urbanization, high ratio of social mobility, industrialization, etc. When applied to individuals, it refers to a set of

attitudes, values and ways of feeling, etc., for effective participation in modern society. (Inkles).

Secondly, it is assumed that modernization is an abstraction rooted in the given institutional processes such as capitalist market, bureaucratisation, etc. associated with progressive development of rational, planned and scientific approaches at the societal level. On the attitude and value level, modernity is assumed to give rise to unpathy, achievement motivation, other directedness, etc., thereby progressively reducing the impact of tradition with increasing modernization.

Thirdly, a conscious deliberate attempt to promote change toward modernization is only a means to an end, which is perceived as measurable, precise, predictable and is subject to human control.

Fourthly, modernization assumes that local lies and parochial perspectives will give way to universal commitments and attitudes. An individual becomes the point of focus rather than the group, science takes precedence over emotions, work is based on choice not on birth and mastery rather than fatalism is the orientation towards material and human environment.

Lastly, there is the growing stress of secularization as the effect of modernization, which explains the diminishing interferences of religion in all the activities

at the societal as well as the individual level.

Historically, the first phase of modernization could be identified with the period that followed industrial revolution (Eeinstadat; 1987, David; 1988). During this period modernization as a concept was seen as co-terminous with European modernity and specificity of European civilizations. This concern, explained the change in the social, economic and political spheres, but not as an orientation that perceived the changes as desired and that questioned how to generate this desired change. On the contrary, the approach was purely confined to the study of the end product of modernization in the immediate change in the social relationships. The second phase of modernization - after the II World War finds a shift of emphasis due to various social and political reasons that established the concept ipso facto. Accordingly, modernization was perceived as desirable and as an ongoing process that could be brought about by a conscious attempt - as a means to an end.

There are two dominant theoretical frameworks within which the debate on modernization can be understood. The first and the dominant theoretical approach is the dichotomous approach. Central to the development of this approach is the history of Western societies. This approach perceived modernization as unilinear,

irreversible, teleological and ethnocentric. In addition to this, it also observed that tradition is in opposition to modern, that the two are non-compatible and polar opposities. In addition, modernization as a process would involve leaving behind tradition and passing to the modern stage.

Major impetus and establishment of the dichotomous approach towards modernization after II World War was received from the Parsonian monograph of Dyad. Parsons was concerned with the socially recognized and established roles. He used pattern variables in categorizing roles and role expectations. Underlying his scheme is the assumption that role is a segment of that total action, and is the result of the process of internalization of 'institutionalized normative culture'. And also in the presupposition that based on this scheme, conceptualization of traditional and modern roles and role expectations could be arrived at. The affectivity/affective neutrality choice is concerned with whether the emotions are involved in a relationship or whether detachment is the pattern. Differences/specificity focusses on whether the relationship involves the whole personality or only a limited segment. Particularism/universalism poses the question: is a person's performance of a role judged by special criteria or generally by accepted standards. The ascription/

achievement questions whether a person ^{is} considered suitable for a position by virtue of some quality, or because of some achievement. And finally, collectivity orientation/self orientation closely related ^{itself} to the supposed 'modern trend to individualism and instrumental relationships'.

The second and the opposing trend to the dichotomous approach of modernization could be identified as the 'dialectical approach or the self transformative or mental adaptation or etc. approach. The 'new' approach on modernization has inferred its postulates from the experiences and study of the process of modernization in the developing countries. This framework rejected the postulates that perceived modernization are unilinear ethnocentric and opposed to tradition, and viewed modernization as culture-specific in which tradition and modern co-existed. In other words, a distinction was drawn between tradition and traditionalism and modernization was defined as a process of assimilation and not that of replacement. This debate has led to a paradoxical shelving of the concept, due to the difficulty in defining what is 'modern'.

Education and Modernization

With the growing social and political stress on the need for modernization, identified in terms of scientific knowledge and reason, rationality, active participation, competition, achievement, etc., the questions that gained

centrality amongst social scientists were: how does one consciously and deliberately bring about this change at the individual as well as at the societal level? ; how does one prepare the individuals to adapt themselves to changes induced by modernization? In the light of these questions education as an institution began to be identified as a mobility multiplier, prime mover, as a pre-requisite of modernity, etc., within the modernization paradigm. The relationship assigned a dual role to education viz. of identifying educational institution as an index of modernization and also in the perception that education is capable of generating modernization in the form of change in the value and attitudes of individuals. Some of the assumptions and implicit understanding that underlie the identification of education in such a circular relationship could be identified as given below:

- (1) Education as a process prepares its individuals to modernization by socialising them to a world view that is based on scientific knowledge and enquiry.
- (2) Education as a process prepares the individuals through a process of socialization, the values, norms, attitudes that best suit the new world view.
- (3) At the normative level education as a process and as an institution is linked with the development of a new form of order to evaluate and stratify individuals. This order is based on competence

and achievement and not on ascription in role allocation and role disposal.

- (4) At the normative level education is also assigned to the role of encouraging values and attitudes conducive to the maintenance and continuity of social order i.e. societal integration.
- (5) Education, especially higher education, is a process which enables the development of skilled labour for the overall development of the society. It is also an institution and acts as a reservoir of knowledge (research) which has utility value for the modernization process.

In light of the above assumptions and implicit understanding of the relationship between education and modernization, the theoretical orientations on the role of education in the modernization paradigm could be broadly identified as: structural functionalist. (Parsons; 1959, Shile; 1961, Shipman; 1971, Adams: 1970); psychological (Inkles: 1974) and human capital (Blang: 1968; Schutz: 1971).

Structuralists identify education in the modernization using an index of differentiation, to exemplify the emergence of a new institution in a society purely to fulfill a function which was initially performed by the society. Be it, at the structural level in the form of change in attitudes and values. For the functionalists education in the modernization paradigm is to perform the function of maintaining order through socialization.

Parsons (1959), one of the most outstanding exponents of system approach, analysed American school as a subsystem of the larger social system. Parsons perceived school as a focal socializing agency that bridges family situated at one end with society at the other. It fulfills functions such as skill acquisition, innovation, etc. in discussing about education as a subsystem. Parsons identifies school as a society in miniature. He emphasizes the role the school plays in functioning on the basis of meritocratic principles of hierarchy, creating role differentiation on the basis of skill and knowledge and in making education as a means of social mobility within a system of social stratification based on achievement.

Shipman (1971) assigns education two functions in showing how education has been involved in major aspects of modernization viz. school as an important instrument of change and as a stabilising agent, preparing the young to perceive the world as dynamic and also in accepting change as normal. Similarly Adams (1970) in his analysis of the fit, between education and the modernization process perceives that education is effective in generating social change directed by a rational belief system whereby new social roles and new inter-relationships among roles emerge.

Inkles in his explanation of the role of education in modernization, identifies the role of education as being internal to the individual since it affects the attitudes, values and feelings. He defines school as an organization that serves as a model of rationality, of technical competence, of objective standards of performance and in the principle of distributive justice reflected in the grading system. As a system it aids the process of modernization through reward and punishment, modelling, exemplification and generalization.

Further within the modernization paradigm, the economists perceived the role of education in modernization as acquiring skills and knowledge. This acquisition of knowledge and skills was not seen purely as consumption, but as a form of involvement in human capital that could be measured in terms of input-output analysis and educational investment was equated to that of capital. In other words the individual is the holder of capital that is embodied in his skills and knowledge and that he has the capacity to invest which not only increases individual productivity, but also lays stress on the type of labour force necessary for rapid economic growth.

As a result of the growing interest in the role of education in modernization, ^{there has been an} increased investment in

education in all societies, modernised as well as those who aim to modernise. Moreover, almost all theoretical orientations that link education and modernization, equate education to that of literacy and that of formal education. Or to a kind of reductionist perception of education that excludes the learning activity, the illiterate section is involved in the society and the functional education that takes place outside the school.

Here a plurality of questions arise, can education be seen in a restricted model as confined to that of school, where only a minority of people are exclusively or predominantly concerned with ideas. Is it sufficient for a society to modernise with only a minority of its population as its focus? Will this section of the society act as a sufficient condition and elevate modernization to a universal status, thereby speeding the process of modernization?

Then the question that would immediately follow from the above questions is what is the kind of education that is required in order to bring about modernization?

Education here is not to be seen just as that confined to the teacher-taught relations, skills of reading and writing and those that involve conceptualisation. But, education is to be taken as knowledge which"...

must concern itself with everything that passes for knowledge in society". (Bengo, 1972: 36). The attempt here is not to take a holistic model of education and in the process undermine the role of formal education and emphasize the importance of tacit knowledge. But the aim here is to extend the education derived through a process of conceptualisation to a form of tacit understanding, not just as formal education but as a form of learning through information, entertainment, etc. Moreover, by taking a restricted view of education in mind one also stands to risk either making knowledge meaningless or subjective. Meaningless, because the thinker in formal education in order to arrive at general laws, reduces reality into abstraction by exclusive use of rational factors. Whereas at the other end, tacit knowledge involves modes of perception of knowledge with conceptual thinking as a consequence of experience. In this process, the thinker stands the risk of his conceptualisation being non-susceptable to verification and to any kind of consensus that makes knowledge subjective.

How does one extend this form of education to the illiterate section of the society both efficiently and effectively? Can mass media be perceived as an alternative to the formal education to achieve the objectives? If perceived so, in what sense has mass media been evaluated as an alternative medium to that of formal education? How

is mass media perceived as a variable within modernization framework?

