

COMMUNICATION IN INDIA : THE CASE
OF THE INDIAN PRESS .

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COMMUNICATION IN INDIA : THE
CASE OF THE INDIAN PRESS

BY

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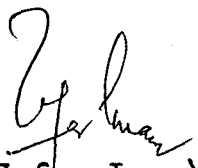
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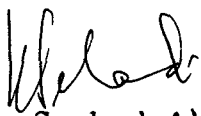
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DECLARATION

Certified that the material presented in this
dissertation has not been submitted for any other
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Chapter - I

Introduction

α) AN OVERVIEW

Prior to the advancement of mass media, communication was mainly maintained through human contacts. Personal circle was ~~the~~ small. Although wars, invasions, occupations, and migrations, brought different peoples into contact, it was limited. The earliest form of communication was carried out with the help of symbols,¹ without which human relations would have been extinct and the transmission of ideas difficult.² Communication is therefore the basic requisite for their existence.

But the scope of communication through gestures, colours, object and laughter was very much limited. To avoid such a limitation and to match the general development of the human society, the spoken language was developed. Soon the process was taken over by written symbols which initially took the form of pictures and drawings.

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1. Weaver, Paul, H., "Society and Mass Communication", in Douglas, Jack. D., et. al., Introduction to Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1973).
 2. Honingman, John. J., Understanding Culture (Calcutta: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. 1963), p. 143.

Later on written language made an expansion in the communication system. But in the beginning the written language was limited to a small educated class. Thus, only they could have the monopoly of the knowledge. But a world-wide basis of communication was possible with the invention of telegraph (1832), telephone (1876), radio (1921), and the television of late. Though new modes of communication developed there are evidence to show that the new ones didn't replace or supplant the earlier ones.³ Instead they contributed additional quality to the structure of communication.

Chery in his book, World Communication: Threat or Promise? has tabulated the various modes of communication, in a historical order and the qualities attributed to them are as follows:⁴

Mode	Qualities or Values
Speech	Thinking, knowing. Self-consciousness within society.

3. Escarpit, R., The Book Revolution (George Harap, 1968).
4. Chery, Colin, World Communication: Threat or Promise? (London: Wiley - Interscience, 1971), p. 53.

Mode	Qualities or Value
Writing and Scribing	Intellectualization. Deepened sense of 'historic time' and of social change. Personal questionings.
Printing	Comparisons across time intervals. Group questionings.
Postal service	Organization of groups. Personal mobility with security.
Telegraph	Speed of organization. Larger groups in stable operation; aid to industrial activity.
Telephone	Speech; human personality. Conversation. Personal mobility, with security resolving and decision making.
Cinema	Broadcast communication. Cult of stars. High emotional involvement. Educational potential.
The Modern Press	Broadcast communication. Increased political awareness. Advertising. Enhanced industrial activity. Slogan.

Mode	Qualities or Values
Radio	Broad communication over wide areas; sociability. Immediacy. Domesticity. Education potential at higher levels.
Television	Cult of stars. Education potential. Wide social penetration. Social unity potential. Visual display in homes. News and public affairs as entertainment.
Data - links computers.	Growth of industrial and other economic groups. Large social enterprises. Improved Planning.

The above illustrates the development of the communication system with the technological advancement. Here it must be noted that the technological advances specially those with direct bearings on the development of mass media have drastically altered the nature and significance of the communication system. Unlike, the simple informative or otherwise function of communication in the past, the system has turned more into an ideological weapon in the service of a particular social structure. Let the use

of the term social structure be not confused with the total population in the present context, it refers to the sections(s) which has the dominance over the rest of the population. The existence of the ruling class(es) immensely demanded the need of a system for indoctrination of the 'masses'. The control and use of mass media is one of the significant instruments for the purpose of ideological indoctrination.

However, it should be admitted that the informative and ideological types of communication systems in different periods of time coinciding the development of the societies, do not deny the presence of the other system in addition to the pre-dominant one. Pool has noticed that modern means of communication seldom replaces the older, rather new modes of communication is super-imposed on the old.⁵ In fact, in between the two extremes, there are different degrees of proximity coinciding the nature and dynamics of social relations.

5. Pool, Ithiel de Sola, "Communication and Development", in Weiner, Myron, (ed.), Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1966), p. 100.

Accordingly, in the epoch one can hardly meet a person who does not get the processed information, in addition to his little first hand experience. It is indeed so far as it goes beyond the narrow limits of the first hand experience which can not by itself comprehensively grasp, the present day internal and international dynamics. But at the same time, it often leads to misinformation which creates incorrect views about the contemporary system and the current developments.

Hence, while it is convincible that the problem of information has been big matter affecting the socio-political life of a society, as well as in between states, one fails to recognize the point of view, that the communication system aids in bringing considerable changes in the society. Needless to say, that such a hesitating stand with regard to the acceptance of the latter role of the media holds a definite base on its support. The facts like the upper class controls the press, it has the purchasing power of television, radio, etc., the upper class is literate, and above all the class distinctions in the system itself, are relevant here and cannot remain isolated, from one of the main super-structural aspects of the society. And any drastic change of the system means, a change in the class structure which necessarily poses a challenge to the privileged class. Naturally, in such a condition, a concrete analysis of the communication may highlight the

actual role of the media in a class society.

Still logically, the significance of the dominance of the privileged class (es) over the common man, with relation to the interest of the major information process cannot by any stand be ignored. Following this, since in a particular society the significance of an event or fact depends on its effects on certain group(s) or class(es) of people; the media agencies accordingly twist and present the information so as to carry the space for a systematic coverage of fulfilling their private interests. The pursuit is manipulated in such a way, so that the reader is not lost in the contradiction. While, the ultimate interest is being restored. In course of the growth of the information media, it usually enters into a field of definite stereotyped interpretation of the events. Obviously the information fall into the a priori scheme, which necessarily stands as an antithesis to the objective reality. Actually in most of the established media agencies, a priori scheme is being followed with only marginal modifications, with respect to the social situations and the consequence on the audience.

The question of selection and manipulation of the information by mass media needs a special consideration. The process of assembling and repeating information agencies is always selective and while selecting certain informations

and rejecting others; the agencies owing to their nature of organization and orientation, take the subjective stand. The agencies do select certain issues which are in fact not that important for the common man as such, but for their own interest, they go to over emphasize the truth. At the same time, to their record, certain informations which are very crucial from the viewpoint of people are not included, because of the simple reason, that it may have certain direct or indirect negative effects on the groups or classes by which it is established or being financed. That is to say, hypothetically one may claim informing the audience without being biased, but in reality bias directly creeps into it; especially when the information are of socio-political nature. Yet, notwithstanding the fact of the availability of the selected, manipulated and exaggerated informations, it is observed that such informations do much to sway and shape the public opinion.

Further, the media agencies studying the sentiments and emotions of the public at a particular time and situation, decide their principles of coverage. A well-known American sociologist finds that information, particularly those with socio-political importance will not produce the desired effect until it is tied with the psychological mood of the audience.⁶ Such an observation clearly reveals

6. Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure (London: Collier - Macmillan, Ltd., 1964), p. 59.

the nature of the information media, especially about its ideological potentiality and performance. Incidentally, the public belonging to the bourgeois democracy are continuously left misinformed. This is very much evident from Lerder's book, who has cited several examples of how the general audience is duped by misinformation.⁷ Similarly Reston remarked that, "government information centres provide organized misinformation to safeguard their own interest and manoeuvre the public faith".⁸

It is recognized that information is crucial to the operational effectiveness and internal maintenance of the political system.⁹ Deutesch,¹⁰ Pye¹¹ and several others have explained that communication of information is so decisive that the system itself can be explained in terms

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7. Lerder, W., A Nation of Sheep (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc. 1967).
 8. Reston, J., The Artillery of the Press: Its Influences on the American Foreign Policy (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).
 9. Lewis, John W., "The Social Limits of Politically Induced Change", in Morse, Chandler, et. al., Modernization by Design: Social Change in the Twentieth Century (Calcutta: Scientific Book Agency, 1972), p.20
 10. Deutesch, Karl., W., Nationalism and Social Communication (Cambridge: Mass Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953), pp. 64-65.
 11. Pye, Lucian, W., Communication and Political Development (Princeton: N.J. Princeton University Press, 1963).

of communication. Pye observes: "The basic process of political modernization and national development can be advantageously connected as problems of communication."¹² Robert is of the opinion that "Culture can be viewed as information and leadership or authority roles can be understood as the management of information."¹³ Even isolating from the exaggerated role of the communication in the maintenance of the socio-political system; one seldom can escape from the issue that it performs a decisive role in the stability of a particular system. Here it is not out of place to recall Almond and Powell that the "analysis and comparisons of the political communication is one of the most interesting and useful means of examining different political systems."¹⁴ Windlesham defines that, "political communication is the deliberate passage of political message by a sender to a receiver with the intention of making the receiver behave in a way that he might not otherwise done".¹⁵ Hence, with the development of communication system the importance of mass media has been recognized in the contemporary arena.

12. Ibid., p. 8

13. Robert, John, M., "The Self Management of Culture", Exploration in Cultural Anthropology (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964).

14. Almond, G.A., and Powell, J.B., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (New Delhi: Amerind Publishing Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 164.

15. Windlesham, Lord, Communication and Political Power (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966).

b) COMMUNICATION STUDIES: A CRITICAL SURVEY
AND PERSPECT

Media research has long been dominated by the American social scientists. The fact that the media are a concern not only to the sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, historians and other social scientists, but also to linguistics, literary critics and engineering and technology disciplines -- have transformed and will continue to transform them.¹⁶ Though much attention has been paid to the study of mass media, it was only from 1930's that the application of empirical techniques to the mass communication was introduced. In spite of the tremendous contributions in media research; because of its multi-disciplinary nature; it is not possible to talk of the mainstream tradition in communication research. Parallel theories have been thrown by the psychologists, sociologists and political scientists, which have brought clear conflict with each other. However, it can be admitted that some insightful synthesis have sprung from these difficulties.

16. Tunstall, Jeremy, (ed.), Media Sociology (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

Even prior to the development of empirical research by sociologists, psychologists and political scientists thinking on mass media was considerably advanced. This can be noticed in the works of De Fleur¹⁷ and Qualter.¹⁸ The researches of Hovland gave an impetus to the experimental studies.¹⁹ Owing to the very nature of the experimental situation and aims of social psychological research, it does not tend to suggest that effects can rather easily be produced. Thus, although the findings of mass media materials have led to increasingly sophisticated generalizations about the condition under which maximum effects can be produced, the general results tend to emphasize earlier beliefs in the power of mass persuasion. The wide use of sample survey came only in late thirties.²⁰ Even though

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17. De Fleur, Melvin. E., Theories of Mass Communication (New York: David McKay, 1966).
18. Qualter, Ference.H., Propaganda and Psychological Warfare (New York: Random House, 1962), esp. chap. 2. "The Development of Propaganda"
19. A representative work is Carl. I Hovland, et. al., Experiments in Mass Communications (Princeton University Press, 1949). A Section of this book is reprinted as 'Short Time and Long Time Effects on Orientation Film', in Berelson & Janowitz (eds.), Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (N.Y.: Free Press, 1966).
20. A brief history of Surveys in Great Britain is given in Jones, Caradoc. D, Social Surveys (London: Hutchinson, 1948).

through the studies of mass communication a sophisticated theory has emerged, it must be argued that the availability of such sophisticated empirical techniques can inhibit the development of theory.

Recognizing the importance of communication, social scientists, especially the psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists, have shown a keen interest in the study on different aspects of communication. However, the

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21. Berelson, Bernard R., et. al, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 221; Feider, Fritz, "Attitudes and Cognitive Organization", Journal of Psychology, 1946, Vol. 21, pp. 107-112; Osgood, Charles, E., & Tannenbaum, Percy, "The Principle of Congruity and the Prediction of Attitude Change", Psychological Review, 1955, Vol. 62, pp. 42-45; Festinger Leon, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Ill: Row-Peterson, 1957); Hovland, C.I. & Weiss, W., "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness", Public Opinion Quarterly, 1951, Vol. 15, pp. 635-650; Hovland, Carl. I., et. al., "Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Reactions to Communication and Attitude Change", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, Vol. 55, pp. 244-252; Sears, David O., and Freedman, J.L., "Organizational and Judgemental Models of Cognitive Conflict Resolution", American Psychologists, 1961, Vol. 16, p. 409; (abstract) Manis, M., "Interpretation of Opinion Statements as a Function of Recipient Attitude and Source Prestige", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, Vol. 63, pp. 82-86; Harvey O.J., et. al., "Reactions to Unfavourable Evaluation of the Self Made by Other Persons", Journal of Personality, 1957, Vol. 25, pp. 393-411; Katz, Elihu, and Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Personal Influence (N.Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), Smith Brewster, M., et. al., Opinions and Personality (N.Y.: Wiley, 1965); Klapper, Joseph. T., The Effects of Mass Communication (N.Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 9; Banfield, Edward C., Political Influence (N.Y.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 282.

maximum publication is made on the opinion studies based on empirical facts. The increasingly pronounced role of the mass communication media as an instrument of preserving status-quo, has given rise to a pure methodological researches in social sciences,²² Mills criticised such pure empirical studies. This type of studies are inclined to empirical facts of specific situations and rationalize their style with the natural sciences. Primarily, the studies focus on mass media of communication, business advertisement, public opinion and voting behaviour. The source of data is mainly based on the content analysis of the secondary information sources and interview of a sampled population. The conclusions are drawn statistically. Divorced from a general theory, method loses content and turn into a mere juggling of arbitrary concepts. Being inhibited by 'pure' methods it fail to reflect the structural reality. As such, the works lack any substantive propositions or theories. It is epistemological, ahistorical and non-comparative. By nature,

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22. This type of research is called 'abstracted empiricism' by Mills, C.W., The Sociological Imagination (Middlesex, England: Pelican Books, Ltd., 1970); The research studies of importance are: Lazarsfeld, P.F, et. al, The Peoples' Choice: How the Voter Makes his Mind in a Presidential Campaign (New York: Duall, Sloan & Pearce, 1944); Berelson, B., et. al, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954); Freneman, J.M. & Mcquail. D., Television and the Political Change (London: Methuen, 1961) and; Blumler, J.G. & Mcquail, D., Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influences (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).

the tendency is to confine to small areas, and thus implicitly incline to psychologism. Again, the verification of this type of study is inductive. Narrow practicalism with its lack of principles and advance trial and error is incapable of solving vitally important problems of society. It is worth to note Lenin's observation, that "... any body who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step come up against those general problems without himself realizing it."²³ Mills striving for a solution suggested that unity and interaction of theory and method is the only reliable guarantee for the understanding of society. Emphasis on either side leads to wrong conclusions. In his own words, "any systematic attempt to understand, involves some kind of alteration between (empirical) intake and theoretical assimilation, that concepts and ideas ought to guide factual investigation and that detailed investigations ought to be used to check up on and reshape ideas."²⁴

Further, the studies of abstracted empirical style is too expensive to be carried out individually or otherwise. Hence, invariably they depend on big corporations and other

23. Lenin, V.I, Collected Works, Vol. IV, p. 202.

24. Mills, C.W., Op. cit., pp. 85-86.

rich institutions. Following this, it is observed that most of the research have business and bureaucratic utility.

Following the principle of pure empiricism, many western social scientist, particularly the American social anthropologists and sociologists have claimed that communication is a vital element of the functioning of a society. Such a claim in a super-structural level, however, satisfied~~s~~ the whim of their "objective science", which can be challenged from their interest orientation, and the interest of the section of the society at whose service they are left for. Duncan opines: "Man as a social being exists in and through communication, communication is the basic to man's nature as food and sex".²⁵ Going further Margaret Mead writes that, "the whole mesh of human social life might logically and perhaps in other contexts, fruitfully be treated as a human communications."²⁶

Accordingly, mass communication is defined as institutions and techniques by which specialized group employ press, radio, film, television to disseminate symbolic content of large heterogeneous and widely spread

25. Duncan, Hugh Dalziel, Communication and Social order (New York: Bedminister Press, 1962), p. 27.

26. Mead, Margaret, "Some Cultural Approaches to Communication Problems" in Lyman, Bryson, (ed.), The Communication of Ideas, (New York: Harper, 1948), p. 9.

audiences.²⁷ But for Marcuse, "mass media is an instrument, which does not rely on terror, but works through the creation, and manipulation of 'false needs' for entertainment, relaxation, information and personal consumption. And they are imposed on to the individual by vested interests to uphold prescribed interests. They also serve to assimilate potentially opposed classes into a state of uncritical acceptance of the status-quo".²⁸

Various authorities while studying the communication theories have noted several functions of communication as: (a) the surveillance of the environment; (b) the correlation of party in society corresponding to the environment; (c) the transmission of social heritage.²⁹ Merton and Lazarsfeld³⁰ notes the following functions of communication:

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27. Mcquail, Dennis, Towards a Sociology of Mass Communication (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1969).
 28. Marcuse, Herbert, One Dimensional Man (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).
 29. Laswell, H.D., "Attention Structure and Social Structure", in Lyman, Bryson, (ed.), The Communication of Ideas (New York: Harper, 1948).
 30. Lazarsfeld, P.F., & Merton, R.K., "Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action", in Lyman, Bryson, (ed.), The Communication of Ideas (New York: Harper, 1948), p. 95.

