

Television and Development:
A Content Analysis of Indian Television Programs
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

There are in the developing world, several thousand educational programs now operating that use communication technology to reach their objectives. These programs use mass media, two way communication technology, and miscellaneous audiovisual devices in formal education, information campaigns, development administration and all manner of community development programs. Given the available data about audiences reached, practices changed, benefits achieved, and long term institutional survival, we can assume that most of them fail; they have not reached even a small part of their apparent goals. It is our purpose to understand these failures and the few successes and in so far as we can locate circumstances that promise success. (Hornik 1988).

When it first began, one of the most important and primary purposes of Indian television was to provide developmental programming to the rural and urban audiences of the country. However, since its beginning in 1959, Indian television has undergone many changes. There are many reasons for this, the two most important being 'leapfrogging' technology and an increase in commercial television.

If, as Hornik says, most developmental projects fail, can we assume that the same has happened with Indian television? As Hornik says, maybe the best way to find out if a project has been successful or not is to understand it better so that if it is a success we can use it as an example and if it is a failure we can learn from our mistakes.

This study looks at one of the aspects of Indian television -- its content, in order to estimate the amount of developmental messages on Indian television. With regard to the initial motive of using television for educational and developmental purposes, sadly enough, many studies have proved that television is not being utilized for purposes of promoting literacy, improving nutrition, limiting family size or increasing productivity. TV content is instead being dominated by entertainment content which is probably one of the reasons for the wide diffusion of television within so short a period of time (Singhal et al. 1988).

Problem Statement

Most of the studies have looked at those television programs which are classified as avowedly development programs and have concluded that the amount of development content in Indian television is very low. However, a few other studies have found that entertainment programs too can have development content (Shah 1990, Singhal 1989). Studies have shown that soap operas, folk art forms, and a variety of other shows also have development content (Singhal 1989, Lowry 1989).

By combining avowedly developmental programs and non avowedly developmental programs, it is possible that there might be a considerable amount of developmental content on Indian television.

The purpose of this study is to examine the development content of Indian television including both avowedly development programs and non-avowedly development programs. Apart from examining the amount and type of developmental content, the study will include analysis of topics covered, types of programs in which topics appear, amount of time devoted to the topics, the language or languages used to carry developmental content, the type of characterization in developmental and non-developmental programs, and the use of written material in developmental programs.

India - A Background

Before going into the details of the study, it is necessary to have an understanding of the complexity and diversity of India. India is the seventh largest country in the world with a population of more than 800 million which makes it the second most populous in the world. The country is divided into 22 states and 9 union territories (Figure 1). More than 80 percent of the Indian population lives in villages.

India is a multilingual nation. According to a linguistic survey conducted in the year 1927, there were 179 languages and 544 dialects spoken within the country. The census of 1961 recorded 1018 different languages. The constitution of India recognizes 15 major languages (Naganathan, 1985). These 15 languages are used by

India



Figure 1. Physical map of India

more than 90 percent of the population and they were used as the linguistic basis for the Indian states.

With this profusion of linguistic forms, language is a highly problematic element in national cohesion. English is thus accepted as the associate official language while the official language at the central level is Hindi (Naganathan, 1985).

Despite attempts at improving the levels of literacy, only 36.2 percent of the population could read and write by the year 1987. The educational problems of India are of a great magnitude. In spite of providing free education to children between the ages of 6 and 14, the failure to achieve universal primary education has affected the literacy rate (Naganathan, 1985).

Various attempts are being made to address the problems of the country using a variety of new technologies.

A Brief History of Indian Television

All the media in India, newspapers and magazines, radio, television and film have shown rapid growth in the last 20 years, so that it is possible to state that, at least theoretically, mass media cover about 90 percent of the population (Jayaweera, 1987).

Television in India began in the year 1959 with a small experimental station. The basic objective of the government owned station at the time was to provide educational and developmental

programs and television sets were installed for community viewing in schools (Karnik, 1981).