Mass Media and Education

The need to perceive mass media as an alternative in order to elevate modernization as a more universal phenomenon, could be understood at two levels: the first in terms of the growing disadvantages of the formal education to generate modernization. The other in viewing how mass media can overcome the functional barriers faced by the formal education.

The criticisms raised against formal education over the years could be best understood at two levels - 'education an institution and education as a process'. At the institution level the criticism on formal, are given below. Firstly, education as an institution is largely defined and confined to the narrow discipline of learning. That is perceived as exclusive and independent of the learning that takes place outside the school. Secondly, formal education in order to cope with the growing stress on specialisation, deprives the chances of the student to receive a holistic form of learning as a part of the curriculum. Thirdly, as a result of these two effects, there is a widening gap between education and other social institutions. This has resulted the lack of structural

integration between education and other institutions. When education is seen as a 'process', the criticisms that are raised could be identified as given. Firstly, there is ample evidence to show that education as a process involves close contact with the students. In other words, in formal education compulsory enrolment and attendance becomes a pre-condition. Secondly, formal education could be identified as a process that is confined to just the exercising of rational faculty and to that of conceptualisation and not to the use of the imaginative faculty. Thirdly, due to the compulsion in the curriculum, the chances for it to generate disinterestedness amongst students is greater.

As a consequence of these disadvantages of formal education a thrust has also been put on the mass media communication to assist the illiterate section of the society and also in assisting formal education to generate modernization. This process of mass media communication to educate could be identified as 'social learning' that involves an active process of providing information about events and conditions in a society that simultaneously facilitate adaptation and innovation, explaining, interpreting and commenting on the meaning of events and information, providing continuity in recognising a new cultural development and as a source of information. If the societal level mass media provides mobilization for social objectives in the

social, economic and political spheres, it provides information for learning and self education or by giving a personal identity to the individual for the purpose of reinforcement of his personal values. These functions of mass media have been emphasized by 'Schram, Lerner and Pye as an essential to their becoming instruments for political socialization. At the economic level Osgood's contribution explores the strong co-relation with the advertising aspect of communication process. While scholars like Inkles and Lerner lay stress on the individual modernity, this last approach equates the exposure to mass media communications with the emergence of 'mobile personality and efficacy'.

Immediately after independence India identified in its national goal progress in social, economic and political sphere. In doing so, the prerogative was to equate formal education to that of national progress. Due to the limited resources (spread) and the limited reach formal education as a system could have, the spiralling increase of the illiterate section could not be tackled. With the technological revolution and due to the limited reach and spread of formal education mass media became the focus. The assumption was that mass media with ability to overcome time and space, will be able to overcome the structural barriers of formal

education. Alongwith this, the assumption is also that mass media would also be able to speeden the modernization process by supplementing the formal education and also in the form of information, entertainment, teaching at the informal level.

In other words to link the available assumptions of modernization, the role of education in the modernization and the role of mass media in the modernization framework, is the objective of this dissertation. This attempt would be in the form of a critical review of the role of education and modernization and of mass media and its educative role within the modernization framework. As an academic exercise it would be purely exploratory and also provides a theoretical grounding for further research. Given the problem, the study shall consist of the following chapters:

Chapter one will discuss theories on modernization and the theoretical orientations and the debate between tradition versus modern. Chapter two will focus on the role of mass media in modernization with specific reference to its educative role. The fourth chapter will survey the literature on education and modernization in India. This overview will be followed by a discussion of the uses of the mass media for education. The concluding section will wrap up the discussion. In the process, the comparative emphasis on formal education and on mass media will also emerge.

CHAPTER - II

THEORIES ON MODERNIZATION

Ever since II World War, most of the developing countries have taken up the pax Americana and pax Britannica path of progress. Modernization, the concept and its theoretical developments has been seen as *sine qua non* to this progress. Wherein, the progress is seen as the overall progress of the nation, including social, political and economic spheres both at the micro level and macro level.

Running parallel to the view of looking towards the west for emulating progress by the developing countries, was also growing disensus amongst the theorists regarding modernization. In particular the question, what is modernization?, followed by a sequel of methodological questions like, the open-endedness of the concept, identifying modernization as synonymous with concept like development, growth, progress, the problem of empirical verification in the experiences of modernization in socio-culturally heterogenous societies, etc., has led to the paradoxical shelving^{of} the concept and overt usage of the concept.

In this chapter the focus would be on:

- (i) What are the theoretical contributions that have led to the phases of enchantment, disenchantment and differentiation?
- (ii) What is the debate that has led to the above perception on modernization?

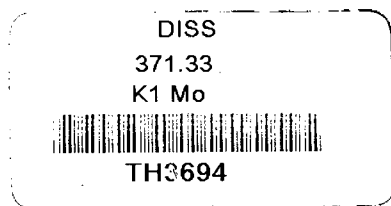
Originating in Europe, it has spread in its economic, political and ideological aspects all over the world and specially since the II World War, it has come to encompass almost all of it. (Eriksen: 1987; viii also 1966).

The concept from a parochial stage has proceeded to a modern stage. (Lerner: 1958).

Interest in the study of modernization theories could be traced to changes that emerged in the 18th century as a result of industrial revolution. Change as a phenomenon during this period had manifested itself in all the spheres of life in the social, political and economic spheres and also in the immediate social relationships that surround social, political and economic spheres and also when seen in its own sequel of time. (David: 1988).

During this period (18th century and 19th century), the basic concern of social and historical thought was to point out the differences between the Western European societies from the others. The procedural way of contrasting the western and non-western societies was, in its attempts, to show the affinity the Western societies had towards the new or modern social type.¹

1 Bandelier could be considered as the originator of the concept of modernity, where he characterised the disjunctions and discontinuous experience of the west as 'le transitor, le fragile le contingent' (David: 1988). And perhaps George Simmel as the first sociologist of modernity in the sense Bandelier used in his 'philosophy of money'.



In this attempt to contrast Western societies with that of non Western societies, a single factor is taken as relevant by the social scientists. The evolutionists argued that European societies were in the apogee of evolutionary potential humanity that is not achieved or actualised elsewhere. (Esinstatat: 1987). Similarly, Weber and Ginsberg used the concept of growth of rationality, enhancement of adaptive capacity by white, technological advances and mode of production by Maox and growth in freedom by Helgel. (Germania: 1981, also Esinstedat: 1966, 1967).

TH-3694

As a result the above attempts to contrast the Western societies with that of the non Western societies became central to the concept of modernization. Ideas such as Weber's "protestant ethic" has encouraged the development and modernization of the West. Moreover concepts such as vita activata (Marx), rational capitalism (Brandel) and industrial mode of production began to be identified with the west.

The notion of peculiarity of Western societies was also expressed as conducive to that of psychologistic views. Examples include entrepreneurial or individualistic psychology on the profit-seeking individualistic man, who were seen as co-terminous with that of Western societies.

According to Tipps (1976) the proper establishment

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and development of the concept of modernization developed in the American sociology of the post-World War II period. The II World War caused profound dissatisfaction with the socio-economic consequences of the stagnation of the inter-war period. These dissatisfactions that arose during this period were represented in the form of acute rehabilitation problems and also as acute economic crisis due to the destruction of the economic infrastructure.

On the political front what espoused the establishment of modernization paradigm was the ascendance of Soviet Union as an anticapitalist challenge to Western domination. In order to maintain their dominance and primary influence over the developing countries, they perceived the path of modernization on evolutionary lines. They maintained the view that the Western societies were in the apogee of evolution by reflecting its unique features as a civilization and that the kernels of which are in principle found in all societies. In other words, by taking the same path any developing country would be able to establish better social, political and economic conditions similar to those of the West. (Gordon: 1989).

The World War II also signalled some changes in the development of macro-sociological and comparative historical studies in sociology. These studies, instead of studying the specificity of European civilization, stressed the question as to what are the conditions which

can facilitate or impede the modernization process.

Theories on Modernization

The literature that emerged on modernization after the II World War could be categorised into two streams based on their theoretical orientations. The first to emerge established itself on certain Western liberal assumptions, which according to Desai (1976) has taken the concept of modernization with a gusto. To begin with, these theories took to crude evolutionary schema of analysis of modernization, either in their analysis of perceiving modernization as economic development (Snelser and Rostow) or as theories of transformation in the socio-psychological level and later to a neo-evolutionary understanding. The second theoretical orientation originated as a contribution of the Marxist and the socialist scholars, who examined the same process, but not under the fabric of modernization

By what process does a society of one type transform itself, or become transformed into a society of another type. (Goldthrope, 1975:5).

The fifties saw the emergence of crude evolutionary theories, that took a very simplistic and automatic view of modernization. According to this view, the epoch of modernization was divided into two stages. One, a stage in which a peculiar constellation of circumstances has led to a well-developed western society that becomes a

model and two, a stage that involves modernization process of non western societies, who have to imitate the west in order to become modernised.²

Amongst the various focal points of specialization in modernization research, one of its main focus was to find a way of increasing economic growth. (Weiner, 1966). As a result of assumed linkages of modernization with economic development, a general perspective in the analysis of modernization as economic development emerged. Both Roslow and Smelser identified modernization as a fit between that of economy and social development and viewed the path to modernization in terms of stages of development.³

2 The sociological theories of the early fifties were largely based on conjectural history for which they were strongly criticised. An important feature was their concern with primitive societies and an hypothetical explanation of how they reconstructed themselves.