(a) Ethicizing (b) Status conferral, and (c) Narcotizing.

According to Schramm, communication helps to survey new environment, raise peoples aspiration, guide and control a dynamic process and socialize citizens to a new and different society that is in the process of becoming.³¹

Dube is of the opinion, "that communication media are utilized largely to impart information with a view to increase awareness and arouse interest, to exhort the masses to adopt recommended practices and attitudes and also to a limited extent to teach them particular skills and techniques."³² Pye observes several functions of communication, and to note a few: (a) communication is a means to comprehend the substance of politics at a particular time; (b) wide publicity of the actions of the key individual; and (c) provides common frame of reference to unite the rule and the ruled.³³ Deutesch says, "the function of mass media is to provide channels for that

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31. Schramm, Wilbur, "Communication and Change", in Lerner, D., and Schramm, W., (eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries (Honolulu: East-West Centre Press, 1967), p. 19.
32. Dube, S.C., "A Note on Communication in Economic Development", in Lerner, D., and Schramm, W., (eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries (Honolulu: East-west Centre Press, 1967), p. 93.
33. Pye, L.W., Communication and Political Development (Princeton: University Press, 1963).

type of communication which serve as a 'cement' for building the society into a single integrated system.³⁴ while, Lerner is of the opinion that mass media encourage the process of political modernization and development.³⁵ To Kuppuswamy, the function of mass media is to "open up the large masses in society to new information, new thought, new attitudes, new aspirations, which lead them to new achievement".³⁶

Lipset has noticed that "when informal contacts are supplemented by formal organization the political awareness is intensified".³⁷ Lazarsfeld and others have shown that in the upper and middle class people, there is a tendency to vote for the Republic³⁸. Lipset finds the reason to the

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34. Deutesch, Karl, W, The Nerves of Government (N.Y: The Free Press, 1965).
35. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (N.Y: The Free Press, 1958).
36. Kuppuswamy, B., Social Change in India (Delhi: Vikas Publications; 1972).
37. See; Lipset, Seymour Martin, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Bombay: Vakils, Feffer and Simons Pvt. Ltd., 1960).
38. Lazarsfeld, P.F., et. al., The People's Choice (Duell and Pearce, 1944).

social structure which was favourable to intragroup communication and unfavourable to cross class communication on 'occupational mobility'.³⁹ And still others have mentioned many more functions of mass media of communication. But actually all the lines have a focus for the service of the establishment.

However, a few scientists analysing the nature and practice of communication have noted the tendencies towards monopoly control of mass communication in parliamentary democracies.⁴⁰ Mills argued, because of the monopoly control of mass media by the power elite, the people become vulnerable because they can grasp the objective 'real' world through the media of communication.⁴¹ Likewise, Peterson calls it a pseudo-environment which can serve as a means of increased control.⁴²

39. Lipset, Seymour Martin, Op. cit., P. 114

40. See; Mills, C.W, The Power Elite, (N.Y: Oxford University Press, 1956). He has convincingly argued how different channels of media promote anti-democratic trends in U.S. See also; Kornhauser, W; The Politics of Mass Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960). Chap 4 and also; Key, V.O., Public Opinion and American Democracy (N.Y: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), Chaps. 15 and 16. The author mentioned the major effect of the mass media is to reinforce the status-quo.

41. Mills, C.W, (1956), Op. Cit., P. 315.

42. Peterson, J., et. al, The Mass Media and Modern Society (New York: Holt, Ranehart, & Winston, 1965). p. 23.



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Yet, so long as the men live beyond the immediate range of contact they must live in the world of mass media.⁴³ Mills elsewhere said: "Between consciousness and existence stand communication, which influence such consciousness as men have for their existence".⁴⁴ Mass media exerts enormous influence on behaviour, opinion, tastes and fancies, requirements, preferences, etc., of the individuals of society. Constant attempts are made to create an illusion to the people and maintain status-quo. Adorno wrote, "The stories teach their readers, that one has to be 'realistic', that one has to give up romantic ideas, that one has to adjust oneself at any price and that nothing more can be expected of an individual. The perennial middle - class conflict between individual and society has been reduced to a dim memory and the message is invariably that of identification with the status-quo".⁴⁵ All the same it is with other types of media communication as well.

Many sociologists of the West studying the effects of communication on voting behaviour have told that the effects, when they occur most commonly take the form of reinforcement of existing attitudes and opinions. Klapper concludes, "communication research strongly indicates that persuasive mass communication is in general more likely to reinforce the existing opinion of its audience rather than

43. Mills, C. W., (1956), *op cit.*

44. Mills, C.W., White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951)

45. Adorno, T.W, "Television and the Patterns of Mass Culture", in Rosenberg, B and White, D.M, (eds.), Mass Culture Popular Art in America (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), P. 286.

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to change opinion.⁴⁶ This hypothesis is tested by Berelson and Steiner who observed: (a) "that people tend to see and hear communication that are favourable or congenial to their pre-dispositions"⁴⁷ and that; (b) "people tend to persuasive communication in line with their pre-dispositions and change or resist change accordingly."⁴⁸ Pool analysing the different election studies in U.S. found that the voting behaviour are influenced by reinforcing their pre-disposition. And the decisive reinforcing role is played by such forces as family, peer-groups, which tend to be homogeneous. He writes, "that it was not the newspaper which the family was reading which most often determined how they voted. It was personal influence, the face to face environment which produced the most change. The primary community environment continues to be the place where peoples attitudes are formed, even in as modern and urban a society as that of United States".⁴⁹

However, Klapper voicing the opinion of a few pointed out: "The influence of big business on the content of mass

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46. Klapper, Joseph, T., *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 49-50.
47. Berelson, B. & Steiner, G., "Mass Communications", in *Human Behaviour: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (N.Y.: Harcourt Brec & World Inc., 1964), p. 529.
48. Ibid., p. 540
49. Pool, Ithiel De Sola, *The Effects of Communication on Voting Behaviour*, VOA Forum Lecture, 1967.

media is probably not exerted in any large conscious gestalt designed to perpetuate a social system. The conscious and manifest purpose of the radio programme is primarily and almost wholly to sell his soap. Although the maintenance of the existing social and economic system may be a pre-condition of the sale, such social guardianship is for the usual sponsor, almost a secondary and latent purpose -- except in the face of direct attack.⁵⁰ And some other influential scientist of mass media wrote, "Since the mass media are supported by great business concerns geared into the current social economic system to the audiences, the media contribute to the maintenance of the system".⁵¹ Further the emphasis on the static society is clear from the techniques used therein. Lazarsfeld and Merton remarked: "This contribution is not found merely in the effective advertisement of the sponsor's product. It arises, rather from the typical presence in magazine stories, radio programmes and newspaper columns of some element of ^{Confirmation of some element of} approval of the present structure of the society.

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50. Klapper, Joseph T., "Mass Media, and the Engineering Consent", American Scholar, Autumn, 1948], p. 424.
51. Lazarsfeld, P. F. & Merton, R.K., "Mass Communication Popular Taste and Organized Social Action", in Lyman, Bryson, (eds.) Communication of Ideas (N.Y: Harper, 1948).

They continued that the media are successful in rechanneling the existing system of values but not reshaping".⁵² But Klapper like an apologist of the media services said that the role of media in favouring status-quo have two advantages; one is its static position and the second is its implementation of existing drive".⁵³

The functionalists criticize themselves on the research and application to communication. Peterson in his book, the Mass Media and Modern Society, gives the following criticisms of the communication system:

- (1) "It is owned by a socio-economic class, the business class;
- (2) the media are used to propogate the interest of the owners;
- (3) it has become a tool of business;
- (4) to perpetuate status-quo and resist change; and
- (5) to endanger public morals".⁵⁴

According to the communication specialist there are four approaches to the study of mass media. But Berelson⁵⁵ notices four major approaches and six minor approaches. The *four major approaches he says are; the political approach, sample survey approach, the small groups approach, and the*

52. Ibid., pp. 95-118.

53. Klapper, J.T., Op. cit., p., 428.

54. Peterson, Theodore, et. al, The Mass Media and Modern Society (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston Inc. 1966), p. 227.

55. Berelson, Bernard, "The State of Communication Research", in Dexter and White, (eds.), People, Society and Mass Communication (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1964), p. 504.

experimental approach. These approaches, according to him, were influential during the past twenty-five years. And the minor approaches are: (1) The reformist approach (2) The broad historical approach (3) The Journalistic approach (4) The mathematical approach (5) Psycho-linguistic approach and (6) psychiatric approach. Weaver notices the four trends. First "The 'democratic' political theory, which is adopted widely by politicians, journalists, and non-academic commentators. This approach focus upon the potential and actual problems that mass media poses in a society to govern itself democratically. Their writings are not formal arguments or the results of empirical research, but rather anecdotes and illustrations intend to stimulate political reform or symbolize various democratic attitudes". Secondly "The psychological approach is concerned with the social science studies of media effects. Their belief is that mass media influence within a complex network of social-psychological, and attitudinal factors." Thirdly, the functional approach, is grounded on certain social and political theory. Hence, the researches are concerned with the broad unchanging characteristics of the media and their function in maintaining the structure or process". Lastly, the cultural approach, which concerns with the unique

56. Weaver, Paul. M. , Introduction to Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

characteristics of each medium and how they affect the messages, while the functional approach does not make a distinction in the specific media systems".⁵⁶ All the different approaches, either directly or indirectly function within the broad framework of structural functionalism. They adhere to an ahistorical and non-comparative field. And thus, naturally remain asystematic. Mention may be made that in addition to this, there is another approach which is more realistic and rational being focusing on the proper dialectics between the subjective and objective factors, historical dialectics, and the contemporary one, and internal and international dialectics. This approach is known as dialectical materialistic approach. But the approach has not developed much in social sciences because of the several constraints again located in history and present structure.

Not recognizing the positions and nature of the bourgeois controlled media, the relevance of mass communication to the modernization of the traditional societies is perceived by many bourgeois social scientists. Lerner is of particular importance here. In his study of the Middle East, he says that modernization is the identification of

56. Weaver, Paul. M, Introduction to Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

certain individuals who possess an 'empathetic capacity' which widens the horizons beyond the confines of the traditional society. Further, he says, the mass media engage their interest of the potentially 'empathetic' individuals in traditional societies and promote change in the direction formed by the western inspired or controlled mass media.⁵⁷ Likewise, Pye observes the significance of communication in the development of political institution in traditional societies. He writes "there is a peculiarly intimate relationship between the political process and communication process".⁵⁸ Similarly, another pro-imperialist thus strongly opines: "as the mass affected democratic politics in numerous ways without altering the balance between contending forces, it promotes centralization, the substitution of national for local issues and increased consensus across party lines. at least in open public debate. There is a probable softening the tone of argument, a great public accountability of individual politicians, a higher premium on performance in public as speaker and debator an increased focus on the individual attention to the techniques of image-

57. Lerner, Daniel, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1958).

58. Pye, Lucian W., Communication and Political Development, (Princeton: University Press, 1963).

59

building and public relations".

In fact, the bourgeois social scientists, being embedded in the soil of the exploitative system try to deviate the attention of the people from the trends of monopoly control of the mass media and its effective use maintain the status-quo. While, ideally the polity proclaims freedom of expression, in reality this is only legalised political swindle to distort the real will of the common man in one way or another. (This is to say, the media communication serve the ruling classes as the means of retaining and entrenching their dominance. The system by its control and release of interest, prevents the ordinary people from realising their interest and on the other hand seeks to imprison them with the subjective frame of idealism as well as mechanised psychology. The concept of free, unbiased flow of information from the media are simple myths. Manipulation is a must in the media operation. It starts from the selection of the raw material from synchronization to distribution. In fact, every writing, filming and broadcasting are being manipulated. Thus the problem remains not with the manipulation but with the manipulator and its direction.

59. Mcquail, Denis, Towards a Sociology of Mass Communication (London: Collier - Macmillan Ltd., 1969).

In a socialist state, even manipulation is usual. A revolutionary plan should not require the manipulators to disappear, on the contrary it must make everyone a manipulator⁶⁰." Exaggerating the position, Richard Lawenthal has emphatically said that in the Soviet Union there exists "... the monopolistic control of all forms of education of literature and art, with the aim not merely of preventing the expression ... but of controlling the formation of opinion at the source by planned selection of all the elements of information".⁶¹ Pool⁶² characterizes the mass media in terms of the non-communist, and communist theories. According to him, the former media: (i) "Do not produce changes in action; (ii) Changes in beliefs and values, unaccompanied by appropriate changes in practices, tend to be disruptive; and (iii) despite the impracticability or dangers of trying to produce changes in the minds of men it is recognized that, such changes are needed for modernization". With regard to the community^Δ theory of mass communication Pool opines that only approved ideas are in

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60. Enzersberger, Hans, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", New Left Review, 1970, Vol. 64, Nov.-Dec., pp. 23-24.
61. Lawenthal, Richard, "The Model of Totalitarian State", in The Impact of the Russian Revolution, 1917-67 (N.Y: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 275.
62. Pool, Ithiel De Sola, "The Mass Media and Their Interpersonal Social Functions in the Process of Modernization", in Dexter, L.A. & White, D.M. (eds.), People, Society and Mass Communication (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 430-32.

the flow to the public. It uses the mass media to bring categorological change and it is also an organisational device, for, the media are just an adjunct to political organization. This characterization seems more ideological than real. The conclusion is more coinciding with the capitalistic world than the socialist world. However, the difference between a socialistic and bourgeois use of media still remains as a fundamental nature of economic relations of concerned societies. Enzensberger has discussed the difference very clearly and convincingly. We can do no better than refer to him.

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Use of Media

Repressive	Emancipatory
1 Centrally controlled programme	Decentralised programme
2 One transmitter, many receivers	Each receives a potential transmitter.
3 Immobilization of Isolated individuals	Mobilization of the masses
4 Passive consumer behaviour	Interaction of those involved feed back
5 De-politicization	A political learning process
6. Production of specialists	Collective production
7 Control by property-owner or bureaucracy	Social control by self-organization

63. Enzensberger, Hans, Op. cit., pp. 35-36.

As has been observed, in the mass media information the interest of the upper classes are carried out so that the political apparatus of the system remains stable. Hence, it is hard to ignore the infrastructural contradictions of the society over which the base of the political organization is always established. That is to say, that any objective understanding of the communication system, inevitably has to encompass the analysis of the class structure and the state as a historical product.

The state arose as a natural consequence of the disintegration of the primitive communal system and the division of the society into hostile classes. The replacement of tribal organization to a state organization was due to the emergence of private ownership of the means of production. In fact, the state emerged as an institution for defending the privilege of the ruling class and for the subjugation and oppression of the group who were being exploited. In the words of Marx: "The state is an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes".⁶⁴ He continued: "... because the state arose in the midst of the conflict of

64. Quoted in Lenin, V. I., The State and Revolution (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), p. 9.

these classes, it is as a rule, the state of the most powerful economically dominant class, which through the medium of the state becomes also the politically dominant class and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class." ⁶⁵ In a similar tone Lenin said that, "the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the repression of one class over another." ⁶⁶

The nature of the state is determined by the ruling class and its economic function. History shows three types of exploiting states, the slave-owning, feudal and the bourgeois state. In each of these exploiting states, there are specific apparatuses of coercion to suppress the common man. Bourgeois ideologists believe that in the countries which are democratic the state ceases to represent any single class and expresses the interests of the whole society. But, they do not realize that in a exploiting society there can never be a genuine people's government. Although, the constitutions of the bourgeois state proclaim freedom and right for all citizen, universal suffrage, free election, freedom of speech, press, etc., these are only high sounding

65. Ibid.

66. Lenin. V. I, Selected Works (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), Vol. III, p. 284.

phrases to hide the natural contradictions of the system. Lenin characterized the bourgeois democracies accordingly: "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich that is the democracy for the capitalistic society".⁶⁷ Earlier Marx had said that the capitalistic democracy is where "the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament".⁶⁸ Now coming to the methods of subjugation of the people in the human history, one finds that under the slave-owning and feudal state the church was used as the instrument for subjugating the masses. But with the capitalistic development, the bourgeoisie has invented new methods of subjugation, chiefly the wide use of mass media and the bourgeois political parties. Thus, the ruling class imposes on the state the task of materially and ideologically suppressing the people. Consequently, the state becomes ~~an organization~~, ~~as~~ an organization, as an instrument of class domination.