Following these initial small experiments, in 1975, a pilot programme (the SITE) was launched. India made a major commitment to satellite technology by procuring a domestic satellite system. The government tried to address the problems of the lack of basic communications to rural and remote areas, low literacy rates, limited health care and other social services through the use of satellite technology and the medium of television.

The first giant step taken by the country was to attempt to solve the staggering problem of communication using satellite technology and the medium of television.

India's own domestic satellite, INSAT-1B was put into orbit in 1983. The first two years after the launch of the INSAT saw a phenomenal growth in television in India. In 1982 there were only 25 TV transmitters in India and the number grew to 180 by the end of 1986.

After about 20 years of very slow diffusion of television, the rate of adoption began to take off during the mid 1980's because of the role of communication satellites in extending access to TV signals, the introduction of soap operas and other interesting programs which have attracted high audience ratings in India, and the increasing revenues to Doordarshan, the national television system, from commercial advertising (Singhal 1988).

Indian television which is called "Doordarshan" meaning -- distant viewing, now reaches about 80 million of India's 800 million people, which makes it about 10 percent. The growth of television was exceptionally speedy during the eight year period of 1980-1987 when the number of TV sets in India increased 10 times (Singhal, 1988).

Because of the linguistic differences between the states in India, the television programming in each state differs in terms of language and cultural indicators. Programs in each state are telecast from two main sources:

- a) By the national television station which is a responsibility of the central government and is housed at New Delhi.
- b) The regional television station, which is usually located in the state capital and is a responsibility of the state government.

The programs telecast from the national television station are in the national language of India, Hindi and in the associate official language, English. The programs are broadcast all over the country and the target audience includes all Indians.

The programs telecast from the regional centers are predominantly in the state language but may also include English, Hindi and other language programming. The target audience for these programs are the people belonging to that particular state from which the regional programs are broadcast.

Television in India as stated earlier, is government owned. All the states in India have only one channel through which the programs are telecast except for the four major cities of Madras, Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta.

Indian television was started as an educational medium (Karnik 1981). Many experiments have been conducted to prove that television can be successfully used to disseminate educational and developmental messages. It was with this purpose that the INSAT was launched. However with the advent of commercial programming there was a transition from developmental to entertainment programs (Karnik 1981). Is Indian television still sticking to its initial objective of disseminating developmental messages whatever the program format maybe?

Both mass media and interpersonal channels of communication have been important in fostering development, but they have served different functions. The mass media have been effective in their first role -- that of clarifying information and providing solutions for possible ways of action for development problems -- they have not been effective either in urban or rural communities. Since the government has invested substantial amounts of money for mass media infrastructure, the question arises about why it has failed in this second function (Narula 1986).

There are many targets the government has set including population control, decreasing child mortality rates, increasing literacy rates among women etc. A vital part of achieving these

targets is television as an agenda setting and value cultivation agent. How can the targets be achieved if television is not doing what it is supposed to be doing?

It is therefore vital to the people, the communicators, the government and the media to know the trends in the content of Indian television.

The media could be a strong influencing factor on their audience. If the kind of messages going out are not what they were supposed to be, then what are the kinds of messages the audience is receiving?

Theory

Amidst all the western theories that have been criticized, studied and supported, there is an Indian perspective to communications. But this can be developed only if the western models are modified in the light of experiences and experiments that are being conducted in the third world (Reddi 1986). There might thus be a need to merge or separate different theories to suit the Indian situation. Agenda-setting theory and the cultivation theory, will be merged together to fit the Indian perspective more efficiently.

According to McQuail, the essence of the agenda setting theory lies in the fact that there is a correspondence between the order of importance given by the media to issues and the order of significance

attached to the same issues by the public. Agenda setting theories have suggested that the media can set the agendas of the audience (McCombs 1981).

The idea of agenda-setting influence by the mass media is a relational concept specifying a positive -- indeed, causal-relationship between the emphasis of mass communication and what members of the audience come to regard as important. In other words, the salience of an issue or other topic in the mass media influences its salience among the audience (McCombs 1981).

According to the agenda-setting theory the media are stunningly successful in telling people what to think about. If the media are really doing that then the media can be advancing development causes.