3 Smelser outlined four major stages of development before a society can become modernised. The first stage is marked by the emergence of complex technology followed by a second stage of cash crop farming. The third stage is represented as a shift from animated power to industrialization. Lastly is the stage of increasing urban population. Rostow like Smelser identifies 5 stages towards modernization. The first stage is characterised by values of fatalistic type and non centralised power, the second stage provides pre-condition for take off and is characterised by ideas of avowing economic progress due to development of education, entrepreneurship, etc.; third is the take off stage, where traditional barriers are overcome, and finally is the maturity stage which ultimately lead to the stage of high consumption.

But Smelser unlike Rostow on agreement with the global view of the process of modernization, does not accept the view that Western path is the only path towards modernization. Instead he points out that there could be a variety of pre-modern starting points and the impetus to change from these pre-modern points to modern societies could vary from point to point. This divergence in starting points and impetus to change to modern societies according to Smelser may lead to divergent paths of modernization.

However, Smelser while pointing out the chances of emergence of divergent paths to modernization, contradicts himself by suggesting that the local conditions, if they do not withstand these four paths of change, have a similar effect on modernization. At the same time he says that the developing countries will be able to emulate the western path with some local variations, only through stronger political institutions and leadership.

Neo-Evolutionary Theories

Parsons' contribution to the theory of modernization could be assessed in relation to the criticism raised against the evolutionary approach, that evolutionary universalism to the process of modernization cannot be demonstrated merely by the historicity of few events. Here it is pointed out that such an approach, based on historicity

of few events and conjectural history is devoid of theoretical validity and scientific explanation.

Parsons as a reaction to the above criticisms provides a more balanced and scientific approach to the problem of modernization using the framework of social action. The interaction between the 'ego and alter' provides the social conditioning of individual beliefs, motivation and perception and social roles, for the characterization of a social system. This process of conditioning, according to Parsons, is expressed in the form of five pairs of choices or pattern variables that can be empirically tested. These are:

(i) Universalism versus particularism; (ii) Quality versus performance; (iii) Affectivity versus affective neutrality; (iv) Specificity versus diffuseness; and lastly (v) Self-orientation versus collective orientation.

Parsons identifies modernization as a process that follows certain structural evolutionary stages in the growth of societies through differentiation. Societies as they grow, begin with functional indispensable universals of religion, communication, kinship social organization and basic technology. The kinship-based homogeneous society which is internally stratified through territorial spread and social segmentation gradually change due to population pressure. Initially, stratification begins with the bifurcated class system of upper and lower class, which later

on transform into two urban-rural categories each. As a result of this evolutionary trend, stratification later creates an autonomous status structure that is independent of ascription and provides the beginning of differentiation necessary for modernization.

Parsons identifies stratification as the 'sixth evolutionary universal of modernization' ^{and also} outlines other universals which follow through segmental growth, as necessary for modernization. They are: 'cultural legitimation' for the reinforcement of stratification; bureaucratic organisation; money and market complex; generalised universal norms and democratic organizations. All these institutional systems are causally inter-linked, are functionally reciprocal, and represent the essential attributes of a modern society.

The sociological theories that emerged during the late fifties, aimed at the transformation of traditional societies into modern societies using pattern variables as their base. (Hosolitz, Marion Levy, Riggs). Marion Levy, with a primary interest in studying the impact of western technology in non industrial societies makes use of pattern variable in his analysis. Levy deduces that only when the basic role orientations of the developing countries change, economic growth would occur and they would become modernized. "In fact it is a short strip from argument to suggest that if only the basic role

orientations of the third world societies change, economic growth would occur. They would become more like us". (David, 1989: 9).

A few years later, Hoselitz, also made use of the pattern variables and echoed Levy's conclusions. The only difference between the two was that Hoselitz concentrated more on the internal causes of development. By doing so, Hoselitz took a multi-causal analysis towards modernization and argued that cultural social and structural variables are important for creating conditions of economic change. At the same time, Hoselitz is also credited for the futurity he predicted in his interpretation of the process of modernization. In particular, he should be credited for his warning against the effects of reproduction of the western path of modernization on other societies. Besides this, he also underlined the need for serious research on specific societies to relate economic changes with social, cultural and political conditions. (David: 1989).

Much could also be said about Rigg's contribution in understanding of modernization. He too was influenced by the pattern variables and focussed on its functional specificity and its relationship within the modernization paradigm.

Socio-psychological Theories:

The early sixties marked the emergence of scores of empirical studies, which reflected the then current theoretical concerns - ethnocentric, unilinear and irreversible approach. (Foster, Randolph and Randolph, and Rogers, etc.) One of the most famous of early modernization studies which was carried out by David Lerner (1958) is the 'Passing of a Traditional Society', a study of values in Middle East countries.

Lerner in his efforts to establish his hypothesis that 'psychic mobility' an adaptive characteristic in man to respond to his environment with a sense of empathy, rationality and unconstricted participant style is an attribute of modernization and reflects several themes of early modernization theory. In particular, he bred the concept of the typology of categorisation of societies into traditional, transition and modern, to facilitate the perception of process of modernization as global in an evolutionist perspective. His themes further reflects the view that modernization is an infusion of 'rationalist or positivistic spirit' . The western model of modernization exhibits certain components and sequence whose relevance is global". (Lerner, 1958: 46). Here the rate of social change everywhere is a function (linear function), that is largely determined by the number of individuals occurring

to the transitional stratum. "This further suggests that the model of modernization follows an autonomous historical logic - that each phase tends to generate the next phase by some mechanism which operates independently of cultural or doctrinal variations". (Lerner, 1958; 61).

The question of values at a psychological level, was also taken up by McClelland using the 'n ach' scale. It was pointed out that people with high score on the 'n ach' scale correspond with the presence of a high need for achievement (similar to that of Lerner's concept of mobile personality). In this connection, he evolved the concept of a personality attribute or a 'mental virus', which according to McClelland emphasizes self help, competition, entrepreneurship, etc. necessary for modernization.

During the sixties, the probe into the concept of modernization showed a shift from crude evolutionist perspective to a slightly less abstract level of understanding. Structural-functionalists like Esinstedal (1966) and Smelser had proposed models intended to be applied to the developing countries using a neo-evolutionist approach. At the empirical level, sociologists as well as social scientists became more interested in the role of agents of change at the individual level to generate values necessary for modernization. (Inkles: 1966 as one of the prominent advocate). In addition, specific social institutions

necessary for modernization (education, mass media, religion, law, bureaucracy, technology, industry, etc.), were also not neglected.

Alongwith the shift from a crude evolutionist perspective of modernization, the sixties also marked the emergence of critical evaluation of the early modernization theories. The assumption, that tradition and modern were incompatible or as Benedixs identifies as the disjunctive characterisation of tradition and universalism, was challenged. In addition, the assumption that religions other than Christian Protestantism were unable to facilitate industrial development was also challenged. As a consequence, these studies went on to show that other societies, in particular the Asian societies, were capable of adjusting their religious institutions to the demands of industrial development. (Singer, Srinivas).

The sixties flared three different contributions, that added to the understanding of the concept. One of the contributions of this period was the typology that drew a distinction between non-democratic and anti-democratic modernization. The same thing can be seen as the establishment of a typology of different routes to modernization. According to Peter Worsly modernization as a process could take place either on the capitalist

lines or on socialist lines which A.R.Desai on accepting the distinction of Peter Worsley says, "...there is nothing like modernization per se; there is either modernization on capitalist lines or on socialist lines, with all its implications." (Desai, 1976). Modernization on capitalist lines takes on the axis of private property with the capitalist class as the driving force. On the other hand, modernization on non-capitalist lines takes place with the public ownership of means of production. In this model of modernization, the capitalist and land-owning classes are eliminated as the driving force.

Berger and Luckman, selectively borrowing theoretical interpretations from Weber and Durkheim, studied the effects of technological change (primary carriers) and that of education and mass media on the consciousness of the individuals. These studies were made as an exercise to assess how individuals perceived their world and their position in it. Based on the above approach Berger and Luckman interpreted modernization as that there is no such thing as a modern society. There are only societies more or less advanced in a continuum of modernization because the institutional concomitants of technology induce economic growth (David; 1989). Alongwith the above two, this period, late sixties also marked the emergence of the disenchantment approach towards modernization. The new interpretation put forward by the disenchantment approach,

drew its understanding and insights from the experiences of the developing countries. It argued that it would be spurious to perceive modernization as a smooth automatic process. But ^{it} is to be recognised as a process that involves stress and strains. Moreover, it has also ^{been} pointed that the present developing nations will not automatically evolve into modern societies, and that there is also a chance of the modernization process breaking down.

Tradition Vs. Modernity

How far is modernization as a process evolutionary in nature?

How far is modernization as a process evolutionary universal in nature and the forms of modernization likely to develop particularistic patterns in specific historical backgrounds of different societies?

What are the similarities and dissimilarities in the historical experience of modernization?

The above questions acted as the pivot of debate of tradition versus modernity. The cardinal points of the old paradigm or dominant paradigm that were questioned were, the bipolar view of tradition and modernization; on the process of change and the ethnocentric universalism of modernization.