On the contrary, the bourgeois sociologists without taking the internal class essence of the state defined it as an "organization for the maintaining of law and order",

67. Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 460.

68. See; Marx, Karl, "The Civil War in France", in Marx and Engels, Selected Works, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1962), Vol. I, p. 520.

"a body for governing the country", "a system of regulating life", and so on. Field defined: "State as territorial society i.e., people living in a particular tract of land organized under a common governing body which has, if not complete at any rate a very special degree of authority over them".⁶⁹ But in reality the territory and population existed long before the state came into being.

Even in the most democratic bourgeois republic, the special detachments of armed men are the chief instrument of the bourgeois political domination. Other forms are the state information agencies, radio stations, publishing houses, etc., which are utilized to propogate ideas, which suit the ruling class and thus misinforming the people about current events of home and abroad.

The parliamentary democaracy is an organization of the supreme governmental bodies, with the president as the head of the state, elected by the population, directly or by the parliament. Under this type of system, the population is granted the right to set up political parties for the protection of its group. The Supreme Legislature body, parliament, is formed by the countrywide elections.

69. Field, G.C., Political Theory (London, 1956), p. 57.

The party that gains a majority of seat in the parliament, forms a government which directs the executive apparatus of the society. The state structure under such a system is characterised by the principles of feudalism and municipalism.

Parliamentarianism is a system of bourgeois political power in which there is formal right to participate in the formation of the supreme organ, but in fact it is not allowed to exert any real influence on the affairs of the state. The restriction of the people's participation is possible through economic means. Bourgeois democracy restricts economic and political participation by controlling the mass media. Even the electoral system is so designed to have as a rule, no representative in the parliament from lower strata. Moreover, because of the lack of education, money, they cannot have an access to parliamentary seats. Hence, these are all legalised political swindles to distort the real will of the common man. The composition and the political line of governments are determined by the financial magnates and monopolists. The monopolists have direct link with the political system. Hence the parliamentary democracy is a means of deluding the people.

In short, study of the media communication should be focussed not merely on the effectiveness of the

communication with regard to the strengthening of the establishment, rather it has to be looked in an historical, dialectical-materialistic perspective. This is so because, without looking into the history and the infrastructure any superstructural phenomenon loses its long standing value and also use to the society. Prior to the development of materialistic philosophy, views on society were dominated by the "subjective idealist" and "objective idealist" conceptions. The former regard history as, "conglomeration of chance events conditioned by individual peculiarities in the lives of great men, while the latter regard it as a predestined process".⁷⁰ The materialist on the other hand believe that; "History is nothing but the succession of separate generations, each of which exploits the materials, the capital funds, the productive forces handed down to it by all preceding generations, and thus on the one hand, continues the traditional activity in completely changed circumstances and on the other, modifies the old circumstances with a completely changed activity".⁷¹

After Marx and Engels many others emphasised the importance of history. To quote one of them, Mills, "without the use of history and without a historical sense of

70. Glezerman, G., and Kursanov, G. (eds.), (Historical Materialism (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968).

71. Marx, Engels, Lenin, On Historical Materialism (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972).

psychological matters, the social scientist cannot adequately state the kinds of problems. That ought to be the orienting points of his studies."⁷² Further, he said "to neglect history is to pretend to study the process of birth but ignoring motherhood".⁷³ Likewise, to Carr, "history is the relation between the unique and the general".⁷⁴ He argues; "Those who insist on generalization, and say that history is concerned exclusively with the unique are logically enough, those who deny that anything can be learned from history. Thus, the dual character of history is to understand both the past and present through the inter-relation between them".⁷⁵

The above discussions make imperative the study of mass media in a society. But since the contemporary mass media includes the radio, press, cinema and television, it is not possible for present study to investigate all these forms. Hence, the present venture is to study only the Indian Press. Accordingly, the preceding chapters focus on the development of the Indian Press with relation to the

72. Mills, C.W., (1970) Op. cit., p. 159

73. Ibid., p. 163.

74. Carr, E.H., What is History (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1961), p. 65.

75. Ibid., p. ~~65~~.

history of the Indian society. Attention has also been given to advertisement and propaganda, a social function which is closely integrated with the press. The last but not the least stress has been ^{laid on} ~~given to~~ the problems of freedom of the press in India.

Chapter - II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN PRESS

The press of a country is the outcome of its political, cultural and economic condition.¹ Newspaper history in India is "inextricably entangled with political history".² Margarita Barns observed: "The history of the Indian Press must, to a certain extent, be a history of the British occupation of India, or a cross section of that history".³

Origin and the Development of the Indian Press: The First Phase

~~However~~, India has recognized the importance of news service from ancient times. In the primitive society the information was transmitted verbally by messengers and later on it was done through writing. Before the invention of printing, the dissemination of news prevailed by word of mouth, exchange of private documents the posting of notices in public places. Besides this, the market place

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1. Agrawal, Sushila, Press, Public Opinion and Government of India (Jaipur: Asia Publishing House, 1970).
 2. Charlton, A.G., (ed.), Journalism in India, p. 3
 3. See; Introduction in Barns, Margarita, Indian Press: History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India (London: Allen & Unwin, 1940).

served as a kind of exchange where bits of news were exchanged and discussed. In the reign of Asoka⁴ the spies and the emissaries were the source of the exchange of informations. During the time of the Mughul Empire, written newspapers called Akhbar were known to have been circulated among the educated people.⁴ The printed newspaper came into existence only through the contact with the west. In the second half of the sixteenth century, printing was introduced by the Portuguese and the incentive for this was provided by the Christian missionaries.⁵ In British territory the first press appeared in Bombay in 1674, but its effective functioning was indeed doubtful. In the early 18th century a printing press was established in Tranquebar by the Danish Lutheran Mission. In Madras the first printing press came into existence in 1772 while, in Calcutta it was installed in 1779. But a true history of journalism started only with James Hickey's Bengal Gazettee, in 1780.

In this period the growth of newspaper was very rudimentary and slow. By 1786 there were only four weekly newspapers and four monthly magazines published from Calcutta. In 1785 a newspaper was started in Madras and by 1795 only

4. Wordsworth, W.C., "The Press" in L.S.S.O. Malley, (ed.), Modern India and the West: A Study of the Interaction of their Civilization (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 188.

5. ~~Malley~~, Ibid., p. 223.

two more papers could be added. By 1789 Bombay could have its first newspaper and within two years two more papers came into existence. A survey of newspaper newspapers in Calcutta during the middle of the 19th century conducted by, Friend of India, revealed that "eight Bengali newspapers of Calcutta between them had not 1,300 subscribers; that the interior of the country took less than 200 copies, that in January 1837 only 151 copies were sent by post out of Calcutta, and 195 in a month in 1843, that all the English papers of Calcutta, with an aggregate circulation of nearly 4,000 had between them, had only 125 Indian subscribers".⁶ This is a clear evidence of the level of the development of the Indian press in that period. The reasons can easily be found in the high incidence of illiteracy, poverty and repressive laws.

Still worse was the development of language press in India. Chiefly the Christian missionaries helped in starting press in Indian languages in different parts of the country. Natarajan emphatically said that in 1853 among the vernacular press, "there was no uniformity of language or style". He continues: "The choice of subjects and the

6. Wordsworth, W.C., Op. Cit., p. 191.

method of presentation were invariably matters of individual taste and predilection and a heavily ornamental psuedo-literary style abounding in metaphorical expression was their hallmark".⁷ The journalism in the Indian languages though spread in all the states, it has yet to register an advance so that it can reach the majority of the people.

Natarajan has surveyed in great length the growth of press in different languages.⁸ A brief account of this survey can serve our purpose.

ASSAMESE:

The slow growth of the Assamese newspaper was due to the fact that it gave importance to Bengali. It was only in the late nineteenth century that a few journals appeared, some of them was inspired by the missionaries. The weeklies made their appearance, followed by the dailies. But many journals had a pre-mature end.

BENGALI :

Bengali press is credited for pioneering Indian journalism. Besides English and Bengali newspapers, the first Persian, Urdu and Hindi papers were published in Bengali.

GUJARATI:

Political movements and social reform activities affected the life of Gujarati newspapers to the point of

7. Natarajan, J., History of Indian Journalism (The Publication Division, 1955).

8. Natarajan, J., Op. cit., pp. 48-65; and pp. 179-209.

determining their existence. Gujarati newspapers began their career as early as 1822. Gujarati journalism owes much to the Parsi community.

HINDI:

The first Hindi newspaper^e was published in 1854. But it was used to report market and shipping, the rest of the news was published in Bengali. The first two decades of the 20th century Hindi journalism was concerned with literary, social and religious activities. Of course, there were journals which were exclusively meant for publishing materials on education, agriculture and trade. The Hindi newspapers began activating a wide range of interest in keeping with the modern trends.

KANNADA:

The Christian missionaries produced the first journal in Kannada. Though journalism in Kannada started in 1870, it could not prosper because of the divisions both political and administrative. Hence many of the weeklies were short-lived.

MALAYALAM:

Malayalam journalism started in 1884. Many of the journals began as fortnightlies. The struggle for independence brought into being a number of dailies in the twenties.

MARATHI:

In 1898 there was three daily newspapers in Marathi. The early twentieth century saw a birth of a Marathi daily,

which was specialised in war news and the activities of the nationalists. By 1923 the Marathi newspapers could attract readers by its weekly features, and columns for commerce and industry, agriculture, physical culture and games, book review, market reports and short stories. Marathi newspaper was specially popular among the working class.

ORIYA:

It was only in the early twentieth century newspapers were started in Oriya. But after 1947, mainly weeklies and magazines came into existence.

PUNJABI:

The birth of Punjabi newspaper is traced in the period between 1850 and 1860 until 1906 the press appeared under the influence of Singh Sabha. Punjabi journalism entered a new phase with the Akali movement.

TAMIL:

Although Tamil journalism had an early beginning daily journalism was confined only to Madras. But later it started publication simultaneously from Madurai, Madras, Salem and Tiruchirapalli.

TELUGU:

Telugu journalism started by 1860. But it must be remembered that Andhra's first successful daily paper, Andhra Patrika, started as a weekly from Bombay in 1908;

it was moved to Madras in 1941 and after a few years it was converted into a daily. Besides other journals, film journals, children journals and women's magazines enjoyed a well established position in Telugu.

URDU:

The growth of Urdu journalism started with the introduction of lithiography in 1837. Politics, history, education and religion was given more space in the Urdu press. In the beginning, the numerical strength of Urdu journals was more than Hindi journals, its position was reversed later.

THE PRESS IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

The main objective of the first newspaper was to entertain and to promote the trading concerns of industrialists. But later, some Indians who came under the impact of the western culture started newspapers which were from the very outset noted for its sobriety and serious thinking. The Indian Press took the role of liberal opposition which put a check on the autocratic powers of the foreign rule. The Indian journalism grew with a high spirit which was practised as profession and not as a trade to earn profit. But the British-owned newspapers were of commercial venture and with the ideology of imperialism.

In spite of the nationalistic role, a section of the press, due to the strong influence of the bourgeoisie

gave little importance to the oppression of the peasants and toiling masses including the Adivasis and Santals. However, as Karl Marx observed: "The free press introduced for the first time in the Asiatic society and managed principally by common offspring of Hindus (Indians) and Europeans is a new and powerful agent of reconstruction".⁹ Superficially, the emergence of the press in India is thought to be "created by those who for various reasons were dissatisfied with the company's administration and monopoly".¹⁰

The Indian Nationalists wanted to free the Indian press. Sir Thomas Munro rightly said: "A free press and the domination of strangers are things which are quite incompatible and which cannot long exist together".¹¹ Desai noted: "In France the press was used in popularising revolutionary ideas in fighting the religious superstitions and social kinds of oppressions, and to fight against the feudal lords. Similar experience of the press was seen in England, Germany, Italy and other modern European countries. In Russia the press was used to mobilize the great mass of people. In India the press played an important role in the 'political emancipation'.¹² These are

9. Quoted in Mohitra, Mohit, A History of Indian Journalism (Calcutta: National Book Agency Pvt. Ltd., 1969)

10. See, "Introduction" in Barns, Margarita, Op. cit.

11. Ibid.,

12. Desai, A.R., Social Background of Indian Nationalism (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966), Fourth edition.

all clear evidence of the role of press during the pre-Independence period.

THE PRESS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

After Independence, while it is true that the number of newspapers and periodicals have shown a ^{Constant-}consistent rising trend, the press in India, in general, came more and more under the control of ^{industrialists and}businessmen of the country. The quantitative increase can be found out from the figure that during 1940-41, India had between 3000-4000 printed newspapers published from a variety of centres in 17 languages, a few bi-lingual,¹³ but by 1966, the number had increased to 10,977. And during only one decade the number of daily newspapers has increased by 42.7 per cent (1955-66).¹⁴

The development of the Indian press during the years 1966-71 is evident from the ~~table 2.1. given below:~~

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13. Cunnigham, J.R., "Ducation", (ed.) O'Malley, Op. cit., p. 180.
14. The Indiagram (Indian High Commission, Ottawa), August 10, 1967.

Table 2.1

Number of Newspapers and Periodicals,¹⁵ 1966-71

Year	Dailies	Tri-Weeklies and Bi-weeklies	Weeklies	Others	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
1966	549	52	2,403	5,636	8,640
1967	588	58	2,697	5,972	9,315
1968	636	51	2,892	6,440	10,019
1969	650	52	2,973	6,606	10,281
1970	695	60	3,162	7,119	11,036
1971	821	68	3,608	7,721	12,218

The above table reveals that newspapers and periodicals rose from 8,640 in 1966 to 12,218 in 1971.

In 1971 newspapers* were published in sixty different languages and dailies in twenty-one languages. Apart from the fifteen principal languages, daily newspapers were published in Avadhi, Mizon, Nagpura, Konkanki and Manipuri and Chinese.

15. Press in India, 1972 (New Delhi: Min. of Information and Broadcasting, 1972, p. 17.

* Note: According to the Sixteenth Report of the Registrar of Newspapers, newspapers mean any printed periodical works containing news or comments on public events. Periodical is a newspaper appearing at an interval of a week or more.

More than five newspapers were published in twelve languages other than the principal languages. Newspapers also came out in sixteen more languages either as bi-lingual or multilingual. The data on tables 2.2 and 2.3 shows the total number of papers, language and state-wise respectively.

It is noted from the table that among the States, Maharashtra remained the largest publisher of newspapers followed by Uttar Pradesh. There were eight State/Union Territories which had more than 500 newspapers each namely, Delhi, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh. Among the dailies Uttar Pradesh published the largest number of dailies; followed by Maharashtra.

As many as 3,964 newspapers (32.4) percent of the total number) were published from the four metropolitan cities of Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, Towns with a population below one lakh had 3,201 newspapers or 26.2 per cent of the total and 3,380 more (27.7 per cent) were from cities with a population of one lakh and above (excluding state capitals and metropolitan cities). The State capitals (excluding the metropolitan cities) had 1,673 papers or 13.7 per cent of the total number. A clear picture can be seen in table 2.4.

Table 2.2

16
Total Number of Papers (Language & Periodicity-wise), 1971

Language	Dailies	Tri & Bi-weeklies	Weeklies	Others	Total in 1970	Total in 1971
English	78	7	305	2000	2247	2390
Hindi	222	29	1,394	1471	2694	3116
Assamese	2	1	10	28	38	41
Bengali	15	5	170	570	707	760
Gujarati	43	3	146	402	577	594
Kannada	39	2	94	150	247	285
Malayalam	60	..	78	343	432	481
Marathi	77	3	275	386	680	741
Oriya	7	.	17	93	103	117
Punjabi	18	..	103	138	236	259
Sanskrit	1	..	2	25	27	28
Sindhi	4	..	31	43	72	78
Tamil	97	2	89	427	521	615
Talugu	17	1	102	266	361	386
Urdu	102	8	468	427	898	1005
Bi-lingual	24	5	249	677	863	955
Multi-lingual	4	1	16	166	199	217
Others	11	1	29	109	134	150
Total	821	68	3608	7721	12218	11036

Table 2.3

17

Total Number of Papers (State and Periodicity-wise), 1971

State/ Territories	Dailies	Tri & Bi- Weeklies	Weekli- es	Others	1970	1971
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maharashtra	120	6	516	1203	1706	1845
Uttar Pradesh	126	13	772	771	1473	1682
Delhi	31	2	224	1084	1242	1341
West Bengal	31	8	239	1015	1204	1293
Tamil Nadu	104	3	119	731	870	957
Rajasthan	32	5	302	326	572	665
Andhra Pradesh	34	4	206	399	587	638
Kerala	63	..	90	480	569	633
Gujarat	43	2	144	358	527	547
Madhya Pradesh	69	14	270	175	467	528
Punjab	33	1	167	262	427	463

Cont'd...../-

Table 2.3 Cont'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mysore	62	2	135	263	427	462
Bihar	10	1	108	149	225	268
Haryana	6	2	83	109	166	200
Orissa	7	..	22	106	119	135
Jammu & Kashmir	18	1	79	25	102	123
Assam	7	3	41	70	110	121
Chandigarh	5	..	35	70	95	110
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	27	41	54	68
Manipur	9	..	2	32	37	43
Pondichery	..	..	4	32	32	36
Goa, Daman, Diu	6	..	9	20	32	35
Tripura	4	1	9	1	14	15
Andaman and Nicobar Island	1	..	2	2	4	5
Nagaland	..	..	2	2	4	4 ⁴
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	...	...	.	..	...	1
Total	821	68	3608	7721	11036	12218

Table 2.4

Concentration of Newspapers¹⁸ (Periodicity-wise)

Centre of publication	Dailies Bi-week- lies, Tri- weeklies	Weeklies	Other	Total 1971
Metropolitan cities (Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta).	199	622	3143	3964
State capital (ex- cluding metropolitan cities)	152	483	1038	1673
Cities with popula- tion 1 lakh and above	355	1191	1834	3380
Towns with popula- tion below 1 lakh	183	1312	1706	3201
Total	889	3608	7721	12218

There were 14 cities in 1971 publishing more than 100 newspapers, compared to 13 in 1970. The new entrant being Chandigarh. These cities were Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Patna, Trivandrum and Chandigarh. The total number in each city is shown in Table 2.5.