Cultivation theory is another effects theory relevant to this study. George Gerbner's famous longitudinal study has found that extended exposure to TV violence can cause children to become more violent and think that the world is a more violent place. In Gerbner's view persistent exposure to the media can lead to changes in perception and behavior (McQuail, 1987).

Among theories of long term media effects, some prominence should be given to the cultivation hypothesis of Gerbner which holds that television, among modern media, has acquired such a central place in daily life that it dominates our symbolic environment, substituting its message about reality for

personal experience and other means of knowing about the world (McQuail, 1987).

Therefore putting the two theories together and applying it to the situation, we might predict that what may be happening is that the media are setting an agenda for the Indian audience, and the persistent exposure to the media is leading to its adoption. With this as the basis, what we need to look at is what is the kind of agenda that is being set and what is the kind of agenda the audience is expected to accept and cultivate.

Objectives of the Study

The general objectives of this study are:

1. To estimate the amount of development content as compared with the non-development content.
2. To determine the major themes covered by the development programs in general.
3. To estimate the amount of developmental programs that have latent developmental content as compared with manifest developmental content.
4. To find out which language is used in the majority of developmental programs.
5. To determine whether the characterization in developmental programs is more rural or more urban.

6. To find out if the developmental themes are reinforced using written captions or supers.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature directly related to the topic of study is not very extensive. There are very few studies that are directly related to the analysis of developmental television. Therefore this review of literature involved the study of material that was more generally related to the topic under research. There were three key areas that were looked at in order to arrive at the hypotheses based on the objectives in chapter 1. These key areas were: development communication, television in India and studies which looked at the presence of development communication in media.

Development Communication

The first farmhouse dialogue defined development as a process concerned with people's capacity in a defined area, over a defined period to manage and induce change; that is to predict, plan, understand and monitor change (Fourth Farmhouse dialogue, 1989).

The fourth farmhouse dialogue adopted the above definition of development as it encompassed the various dimensions of development - economic, social, political and psychological which needed to be kept in view in examining the crucial role of communications in the process of a nation's development.

The term development communications was originally used to refer to technology-based communication networks, which, regardless of message and content, tended to create a climate which would be suited for development (Jayaweera 1987).

Since its origin many definitions have been coined for development communications. However, there is still confusion as to what the concept of development communication really means. Each researcher has a different perception of the term thus increasing its complexity.

The furor over the establishment of a new world information order has lined up the journalists of the world in two camps -- the western style journalists who advocate a laissez faire policy for gathering and dissemination of information and the second and third world journalists who feel the need to have varying amounts of government input in the news reporting process. Development journalism is a concept at the heart of this new information order (Ogan 1980).

In a study conducted by Dilawari (1990) to determine the amount of development news on the CNN world report, the definition of development was:

... any story relating to the primary, secondary and tertiary needs and to matters of administration reforms, agricultural development (including seeds and fertilizers, animal husbandry, dairy, poultry, fisheries, horticulture, and food production and distribution), economic activities, education, employment and labour, health and family planning and

welfare, housing, scientific and industrial development, communications rural and urban development, national integration and social change aimed at eradication of social evils are defined as development news (Dilawari 1990).

This study tried to find out if the CNN world report which was being used as an outlet of development news would continue to be used as an outlet for the same. The study concluded that the percentage of development news on the CNN world report had considerably decreased by the year 1989 (Dilawari 1990).

With the formation of the press foundation of Asia, the arrival of the concept of development communication began primarily as a means to serve the interests of the countries throughout the Asian region to cover news that was socially relevant and emphasized the commitment of Asian journalists to economic development in the broadest sense of the term (Ogan 1980).

Academically development communication first began at the University of the Philippines, and in the Filipino context development communication was defined as:

... the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of the country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of human potential (Ogan 1980).

However, according to Ogan, the concept as practiced by journalists in India, Philippines, Guyana, Indonesia, Tanzania among other countries could more aptly be stated as follows-

This form accepts the media as a tool for development. The development plan is predetermined, usually through one or more government agencies and the job of the press is to assist in achieving some local or national, social or economic goal. Under this system many governments have established development support communication bureaus under ministries of information and planning (Ogan 1980).