The philosophical influences on the dominant paradigm could be traced to: Henry Man's distinction between status and contract; Tonnie's contrast between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*; and Durkheim's typology of mechanical and organic solidarity. As a form of distinction in which the contrast between the societies is seen as in opposition to the other, either as based on natural or arbitrary will, or seen as whether the community decides the fate of the individual or not, or as based on mechanical or organic solidarity within an unilinear evolutionary schema. Besides the hypothetical dichotomous contrast put forward by the above theorists in the study of societies, their distinction further carried an implicit assumption of value judgement, a value judgement that societies in later stage of the unilinear evolutionary schema as good and as desirable.

Although the traditional vs. modern dichotomy was initially used to clarify changes taking place in the west itself, the concepts were readily applied to the non western societies. The strongest impulse to a process of redefinition of the differences of traditional and modern societies in the non western societies came with the development of macro-sociological and comparative historical studies (Esinstedat: 1967), and from those familiar with western comparative politics and political sociology (Rudolph & Rudolph, 1967).

The differences between modern and traditional societies were perceived in terms of their systematic autonomy of institutions, technology, economic growth, differentiation at the macro level, and in the form of universal commitments, cosmopolitan attitudes and role-structure at the micro level. At the same time, enough emphasis was also put on the differences on the various stages that lead to modernization. In this attempt to redefine the differences between the modernization, the perception that became wide spread was that societies were systems coping with various internal and external problems. These problems were defined in general terms, in the four phases or needs of the Parsonian analysis, and in somewhat concrete form by Almond and Pye. Almond and Pye identified the crisis the systems face in its stages to modernization, in terms of identity, legitimacy penetration, participation, integration and distribution. As any^{of} the process of social mobilisation varies at different stages, so do the organisational structures that seek to cope with these problems.

As a result, the traditional societies were assumed to be inferior, because of their limited capacity to cope with problems or master their environment. Wherein, the tradition was equated as useless and valueless and was relegated to a 'historical wash heap'. (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1967). Tradition and modernity were viewed as

assymmetrical (Hutington) and tradition as a 'residual concept' (Rostow). In the process, traditional societies were defined as co-terminus with those societies characterised as homogeneous, static, ascriptive, with low level of rationality and also with low level of differentiation. In contrast to tradition and traditional societies, it defined modern societies as heterogenous, achievement-oriented, highly rational and differentiated. At the same time, a variety of terms were used to avoid the stigma attached to these words - capitalist society, open society, particularity society, free society, active society, achieving society, secular society, etc. In other words, tradition was perceived as non compatible, non-concomitant and polar to that of modernity and it was assumed that tradition acts as factors in the emergence of modernization.

Despite the reservations concerning the definitions of tradition and traditional societies, the formulations on the process of modernization and the direction of the process were questioned.

...Each civilization according to these theories, follow the same succession of cycles, bring the civilization to an end (Spengler) though not necessarily causing the disappearance of their cultural heritage, since they may be received and incorporated by other civilizations or even accomplish a major role in generating a new one. (Toneybee Sorokin, Kroeber)" (Germani, 1981: 27).

"...modernization implies change, breaking with traditional religions or social institutions". (McClelland, 1961: 166); and also in the definition of social mobilization as a process, "the process in which major characters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are evaded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour". (Deutsch: 1961: 494-495).

In the attempt to explain the process of modernization, the mechanism and the conditions of transition from traditional to modern society, were by and large general characteristics of industrial societies: "social mobilization" which Deutsch interprets as a process which leads to the break away from the old and adopts itself to new patterns of civilization; structural differentiation, rationality (Black); achievement motivation (McClelland); empathy (Lerner); hypothesis of environment and personality (Sagen); technology, etc. In turn the dichotomous paradigm of modernization further assumed, that there exists a total covariance of the rate of change and very close inter-relatedness of almost all major aspects in all. "They form a system in the sense that significant variation in the activity of one component will be associated with significant variation in the activity of all other components". (Lerner, 1963: 329; also Hoselitz, 1961, Levy 1965). In other words, the assumption of co-variance was perceived and often formulated in terms of systematic needs of a modern social system, in which the

basic outputs of one system provides pre-requisites for the functioning of other sub systems.

Implicit within the dichotomous approach, is also a consensus on the formulation that unilinear process of modernization would lead to the wiping out of the heterogeneity that exists amongst traditional societies whose growth would also bring all societies to a level of cultural homogeneity. (Toneybee as its strongest advocate). Following this logic some writers also treat modernization as equivalent to that of Westernization. As Esinstedat (1981) in this regard quoting Golthrope, points out, that, in all these studies there is a growing recognition of the possible diversity of transitional societies and that this assumed diversity would disappear, as it would proceed to the end-stage of modernity'.

The first objection to the assumptions of the dichotomous paradigm was for the reconsideration of a more hypothetical perception of tradition as antithetical to modern, to an analysis based more on observations. In support of this objection on perception of tradition, was the contribution of Weiher (1965) giving a semantic distinction between 'tradition and traditionalism'. The tradition here is referred to as a resultant of a process that involves handed down beliefs and practices from the past. In contrast, identified 'traditionalism' as an orientation that glorifies past beliefs and practises as immutable and resistant to change.

To further supplement the contribution of Welner, and to challenge the direction and process of modernization, historicity of modernization gained centrality. Bellah (1964) argues that 'historicity' sets a limit to the evolutionary growth of modernization without destroying tradition in order to provide a definition of modernization that is not committed to the bipolar view (in particular the conflict between religious and scientific values) Bellah perceives modernization at two levels. The first is seen as a system of new role structures, that is contingent to the 'modern' skills and the second is the 'dual system of values'. In the first, that is contingent to the modern skills, lies on the scientific evaluation of normative problems, open ended and revisable, based on the available knowledge. The second, the dual system of values refers to the categorical values that are beyond the interference of science, as they are rooted in 'existential reality of man'. As a result there would always be parallel need for both scientific role structures and values of modernity, and categorical values of tradition. In effect, modernization emerges into a 'co-existential continuity and self transformation'.

Arguing on similar lines Dube (1967:51, 1965: 43-45) states, that those who think a synthesis between tradition and modernity is impossible and spurious one. The instrumental values of modernization, based on rationality,

scientific world view, open ended, mostly instrumental, developed through internationalisation of norms represented by its role structure may become uniform in all societies, but the same is not true with the categorical or moral values. Because, the moral values are derived from the historical traditions of the society, and not from the role structures that emerge due to modernization.

In addition to the above, the debunking of the assumption of 'cultural convergence' of the modern societies was expressed as:

"Our recent studies (Flieger and Sufranko: 1975; Fliegel, 1976) support these research findings, that none of the research conducted so far demonstrates that, so-called modern men in different nations are actually becoming more similar in values i.e. ^{there is} ~~no~~ cultural convergence but result in parallel change of divergence because the cultural differences are not evaded." (Sufranko: 1977: 499);

"Modern or modernizing societies also differed greatly with regard to the extent to which they retained various elements of traditional social structure, attempted to obliterate them, or tended to develop within them various ways of revival of traditional value". (Esinstedat: 1969: 45).

In other words, a new definition emerged from the debate on tradition vs. modernity, that restructured the perception of the transition of tradition to modern and also the place of tradition in the modernization process. As a consequence the transition of tradition to modern was identified as that of 'assimilation and replacement' (Rudolph and Rudolph); 'genetic fusion' (Kothari: 1970); 'cultural metabolism' (Singer, 1961); 'as change from both orthogenetic and heterogenetic sources (Singh: 1986); 'a continual integrative change that may involve a break down (Dube: 1967: 1965) etc. That gave tradition a new identity of not acting as fetters in the modernization process, but as that influencing the categorical values (Bellah: 1964, also Dube: 1967: 1965) as historical sets to the growth of modernization, that may either traditionalise the modern or modernise the tradition creating its own mechanism of stability and self-perpetuation.

Despite the establishment of the above perception and formulation of the place of tradition and the process of transition of tradition to modern, from that of enchantment, disenchantment and differentiation of the paradigm, there has always been a unanimity on the fit of education in the paradigm of modernization. The role of education is seen as within the 'dualism' framework. where the change that is induced by education in the modernization paradigm is perceived as functioning both

at the macro level and micro level, either synchronically or diachronically.

Initially, within the modernization paradigm there was a strong tendency to assume the primacy of the economic sphere (Lerner; 1958) as for instance, the perception of education as human capital. The assumption was that an investment in education will generate a pattern of rate of returns, necessary for modernization. At the social level, the rate of returns is seen as that of in the form of GNP, GDP of the Nation and the individual level education is seen as capital that would generate a rate of return with the application of the know how.

With the shift to the focus on normative aspects in the modernization paradigm, the perception of the role of education was seen as socialize as well as general the 'new role structures' and 'instrumental values' necessary for modernization. These are the values of rationality, scientific world view open ended, empathy, achievement motivation, performance, affective neutrality, etc. at the individual and as bringing about urbanisation, industrialisation etc. at the macro level. OR as literacy is the basic personal skill underlying modernization process (Lerner); education is the most important factor in making men modern (Inkles).

Pointing out the cultural modernization through

education and the dualism of its role, Singh (1986) associates the more positive value with the learning of physical and biological sciences, medicine and engineering because it creates manpower for economic and industrial growth that contribute to the modernization of society. Whereas, on the contrary, he perceives that the content in the humanities and social sciences contribute to the modernization of man attitudes, values, etc.

CHAPTER - III

MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION

At both the domestic and international levels, the process of modernization depends upon people receiving new messages, new pictures and images of what life can be, and learning new responses to new stimuli. (Pye: 1963:6)

In this chapter the emphasis would be on the individual in the various models of media effect; discussion of various models based on the nature of message and on how mass medias are perceived in the modernization framework.