18 Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 27.

Table 2.5
 19
 Cities Having 100 or More Newspapers.

City	(Number of Publications)				Total 1971
	English	Hindi	Language of the state in which the city is situated.	Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Delhi	632	316	-	393	1341
Bombay	476	61	185	327	1049
Calcutta	302	86	447	130	965
Madras	186	5	314	104	609
Hyderabad	71	10	65	132	278
Ahmedabad	13	3	116	14	146
Poona	27	12	135	35	209
Bangalore	63	2	96	44	205
Lucknow	20	81	-	45	146
Jaipur	14	168	-	32	214
Kanpur	26	118	-	39	183
Patna	16	78	-	47	141
Trivandrum	14	1	86	31	132
Chandigarh	47	21	-	42	110
Total:	1,907	962	1,444	1,415	5,728

19. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 28.

By 1971 there were eighteen newspapers which completed a century of their existence. The oldest five among the century -old newspapers was (1) Bombay Samachar, Gujarati, Bombay (1822); (2) Jame-e-Jamshed, Gujarati, Bombay (1832); (3) Times of India, English, Bombay (1838); (4) Calcutta Review, English, Calcutta (1844); and Tinnevelly Diocesan Magazine, Tamil, Madras, established in 1849..

Of 527 newspapers which ceased publication in 1971 were in the age group 2 to 5 years (198 papers) followed by the age groups 1 to 2 years and 5 to 10 years (92 papers each).

Ownership:

(a) General Pattern

The ownership pattern of newspaper shows that the predominant form of ownership in India is individual ownership. The percentage share of this type of ownership in the total number of newspapers increased from 61.1 in 1970 to 61.9 in 1971. The number of papers owned by Joint Stock Companies went down from 4.6 per cent to 4.4 per cent during the same period. The number of newspapers under the main ownership categories is given in table 2.6 while, table 2.7 shows the newspaper ownership periodicity-wise.

Newspapers belonging to Joint Stock companies, however, commanded a higher percentage of the total circulation. (38.4 per cent) than those under individual ownership 30.4

Table 2.6
Ownership Pattern of Newspapers²⁰

Forms of ownership	Number of Papers		Percentage of total number of papers	
	1970	1971	1970	1971
Individual	6,744	7,559	61.1	61.9
Society/Association	2,084	2,262	18.9	18.5
Firm/Partnership	658	732	6.0	6.0
Joint Stock Company	508	537	4.0	4.4
Government (Central & State)	397	422	3.6	3.4
Others	645	706	5.8	5.8
Total	11,036	12,218	100.0	100.0

20. Press in India, 1972, p. 66.

Table 2.7

Ownership Pattern of Newspapers (Periodicity-wise)²¹

Forms of Ownership	* Dailies	Weeklies	Fortnightlies	Monthlies	All Papers including other periodicals	
					1970	1971
Individual	62.2	82.3	76.4	54.0	61.9	61.1
Society/Association	3.1	4.8	11.3	26.6	18.5	18.9
Firm and Partnership	12.6	4.8	4.0	6.9	6.0	6.0
Joint Stock Company	16.1	3.3	2.1	3.2	4.4	4.6
Others	6.0	4.8	6.9	9.3	9.2	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Including tri-weeklies and bi-weeklies.

21. Ibid., p. 67

percent. The circulation shares of other main ownership forms were: firm and partnership 11.4 percent societies/associations 9.8 percent and trusts 4.6 percent. Circulation of newspapers under different forms ownership in 1971 is given in table 2.8. given below:

Table 2.8
Circulation of Newspapers Under Different Forms
of Ownership 22/

Forms of Ownership	Number of newspapers	Circulation '000'	% of total circulation	Number of papers	Circulation '000'	% of total circulation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Joint stock company	396	11368	38.4	386	10958	37.4
Individuals	2723	9014	30.4	3660	9530	32.5
Firm and Partnership	399	3359	11.4	385	3078	10.5
Societies/ Association	1956	2911	9.8	1428	2822	9.6
Trusts	195	1374	4.6	176	1365	4.7
Others	465	1588	5.4	448	1550	5.3
Total	6633	29614	100.0	6483	29303	100.0

22. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 68

* The number relates to newspapers whose circulation data were available.

Table 2.9
The Circulation of Newspapers Under Different
Forms of Ownership ^{23/}

Forms of Ownership	Units [*]	Newspapers	Circulation '000'
Companies	31	121	5835
Individuals	35	71	376
Firms/Partnership	14	33	521
Trusts	12	44	834
Others	6	16	205
Total	98	285	7771

The number of common ownership during the year 1971 was 98, which together owned 285 news-interest¹ groups. The corresponding figures for the preceding year was 72 units, 240 news interest and 59 non-newsinterest paper. A common ownership unit has been defined as a newspaper established which owns more than one news-interest paper including one daily.²⁴

23. Ibid., p. 69

24. Ibid., p. 68

Note:^{*} According to the Sixteenth Report of Registrar of Newspapers, unit means a newspaper establishment owning two or more news interest newspapers at least one of which is a daily.

Note:¹ According to the Sixteenth Report of Registrar of Newspaper, News-interest paper is any periodical publication devoted primarily to current events, public affairs, politics and international affairs.

During the period 1966-71 the number of common ownership units rose from 57 to 98 and the number of their news-interest papers from 194 to 285. The total circulation of news-interest papers of common ownership units increased from 53.4 lakhs in 1966 to 77.9 lakhs in 1971. The percentage of total circulation of all papers commanded by common ownership units fluctuated between 23.3 and 26.6 during the period. It was 26.3 per cent in 1971. The share of common ownership would have increased but for the policy of the government to discourage concentration of ownership and trend towards monopoly. The number of dailies including tri- and bi-weeklies from 154 in 1966 to 217 in 1971. While the circulation of dailies under common ownership increased from 46.5 lakhs to 67.9 lakhs. In 1966 dailies belonging to common ownership units commanded 68.3 per cent of the total circulation of all dailies, the percentage share in 1971 was 73.8. Table 2.10 indicates the number of news-interest paper under common ownership.

Including the non-news-interest papers the total number of paper owned by the common ownership units in 1971 was 355 and their combined circulation was 102.9 lakhs. The number of non-news-interest periodicals under common ownership rose from 54 in 1966 to 70 in 1971 and their combined circulation from 18.49 to 25.39.

Table 2.10

25

Number of News-interest Papers Under Common Ownership, 1966-67

Year	Number of Common Ownership Units	Number of News-interest Papers Owned				Annual Percentage increase
		^a Dailies	Weeklies	Others	Total	
1966	57	154	40	..	194	3.7
1967	62	159	50	...	209	7.7
1968	64	165	51	^b 16	217	3.8
1969	65	170	52	..	222	2.3
1970	72	182	55	^c 3	240	8.1
1971	98	217	60	^d 8	285	18.7

- a. dailies include tri- and bi-weeklies
- b. 1 annual, 2 monthlies
- c. 4 fortnightlies, 3 monthlies, 1 annual
- d. 1 fortnightly.

25. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 73

Table 2.11

Circulation of News-interest Papers Under Common Ownership²⁶

Year	Dailies (including tri-, bi-weeklies)	Percentage of total circulation	Weeklies	('000')	
				Total circulation of dailies and newsinterest papers	Percentage of total circulation of all papers
1	2	3	4	5	6
1966	4,651	73.6	690	5,341	24.6
1967	4,966	74.3	8.55	5,821	26.6
1968	4,988	70.8	8.42*	5,830	24.9
1969 ⁻	5,499	70.6	773	6,272	23.3
1970 ⁻	6,069	72.1	1,056 ¹	7,125	24.3
1971	6,094	73.8	882	7,786	26.3

* Final estimate. Others are preliminary.

1. Including an annual and two monthlies.

- Including a fortnightly.

26. Ibid., p. 74

Table 2.12
Common Ownership of Newspapers²⁷

Year	NUMBER				Circulation ('000')			
	News - Interest	Non-news- interest.	Total	% of total number of Newspapers	News Interest	Non-news Interest	Total	% of total Circulation
1966	194	54	248	2.9	5,341	1,849	7,190	28.4
1967	209	55	264	2.8	5,821	1,881	7,702	38.2*
1968	217	55	272	2.7	5,830	1,828	7,658	32.7*
1969	222	53	275	2.7	6,272	1,937	8,209	30.4
1970	240	59	2,999	2.7	7,125	2,183	9,308	31.8
1971	285	70	355	2.9	7,725	2,539	10,292	39.8

*Final estimates; others are preliminary.

27. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 74.

Table 2.13

Non-News-Interest Periodicals Under Common Ownership.

28

Year	Number of periodicals	Circulation '000'	% of total circulation of all papers
1966	54	1849	10.0
1967	55	1881	10.1
1968	55	1828	9.6
1969	53	1937	10.1
1970	59	2183	10.5
1971	70	2539	12.4

There are 19 common ownership units commanding a circulation of one lakh. Bennet Coleman and Co., with its news-interest papers commanding a total circulation of 10.78 lakhs remained at the top, followed by Express Group 9.74 lakhs and Thanthi 4.75 lakhs, The circulation of newspapers owned by common ownership is given in table 2.14.

b) Language Dailies:

Among dailies of common ownership units which commanded a combined circulation exceeding 15,000 copies each more than half of total circulation of dailies in the respective

language was held by those published in Bengali (91.6%), English (86.3%), Telugu (76.8%), Gujarati (74.4%), Sindhi (71.4%), Marathi (70.5%), Tamil (67.9%), Kannada (65.3%), Hindi (61.1%), Malayalam (60.6%), and Oriya (55.6%). The different common ownership units and their share in the total circulation is as given in table 2.15.

c) Metropolitan Dailies and Common Ownership:

Nine among the nineteen leading units had 31 dailies from the 4 metropolitan cities; their total circulation in 1971 was 28.35 lakhs against 25.34 lakhs in the previous year, an increase of 11.9%.

The share of the circulation enjoyed by the dailies of these 9 units in the total circulation of all metropolitan dailies was 73.4% in 1971. There were in all 45 units which brought out 77 dailies from the four metropolitan cities in 1971, these had a total circulation of 33.72 lakhs.

d) Ownership by Political Parties:

Twenty political parties published 98 newspapers (eleven dailies, two bi-weeklies, fifty weeklies, eighteen fortnightlies and seventeen monthlies) during 1971. Twenty-five of these newspapers were in Hindi followed by 16 in English, 14 in Bengali, 7 in Marathi and 5 each in Urdu and Gujarati. The number and circulation of newspapers owned by political parties is given in table 2.17.

Table 2.14

Circulation of Newspapers Owned by Common Ownership Units
each Commanding Circulation of One Lakh and Above. 29/

S. No.	Unit	Number of Newspapers owned by the unit.	Dailies *			News Weeklies		
			Number	Circulation ('000')	% of share in the circulation of dailies and in different languages.	Number	Circulation ('000')	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1.	Bennet Coleman & Co. Ltd.	15	8	672	English Hindi Marathi	13.9 16.1 12.5	7	4.05
2.	Express Newspapers	22	14	974	English Marathi Telugu Kannada Tamil	21.4 17.5 48.5 17.1 18.4	8	
3.	Thanti Trust and Allied Publications	13	13	475	Tamil	52.3	..	..
4.	Ananda Bazar Patrika Pvt. Ltd.	6	3	388	English Bengali	3.5 50.7	1	76
5.	Amrita Bazar Patrika Pvt. Ltd.	6	4	363	English Bengali	6.8 39.5	2	18

Cont'd....

* Including Tri-weeklies and bi-weeklies.

Table 2.14 cont'd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
6.	Hindustan Times and Allied Publishers	8	6	368	English Hindi	8.1 12.1	2	75
7.	Malayla Manorama Limited	2	2	317	Malayalam	28.5	..	..
8.	Mathrubhumi Printing and Publishing Coltd.	2	2	265	Malayalam	23.9	..	..
9.	Statesman Limited	5	2	193	English	8.7	3	37 ^b
10.	Kasturi & Sons	3	3	201	English	9.0	..	..
11.	Indian National Press (Bombay) Pvt. Ltd.	5	4	175	English Gujarati Marathi	4.5 4.4 4.9	1	
12.	Printers (Mysore) Pvt. Ltd.	2	2	153	English Kannada	3.1 26.9	..	..
13.	Sandesh Ltd.,	3	3	136	Gujarati	19.3	..	..
14.	Nageswara Rao Estate	3	2	46	Telugu	19.1	1	78

Cont'd.....

Table 2.14 cont'd.

1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8
15.	Janastta/Loksatta Karyala	4	3	101	Gujarati	14.3	1	21
16.	Sakal Papers Pvt. Ltd.	2	2	46	Marathi	10.9	..	..
17.	Newspapers & Publication Pvt. Ltd.	2	2	134	English Hindi	2.3 5.5	..	..
18.	Saurashtra Trust	8	4	101	Gujarati	14.3	4	12 ^c
19.	Lok Prakashan Ltd.	2	2	101	Gujarati	4.3	..	..

a. Circulation included in dailies.

b. Circulation of one weekly included in daily.

c. Circulation of three weeklies included daily.

29. Press in India, 1972, Op. Cit., pp. 76-77.

Table 2.15

Dailies Having a Combined Circulation of Over 15,000 Copies Published
by Different Common Ownership Units and Their Share in the Total Circulation. 30/

Languages	Dailies having Combined circulation above 15,000	Number of units published in such dailies	% of total circulation of all dailies in the languages.
Hindi	30	16	61.1
English	31	16	86.8
Bengali	3	3	91.6
Gujarati	12	6	74.4
Kannada	4	3	65.3
Malayalam	8	4	60.6
Oriya	1	1	55.6
Sindhi	1	1	71.4
Tamil	10	3	67.0
Telugu	5	3	76.8
Urdu	3	3	23.9
Marathi	10	8	70.5

Table 2.16

Share of the Leading Common Ownership Units In the
Total Circulation of Metropolitan Dailies. 31/

Common Ownership Units having cir- culation above one lakh	Dailies including tri- and bi-weeklies	Circula- tion ('000')	% of circulation of all Metro- politan dailies	
			1970	1971
1. Bennet Coleman and Co. Ltd.	7	649	16.7	16.8
2. Express Newspapers	6	466	12.9	12.1
3. Ananda Bazar Patrika	3	388	9.2	10.0
4. Amrita Bazar Patrika Co. Pvt. Ltd.	3	325	8.8	8.4
5. Hindustan Times and Allied Publications	3	317	8.0	8.2
6. Statesman Ltd.	2	194	5.4	5.6
7. Indian National Press (Bombay) Pvt. Ltd.	4	175	4.7	4.5
8. Thanthi Trust and Allied Publishers	2	180	4.0	4.7
9. Kasturi and Sons	1	140	3.9	3.7
Total	31	2,935	73.6	73.4

31. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 82.

Table 2.17

Number and Circulation of Newspapers
Owned by Political Parties 32/

Name of the Party	Number of Papers	Circulation
1	2	3
Indian National Congress	35	59679 ¹
Communist Party of India	20	54771 ²
Communist Party of India (M)	11	100969 ³
Revolutionary Communist Party of India	3	2000 ⁴
Praja Socialist Party	6	2648 ⁵
Bharatiya Jana Sangh	5	4109 ⁶
Republican Party of India	2	NS
Swatantra Party	2	500 ⁷
Socialist Unity Centre	3	18250 ⁸
Socialist Workers Party	1	465
Khasi Jaintia Conference	1	N.S. ⁹
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	1	N.S.
Workers Party	1	1900
Hill State Peoples Democratic Party of North-East India	1	N.S.