In order to achieve the goal, whether social, economic or national the message must be empathetic to the audience.

If any communication is to succeed, the communication message must meet the needs of the receiver although it cannot be totally detached from the source of the message (Rodrigo 1986).

The effectiveness of the communication lies in the fact that both the sender and the receiver of the message have the same understanding of what the message is all about. When it comes to communicating developmental messages, Rodrigo is against the top down communication approach.

The elitist, top down approach of the communication source - the planner or implementer - should be reversed; instead a participatory understanding should be developed toward the

problem and the ability of the client to solve it. This will enhance not only mutual understanding, but interpersonal trust between the source and receiver (Rodrigo 1986)

Rodrigo also stresses the fact that the messages should be accessible to the target audiences. She elucidates this point by quoting an example:

... educational TV programs may not serve any purpose when illiterate adults do not own or have access to these media (Rodrigo 1986).

She also says:

Ultimately, for any programme to be successful, it has to be integrated and coordinated with the broader development needs of the people. It must also be implemented by committed leaders (Rodrigo 1986).

According to Rodrigo, the major reason for the failure of many development communication programs is a lack of participation by those affected by development:

The major factor seems to be the lack of insight and understanding by development planners and implementors of the needs of their clients. This links with the lack of participatory involvement of local people during the planning and decision making stages. Poorly designed communication messages, inappropriate communication channels, and the top down approach to communications have resulted in the above situations (Rodrigo 1986).

Another interesting concept in the communication of developmental messages is the one discussed by Yadava. His ideas, which are more or less similar to that of Rodrigo's, lay emphasis on the fact that communication is one of the most important factors in conveying developmental messages. A very fascinating indigenous concept of "Sadharanikaran" helps the development communication researcher to understand the issues related to developmental communications better, according to Yadava.

Since this concept of "Sadharanikaran" is a very old one arising from the ancient Sanskrit scriptures of India, this concept may be applicable to the Indian situation. Added to this is the fact that this concept not only focuses on the relationship between the various people involved in the communication process but also brings the social system more sharply into the picture (Yadava 1989).

Summarizing from the chapter by Yadava, "Sadharanikaran" literally means simplification and conceptually it would mean achieving oneness or commonness through sharing, which comes very close to the meaning of the Latin word, "communis," from which the English word communication was derived. According to Yadava this concept helps in better explaining and understanding communication in development in Indian society (Yadava 1989).

In the present situation this word "Sadharanikaran" is often used to convey the idea of simplification. The five tenets of "Sadharanikaran" if meaningfully operationalized could be used to conduct development communications research, especially in India

and other developing countries (Yadava 1989). The five tenets are as follows:

- Being Sahridaya- which means a common sympathetic heart. Looking at it in terms of communication, it would mean a conscious effort on the part of the communicator to identify himself with the receiver or his/her message (Yadava 1989).

- Sharing- Yadava says that the western concept of communication emphasizes Aristotle's rhetoric of gentle persuasion. However communication in the Indian sense, should mean not just persuading one another but to enjoy the very process of sharing (Yadava 1989).

- Rasa Utpati and Rasa Swadana- Here participation of the communicator and the receiver through arousal and sharing of moods and and feeling is considered an absolutely essential element of communication (Yadava 1989).

- Simplification- The essence of a good communication process according to this tenet of "Sadharanikaran," is the simplification of complex concepts and ideas by the communicator such that the receiver can comprehend clearly whatever message he has received. Yadava says that this approach will make development communication a dynamic, flexible, practical and effective instrument of social relationship and control (Yadava 1989).

- Asymmetrical- Even though the source and receiver are unequal they have a common sympathetic heart, Sahridaya, which

makes an unequal relationship satisfying and pleasurable to both the parties involved (Yadava 1989).

The related questions of the approach to and the philosophy of communications needs to be investigated. Do the development agents share or transmit information? Do they enjoy the process of communication or just take it as a duty to be performed? On these answers will depend the effectiveness of development communication (Yadava 1989).