The word communication comes from the Latin verb, 'communicare', which means to make common, to share, to impart, to transmit. With the objective of facilitating social interaction in a society, by using symbolic representations of shared significance in a society, the symbols may be gestural, pictorial plastic or verbal or any other which would serve as a stimuli to communication. Verbal communication may be oral or written and is by and large accompanied by non-verbal communication called the para-communication.

Communication in any society, be it a tribal, peasant or an industrial society, is used to convey a simple message of conversation between individuals or

those that involve a complex process of conveying messages like rituals, etc. Further, communication though explicitly used to facilitate a common understanding amongst the people in interaction, is also implicitly used to assimilate ideas, values, beliefs etc. by an individual in a society. In other words communication is a backbone of all social process that facilitates social interaction and assimilation through messages, using formally coded, symbolic or representational events of shared significance.

Alongwith the impetus for a systematic inquiry to the understanding of communication, the medium of transmission of the messages also gained centrality. In particular with the advent of industrial revolution, studies that were concerned with production, content, transmission, perception and use of the messages.

In light of the above systematic inquiry mass media is defined:

'as impersonal means of communication by which visual (that may include written word or plain visual symbols) or auditory messages or both are transmitted directly to audience' (Gould and Kolb: 1964); 'as a mechanism of impersonal reproduction intervenes between the speaker and the audience' (Klapper: 1949); 'mass

medium is essentially a working group organized around some device for circulating the same message at about the same time to a larger number of people' (Schram: 1972); 'as that medium that reach millions of people simultaneously; "as that medium that is directed towardé a relatively large heterogenous and anonymous audience, mass communications may also be characterised as public, rapid and transient, and the communicator in mass media usually works through a complex corporate organization embodying an extensive division of labour' (Wright : 1959). In brief, mass media comprises of a communication system that involves an impersonalised message, communicated to a large heterogenous and anonymous audience rapidly and simultaneously either written word, visual or auditory exclusively or simultaneously e.g. the print media of magazines, newspapers, books, pamphlets, etc. and the broadcast media of the radio, television, movies, etc.

In addition, other is an assumption that the mass media as a medium also served functions of: surveillance of environment, which means collection and distribution of information concerning events - watchman (Laswell) information (Schram and others) etc.; interpretation of the information about the environment; transmissions of cultural focusses like values, social

norms, etc. from one generation to another - teacher (Laswell, Schram and others) and finally entertainment (Hartman, Sibert and others), with the ability to deal with either of the functions exclusively and all the functions simultaneously. Functions of mass media that will lead to unpathy (Lerner); other directedness (McClelland), mobility multiplier (Inkles); aid in decision making and learn attitudes and values (Schram), that are necessary for modernization.

Before one goes into an understanding of the literature relating to mass media communication and its role in the modernization paradigm, an understanding of the development of the literature on mass media becomes essential. A close look at the literature on mass media, reveals two distinct debates throughout its development. One, a debate in perceiving the audience in the communication process and the other, is the disensus regarding the effect of the mass media, i.e. the role assigned to the audience within the communication process and how the audience are effected.

The initial phase - during the interwar period, the audience exposed to mass media communication, were portrayed as 'passive', that the audience showed no resistance to the message based on the analogy of

a sponge, absorbing all the information disseminated without any sense of resistance or involvement of selective absorption of the message.

Underpinning this argument was the then fashionable view, though, not unchallenged, that urbanization had created a society that was volatile, unstable, rootless, alienated and inherently susceptible to manipulation. It also defined urban man as relatively defenceless and as an easy prey to mass communication, since he was no longer anchored in the network of social relations and stable inherited values. At the same time, there were also unseemingly persuasive evidences to prove that mass media had brainwashed people during the First World War and had engineered the rise of Fascism in Europe between the wars.

The period between late 40s' and early 60s' gave rise to a new orthodoxy, which portrayed the mass media having only a limited influence - a reassessment of man's susceptibility to the influence of mass media exposure. "This view was succinctly stated by Klapper (1960), ordinarily do not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects" (Gurvitch: 1977: 8). This perception of media effect broke the myth that audience were passive receivers.

At the same time, this view was further strengthened by the empirical demonstration of selective audience behaviour - showing that people tended to expose, understand and remember communication selectively, by the 'gratification studies', that audience are 'active' and bring to the media a variety of different needs and uses that influence their response to media.

The above argument that perceived the audience as active, was a result of the repudiation of mass society thesis. On the contrary, this model viewed society as comprising of small groups bound by rich personal ties giving rise to 'stable group pressures', that helped the individual to shield himself from all pervasive media influence. The salience of stable group pressures in the society was equated as a 'buffer agent' against the media influence and to view media influence as that based on a 'diffusional model' rather than on a 'hierarchical process' (Gurvitch: 1977). Similarly perceived that the difference in social status of an individual and the difference in personal influence as a form of social mediation of media messages (Katz (1960) and Lutzerfeld).

Further, the image of the audience as a natural prey to message disseminated by the mass media was challenged by the 'Cognitive Dissonance Theory' and

theories of personality formation. For example, the Cognitive Dissonance Theory, postulated that people deliberately avoided media messages in order to minimize the psychological discomfort of having incompatible values, beliefs, interests and messages, etc.

The late 60s and 70s marked the rise of a new orthodoxy that challenged the limited effect model, by two opposing works, viz. (i) growing out of a theoretical approach or the liberals, based on the empirical studies (Jay Blumer, in particular), (ii) media as a powerful agency, by the Marxist and Neo-Marxist critical tradition. "If the institutional paradigm is a call for abandoning the mass society model as the measure of power, critical theory is a call for reinstatement". (E. Katz: 1987: 530). "In fact the classical empirical studies did not demonstrate that the mass media had very little influence on the contrary; they revealed the central role of the media in consolidating and fortifying the values and attitudes of audience members". (Gurvitch; 1977: 74) - the absence of media conversion was equated with the absence of influence. In other words, a trend of reassigning the status of passivity to the audience made its impact. It was a shift from

a perception of the media as an overwhelming powerful force to a more cautious assessment. A perception that interpreted the effect of the media in conditions when audience attention is casual; when information rather than attitude or opinion is involved; when the media source is prestigious; trusted or linked; when monopoly conditions are complete; when the issue concerned is remote from the viewers experience or when personal contacts are not opposed to the direction of the message or when the recipient of the message is cross-pressured, the individual loses the capacity to be an active selector of the message. Or as the neo-Marxists would interpret it as when the dominant meaning systems are moulded and relayed by the media, they are adapted by the audience and integrated into class based or situated meaning systems (McCron).

As a consequence of the above debate, the structuralists established themselves by interpreting the relationship between the text and subject as a shift from that of 'ideas to ideological' in order to study the effect of the media. Three, frequently used models can be identified namely: the effects models; use and gratification model; and the cultural ratification model.

The Effects Model

The effects model concentrates on the direct influence the mass media has on the audience. Since the model's primary concern is with the effects of mass media communication on its audience, it derives the nomenclature - 'hypodermic model'. The assumption is that mass media injects into the audience a dose of persuasive communication, with a uniform effect on the audience. Simultaneously, the model further assumes that the mass media operates directly on the audience with nothing intervening between the two - unmediated, rather as a stimulus - response model where the individual is assigned a status of total passivity in the model. The most important draw back of this model, is that it narrows down the attention to a very limited idea of the consequences of mass media and effects without a reference to the content. In other words, one could also interpret that the model assumes homogeneity in the degree of passivity amongst the audience.

The Use and Gratification Model

This model is in part a reaction to and an explanation of the failure of the effects model (rejects the passive role of the audience). Underlying it is

the function of the media in viewing the audience as active and self determining rather than as passive absorbers of mass media communication. In other words, audience ~~is~~ the manipulator rather than being manipulated.

An important shortcoming of this model is that the model assumes that mass media usage is highly purposive but fails to establish the generality of this claim since a substantive amount of mass consumption is unplanned, unintended and accidental. In other words, the model takes the view of overemphasizing the 'Purposive nature' of the media utility by the audience.

The Cultural Ratification Model

This model is structured on the basic principle that the media along with many other social institutions act as agencies of the political control in the society. It presents a world view to the members of the society according to which media regenerates continually and pervasively the ideological structure that are required for the maintenance of the existing power structure. It proclaims that the media prevents change in society, which would threaten the values, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of those members of the society who own the means of the communication or who are exposed to the messages disseminated by the mass media. In other

words, a section of the society who is in minority, manipulate the media by disseminating messages to an audience who in turn get manipulated.

Along with the changes in the perception of the role assigned to the audience by the mass media exposure, there is diversity in opinions for alternative paradigms in distinguishing between 'short run effects' and limited effects to bring^a change in the opinion of individuals. All of these would be roughly put into four groups (E.Katz, 1987), viz., limited effects model; the institutional model, critical model and finally the technological model.

The limited effects model tell us 'what to think or what to do', whereas the institutional model says, 'what to think about'. The critical paradigm directs the audience by saying 'what not to think or what not to think about and finally the technological model - 'How to think or where to belong'.

The institutional paradigm (McComb and Shaw) equates, 'what to think about', purely as political, because of its emphasis in identifying the role of media in transmitting information in a political system. The media is treated as agents of persuasion to structure voting behaviour, rather than as information to aid voting behaviour - that is very similar to the

limited effects model. Further, the paradigm substitutes voting behaviour for politics and narrows the political role of the media to that of influencing voting behaviour. Simultaneously, the paradigm underestimates the influence of media in other realms (Chaffee and Hochheiner). In the process, it ignores the 'knowledge gap' phenomenon, that information campaigns increases knowledge unequally, is attributed to the fact that better informed learn more (Tichner).