Cont'd....

Table 2.17 Cont'd.

1	2	3
Bolsho ^o vik Party of India	1	N.S
Revolutionary Socialist Party of India	1	1,412
Samyukta Socialist Party	1	N.S
Socialist Party	1	N.S.
National Conference	1	1,074
Total	98	2,47,781

1. Circulation for 18 papers
2. Circulation for 12 papers
3. Circulation for 10 papers
4. Circulation for 1 paper
5. Circulation for 3 papers
6. Circulation for 4 papers
7. Circulation for 1 paper
8. Circulation for 2 papers
9. Not supplied.

The total circulation of the papers owned by the political parties (for which the data were available) stood at 2.48 lakhs in 1971, compared to 2.06 lakhs in 1970 an increase of 20.4 per cent. The circulation commanded by newspapers belonging to the communist parties totalled 1,57,740 copies more than commanded by any other party. Congress owned newspapers came next with a combined circulation of 59,679 copies. The increase in the circulation of papers belonging to the communist and the Congress parties was 4.6 and 43.9 respectively.

The data on distribution of ownership of newspapers, languagewise, periodicity-wise, and state-wise is given in tables 2.18, 2.19 and 2.20 respectively.

Table 2.18

Language-wise Distribution of Ownership of Newspapers as on 31st Dec. 1971 33

Language	Government		Joint Stock			Firm or Partnership	Trust	Co-operative Society	Society or association including religious societies.	Educational institution	International organization	Organ of the political party	Total
	Central	State	Individual	Public	Private								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
English	144	48	872	95	162	155	51	24	697	1222	5	16	2391
Hindi	34	52	2339	30	48	145	39	31	355	16	2	25	3166
Assamese	2	2	14	..	1	10	1	1	8	..	..	2	41
Bengali	6	6	457	1	31	75	8	8	152	2	..	14	760
Gujarati	1	2	312	22	17	42	39	6	143	5	..	5	594
Kannada	2	3	197	1	10	9	11	4	44	2	--	2	285
Malayalam	2	3	347	11	5	29	4	1	78	3	..	2	481
Marathi	1	7	426	10	16	76	29	13	139	13	..	7	741

Table 2.18 (contd)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Oriya	2	4	76	..	..	9	5	2	18	..	..	1	170
Punjabi	2	6	194	1	2	11	4	4	23	10	..	2	254
Sanskrit	..	..	8	..	..	1	1	1	14	3	..	..	28
Sindhi	..	..	61	2	2	4	1	1	9	..	..	..	78
Tamil	5	5	450	6	16	27	16	10	76	..	1	3	607
Tel ^u gu	4	3	279	4	14	12	10	1	57	4	..	4	394
Urdu	4	5	840	5	81	69	17	..	50	2	..	5	1005
Bi-lingual	13	26	526	8	5	42	18	11	269	28	1	5	954
Multi-lingual	3	8	97	..	4	10	5	3	177	11	..	1	217
Others	11	6	64	..	2	6	2	..	55	..	..	4	150
Total	236	186	7559	196	341	732	261	121	2262	270	9	98	12,218

33. Press in India 1972 Op. cit., P: 84

Table 2.19

34

Periodicity-wise Distribution of Ownership of Newspapers as on 31st Dec., 1971

Periodicity	Government		Indivi- dual	Joint Stock company		Firm/ Part- ner- ship	Trust	Coop- era- tive Soc- iety	Socio- ety/ assoc- iation inclu- ding relig- ious socie- ties	Educa- tion- al ins- titu- tion.	Inter- natio- nal organ- izati- on.	Organ- of poli- tical party-	Tot- tal
	Cent- ral*	State ²		Public Ltd.	Private Ltd.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Dailies	..	1	506	60	76	107	33	4	23	...	..	11	821
Tri- and Bi- weeklies.	..	..	47	1	6	5	1	1	5	..	..	2	68
Weeklies	21	23	2967	44	77	175	48	26	172	2	2	50	3607
Fortnight- lies	22	17	1086	10	20	57	11	11	160	8	1	18	1421

Cont'd.....

Table 2.19 cont'd. - 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Monthlies	101	84	2475	35	113	316	124	34	1218	41	5	17	458
Quarterlies	68	46	310	26	28	38	33	21	454	74	1	..	110
Other periodicals	19	10	129	10	9	21	6	2	178	67	..	..	5
Annuals	5	5	39	8	12	13	5	2	52	25	..	..	16
Total	236	186	7559	196	341	732	261	121	2262	217	9	98	12,218

34. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., pp. 86-87.

Table 2.20

State-wise Distribution of Ownership of Newspapers as on 31st December, 1971

35

State/ Territory	Government		Indi- vid- ual	Joint stock company		Firm/ Part- ner- ship	Trust	Coop- era- tive Soc- iety	Soc- iet- y/ ass- oci- ati- on inc- lu- din- g reli- gious socie- ties	Educ- ati- onal org- ani- zation.	In- ter na- tio- nal Org- ani- zation.	Organ. of Poli- tical party	Total
	Cent- ral'	State		Public Ltd.	Priv- ate Ltd.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Andhra Pradesh	4	10	457	5	9	26	14	3	101	5	..	4	638
Assam	..	3	53	..	1	16	2	2	38	1	..	5	121
Bihar	2	14	156	..	12	13	7	1	58	2	..	3	268
Gujarat	1	4	283	21	16	45	29	7	127	9	..	5	547
Haryana	1	1	163	..	3	10	3	..	10	8	..	1	200
Himachal Pradesh	1	8	49	1	2	1	5	1	68
Jammu & Kashmir	..	6	96	3	1	1	11	1	..	4	123
Kerala	4	11	400	16	6	33	5	4	147	4	..	3	633

cont'd....

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Table 2.20 (cont'd)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Madhya Pradesh	11	5	402	2	11	23	8	12	57	4	...	3	528
Maharashtra	16	15	884	80	91	160	75	25	437	51	...	14	1845
Mysore	3	9	287	5	17	20	12	4	99	4	....	2	462
Orissa	1	8	85	..	..	8	2	12	25	3	...	1	135
Punjab	..	2	373	5	1	16	5	25	30	22	...	3	463
Rajasthan	..	13	543	..	2	16	4	4	76	60	...	2	665
Tamil Nadu	13	9	587	12	37	54	26	2	197	6	...	2	957
Uttar Pradesh	12	21	1296	15	18	81	17	6	199	8	...	3	1682
West Bengal	28	13	695	7	61	119	10	2	301	31	...	6	1293
Delhi	147	7	637	28	47	74	19	6	301	39	9	17	1341

cont'd,...

Table 2.2 (cont'd)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Manipur	..	1	10	...	...	1	....	2	25	2	...	17	43
Tripura	..	1	12	..	...	..	1	13	..	...	..	3	15
Nagaland	..	..	2	..	...	..	...	9	1	...	..	1	4
Pondichery	1	3	10	..	...	..	17	7	5	...	..	...	36
Goa	..	..	18	...	5	9	..	16	3	...	..	...	35
Dadra etc.	..	1	...	...	...	..	..	1	..	...	..	...	1
Chandigarh	1	19	59	...	...	3	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Andaman & Nicobar	..	2	2	...	1	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
Total:		186	7559		196	341	732	261	121	2262	217	9	98 12,218

1) includes newspaper published by autonomous bodies under the Central Government.

2) includes newspaper published/ ^{by} local bodies under the State Governments.

35. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., pp. 88-89.

Table 2.21

Circulation of Ownership under different Forms of Ownership³⁶

Form of Ownership	* Number of papers.	1971	% of total Circulation	1970		
		Circulation ('000)		No. of papers	Circulation	% of total circulation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Central Government	123	545	1.9	139	624	2.1
State Government	78	383	1.3	61	324	4.1
Individual	3723	9014	30.15	3660	9530	32.5
Public Ltd.	156	5672	19.2	156	9397	18.4
Private Ltd.	239	5696	19.3	230	5561	19.6
Firm/Partnership	399	3359	11.3	385	3078	10.5
Trust	195	1374	4.6	176	1365	4.7
Cooperative Society	77	191	0.6	67	129	0.5
Society/Association	1456	1911	9.8	1428	2822	9.6
Educational Institutions.	126	208	0.7	128	778	1.0
<i>International</i> Institutional Organization	6	8	...	7	9	...
Political Party	55	252	0.8	46	187	0.6
Total	6633	29614	100.00	6483	29303	100.00

* The number relates to newspaper whose circulation data were available

The above tables reveal that individual ownership has the largest number of circulation.

Circulation:

a) General Pattern

The total circulation commanded by newspapers in 1971 was 296.19 lakhs compared to 293.03 lakhs in 1970. The total circulation of newspapers had risen by 17.4 per cent from the years 1966-71. The circulation of dailies rose from 66.8 lakhs to 90.7 lakhs (36.4 per cent); weeklies from 69.7 lakhs to 80.7 lakhs, 16.0 per cent and other periodicals from 115.3 lakhs to 123.5 lakhs. The total number of newspapers and periodicals from 1966-71 is shown in table 2.22.

Table 2.22

Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals ³⁷ ('000')

Year	Dailies	Tri- and Bi-week- lies	Weeklies	Others	Total
1966	6655	97	6948	11536	25436
1967	7030	106	7050	11437	25823
1968	7321	93	6970	12150	26534
1969	7687	103	7733	12157	26964
1970	8299	123	8424	12457	29303
1971	9096	104	8065	12354	29619

37 Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 46.

Small newspapers number^{ing} 6,310 or 95.1 percent of the 6,633 for which the data were available together accounted for as much as 43.7 per cent of the total circulation. While, 100 big newspapers together accounted for 36.3 percent. Medium newspapers numbering 223 had 20.0 percent share in the total circulation. A detailed account is given in table 2.23.

Table 2.23
38
Circulation of pattern of Newspapers

Circulation Category/ Range	Dailies including Tri- and Bi-weeklies		Periodicals		Total	
	No.	Circulation	Number	Circulation ('000')	Number	Circulation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Big Above 1 lakh	22	3231	22	3686	44	6917
Big Above 50,000- 1,00,000	27	1837	29	1985	56	3822
Me- Above dium 1,50,00- 5,000	88	2348	135	3571	223	5919
Sm- Above 5,000- all 15,000	136	2206	502	4204	638	5410
Small Upto 5,000	303	578	5369	6973	5672	7551
Total	576	92000	6057	20419	6633	29619

Newspapers published from the four metropolitan cities accounted for slightly more than half (50.40 per cent of the circulation of all newspapers and 42.0 per cent of the circulation of all dailies). The state capitals and cities with a population accounted for 12.6 per cent and 23.3 per cent ~~with~~ respectively of the total circulation. Table 2.24 shows the centre-wise circulation of newspapers.

Table 2.24
Centre-wise Circulation of Newspapers ³⁹ ('000')

Centre of Publication	Dailies		Weeklies		Others		Total	
	No.	Circulation	No.	Circulation	No.	Circulation	No.	Circulation
Metropolitan cities (Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras)	120	3864 (42.0%)	307	4007	1682	7093	2109	14914 (50.5%)
State capitals excluding metropolitan cities	90	1614	225	970	555	1160	870	3744 (12.0%)
Other cities with population of 1 lakh and above	246	2975 (32.4%)	609	1464	1043	2443	1898	6902 (23.3%)
Towns with population of 1 lakh and above	120	747 (8.1%)	734	1625	902	1638	1756	4009 (13.6%)
Total	576	92000 (100%)	1875	8065	4182	12354	6633	29619 (100%)

39. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 55

Towns with population less than one lakh accounted for 13.6% of the total circulation and 8.1% of the daily circulation. In the circulation of daily newspapers, state capital (excluding metropolitan cities) and other cities with a population of one lakh and above accounted for 17.5 and 32.4% respectively. This is highlighted in table 2.25.

Table 2.25
Percentage Share of the Newspaper Circulation 40

Year	Metropolitan cities		Towns with population less than 1 lakh	
	All papers	Dailies	All Papers	Dailies
1966	51.8	44.1	11.0	6.9
1967	51.3	44.1	11.7	7.4
1968	52.3	46.7	12.5	6.7
1969	50.0	43.2	11.7	5.3
1970	50.3	40.9	12.3	7.6
1971	50.5	42.0	13.6	8.1

b) Periodical Press:

In 1971 there were 11,329 periodicals in India. The total circulation of 6,057 periodicals was 204 lakhs. English language newspaper claimed the largest circulation among periodicals, 47.81 lakhs followed by Hindi (44.95 lakhs) and

Tamil 26.83 lakhs). In number, Hindi led with 2865 periodicals, followed by English 2305 and Urdu 895. Maharashtra led both in number (1719) and circulation (45.63 lakhs). Next came Uttar Pradesh (1,54,431), Delhi (1,308), and West Bengal (1,254). In circulation second was Tamil Nadu (39.06 lakhs and Delhi 27.24 lakhs.

Government departments in India brought out 421 periodicals in 1971. Of these, 236 belonged to central government and 185 to state governments. The bulk of these publications was 9.29 lakhs or 4.5% of the circulation of all periodicals.

In 1971, 26 foreign missions brought out 119 publications against 115 in 1970. The largest number of publication was in English (48), followed by Hindi (127), Bengali (9) Malayalam and Tamil (7 each).

The highest circulation attained by a daily newspaper in 1971, for a single edition paper was 3,08,316 Ananda Bazar Patrika (Bengali), Calcutta compared to 2,48,547 in 1970 for the same paper. The highest circulation attained by a periodical 1971 was 3,74,373; Kumudam (Tamil), Madras compared to 3,48,628 for the same paper in 1970. Among multi-edition dailies the highest circulation of 4,62,009 was claimed by the seven edition Indian Express.

The total circulation of newspapers owned by political parties was 2.48 lakhs in 1971 compared to 2.06 lakhs in 1970, an increase of 20.4. The circulation commanded by newspapers

belonging to the Communist Parties totalled 1,57,740 copies which was more than that commanded by newspapers belonging to any other party with a combined circulation of papers belonging to the Communist and the Congress Parties was 41.6 per cent and 42.2 per cent respectively. According to the data published by the UNESCO, India is the second largest publisher of daily newspapers.

The circulation pattern of newspapers, language-wise and state-wise is provided in table 2.26 and 2.27.

In 1971 English language papers had the highest circulation, 70.03 lakhs, followed by Hindi (60.43 lakhs), Tamil (35.91 lakhs), Malayalam (25.10 lakhs), Marathi (20.30 lakhs), Gujarati (17.83 lakhs), Bengali (14.96 lakhs) and Urdu (13.67 lakhs). The circulation of English papers, however fell by 1.70 lakhs compared to the previous year whereas Hindi paper gained in circulation by nearly two lakhs. The circulation of Gujarati as well as Urdu papers went down. While, that of Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi and Bengali paper went up.

Out of the total circulation of 1.04 lakhs commanded by the weeklies and bi-weeklies, Hindi accounted for 32,000, followed by Gujarati 21,000 and Bengali 14,000, Urdu 13,000, Assamese 7,000, Marathi, Telugu, and Bi-lingual 4,000 each, English 3,000 and Kannada 2,000.