Communication of the ideas, especially those with developmental messages, ought to be done with care in order to make comprehension easy and meaningful because development involves communication of new ideas, concepts, techniques and methods (Yadava 1989).

Realizing the importance of the need for development communications, efforts are being made by developing countries to expand the infrastructures for communications.

The importance of communication in mobilizing people and seeking their willing participation in the development of a country is well recognized. In India this concern about reaching people, communicating with them and equipping them with new skills has been emphasized over and over again in successive five year plans which provide the blue print for the country's planned development (Yadava 1989).

Apart from the question "how do we communicate developmental messages" is the question of "what do we communicate" that could be called developmental content?

Ogan in her paper "Is the news about development all good?" raises the question of how the developing world covers the news about itself.

Is news value so different in the third world that bridge building, family planning and vaccination campaigns are front page items and political news is subordinate to development project news? (Ogan 1982).

Ogan examines Vilanilam's study of what treatment was actually given to development news reports.

Vilanilam found that little attention was paid to developmental categories of family planning, housing, economic activity, education and literacy, employment and labour welfare, health hygiene and medicine, rural and urban development and social change. Political activity comprised the majority of news in the two papers, while some attention was paid to agriculture, technology, scientific and industrial development (Ogan 1982).

In Ogan's paper development communication is operationally defined as:

... a participatory process within a society, aimed at creating and/or maintaining social structures and institutions which allow society's present and future needs to be met. The process

is shaped by members of the total society in the context of their history, their culture and the environment they are seeking to control (Ogan 1982).

McAnany in his paper "From modernization and diffusion to dependency and beyond," reviews development literature and tries to summarize the changes that have occurred in the thought processes about the role of communication in development. According to McAnany, one of the questions that is to be asked if we want to interpret the "alternate pathways to development" would be:

...the differentiation between what we would like to see happen (normative statements) and what we expect will happen (descriptive or empirical statements) or put another way, the difference between theory and practise (McAnany 1983).

McAnany in his paper looks ahead at what the role of the communicators might be for the 1980's or 1990's. According to McAnany:

The context of development will center around the answer to four questions: (a) What does communication mean in the development thinking of today? (b) What are the world development priorities as defined by major lending institutions (and are they the priorities of the third world)? (c) What seem to be the communication priorities of the third world countries? (d) What seem to be the most promising areas of change that communication can assist in? (McAnany 1983).

Looking at communication's role in development and examining prior literature in the area, McAnany raises the question of whether mass communications is an independent variable and a significant positive motor for change in development. (McAnany 1983).

Quoting Hornik (1983), McAnany argues that

Communication can be a complement to positive change under certain conditions but is not a variable independent of context (McAnany 1983).

According to McAnany, communication is part of a social system and the notion of a social system may have both national and international aspects.

The international context of communication projects refers, for example, to those international market influences that touch even the most remote rural areas (McAnany 1983).

Looking at a second aspect of this on the basis of the debate on development journalism and the NIIO (New International Information Order) McAnany says:

It was agreed that journalism in a given country should gear itself toward the promotion of national development goals and simply follow the style of a western commercial press. On the whole this approach was a positive one but it contributed to some excessive cases as in the Philippines where the press

simply became the aim for promoting government programs and proclaimed them successful as a form of propaganda. What has emerged as a compromise between government controlled and commercial media are a number of private non-commercial groups who aim to provide information for development (McAnany 1983).

The fact that the priority for almost all major multilateral aid institutions is a concentration on the rural poor means according to McAnany, in many countries a series of concrete objectives such as the following:

(1) an increase in the production of food for international consumption; (2) an increase in agricultural research adapted to the local conditions; (3) an increase by governments in allocations to agricultural budgets; (4) an examination of incentive structures for agricultural production; (5) an increase in the production of agricultural infrastructure (irrigation, transport, market networks) and the provision of credit, inputs (fertilizers, etc.), technology and information; and (6) an increase in social services for rural populations (education, health, nutrition, family planning) (McAnany 1983).