Since the social psychological frame of reference is in terms of the 'constructionist proposition', the paradigm shows media as a powerful instrument at the system level more than at the individual level. "Planning these findings in their institutional context, sometimes makes media powerful at the system level, what seemed weak at the individual level". (E.Katz 1987: 529). At the organisational level, the outlook is to point the ways in which media has transformed political campaigning and also its capacity of framing of conflicts at all the political levels, whereby a sense of order is communicated to the public. (Coleman, Glasgow, Cram et al, Adoni et al).

The major concern of the 'critical paradigm' - what not to think or what not to do is over the ownership and control of the media; the process of gate

keeping and finally the problem of quality and value (Adorni). The sociologists influenced by this paradigm - Glitin in particular and others (Tuchman, Molotch and Lester, Gans, Burns, Roch etc.), have been attracted to observe the relationships amongst the 'media professionals, their sources and their bases'. At the same time, 'the content analysis', which in turn restricts choices or false choice to the audience, giving legitimacies to the elites who set the agendas.

Philosophically, if one sets out to compare the 'critical paradigm with that of the 'institutional paradigm', one finds that the critical paradigm calls for the reinstatement of the mass society model. "If the institutional paradigm is a call for abandoning the mass media society model as a measure of power, critical theory is a call for its reinstatement". (E. Katz: 1987: S 30). At the same time, the critical paradigm in terms of powerful effects overlaps with that of the institutional paradigm, i.e. the power to construct "political and social reality", that would define legitimate and deviant behaviour (Glitin: 1978). Whereas the difference is, that the critical model operational site of media influence being on merely in the form of reinforcement - 'what not to do or what not to think' - the inclination to the empirical

studies in the institutional model is that at least some audience must be receiving the messages with a sense of 'opposition'.

The boom in studies of critical paradigm has almost overshadowed two pioneering empirical studies which operationalize on a more classical critical sense - those of Grebner and Gross (1976) and Nolle-Neman (1973) from the political spectrum (E. Katz: 1987). Both these studies draw upon the classical mass society theory which perceived the individual to be confined to the home. For the fear of going out (Grebner); or silent, for the fear of being ostracized (Noelle-Nenmanan). Thus, the absence of contact with others outside the home results in a high degree of pluralistic ignorance thereby increasingly depending on the mass media as 'definers of social reality' (Beell Rokeach). Grebner sees the 'hegemonistic message' of the media as a call for law and order in society, while Noelle-Neumann sees it as a propagandist of the 'left press'.

Finally, the technological paradigm (McLuhan, Innis, Cavey) with its emphasis on information how to think and how to organize, does not take much care about, what the message is or the extent of control over the medium. The paradigm as such rejects the

linearity of thought by laying emphasis more on the multidimensional process of thought. The paradigm assigns a status of causal agent to technology that results in transcending the neighbourhood to giving rise to national character - the concept of 'global village'. Unlike the 'institutional paradigm or the critical paradigm, the objective in the technological paradigm is that of information rather than influence with the target group shifting from individual to social organisation in the recent past.

Historically, one could divide the theories on mass media and its fit in the modernization into two groups, viz. theories which focus on the approaches towards effectiveness and the theories which focus upon the potentialities of media in bringing about modernization or on its 'efficiency'.

Amongst those who focus on the efficiency of mass media in bringing about modernization, there are two approaches. One at the macro level where mass media is seen as an institution in interaction with other institutions thereby bringing about modernization. The other is the process of modernization at the micro level with the prime focus being on to generating attitudinal change at individual level that would result in the modernization of the society. "Among

the direct and immediate effects which on exposure to the media may have upon the individuals, are changes in attention, saliency, information, skills, tastes, images, ^{and} attitude. Changes in anyone of these in turn change each of the others". (I.Pool: 250). Amongst the theorists dealing with the effectiveness of mass media communication in the modernization framework one comes across the following approaches: (a) two steps flow communication; (b) cultural specific models; (c) models proposing a combination of traditional and modern technologies of communication.

Theories on Efficiency

According to Pool, Lerner and McClelland thesis, "... is that neither of these depend upon a two step flow of communication. Neither of them is predicated upon opinion leaders or political organisations paralleling the media. They are concerned with effects which the media have directly". (Pool: 1963: 250).

Lerner (1963), in his analysis towards a communication theory of modernization, begins with an assumption that 'modernity is an interactive behavioural system'. The central question on modernization was to evaluate the role of mass media in generating

"social mobility".¹ Accordingly, Lerner defines the communication crux of modernization as follows: Firstly, that mass media brings new aspirations to the people and then since the individual imagination overturns societal achievement, it brings dissatisfaction. Secondly, despite the non-evident risk of frustration the mass media continue to spread around the world inexorably and unilaterally. Finally, modernization conceived as the maximization of satisfaction, if and only if clarifying a communication theory and practice are activated, as a form of investment that would result in change/mobility (unpathy) and in new forms of behaviour and new models of socialization at the societal level. On doing so, Lerner further stresses the preconditions that enable mass media to function as a viable instrument of modernization. "The mass media, as index and agent of modernization, had to grow in the sector where every pattern of production and consumption was growing or else remain stunted". (Lerner: 1963: 346). It is ^{because} the mass media production involves plant

1 The other institutions that contribute to social mobility are economy, the police, the family, the community and the school.

equipment and personnel which is subjective to the country's economic capacity whereas the consumption of the media is determined by cash, literacy and motivation that involve purchasing power of the media and motivations involved as want to read or listen or see.

Apart from Lerner's concept of empathy, the other is 'achievement motivation' described by McClelland. McClelland with a more psychological interpretation of modernization, looks at social progress with the prevalence of a strong need for achievement in a population. He interprets modernization at two stages: the first being 'breaking with traditional religious or social institutions (that is brought about by the development of n'ach'); and the second stage directing the people as to what should take the place of tradition. "A country that wants to modernize rapidly is faced with two key problems; on the one hand, it must discover a source of energy or devoted commitment to realizing economic goals, and on the other hand it must break with traditional ways of doing things and promote new social norms". (McClelland; 1963:166). In other words 'breaking with tradition' is not a sufficient condition, but a necessary condition of modernization. However, breaking away from tradition

would result in confusion, leaving a mass who have no single expected behaviour. It is in directing these confused individuals', mass media role is seen within the modernization paradigm by McClelland. "What takes place of tradition in countries that have modernized rapidly is public opinion as organised and presented by various means of mass communication (McClelland, 1966). That is to say, the role of mass media is to express a 'public opinion' regarding the expected behaviour. As^a 'public opinion' that involves psychological willingness to pay attention to it and the physical means of making sure that the people get exposed to it through mass media - which he calls the 'human motivational capital'.

Despite identifying the structural fit of mass media in the modernization paradigm, McClelland defines other important variables, which would enable the mass media to attain modernization. "Neither economic nor psychological variables by themselves are sufficient. Political development will likewise have to be understood not only in terms of power relationships between various sub-sections of the society but also in terms of the motivational characteristics of these sub groups and the presence or absence of the dictorial motivational pattern..." (McClelland: 1963: 72).

Mass media (mobility multiplier) is treated as the 'third modernizing influence', by Inkles (the other two are school and factory) in a society.² Similar is Khal's observation based on his study in Brazil and Mexico that mass media participation is one of the important dimension that constitute the 'core of modernization (others are socio economic status, formal education, literacy and work experience) at the individual level.

In the model proposed by Inkles, on the one hand, we find mass media as placed between education and factory, while, on the other hand, mass media is placed at the level of general information, giving rise to a sense of 'personal efficacy'. At the same time mass media is seen as an intervening variable rather than as an independent variable, seen on par with family, community, factory, formal education (in particular literacy - as a prime mover which is slow and a long term process). According to Dutschmann, literacy is a prerequisite for exposure to the mass media that results in greater knowledge or as a

2 The other two are school and factory that have modernizing influence in a society.

stimulated process. However there are evidences (Rogers with Svenning), which show that a part of functional literacy on various indices of modernization also occurs through mass media exposure.

In support of the above view, namely, mass media's dependency on literacy, its role in generating literacy, Whiting points out that one of the other consequences of exposure to the media include the development of literacy i.e. in increasing the number of literates and help the literate to retain this skill taught in schools (S. Boadu: 1981).

Likewise for S.Boadu (1981) the role of mass communication in modernization could be associated with the following changes: that media was responsible for (a) Charactrological changes (providing people with new role models that help promote a more active, participant orientation in the populace); (b) development of new skills needed for survival in a fast changing society; and (c) the socialization of the masses.

At the macro sociological level mass media communication within the paradigm of modernization is seen as a point of diffusion of information, persuasion, and identification. There is an assumption that the

disseminated message is effective and would result in development. This systems approach perceives mass media as an institution which would bring about modernization at the institution level and would reflect upon the individual making them modern. (There have been studies, not using a systems approach show a positive relationship between mass media and national development - Rao (1966), Deutschmann (1963), and Troidal). In other words, at the macro level, mass media communication serving the purpose of information persuasion ^{and} identification is seen as an intervening variable, alongwith other sub-systems - in particular economic and political institutions.