Table 2.26

Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals - Language-
and Periodicity-wise 41/

'000'

Language	Dailies	Tri- and bi- weeklies	Week- lies	Others	Total 1970	Total 1971
English	2219	3	1309	3472	7173	7003
Hindi	1516	32	1796	2699	5852	6093
Assamese	..	7	49	12	106	68
Bengali	597	14	316	569	1388	1496
Gujarati	683	21	448	631	1924	1783
Kannada	314	2	247	279	844	842
Malayalam	1111	..	768	637	2295	2510
Marathi	910	4	434	682	1920	2030
Oriya	90	..	16	92	224	198
Punjabi	73	..	175	197	369	445
Sanskrit	1	...	...	10	13	11
Sindhi	21	...	43	31	129	95
Tamil	908	...	1409	1274	3383	3591
Telugu	237	4	357	431	1057	1029
Urdu	376	13	431	547	1455	1367
Bi-lingual	35	4	206	586	894	831
Multi-lingual	..	..	7	149	190	186
Others	5	..	24	62	87	91
Total	9096	104	8060	12354	29303	29619

41. Press in India, 1972, op. cit., p. 47.

Table 2.27

42

Statewise and Periodicity-wise Circulation ('000')

Language	Dailies	Tri- and bi- weeklies	Week- lies	Others	Total 1970	Total 1971
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maharashtra	1699	25	1570	2993	6145	6287
TamilNadu	1251	..	1707	2199	4982	5157
Delhi	943	..	539	2185	3668	3667
W. Bengal	1029	14	745	888	2729	2676
Kerala	1126	..	792	797	2536	2712
Uttar Pradesh	515	2	710	1113	2273	2348
Gujarat	529	2	350	418	1544	1338
Mysore	530	2	350	360	1235	1242
Andhra Pradesh	355	15	198	270	848	838
Rajasthan	115	2	281	219	634	617
Madhya Pradesh	302	23	192	101	605	618
Punjab	215	1	162	240	595	618
Bihar	186	..	159	182	578	527
Orissa	9	..	20	79	208	189

Cont..d.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assam	3	...	76	26	186	113
Haryana	27	8	99	130	182	258
Chandigarh	405	2	15	61	162	181
Jammu & Kashmir	13	..	35	8	73	56
Himchal Pradesh	..	..	23	25	57	48
Goa	7	..	8	12	31	57
Pondichery	..	..	5	38	30	48
Manipur	4	3	1	6	6	11
Tripura	2	2	5	1	14	11
Nagland	..	..	1	2	1	3
Andaman & Nicobar	..	..	..	1	1	1
Dadar & Nagar Havali	..	..	...	...	...	....
Total	9096	104	8065	12354	29303	29619

42. Press in India, 1972, Op., Cit., p.49

Table 2.28

43
Concentration of Newspapers (Language-wise)

Language	Metro- poli- tan cities	State capitals exclud- ing met- ropoli- tan citi- es, inclu- ding Union Territor- ies.	Cities with popula- tion of one lakh <i>and quarters</i>	Towns with popula- tion below one lakh	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
English	1596	314	349	131	2390
Hindi	468	429	1126	1093	3116
Assamese	3	...	27	11	41
Bengali	454	15	35	256	760
Gujarti ^a	132	119	181	163	594
Kanada	8	97	74	106	285
Malayalam	16	88	70	307	481
Marathi	190	5	308	238	741
Oriya	10	15	54	38	117
Punjabi	49	22	139	49	259
Sanskrit	9	6	8	5	28

Cont..d.....

1	2	3	4	5	6
Sindhi	28	11	34	5	78
Tamil	323	16	131	145	615
Telugu	46	70	158	112	386
Urdu	280	236	317	172	1005
Bilingual	247	148	282	278	955
Multi-lingual	72	31	64	50	217
Others	34	51	23	42	150
Total	3964	1673	3380	3201	12218

43. Press in India, 1972, Op., cit., p.26

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Among the 45 'Other' languages the following 6 languages had circulation of 5,000 or more -- Konkani 28,000, Manipuri, 7,000, and Khasi Rajasthani, Arabic and Bhojpari, 5,000 each of the total circulation of 296 lakhs, Maharashtra had the largest share (62.9 lakhs), followed by Tamil Nadu (51.6 lakhs), Delhi (36.7 lakhs), Kerala (27.2 lakhs), West Bengal (26.8 lakhs) and Uttar Pradesh (23.5 lakhs). Of the total circulation of 90.96 lakhs commanded by all dailies in 1971, Maharashtra had again the largest share (17.9) lakhs). Tamil Nadu with 12.5 lakhs came next followed by Kerala (11.3 lakhs), West Bengal (10.3 lakhs) and Delhi (9.4 lakhs). In the circulation (1.04 lakhs) of tri and bi-weeklies major share were those of Maharashtra (25,000), Madhya Pradesh (23,000), Andhra Pradesh (15,000), West Bengal (14,000).

After a detailed account of the ownership and circulation attempts have been focussed on the concentration of newspapers. This is noted on table 2.28.

The Birla family controls the Hindustan Times, the Evening News of India, and the Eastern Economist. The Goenka group owns the Indian Express, the Dalmia Jain groups controls the Times of India, as well as many dailies and weeklies in different Indian languages. The Tatas possess a major share

* Note: According to Sixteenth Report of Registrar of Newspapers, Languages other than the 15 principal languages included in the English schedule of the constitution of India.

in the Statesmen. This fact is a clear manifestation of the monopoly control of the media communication, which naturally manipulates information for their interest.

Even the Press Commission Report ⁴⁴ notes: "Formerly most of the Indian Press had only one objective and that was the political emancipation of the country. Most of the Journalists of that era were actuated by fervent patriotism and a feeling that they had a mission to perform and a message to convey. Political independence having been achieved, the emphasis has shifted, and the newspapers are no longer run as a mission, but have become commercial ventures". Further, the report points out: "Some of them are partisan in the presentation of news in respect to the financial interests with which they are allied, there is certain timidity to expose courageously the short comings of those who are in a position of power and authority, there is a tendency to suppress ~~facts~~ facts which are unfavourable to their own interests or with which they are associated. With the concentration of newspaper industry, the Press Commission reported adversely about the harmful effects of monopoly trends in the press". The Press Commission argued: "these can, therefore be no denying the fact that there already exists in the Indian

44. Quoted in Mohitra, Mohit, A History of Indian Journalism (Calcutta: National Book Agencies Pvt. Ltd., 1969).

newspapers a considerable degree of concentration. We feel that there is a danger that this tendency might further develop in the future. We are of the opinion that it would not be desirable in the interest of freedom of choice that this tendency should be accentuated".

The study reveals that there was a constant increase in the number of newspapers and periodicals after independence until the present day. Nevertheless, much importance was not given to the language press. Hence the media could not penetrate the large masses of people. Besides this, the press is controlled and owned by top industrialists and business groups. And these monopolists have direct link with the political system, by which the ruling class imposes on the state the task of mentally and ideologically suppressing the people. In short, under the bourgeois democracy, the media is controlled by the rich and money bags. Thus, the ownership pattern and control of the press is a clear proof for which class the media is being served. Further confirmation could be investigated from the following chapter.

Chapter - III

MEDIA COMMUNICATION: ADVERTISEMENT AND PROPAGANDA

Presently, the problem of information is major political matter affecting not only the relations between social groups and classes within a state, but also between states. Even the sociologists of the western countries do recognise the information as a means of propaganda. But, to them propaganda has to do with the simple process of influencing public. Being restricted to the sphere of influence they do not try to seek the truth of the matter which the propaganda carries. Perhaps it is neglected consciously.

An American sociologist describes propaganda as any or all systems of symbols which influence opinion belief or action or points considered contradictory by the public.¹ He further states: "In our view, propaganda has no necessary relation to truth or falsity."² What Merton suggests is, that there is a constant struggle between ideologies and interest groups. To Laswell, "propaganda is the management

1. Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure (London: Collier - Macmillan Ltd., 1964), p. 509.

2. Ibid., p. 513

of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols".³ Jacques Ellul feels "that a total cultural perspective ... can stem from political, commercial or any other single basis of mass media ownership and control- constitutes the most pervasive form of propaganda".⁴ Huxley is of the opinion that "social and political propaganda is effective as a rule, only upon whom circumstances have partly convinced of its truth".⁵ Lumely observes that "Propaganda promotion which is veiled in one way or the another^{has} to have : (1) Its origin or sources (2) the interest involved (3) the methods employed (4) the content spread (5) the results acquiring to the victims -- anyone any two any three, any four or all five".⁶ The Institute for propaganda analysis defined propaganda, "as expression of opinion or action by individuals or group with reference to

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- 3' Laswell, Harold, D., "The Theory of Political Propaganda in Berelson B. and Janowitz., M. (eds.), Public Opinion and Communication, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950), Reprint from the American Political Science Review, Vol. XXI, 1937, pp. 627-30.
4. Quoted in Gerbner, George "Mass Media and Human Communication Theory" In Mcquail Dennis (eds.), Sociology of Mass Communication Theory (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972).
5. Quoted in Mac Dougall, Curtis, D, Understanding Public Opinion (Iowa: WMC Brown and Company Publishers 1966), P. 84.
6. Lumely, Frederick, E, The Propaganda Menace (Appleton-Century Crafts, Inc. 1933).

predetermined ends". Lerner says: "Propaganda does not change conditions, but only beliefs about conditions and it cannot force the people to change their beliefs but can only persuade them to do".⁷ Accordingly, mass media plays the role of an intermediate linkage between ideologists and the masses.

Propaganda methods are more ideological than technical. It is an intermediate link between the ideologist and masses in order to indoctrinate some socio-political consciousness. By the use of effective propaganda methods the bourgeois ideologist shape 'distorted consciousness'. Choukas says "the sources of propaganda are rooted in the 'tricks' resorted by animals in the struggle for survival". He further says, "the era of propaganda as an art has ended and an era of propaganda as a science, has set to influence the mind and emotions of the people".⁸

Advertisement is a vital component of politics in view of the fact "... the pressure groups are now spending millions of dollars every year on mass propaganda".⁹ In bourgeois democracy since the exploiting classes control the channels of mass media of communication, as well as information

7. Lerner, Daniel, "Effective Propaganda Conditions and Evaluation", in Lerner, Daniel (ed.), Propaganda in War Crisis (New York: George W. Steuart Publisher, Inc. 1951), p. 346.

8. Cf. Choukas, M., Propaganda Comes of Age (Washington D.C. Public Affairs Press, 1965).

9. Sherman, H., Radical Political Economy (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1972), pp. 129-31.

advertisement and propaganda is directed to manipulate the behaviour of the audience for the satisfaction of the specific aim.¹⁰ The information agencies of the bourgeois society systematically create and spread the illusion of unbiased content, but in actuality, the information is indicative of the class interest of the bourgeoisie. Further, the media helps the bourgeois system to make the inner control of the exposed individuals under the hegemony of the public interest. Choukas, criticising the claim of the agencies as truth conveyors, says that, in fact they impose, if not directly, indirectly, the theory of domination which are manipulated objectively so as to make the public believe that they represent the interest of the total society not a group or class of exploiters.¹¹

Advertisement according to Emery, "is the counterpart on distribution of the machine in production." Further; "By the use of machines, our production of goods and services has been multiplied. By use of mass media, advertising multiplies the selling effort. Advertising is the great advertising force in distribution. Reaching many people rapidly at low cost advertising speeds up sales, turns prospects into customers in large number and high speed.

10. See; C. Choukas, Op. cit.

11. Ibid., pp. 120-33.

Hence, in mass production and high consumption economy, advertising has the greatest opportunity and the greatest responsibility for finding customers." ¹²

Rivers classify advertising into two—the consumer and institutional. The former is used to sell a product or service and the latter may indirectly lead to the sales of goods and services. The creator of advertising has much the same task in producing either kind of advertising for any medium. ¹³ Albert Frey ¹⁴, has identified four major appeals of advertising:

1. Primary: those aimed at inducing the purchase of one type of product.
2. Selective: those aimed at inducing the purchase of a brand.
3. Emotional: those aimed at emotion rather than intellectual; and
4. Rational: Those directed at the intellect.

Despite the difference in interest and method in communication, advertising is not basically different from news and feature communication. According to Lloyd "a function

- 12, Emery, Edwin et. al., Introduction to Mass Communication (New York: Dobb, Head and Company, Inc. 1950), p. 308
- 13, Rivers, William, L., The Mass Media: Reporting, Writing Editing (New York: Harper and Row, 1964),
- 14, Frey Albert, Advertising (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1961), P. 215, 3rd edition.

of advertising is to create a want in the consumer", and "with a speed of industrialization and high rate of production, advertising is necessary to stimulate consumption to absorb the continuing output".¹⁵ Advertising itself is a product of market economy a characteristics of an industrial society".¹⁶ Subrata Banerjee in one of his article writes that advertising has complex and diversified role in a developing country. Further, he notes ^{that} "the advertising expert did certainly show a maturity in the handling of the media of expression, a technical expertise of high level but although more admit it was something imposed from above and was not rooted in the soil".¹⁷ In the article, "Capitalist Mass Communication Media", it is argued that the most lucrative items is advertising which is competitive with a drive for economic and political influence in favour of the monopoly groups behind the various information media.¹⁸ Rao says ^{that} the business advertising is to communicate effectively to consumer about the product or service that the advertiser has to sell. The clarity of the people who are likely to buy the product and the choice of the media are to be pre-determined.¹⁹ Gulati,

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15. Sommerlad, Llyod, F., The Press in Developing Countries (Delhi: Atma Ram & Sons, 1969), p. 64.
16. Ibid.
17. Banerjee, Subrata, "A Fraternity Happening", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 5, No. 49, Dec. 5, 1970.
18. Department of Journalism, Moscow University, "Capitalist Mass Communication Media", Problem of Peace and Socialism, Vol. I, Aug. 1973.
19. Rao, S.K., "Tax on advertising", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XVII, No. 13, March 27, 1965.

on the other hand, says that "information is the main purpose of business advertising and if advertising pushes leftwards the cost curve, it is supposed to be more than compensated by the rightward shift of the demand curve".²⁰

Sanat is of the opinion that "a major role of advertising is to convert the latent demand of his market into actual sales. And if the advertising of the industrial product is dull, when compared to consumer products, it is because advertising agencies has not paid much attention to media and communication skill necessary for advertising skill".²¹

S.L. Rao,²² thus discusses the large scale advertisement campaigns resorted by the management: "In an industrial conflict the most complete certainty that industrial relations skills were either non-existent or they totally fail to meet the challenge of the situation; the advertisement is the management strategy and a means to sympathize the public and a substitute for the skills required for negotiations with labour. Thus, isolating the unions and the workers from

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20. Gulati, I.S., "Case for Curb on Advertising", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XVII, No. 20, May, 15th, 1965.
21. Lahiri, Sanat, "Role of Advertising in Industrial Marketing", Review of Management, Aug., 1969.
22. Refer to; Das, S.R. Mohan, "Can Advertisements Substitute Industrial Relations?" Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. IV, No. 34, Aug. 23, 1969.

the public. The third aspect of advertisement campaigns in industrial conflict is that issues raised are rhetorical and polemical; another aspect is the copious has oftenshed by management as champions of the community".

History of Advertising in India :

In India the earliest advertising agencies, can be traced back to the late twenties and early thirties. It must be noted here that the major enterprises were foreign owned and a few only by Indian. The second World War initiated a major change and then onwards advertising and publicity has to be directed to a wide section of the population. But with the independence, the demand of the time provided an impetus to the growth of the advertising business.

A survey of the Press Commission Report of 1951 showed that consumer products accounted for more than three-fourths of the advertising placed with newspapers. Cosmetics were in the lead followed by drugs and pharmaceuticals, automobile products, food and beverages, consumer durables, office equipment and furnishings, banking and insurance in that order. With regard to specialised advertising industrial machinery topped the list and with agricultural machinery at a very low second. In 1951, there were 109 advertising agencies, with a total turnover of Rs.3.5 crores and

newspapers accounted for Rs.2.78 crores and with other media Rs.72 lakhs. But five big agencies were responsible for half of the total business placed with newspapers. Four of these were foreign owned and the other though Indian was foreign managed. According to the Press Commission, the functions of an advertising agency were limited to the planning and creation of advertisements, advice regarding suitability of the media, preparation of advertisement material and placing advertising on behalf of the clients.

But the report of 1967 shows that there were 279 advertising agencies with a total turnover of Rs.35 crores. The top 21 agencies accounted for approximately two-thirds of the total billing. The largest number of advertising agency is in Bombay (117), followed by Calcutta (61). According to 1967 report textiles was in the lead, followed by cosmetics, banking and insurance, consumer durables, automobile products, package food and beverages, airlines, institutions and associations, tourism and engineering in that order. Between Rs.10 lakhs to Rs.one crore is spent annually on advertising of consumer products, consumer durables, drugs and pharmaceuticals, engineering and banking and insurance.

According to Subrata Banerjee²³ functions of the

23. Banerjee, Subrata, "The Advertising Agency: A News Service", Review of Management (May 25, 1968).

modern advertising agencies structure are as follows: (1) "The area of contact and communication between the agency and the client; (2) the creative department which create the advertisement the persuasive marketing communication; (3) the inadequacy of developed media and sparse data about available media; (4) the advertising agencies are turning more and more to research as a tool for developing creative ideas and media of plans; (5) printing and production".

These are the evicence~~e~~ to show that the bourgeois press, radio, etc. give wide coverage to such topics which sensitizes the public. By giving such importances to commercial advertisements, space for murders, theft, suicide, private life of film stars, sportsman, forecasting and other sensational events; the important issues are more conciously overlooked. Actually the machine is inhibited by the incidental psychological effects of public opinion and behaviour but not to the historical and s~~tr~~uctural reality.