McAnany nevertheless says that it is difficult to answer whether the above development priorities concerning the rural poor are priorities of governments.

There are however, major efforts by some governments to invest in projects for improving the lives of their rural

majorities in agricultural productivity and in areas of social services like education, nutrition and health. Many governments and members of the development community who were disenchanted with the results of the earlier communication-development paradigms are, under new paradigm assumptions, turning once again to communications as an important tool for change (McAnany 1983).

New information technologies have a considerable role to play in development. McAnany in his paper says that the MacBride report seems to prefer the rapid incorporation of new information technologies (satellites, computers, telecommunications and broadcast) into the development plans for all countries.

The final area of promise is the variety of communication technologies now available on the international markets (McAnany 1983).

More and more third world countries are adopting the use of satellites to be used as communications networks.

The question to be asked at this point is not whether satellites can be a cost effective substitute for terrestrial systems or whether they can serve the needs of the rural majorities. Rather the question is whether governments will be able to use them for this population at costs that are competitive with other forms of communication already available. The major drawback is the centralized nature of such high cost technology (McAnany 1983).

SITE

According to Eapen (1979) what led to the Indo-US agreement on the SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) project, after the introduction of television in India, was the continued faith in communication technology, transmitted by satellites, for improving the quality of life among rural masses.

In 1967 a UNESCO expert mission made, with the cooperation of the Indian government, a study on the use of satellites for national development. It recommended that since conditions were favorable, such a start should be made. Accordingly, in 1969, the department of atomic energy, India, entered into an agreement with NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) of the United States for the loan of a satellite free of cost for one full year starting from August 1975 (Kumar 1981).

The SITE was the first of its kind to use satellites for social development on such a large scale (Block et al 1979).

SITE was a pioneering experiment in the use of satellite direct broadcasting for education and development. It involved the transmission of four hours of television programs everyday to about 2,400 remote villages spread over six different areas of the country. The instructional content was basically in the fields of agriculture, health, family planning, education and teacher training (Karnik 1981).

The ATS-6 was used to beam messages related to education, teacher training, agriculture, family planning, etc., to six clusters of villages distributed in various regions over the sub-continent of India (Figure 2).

In all more than 2,400 villages were exposed to programs on family planning methods for more than a whole year. In addition, conventional receivers in 2,500 other towns and villages received the programs through earth transmitters which picked up the satellite signals through 'receive only' stations (Kumar 1981, Karnik 1981).

There is a lot of literature available about the SITE program and its impact. While some authors feel that SITE did have a major impact, Some don't agree with them.

According to Kumar (1981) much was expected from SITE in the area of communication of developmental messages. However, the results were minimal. There was not too much attitude or behavioral change resulting from this project, but whatever little changes did occur were significant in their small way (Kumar 1981).

The four hour telecasts were beamed every day for a year. The programs were produced indigenously and were telecast in the regional languages of the regions that the telecast was going out to (Kumar 1981, Block et al 1979).