At the economic level the greatest contribution of media has been the 'understanding of consumer preferences'. At the same time, the process of persuasion of consumers ^{is} to buy their products by providing an information boom. In particular, Osgoods contribution is to perceive the advantages of mass media communication from a purely advertising point of view.

Theories on Effectiveness

The theories on effectiveness of mass media communication in modernization framework indicate that people's attitudes are not changed by the direct action

of communication via mass media. Instead, changes take place as a result of face to face communication or the intermedia process amongst the significant other to the self conception alongwith mass media. (This opinion was expressed by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gauder). The other significant could be either a political leader, a reformist, a community head or a family head, a peer and so on based on the situation. The most detailed study showing the need for a two step flow model has been provided by E.Katz (1963) in his study on the developing countries. Similarly, the two step flow hypothesis is expressed as - sensitive interaction between professional communication and those with influential positions in the network of personal and face to face communication channels.

This approach has lead to an epistemological shift in Schram's perception, that as ^{much} important is the process of communication from the top to bottom equally important is the communication between people at the same level. Apart from these two steps flow hypothesis towards communication, there are yet other generalisation put forward by sociologists for the effectiveness purpose. In particular M.Mead's (1960) cultural approaches to communication problems - "They serve to point out that they vary in great number of

ways in which communicator and communicators intent, audience and audience responses may be institutionalized in different cultural systems and also in different facets of the same cultural system". (M.Mead: 1960: 337). So is the typology proposed by Mitra (1973) of transmitting in the language and symbols understood by the group, sharing and involving through instruments most suited to a traditional society - traditional media, persuading and convincing that new technologies and concepts are better than the old.

The most important criticism is that the entertainment role of mass media and its role in conveying the values necessary for modernization has received very little attention (P.Hartman: 1989). However, the paradigm has received a majority of its criticisms on the role played by the mass media in the developing countries since mass media as an institution do not portray what situations exist but portray what ought to exist, giving rise to inflated aspirations. Moreover, mass media is also seen as favouring the rich and not the poor thereby widening the gap between the haves and have nots. Besides, the two step flow model of communication is criticised to being an elitist approach and the lack of media in bringing about

attitudinal change is associated with 'individual blame' rather than the 'system blame'. (Paul Hartman: 1989).

In brief, the role of mass media communications in the modernization paradigm is seen as: generating change in attitudes, as a mobility multiplier, other directedness, functional literacy, helping to retain literacy, empathy, etc., characteristics that are necessary for modernization. The influence of these approaches on the role of mass media in modernization paradigm is perceived through its function of 'information or interpretation or diffusion or teaching or entertainment' or all at the same time or in various combinations.

Besides, the kind of government also determines the kind of investment on mass media and in turn it aids the government in achieving its objective. It has been pointed out in general that all societies adopt either the communist path of modernization or the capitalistic path of modernization (Pool: 1963). In the communist societies, investment is distributed more or less equivalently both on education (formal) and mass media programmes of exhortation addressed to adults wherein the role of mass media is seen as an adjunct to the political organisation and not as

an independent base for political power, with the thrust of the media being on 'what not to think!'. On the contrary, in most of the developing countries adopting the non-communist path of modernization, investment on education is higher than in the mass media. The role of mass media in these countries is to act primarily as an institution of information giving rise to a group of people sharing a common fund of knowledge or as an institution of persuasion.

CHAPTER - IV

EDUCATION, MASS MEDIA AND MODERNIZATION
- THE INDIAN CONTEXT

This chapter focusses on the studies relating to education and modernization. It provides an overview of the studies and sums up the interlinkages between the two. The studies relate to education as content as well as process. Then the connections and the need for the use of mass media in education are explored. It is argued that the need for mass media is imperative in a society in which a large majority of the people are illiterate, where educational institutions cannot be made available to masses in a vast country.

Since the outreach of formal education has been limited in other countries too, they have introduced correspondence education and distance education. In India, the significance of this cannot be overemphasized. Here, correspondence education has been in existence for sometime. Distance education has also been introduced initially at the university level. The best example is the open university. This chapter will discuss the open university as an example of the use of mass media in formal education for modernization.

In the Indian context, the studies on education and modernization draws upon the functionalist paradigm of modernization. Contemporary education which is identified as an agent of modernization in India, was opined as confined to higher education on account of the medium and the content of education. It was assumed

that access to colleges and universities was selective and the mass education at the primary level remained isolated from this mainstream. "Modernization, thus, right from the beginning in India, has been confined to a sub-culture of college and university educated youth and elite and never became a mass phenomenon". (Singh: 1978: 102). Education as a process within the modernization framework is identified as a part of the socialization process.

The literature which highlights the significance of education in the modernization framework, can be analysed at two levels -- modernization by education and modernization of education.

Gore's descriptive analysis defines modernization as a process which includes change in social, economic and political fields at the macro level and in the cultural values and personality orientation, at the micro level. In evaluating and explaining education as an instrument of change, Gore makes use of the following dimensions. These are education as an agent of change, the content and message of change, attitude and social background of those who are sought to be changed and finally the socioeconomic context within which change is expected to take place.

Gore identifies education as an uncommitted advocate of change. The reasons identified by Gore are the following. Firstly, Gore shows that the contemporary status of education is nothing but a reflection and continuation of the conditions which prevailed historically at the time of emergence of the education as an institution during the British rule; secondly, a structural source of heterogeneity among the agents of change, leading to lack of consensus. These differences are reflected as the differential articulation and emphasis on the goal, which, in turn, diminishes the goals of education. For example, the dimensions of rationality has been left untouched. Finally, all these difficulties cumulatively affect the pedagogic philosophy and practises the values which make-up the message. Singh (1978), a strong advocate of modernization, of education, explains it on the basis of a comparison of the contents and structures of traditional institutions with the modern educational institutions. Traditionally, the content of education was esoteric and metaphysical, its communication was limited to the twice born castes and the structure of its professional organisation was hereditary and closed. At the same time, the roles of the teachers and the taught were also qualitatively ascriptive. On the

contrary, he shows that modern education has a different orientation and organization. The content is liberal and esoteric, steeped in modern scientific world view and is no more fortified by primordial ties.

There are also contradictory views to the above perception of the modernization of education (Madan and Halbar: (1972). Madan and Halbar in their study took the colleges in three districts of Mysore state, namely Dharwar, Belgaum and Mysore. The central thesis of the study is that an education system interacts with the social and political system and does not enjoy such autonomy that its modernizing influence can operate without check. As a consequence, the conflict between the elements of tradition and modern in the social and political system, is expressed in the admission procedure procedure and in the functioning of the education system. Statistically the study shows that the resistance to modernization in the system emerges from the caste composition of the students, teachers and administrators. In other words, the influence of primordial ties (castes) is high in the recruitment of teachers and students, particularly in the schools with private management.

The literature on modernization by education can be further divided into studies that focus on the micro level with individuals as the prime concern and studies that focus on the society at the macro level. The micro level studies focussing on the individual modernity focus on the exposure to education (Sharma) as well as on the expectation effect approach. (Richard Adams: 1974). Taking the former approach, Sharma(1979) undertook a study of the values of students of Punjab University, Chandigarh, using rationality as the index to measure modernity. He on overcoming the methodological fallacies of the previous studies, importantly such as the studies in their pre-occupation with adult samples fail to distinguish the initial effects of schooling from its sequel effects of post.school openings. Besides, relatively less work has been done on the lack of control over the contaminating influence of a host of other forces to which the respondent might have been exposed to. Taking precautions against these methodological fallacies, he derives certain conclusions; Accordingly, the socio-economic variables that were weakly related to student modernity were age, socio-economic status of the family and duration of exposure to education. Of these, age was positively related to student modernity;

whereas the last two variables had a direct impact. Another important conclusion of the study is that the convent and public schools also influenced student modernity.

The assumption underlying the 'expectation effect approach' to modernization is that a strong correlation is perceived to exist between the premise with which the individual enters the educational institution and the effects of education. In other words, the individual cognitive attitude towards the utility of education could be either representational or instrumental.

Richard Adams (1974) undertook a study in Vishakapatnam port trust and using a multiregression approach found the best predictors of modernity to be education, type of family and rural or urban origin. He arrived at the conclusion that education may change attitudes of students not because of curricular content, but because of the expectation effect or as a result of the anticipatory socialization that occurs as persons prepare for an upward mobility. The anticipatory socialization is attributed to a two-step process. The first stage would involve the father, who may be denied educational exposure and may have high educational aspirations for his sons

and thus may go through a process of anticipatory socialization. In other words, the father internalises the values of education. The second stage would involve the student himself going through the process of anticipatory socialization. It is also possible that the father's attitude may also change further as a result of feedback from this stage.

Taking a macro level approach towards understanding the modernization by education, Shils points out that these problems are not primarily a matter of 'archaic courses of study'. But it is due to inverse co-relation between quality and size and also because of the deliberate adherence of exigent standards of admissions and examinations. Moreover in India, prestige of a diploma or a degree is a sufficient incentive for Indian students to stay in schools or universities regardless of the career prospects. At the same time the Indians also simply demand the wrong kind of education based on social demands than to the one based on rationality of planning.