Since the cost of production is almost invariably higher than its selling price the gap must be bridged by other means, usually this is done by the sale of space for advertising. To this Ayyangar says, "because the vitality and the profitability of a newspaper is dependent on its advertisement revenue, it has a tendency to distort

the quality of the final product in terms of social value".²⁴
 But according to the Economic and Political Weekly²⁵ the advertisement revenue is not only or even the main stimulant to growth and diversification is apparent from the fact that Express Group with a total circulation of 11 lakh copies in 1964 had a much lower proportion of advertisement and also a lower price per copy and its growth in the past five years have been impressive. This is because the newspaper circulation is almost confined to principal urban areas. The metropolitan cities account for one half of the circulation and most of the remainder ^{are} ~~is~~ in the state capitals and cities with a population of more than 1 lakh each. The local newspapers have limited sources of advertisement revenue and find it difficult to secure printing machinery on easy terms and at the same time have not been particularly distinguished in tapping local advertisement sources, such as courts, shops, cinemas and tender invitations and for that matter in training reporters to handle local news.

24. Seminar sponsored by the All India Editors Newspaper Conference, Ayyangar Rajagopala, "The Problem, its Dimensions" in What Ails the Indian Press? Diagnosis and Remedies (New Delhi: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1970).

25. "What Happened to Newspaper Profit"? Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XVII, No. 39, Sept. 25, 1965.

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The study of the data relating to the proportion of income derived from advertisement to the total revenue of daily newspapers shows that one each among the big and medium papers derived 75 per cent or more of their total revenue from advertisements. Twenty three small dailies were also in this category. Sixteen big, twenty medium and seventy nine small papers had between 50 and 75 percent of their income from advertisement. One big daily, 6 medium and 25 small dailies were stated to have less than 25 percent of their income from advertisement. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of papers according to the proportion of total income derived from advertisement.

Table 3.1

Distribution of Papers According to Proportion of Total Income Derived from Advertisement. 27/ 1971

Category	Advertisement				Total no. of papers
	% of total income				
	Below 25	25-below 50	50-below 75	75 & above	
Big	1	24	16	1	42
Medium	6	30	20	1	57
Small	25	77	79	23	204
All papers	32	131	115	25	303

26. Press in India: Sixteenth Annual Report of Newspapers, Part I, 1972 (New Delhi: Information and Broadcasting, 1972).

27. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 149.

The largest number of newspaper, 88 out of 272 for which data were available, secured between one quarter and one half of their advertisement income from government sources. These were 9 big, 17 medium, 62 small dailies. Twenty one big, 19 medium and 38 small dailies had between 10 and 25 percent of their advertisement income from government sources. Table 3.2 illustrates the proportion of advertisement, income derived from government sources.

Table 3.2

Distribution of Dailies According to Proportion of Advertisement Income Derived From Government Sources.^{28/} 1971

Cate- gory	Advertisement income derived from govt. sources (percent of the total advertisement income).						Number of papers
	Nil	Below 10	10-25	25-be- low 50	50-be- low 75	75 & above	
Big	--	5	21	9	--	1	36
Medium	1	11	19	17	3	--	51
Small	27	16	18	62	31	12	186
All papers	28	32	78	88	34	13	273

Out of the 324 newspapers for which the data is available, four devoted 60 percent or more space to advertisement, 14 devoted between 50 and 60 percent, 53 between 40 and 50 percent space, 144 between 25 and 40 percentage and 109 less than 25 percentage. The following table gives the distribution of papers according to the proportion of advertisement space.

Table 3.3
Percentage of the Space Devoted to Advertisement²⁹, 1971

Percentage of the total space devoted to advertisement	Number of dailies	Percentage of the total
60 and above	4	1.2
50- and below 60	14	4.32
40- and below 50	53	16.4
25- below 40	144	44.44
Below 25	109	33.64
Total	324	100.00

Regarding periodicals out of 11,329 periodicals (1971) 709 periodicals (most of the Gujarati, Marathi and Tamil) have been classified into 21 different categories according to the contents. The number of papers and the

29. Press in India, 1972, Op., cit., p. 152

Table 3.4

Classification of Periodicals According to Contents, 1971³⁰

Category	Number of Periodicals	Highest Circulation
News and Current Affairs	4,034	1,92,180
Literary and Culture	1,887	3,74,373
Religion & Philosophy	1,249	1,62,389
Commerce & Industry	487	1,47,000
Medicine & Health	383	98,804
Film	324	1,53,082
Social Welfare	335	14,276
Labour	247	29,000
Education	234	36,000
Law & Public Administration	228	10,475
Engineering & Technology	208	9,000
Agriculture & Animal Husbandary	223	65,000
Children	150	1,03,916
Transport & Communication	102	28,273
Insurance, Banking & Co-operation	106	27,500
Science	127	43,850
Finance & Economics	84	10,417
Women	75	1,45,585
Art	45	4,625
Radio & Music	44	41,677
Sports	48	7,045

30. Press in India, 1972, Op. cit., p. 164

Table 3.5
 Classification of Government Periodicals
 According to Contents, 1971 31/

Category	Central	State	Total
News and Current Affairs	21	49	70
Agriculture & Animal Husbandary	27	22	49
Social Welfare	12	32	44
Commerce & Industry	26	10	36
Transport & Communication	32	4	36
Education	13	19	32
Engineering & Technology	22	4	26
Literary & Cultural	12	10	22
Radio & Music	21	..	21
Medicine & Health	11	7	18
Science	18	..	18
Law	8	7	15
Labour	3	9	12
Finance & Economics	3	..	3
Insurance, Banking & Co-operation	2	..	2
Art	2	..	2
Women	1	..	1
Children	1	..	1
Religion & Philosophy	..	1	1
Total	236	185	421

Table 3.6

Classification of Periodicals According to Contents (Language-wise) ³²

Category	English	Hindi	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Kannada	Malayalam
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
News & Current Affairs	438	1700	15	242	116	88	38
Literary & Cultural	142	449	14	268	61	38	184
Religion & Philosophy	211	210	1	75	53	41	79
Women	14	17	..	4	12	..	3
Children	7	41	2	19	16	2	6
Films	65	61	..	25	7	10	34
Radio & Music	10	2	..	7	..	..	4
Sports	10	9	1	4	1	..	..
Educa-tion	68	29	1	4	1	..	2
Science	94	7	--	4	3	3	--

Cont 'd.....

32. Prens in India, 1972, Op. Cit.

Table 3.6 (cont'd)

Category	English	Hindi	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Kannada	Malayalam
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>cinema and</i> Medical Health	173	51	-	16	10	3	8
Art	20	1	-	5	1	2	-
Social Welfare	50	90	1	10	16	15	5
Commerce & Industry	343	37	-	5	8	2	1
Finance & Economics	63	11	1	--	2	1	--
Insurance, Banking and Cooperation	30	16	-	4	4	4	4
Law & Public Administration	157	19	--	3	4	1	1
Agriculture & Animal Husbandry	88	47	10	6	9	1	6
Engineering & Technology	172	4	--	2	2	--	-
Transport & communication	63	9	--	3	--	--	--
Unclassified	2	--	1	5	155	22	46
Total	2303	2867	47	740	548	236	421

cont'd....

Table 3.6 Cont'd.

Category	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Sanskrit	Sindi	Tamil	Telugu
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
News & Current Affairs	148	28	96	1	29	90	102
Literary & Cultural	123	127	65	21	23	70	29
Religion & Philosophy	37	14	42	3	7	85	81
Women	6	1	2	--	5	1	2
Children	15	1	4	--	3	6	3
Film	5	2	8	--	7	35	25
Sports	3	--	--	--	--	1	--
Radio & Music	--	--	--	--	1	1	2
Education	26	--	1	--	--	8	11
Science	2	--	3	--	--	1	--

Cont'd.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Medicine & Health	5	2	4	--	--	9	13
Art	6	--	--	--	--	1	--
Social Welfare	29	3	3	--	1	15	11
Finance and Economics	2	--	1	--	--	--	1
Insurance, Banking, and Cooperation	20	--	1	--	--	5	1
Labour	9	1	2	--	--	11	2
Law & Public Administration	11	--	1	--	--	2	4
Agricultural & Animal Husbandary	16	1	4	--	--	9	6
Engineering & Technology	1	--	1	--	--	1	--
Transport & Communication	1	2	2	--	--	1	2
Unclassified	190	26	1	2	4	155	71
Total	662	109	241	27	79	511	368

Table 3.6 (cont'd)

Category	Urdu	Bi-lingual	Multi-Lingual	Others	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
News & current affairs	535	287	44	38	4036
Literary & Cultural	108	105	135	47	1887
Religion and Philosophy	94	145	48	23	1249
Women	6	1	1	--	75
Children	12	7	5	1	150
Film	22	16	1	1	324
Radio & Music	1	4	--	10	44
Sports	3	8	1	--	48
Education	2	40	11	--	234
Science	1	9	--	--	127
Medicine & Health	23	49	16	1	383

Cont'd.....

Table 3.6 (cont'd)

Category	Urdu	Bi-Lingual	Multi-Lingual	Others	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
Art	1	8	1	--	45
Social Welfare	2	28	13	3	335
Commerce & Industry	1	58	13	--	427
Finance & Economics	23	2	--	--	84
Insurance, Banking & Cooperation	--	14	6	--	106
Labour	7	51	10	1	247
Law & Public Administration	6	22	2	--	228
Agriculture & Animal Husbandory	--	16	5	--	223
Engineering & Technology	--	23	2	--	208
Transport & Communication	5	10	4	--	102
Unclassified	--	22	2	50	709
Total	895	925	220	130	11,329

Table 3.7
 Classification of Periodicals According to Contents, 1971³³ (Periodicity-wise)

Categories	Weeklies	Fortnight- lies	Monthlies	Quarterlies	Annuals	Other Periodicals	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
News and Current Affairs	2825	742	397	39	16	15	4034
Literary & Cultural	150	134	1157	279	45	122	1887
Religion & Philosophy	92	57	909	132	12	67	1249
Women	7	6	49	7	2	9	75
Children	10	16	110	7	2	5	150
Film	85	75	146	9	4	5	324
Radio & Music	2	8	12	17	3	2	44
Education	6	15	118	53	38	4	234
Sports	11	4	23	9	1	--	48
Science	1	3	35	47	9	32	127
Medicine & Health	1	10	231	103	5	33	383
Art	--	3	22	9	4	7	45

Cont'd.....

Table 3.7 conted.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social Welfare	40	36	184	56	16	3	335
Commerce & Industry	13	10	32	15	9	5	84
Finance & Economics	44	53	268	65	35	24	487
Insurance, Banking & Co- operation	18	10	46	25	1	6	106
Law & Public Administration	24	47	119	29	3	6	228
Agriculture & Animal Husbandary	7	12	127	54	2	21	223
Engineering & Technology	..	6	91	68	11	32	208
Transport & Communication	9	9	69	11	3	1	102
Labour	33	38	158	11	1	6	247
Unclassified	230	126	282	54	6	11	709
Total	3608	1420	4585	1099	451	166	11329

33. Press in India, 1972, Op, cit., p. 172

highest circulation attained by the periodical in each of the 21 categories are given in Table 3.4.

Out of the 421 government publications 70 were news and current affairs, 49 agricultural and animal husbandry, 44 social welfare and 36 each commerce and industry, transport and communication, and 32 in education categories. The proportion of news and current affairs was higher in the state government publications (49 out of 185) than in the case of Central Government Publications (21 out of 236). Table 3.5 gives the classification of periodicals according to contents. Table 3.6 and Table 3.7 provide classification of contents according to language-wise and periodicity-wise.

The detailed discussion on advertisement and propaganda shows the importance of advertisement for the existence of a newspaper or a periodical, ^{as well as} ~~and~~ propaganda has a means to indoctrinate some socio-political consciousness. In this way, ^{they} ~~it~~ naturally serve the class which upholds or finance ^{them.} ~~it.~~ Hence in this process most of the important issues are consciously overlooked, ^{or emphasized from the view point of} ~~which will ultimately~~ serve the vested interests of the class which owns ^{these.} ~~it.~~ However, ^{in the} with light of of this discussion we ^{can focus attention} ~~can~~ see in the preceding chapter ^{on} ~~about~~ the freedom of Press in India.

Chapter - IV

Indian Press: Freedom and Politics

The Constitution of the Indian Republic does not include any specific reference with regard to the freedom of the press. But Article 19(1) (a) of the Constitution of India says, that all the citizens of India shall have the right for freedom and expression.¹ Thus freedom of expression is a guaranteed fundamental right and as freedom of the press is a basic ingredient of any definition of freedom of expression, its recognition is unequivocal.

The Supreme Court of India ruled that "there can be no doubt that freedom of speech and expression includes freedom of propagation of ideals and freedom is ensured by the freedom of circulation."² Thus the freedom of press under the Constitution is largely dependent on judicial interpretation. Yet, the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression is not without restrictions. Article 19(2) of the

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1. Noorani, A.G., "Freedom of the Press and the Constitution", In Noorani, A.G. (ed.), Freedom of the Press in India (Bombay, Nachiket Publications, Ltd., 1971), p. 24
 2. As quoted in Ibid.

Constitution enables the State to restrict it and empowers the judiciary, by implication, to strike down the restriction if it be not a reasonable one or is unrelated to the grounds specified. Article (19)(2) reads: Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of *existing or prevent the state from making any law* any law in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement of an offence. The Constitution makers followed the British Constitution and left the freedom of the press as an aspect of the wider right of freedom of speech and expression. But they followed enforceable restriction on executive as well as legislative power. The Supreme Court said "freedom of speech and expression includes within its scope the freedom of the press".

In the Constituent Assembly Debates,³ Ambedkar, the Chairman, of the drafting committee of the Constitution, made it clear that no special mention of the press was necessary at all as the press and an individual or a citizen were the same as for their right of expression was concerned. In this connection it is worthwhile to focus attention on the problem of freedom of the press as viewed in other developed

3. As quoted in Noorani, A.G., (ed.), op.cit., p. 25

western countries. Blackstone, in his commentaries, emphasised: "The liberty of the press consists in laying no previous restraint about publications, and not in freedom from censure from criminal matter when published. Every freedom has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public, to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press."⁴

In fact Hocking observed that, "in its origin of freedom of the press, it had little or nothing to do with the truth telling.... most of the early newspapers were partisan sheets devoted to savage attacks on party opponents."⁵ He continued: "By the close of the nineteenth century news gathering had become a well organised majestically equipped business enterprise,"⁶ and "gradually it changed into yellow journalism."⁷

George Seldes, an eminent journalist writes: "We have had a very few liberal, fearless newspapers but never had a free press". Actually the press in a capitalistic society is "to do business in a fire trap" and "there is no industry in

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4. As quoted in Noorani, A.G., (ed.), Op. cit., p.26
 5. Hocking, William, Ernest, Freedom of the Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p.230
 6. Ibid., p. 13
 7. Ibid., p. 15

the country which has exploited its employees more harshly or restored to more ruthless and unscrupulous methods to get what it wanted than the newspaper industry".⁸ Seldes argued that by changing the system, which is based on private property and class relations can there be a press really free? Freedom of the press and freedom in general could be narrow where there is only constitutional guarantee but not economic equality. Schyler while writing the American Constitution said: "Candor must recognise that the establishment of the constitution can be justified only by the right of a people to change their form of government with legal authority, ~~the right which had been~~ ~~government with legal authority,~~ the right which had been involved in 1776, the right of revolution".⁹

Thus it is not difficult to see that both the concept and the reality of the press are indeed conditional by the nature of a given society and its level of technological development. The experiences in the west accumulated on this score may ~~seem as~~ ^{be} ~~an eyes-opener~~ to the actual social and political functions of the press in general, and these may

8. The Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago, 1947), p. 82.

9. Cited by Latham, Earl, The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution (Boston: D.C., Heath Company, 1949), p. 29.

not be irrelevant if ^{we} ~~you~~ look at the realities of the Indian Press. The Information and Broadcasting Minister, Gujral, said that "the news which are published in the newspapers are either one-sided or refracted". He has pointed out that 2% of the papers reach 8% of the masses in the rural areas. In the urban centres, 56% of the circulation was in the four metropolitan cities with a population of over five lakhs. Hence, the problem of newspaper today is the problem of the urban industry and metropolitan India. Newspapers do not penetrate below the urban strata. Further he concluded that 'the entire news service is monopolised by five or six agencies which had their own colour and motivation and even when objectivity came the question of selectivity was there'.¹⁰

Functions of Press:

This brings to the question of the function of the press in a given society. The function of the press as described by Jacques Leaute, Director of International Centre for higher education on journalism, are to inform, to entertain, to educate and to activate public.¹¹ Lloyd observed "that the press makes a positive contribution to the development of political awareness. It assists public

10. See; Times of India, Nov. 2, 1972

11. Mahatma Gandhi described the role of the press as follows: "One of the objects of the newspaper is to understand popular feelings and give expression to it, secondly, to arouse desirable sentiments and thirdly fearlessly to expose popular defects".