There is no doubt amongst the scholars that education is a significant and the most influential modernizing agent in India. At the individual level the modernization effect by education has been

identified as generating positive value, achievement, individuality, manpower, etc. Although, a persistent conflict between the elements of tradition and modernity is observed the effect of education is self evident. It is also observed that the educational system has contributed to the cause of modernization a network of diffusion of knowledge with modern ethos. Further the growth of rationally organised structures in the form of schools, colleges and universities is taken as an index of modernization. However, it is also pointed out that conflicting elements of tradition and modernity are evident in the functioning and administration of the educational system. But, in general, the values of modernization are welcomed and where they are resisted, deliberate conscious attempts are made to preserve the traditional values.

However, India, with limited resources and despite the failure of formal education, felt the urgency to identify the compatibility between education and mass media. Initially, the perception of media's instructive role towards the development of education was that of apathy. The perception was that mass media serve to be sources of entertainment, but soon enough it was argued that it was sufficiently

strong to lead the print word to obsolescence on which the formal education is based. On the other hand, it is one of the assumptions that the mass media have led to a sense of passivity among the audience in the learning process, thereby, threatening the active process of formal learning. As a consequence it is presumed that mass-media and education rest on two irreconcilable principles. The former presents the illusion of effortless learning with its facility, superficiality and passivity. On the other hand, the training process imparts education with deliberate effort (Sanchon, 1984). Later, with the growing recognition of the media's ability as an instructional medium of education the compatibility between education and mass media came to be identified as multi-media. The first step taken by the Indian government to make use of mass media as an instructional medium was through the radio, to be followed by correspondence courses.

The first school of correspondence courses was established in 1961. It was in this year that the Central Advisory Board of Education decided to introduce the system of correspondence courses and a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr.D.S.Kothari. The objectives of these programmes were outlined as

follows: firstly, to provide an efficient and less expensive method of education in the context of national development. Implicitly, the objective also served to be an appropriate answer to the growing criticism of associating education with eliticism; secondly, to provide facilities to pursue higher education to all qualified and willing persons who had failed to join the conventional educational system; and lastly, to provide opportunities of academic pursuits to educated citizens through correspondence instruction without any disturbance to their present employment.

The introduction of correspondence courses in the University of Delhi was followed by opening of correspondence courses at universities of Punjab and Patiala in 1968, Meerut in 1969 and Mysore also in 1969. The University Grants Commission also encouraged such a system on the grounds that it would cater to the needs of the students who had to discontinue formal education. It would attract those who stayed in geographically remote areas, those individuals who took upon education as a life long process and those in service.

Despite these efforts to spread access to higher education, the correspondence courses suffer from several limitations. Firstly, as an institution it is treated as appendages of the conventional universities. These institutions do not have the freedom either of decision making or of course structuring. Secondly, their courses, regulations regarding admissions and examination are structured on similar lines as outlined for the regular students in the class room. Thirdly, the courses suffer from the same rigidities as those designed for regular students. Fourthly, the only method of instruction is through correspondence material. Lastly, the degrees that are obtained through these institutions are looked down upon as inferior. Because of these limitations, the system has been effective only partially and not in improving the objectives of quality and relevance of education. Further, even as a cost-effective measure for the government, a simple expansion of the number of universities and the manpower is a formidable task. The increase in the number of universities from 22 in 1951 to 172 and the number of colleges from 695 to 6912, have been able to enrol only 6%. Any attempt even to increase the number of students in higher education becomes impossible in the given economic conditions. "Even if we want to bring it to 10%, we have to expand the system by nearly 70%

which is impossible in the given economic condition".

(Swamy: 1991:4).

Realising the limitations of the correspondence courses and the formal education system, and the impetus drawn from the experiment of Open University in UK, India adopted distance education to promote higher education. The first open university was set up in Andhra Pradesh in 1982. The most important experiment in distance education is the Indira Gandhi National Open University set up in 1985. Besides, in the eighties several other open universities emerged apart from the National Open University e.g. Kota Open University in 1987, Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University in 1989, and Nalanda Open University in 1989.

One may come across several concepts like correspondence education, home study, independent study, external study, off campus study, open learning, open education, etc. All these terms could be grouped under the distance education with slight differences in respect of the examination pattern, study process and reception of instruction. For example, an external study system provides for examinations but not for teaching. Likewise, the correspondence education is mainly dependent on the print media. But the distance

education uses not only print media but also audio-visual and other traditional and non-traditional communication methods. Under this process of education, it may clearly be observed that there is a clear separation of the teacher and the learner and planning of educational programmes and material by an educational institution because of using mass media.

The chief characteristics of distance education could be identified as (a) the quasi-permanent separation of teacher and learner throughout the learning process. This is in opposition to the concept of formal and face to face education. (b) The influence of an educational organisation both in planning and preparation of learning materials and with provision of support services. This distinguishes this form of education from private study or external study.

(c) The use of technical media: print, audio, video or computer. This characteristic unites the concept with nonformal, formal and informal educational systems. In addition it also integrates the teacher and the taught and carries the content course effectively. (d) In distance education there is a provision of a two-way communication so that the student may benefit from or even initiate a dialogue. This distinguishes it from other uses of technology and media in education. (e) The people are taught

as individuals and not seen as groups. Even if there are occasional meetings, they may be used for didactic and socialization purposes.

Distance education thus represents distance teaching plus distance learning through various formal and non formal methods of teaching and the use of media becomes inevitable. Adopting the above model of instruction the inputs of technology used by Indira Gandhi National Open University for distance education are printed material, personal contact programmes, audio and video cassettes, radio, laboratory facilities for science and other applied courses, library cum study centres with facilities of guidance by teachers.

To conclude placing India Gandhi National Open University within the modernization framework one may state that in comparison to conventional universities, it has been able to spread higher education to a larger number of people. In specific to those who have no access to education geographically, who wish to continue their education despite full time employment, economically disadvantaged groups, groups in rural areas, socially disadvantaged groups like Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes, and women.

It is observed that out of the total number of students enrolled in higher education in India during the year 1982_83, 6.3 percent of the students enrolled in distance education courses. Later, with the establishment of Andhra Pradesh Open University in 1982, Indira Gandhi National Open University in 1985 and other open universities the percent of students enrolled in distance education increased to 10.3 percent of the total number of students enrolled in higher education. Indira Gandhi National Open University as an institution to provide enrolment and education to those persons without any formal qualifications and also those who cannot have an access to formal education both Andhra Pradesh Open University and Indira Gandhi National Open University have encouraged non-formal education. In Andhra Pradesh Open University in 1983, 6.5 percent of the students in undergraduate programmes were enrolled in the non-formal education whereas in Indira Gandhi National Open University 75 percent of the students were enrolled in the non-formal courses. When the age structure of the students enrolled in distance education is seen, distance education has been able to attract people of all age groups. The age-wise distribution of undergraduate students in Indira Gandhi National Open University is between 26 years and 41 years. In addition, out of total number

of male undergraduate students in Andhra Pradesh Open University in 1983-84, 11 percent were manual workers, 4 percent skilled workers, 8 percent agriculturists, 5 percent businessmen and 15 percent public employees. Out of the total number of female undergraduate students, by occupation, in 1983-84, 68 percent were housewives, 0.5 percent manual workers and 11 percent public employees. But the question is: will this system be able to spread the content of higher education to very far off and remote places or remain largely confined to the urban demands because of over dependence on sophisticated technology? Will this education be able to equalise opportunities for the people in the rural sector, the differences between men and women, the differences between Scheduled Caste and non-Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes, etc.?

C O N C L U S I O N

The survey of literature has focussed on the conceptual and theoretical shortcomings of "modernization". The ideological and methodological problems have also been discussed. The difference between modernization and modernity as well as the culture-specificity of so-called universal pattern variables has been pointed out. Again, the limitations of modernization by education i.e. though the content or subject matter of education, is another dimension that deserves attention. Similarly, the limitations of educational process in modernization in the developing countries are too well-known. Doubts have been expressed about the applicability of the education-modernization paradigm in the developing countries.

The emergence of mass media is an integral part of those societies which marched towards the path of modernization in the wake of industrialisation. Mass media through technical revolution became intricately linked to the spread of information and messages to the masses in the shortest possible time overcoming the limitations of time and space. Attempts were made earlier to use mass media for formal education through the radio and the print medium. More recently availability of multimedia such as the visual aids and the computers have enabled governments to use mass

media for higher education. Distance education is a good example of the uses to which mass media can be put for the purposes of education. Or rather, it is a bridge between education, on the one hand, and modernization on the other.

Empirical studies on modernisation and education in India give contradictory messages. It is difficult to conclude that formal education has contributed to the modernisation of either the individual or the society. Moreover, while educational structures and organisations have modernised to some extent, yet the constitutional provisions for the protection of minority institutions encourages parochial identities. In addition, formal education has been unable to reach out to a large majority of the Indian population as is evident from the vast sections of illiterate population. Further, the absence of schools and other facilities in several areas has also been well documented. The Indian government recognised the impossible task assigned to formal education in a vast country like India. Therefore, the emphasis has shifted to the use of technology and mass media to spread education and literacy in the remotest corners of our country. Correspondence education at the university level had been introduced much earlier.

More recently, distance education is also being adopted. As a consequence of this shift in the government policy, open universities have been set up with the hope of increasing the outreach of education. The little feedback data and few evaluative studies indicate that these universities are more cost effective and are able to draw those who could not be covered by the colleges and universities. However, the problem of using sophisticated technology, apart from other limitations, creates its own problems. Recently, the government of India has also expanded distance education to encompass school children.

In conclusion, a critical survey of the literature on modernisation, education and mass media leaves several questions unanswered, raises many doubts and unravels the problems in this field.

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1554