See; Nair, L.R., "The Private Press in National Development: The Indian Example" in Lerner, D., and Schramm, W., (eds.), Communication and change in Developing Countries (Honolulu: East-West Centre Press, 1967), p.182

understanding of national and community problems and promotes public cooperation, by providing the link between the people and the authorities, the press become part of the system of modern government and are essential public services.¹² Schramm enumerated that the communication media from a socio-psychological point of view says it can widen horizon, raise aspiration, stimulate change and focus attention.¹³ The press is a social institution and its function and character will differ according to the political and economic structure of the country. Lenin defined the press, "as a collective agitator, propagandist and political organiser".¹⁴ Inspired by Lenin, Mao Tse-tung has assigned five major functions to the press; "to organize to stimulate to encourage to agitate, to criticize, and to propel".¹⁵ Lenin said ^{that} it was the fundamental necessity to

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12. Sommerald, Lloyd, E., The Press in Developing Countries (Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1969).
 13. See, Schramm, Wilbur, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), Vol. I.
 14. Lenin, V.I., Selected Works (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), Vol. 1.
 15. This statement was quoted from a letter written by Mao to two party members in the Hunem, Nu-chi-pu "Fully develop the Five Functions of the Provincial Newspapers", Hsin-Hua Yueh Kan, New China Fortnightly, (Peking), Feb. 23.

transform the press from an organ which primarily reports on to political news of the day into a serious organ for economic education of the mass of the population. By economics, he meant to pay more attention to the work day aspect of factory, village and military life. He said in building a new society i.e. the transformation of capitalism to communism, it was necessary to train the masses and for this the newspaper must give first place to the labour problems and to their immediate practical resolution. ¹⁶

Hence, it is worthwhile to investigate the freedom and equality in a given society. To start with Lenin: "Freedom and equality in the bourgeois social order, so long as private property in land and the means of production, retained, remain even in bourgeois democracy empty forms signifying in reality the hired slavery of the toilers and the omnipotence of capital the weight of capital upon labour". He further said: "It is precisely the masses who were excluded in fact by countless methods and tricks from participating political life and utilising democratic rights and freedom, even in most democratic bourgeois republics although possessing equal rights in legal theory that are now drawn into constant and stable and more decisive participation in

16. See; Inkeles, Alex., Public Opinion in Soviet Russia, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 161-62.

the democratic administration of the State".¹⁷ Stalin has observed on the freedom of personality as, "only where exploitation is annihilated, where there is no oppression of some by others, no unemployment, no beggart, and no trembling for fear that a man on the marrow loses his work, his habitation, and his bread on there, there is true freedom found".¹⁸ The socialist thinkers assert if there is no freedom for equal rights, there is necessity for equal obligations, which are lacking in the bourgeois concept of freedom. Engels remarked: "Equal obligations are for us a particularly important address to bourgeois democratic equal rights, an addenum removing the (specifically) bourgeois meaning from the latter".¹⁹

Lenin attacked the concept of freedom of the press in the bourgeois country because there the capital commands the printing press and other materials. Hence, the freedom of the press in a bourgeois society is made for the capitalists and not for the workers and the other common people. In his own words, the freedom of the press "is a delusion so long as the capitalists command the better printing establishments and the largest stores of

17. Vyshinsky, Andrei, The Law of the Soviet State, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 553.

18. Ibid., p. 539.

19. Ibid.

paper and capital retain its power over the press - a power manifest throughout the world with a cynicism brilliant and cutting in proportion to the development of democracy and the republican social order as in America".²⁰ To make the press actually free Lenin said, "it is necessary at the outset to take away from the capital the possibility of hiring workers, buying printing houses and bringing papers to which end it is necessary at the outset to overthrow the yoke of capital and to overthrow and crush their resistance".²¹

Thus, in a bourgeois democracy the freedom of the press and freedom of ideas are mainly an argument within the bourgeoisie itself and so far as the masses are concerned, it remains a myth. However, today the concept has developed a new dimension. Enzensberger on the theory of media opines that "for the masses freedom to express opinion was a fiction since, they were from the beginning barred from the means of production—above all from the press and thus were unable to join the freedom of expression from the start. Today censorship is threatened by the productive forces of the consciousness industry which is already to some extent gaining the upper hand over the prevailing relations of production. Long before the latter are overthrown the contradiction between what is possible and what actually exists will become acute."²² This is a sensitive historical interpretation

20. Vyshinsky, Andrei Y, Op. Cit., P. 612.

21. Ibid., P. 613

22. Enzenberger, Hans, "Constituents of the Theory of the Media", Newleft Review, Vol. 64, Nov-Dec, 1970, pp. 23-24.

from the marxist point of view. But the analyses and projection can only be suitable for the highly capitalistic societies and not the societies where a very poor capitalistic growth has taken place. Such is about India. Here we cannot expect a high degree of political consciousness of the proletariat and even if accepting hypothetically the proletariat class is too small in comparison to the total population of the state, that produced forces of consciousness will count for a considerably heavy pressure over the existing structural antagonism and release the freedom of the people to express their views or atleast at the service of the interest of the common mass. So long as the means of production are owned by few the press will remain to quote Bevan, the British labour leader "the most prostituted press in the world, most of it owned by a gang of millionaires... pumping a deadly poison into the public mind..."²³ The report made by the political and Economic planning²⁴ a non party committee in England, accepted many defects particularly the fact that due to the concentration there is no freedom of expression.

The western concept of press freedom cannot be transplanted intact to the new emerging nations, where circumstances are very different. A western sociologist writes that the freedom of the press has a historical basis and in western countries the press has established its position as champion of the public and to safeguard against tyranny only after centuries of struggle. It evolved as part of the democratic

23. Quoted in Jha Siva Chandra, A Concept of Planned Free Press (Calcutta: Bookland Private Ltd, 1970),

24. Political and Economic Planning, Report on British Press (London; 1938), PP. 218-301

parliamentary system, based on individual liberty and private enterprise and can survive in this form only in democracy where there is freedom of opinion and a representative government. In the emerging nations, systems of government patterned on European institutions have frequently worked unworkable after the grant of independence, with inevitable repercussions on the status of the press.²⁵

In India after the declaration of the country as the democratic Republic of India, it was necessary to review the press laws which the alien rule had introduced. According to the new press bill, security could be demanded only after there was proof that the paper had published objectionable matter. Objectionable matter means, any word or signs or visible representations which are likely to (i) incite or encourage any person to resort to violence or undermining the government established by law in India or in any state thereof or its authority in any area or (2) incite or encourage any person to commit murder, ~~sub~~ *Sub* ~~to~~ *Sub* ~~or~~ *Sub* any offence involving violence or (3) incite or encourage any person to interfere with the supply of distribution of food or other essential commodities or with essential service or (4) seduce any member of any of the armed forces of the union or of the police forces from his allegiance or duty or prejudice, the recruiting of persons to serve in any such ^{force} or prejudice the discipline

25. Lloyd, Sommerald, Op. Cit., P. 141.

of any such forces or (5) promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different sectors of the people of India or (6) which are grossly indecent, scurrilous or obscene or intended for blackmail.

The government is neither the only nor the original nor the most prevalent menace to free expression. The other forces are direct social pressures, The Press Commission in 1954 made a study of the external influences in the operation of the Indian Press. It said: "We have been concerned about the extent to which external influences result in preventing the adequate and accurate presentation of news or the fair and adequate presentation of views which could serve to focus public opinion in the direction of social and general betterment. Among the reasons attributed to account this susceptibility of newspaper and periodicals to such external influences tend to prevent them from fulfilling their legitimate function. One of these was the financial weakness of individuals newspaper. It cannot be denied that such financial weakness exist in the Indian Press but this is not to imply that financial need can be justification or even an extenuating pressure against the interests of the people it serves". The Press Commission goes on to list the external influences at work and the methods of their operation. The conclusion drawn from the report is that these influence which are a serious threat to the freedom of the press will not in practise be restored except by the financially viable section the press.

The capacity of the big newspapers to withstand pressure including pressure from the government is expected in a democratic government, since they have to depend on the government for the newsprint. Another dimension of the potential available to the government for the management of the news is the introduction of AIR news bulletin at dictation speed for the small newspaper which do not subscribe to news agencies. It must be remembered the AIR is an instrument which is being used as government propaganda. The government interference is clear from the news print shortage as a means of the government to impose on the industry, its concept of what, it should be and how it, should conduct itself. Under the 'garb' of newsprint distribution to attempt to control the growth and conduct of newspapers and in the process have threatened the fundamental freedom of speech and expression and equality before law.²⁶ Further the Supreme Court has found almost all the provisions of the newsprint policy as violation of the freedom of speech and expression, and equality before the law guaranteed by Article 19 and 14 of the Constitution. It has expressly stated the fixing of the few page limit goes beyond newsprint control and accounts to newspaper control.²⁷ The Supreme

26. See; Statesman, 1 Nov., 1972.

27. See; Motherland, 1 Nov., 1972.

Court judgement striking down the union governments newsprint policy for 1972-73 is a scathing indictment of the government policy towards the press. The government aim is formulating its newsprint policy as the judgement points out, was not to control newsprint as much to control newspaper".²⁸ It has been recently noticed that the press freedom and independence can be truly fostered only by ensuring editorial independence and that the government pressures constituted the greatest menace to editorial independence.²⁹ Another case of the interference of the government is the information minister asking the press not to advertise the company's meeting since the readership is only the Chairman's wife.³⁰ But it must be noted that in a survey of relative coverage of national and international news in the press in various parts of the world, India rated pretty high in the ratio of national to International news.³¹ The AIR has not completed with the Indian Press in the coverage of ~~national~~ news, and the press lags behind the AIR coverage of International news.

Ghosh has emphatically said that "the press is the ex-officio judge of the system in which it itself is enmeshed in the system which is bound to judge"³² and that "the press is

28. See; Indian Express, 1 Nov., 1972

29. See; "Mahdholkar's plea for Press Freedom", Times of India July 12, 1974.

30. See; Editorial, Times of India, July, 1974

31. See; Report of the National Press Institute, Zurich.

32. Ghosh, Kadar, Freedom or Fraud of the Press (Calcutta; Rupa and Co., 1973), p. 103.

more closely like a public utility in private hands".³³

Natarajan opines that the press in India has become the instrument of politics.³⁴ Thomas Jefferson while emphasising the importance of press in a free society said: "If it is left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government I would not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter".³⁵ Hocking writes; "A press which has grown to the measure of the national market to the full use of technical resources can hardly be free from internal compulsions. The major part of the nations press is large scale enterprise, closely interlocked with a system to finance and industry, it will not without effort escape the national of what it is if freedom remain secure this bias must be known and overcome".³⁶

The major criticism of the present press is the existing form of control, management and ownership prejudiced to the free expression of opinion and the accurate and impartial presentation of news.

Hocking says: "A free press is free from compulsion from whatever source, governmental or social external or internal. From compulsion not from pressures, for no press can be free from pressures except in a moribund society, empty of contending

33. Ibid.

34. Natrajan, S, A History of the Press in India (Bombay Asia Publishing House, 1962), P. 152.

35. Quoted in Masani, M.R., "The Importance of a Free Press in Democracy", in Noorani, A.G. (ed.), Op. cit., P. 69

36. Hocking, Op. cit., P. 228.

forces or beliefs. These pressures, however, if they are persistent and ditorting as financial clerical, popular institutional.³⁷

The All India Newspaper's Conference reviewed that, "the freedom of the press is not just a slogan.. It is an essential attribute of the democratic process.. no doubt that even if the government dislikes the liberties taken by the press and considers them dangerous, it is wrong to interfere with the freedom of press. By imposing restrictions you don't change anything. Therefore, rather have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom than a suppressed or regulated press."

In a seminar sponsored by the All India Newspapers Editors Conference, Ayyangar expressed that, in a democratic set up, a healthy press must have the following features: "I conceive it (Press) as a medium for dissemination of correct news on every topic of public interest, without any supression distortion or slant, without exaggeration and without vulgar sensationalism in presentation, in which selection of news and featuring will be governed by considerations not merely of conveying informations of importance but of news at once educative and conductive of promoting rational solidarity

37. U.N. Economic and Social Council, Annual Report on Freedom of Information, 1962-63.

and cohesion, acting with a sense of promotion, not dramatising little events which have little social values. He also said that the proprietors should not interfere with the freedom and independence of editors."³⁸ Further he emphasised that "as distinguished from pre-independence there is a tendency in the press to gravitate into the hands of the rich class who most often are not involved by a sense of public care but who are largely motivated by the desire of earning good returns on their investments and to use the press for their personal advancements".³⁹ In the summing up of the said seminar, Mankekar said that "the Indian Press is having certain major ailment by way of lack of enterprise, routine approach and lack of creative journalism".⁴⁰

On the contrary, in a socialist state, the press is said to be free and democratic only when it is edited by people themselves, represented by various mass organisation, may become -- approach compulsions and something is then lost from effective freedom which the press and its public must unite to restore. And "A free press is free for the expression of opinion in all its phases. It is free for the achievement of those goals of press services on which

38. Ayyangar, Rajagopala, "The Problem, Its Dimensions" in What Ails the Indian Press? Diagnosis and Remedies (New Delhi: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1970).

39. Ibid.

40. Mankekar, "Summing Up" in What Ails the Indian Press? Diagnosis and Remedies (New Delhi: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1970), p. 128.

its own ideals and the ^{requirements} ~~recruitments~~ of the community combine and which existing techniques, make possible. For these ends it must have full command to the technical resources, financial strength, reasonable access to sources of informations at home and abroad and the necessary facilities for bringing in information to the national market. Since the essential object of the free press is valued on that ideas deserving a public hearing shall have a public hearing."⁴¹

Hocking is of the view that the enterprise should remain a private enterprise. For the welfare of the consumer and the community he suggests a limited government action.⁴²

- (1) Without intruding on press activities the State may regulate the conditions under which these activities take place so that the public interest is better served.
- (2) The State may extend the scope of presenting legal remedies, if a given type of abuse amounts to poisoning the walls of opinion.
- (3) The State may itself enter the field of news supply not to compete with or to displace, but to supplement the yield of private agencies.
- (4) The State may make a strictly limited use of censorship.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

Though he has done remarkable work, his view that the press must remain as a private enterprise seems ridiculous. These laws are the anti-trust laws passed in the late century. And were passed for curbing the abuses but not changing the system.⁴³ Harold says, "We do not see a solution to the problems we have indicated in the major changes in the ownership and control of the industry. Free enterprise is a prerequisite of a free press and free enterprise in the case of newspapers of any considerable circulation will generally mean commercially profitable enterprise. Nor do we see the solution in any form of the State control of the press. We prefer to seek the means of maintaining the free expression of opinion and the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of news, and generally a paper relationship between the press and the society primarily the press itself."⁴⁴

Similarly, Landeur, Mannheim, Laski and others have demonstrated on a planned society to save, it from inevitable catastrophe.⁴⁵ Though they admit that "the present conduct of these firms as private enterprises striving for profit is by no means ideal; if we consider their function in a democracy. Yet they want them in private hands because the the disturbing effect upon the plan of miscalculations on the part of the newspaper enterprise or radio corporations

43 Brady, Robert, A., Business as a System of Power (Berkeley: University of California, 1947), Foreword p. 10

44. Herd, Harold, The March of Journalism: The Press and World Affairs (London: Allen and Unwin, 1952), p. 310

45. See; Landeur, Theory of National Economic Planning, Karl Mannheim Planning and Democratic Government and works of Laski

is very limited".⁴⁶ The press according to those planners should be left to the private individuals. If there would be any encroachment of the press it will according to them produce manufactured opinion".⁴⁷ So it would be a cheap price to pay for so important safeguard against a manufactured public opinion. To overcome the danger of the planned press he says there should be two types of press (1) planned press (2) Party Press. The former will control the planning board and the latter to criticise the government. The alternative is not a rewarding one.

Contemporary India is distinguished from the pre-independence period by the tendency of the press to gravitate into the hands of the rich classes, who most often are not imbued by a sense of public cause; they ~~who~~ are motivated largely by the desire to earn a good return on their investment and to use the press for their advancements. Accordingly, the freedom ^{and} objectivity of the press ~~control~~ remained restricted by the control ^{over the press} of the big industrialists or other groups of the ruling class(es) and the government bodies.

Indeed these increasing restrictions on the freedom and objectivity of the Indian mass media are becoming today more and more apparent and real. With a substantial techno-

46. Landeur, Carl, Theory of National Planning (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), p. 96

47. Ibid.

logical development and its potential for future, the Indian mass media has acquired an unprecedented developed role of mass communication. These developments, when viewed against the background of the social origins of the present Indian State, have imposed a well-defined and yet a more restricted role and function of the Indian mass media. With the increasing interconnection among economic, political and religious spheres of social life, the state has become an agent of the bourgeoisie. As a result, the state has turned into a machine for ideological pressure on the masses, besides exercising political domination. This enables the bourgeoisie to make its social and political manoeuvring more subtle and to combine violence and repression with demagogic ~~sead~~ policies.

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