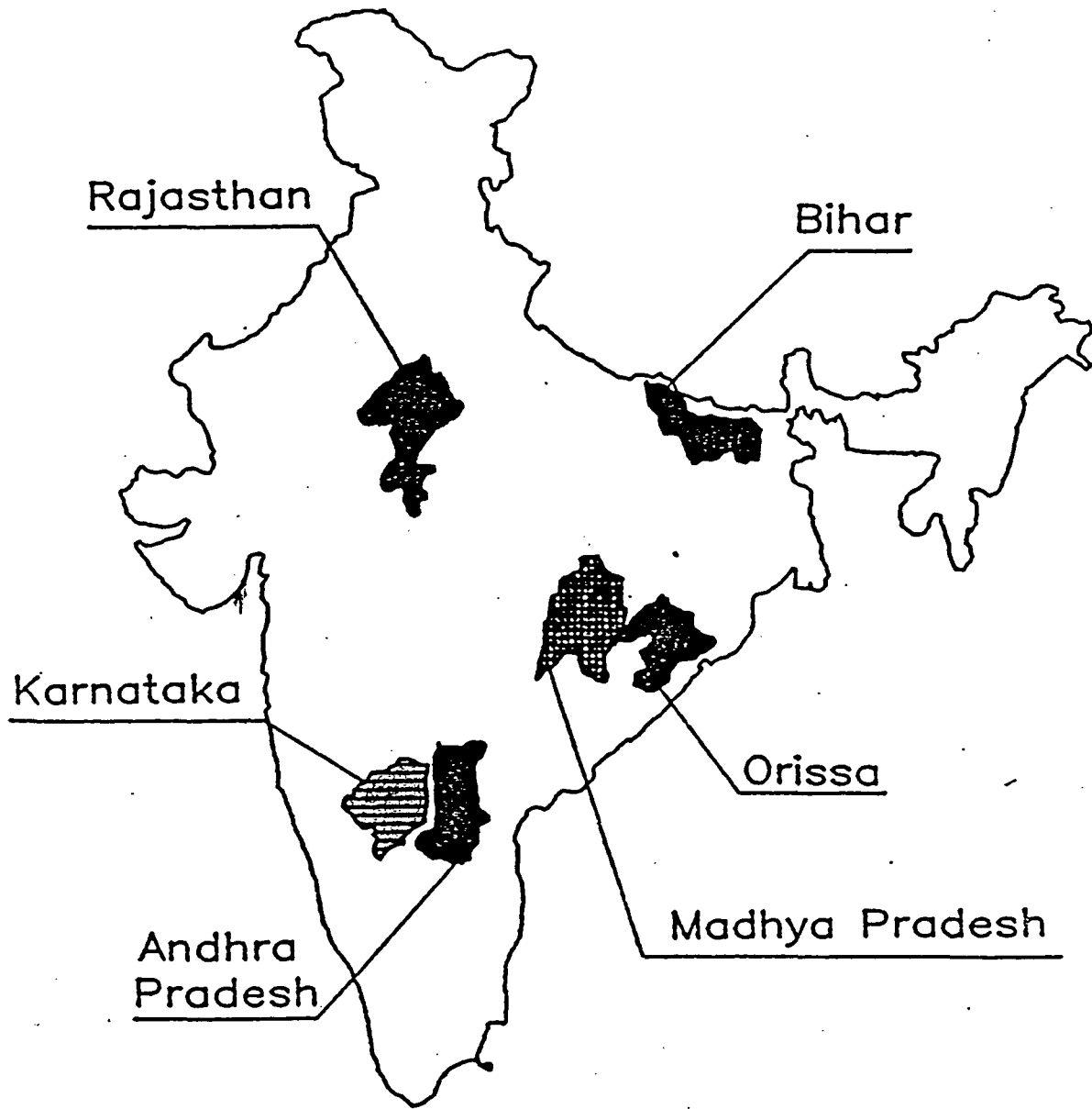


Figure 2. SITE cluster areas

There were doubts whether the on the ground hardware would operate after the first malfunctions, whether programs could be broadcast reliably and on schedule, and whether sufficient bureaucratic cooperation could be obtained to carry off a sustained effort (Block et al 1979).

SITE proved exceptionally successful in the technological as well as the programming aspects. It was surprising to many people that a developing country working with the help of the United States of America, could fare well on this satellite project.

In general, the experiment had greater impact on lower castes, illiterates, females, low income groups and those who reported regular viewing. There were statistically significant gains in health, family planning political information, and overall modernity (Schneller 1983).

How did the messages get across to the culturally diverse, traditional and largely illiterate audience? How did they accept SITE programming, and the developmental messages that were aimed at them?

Communication in traditional societies has tended to flow from the high priest to the masses, from government apparatus run by significant tribal and caste groups who may have little credibility with the masses. Where mass media are used for the purposes of behavioral change, they should be interlocked with human power with the nature of extension personnel, classroom teachers and the like (Eapen 1979).

Eapen (1979) in his article says, the idea that a group of communicators could effectively get the messages across to the "conventional and contradiction-filled" audience, did not prove true with the SITE. According to him the programs were perceived more as entertainment rather than instructional.

When new media are introduced, they appear to fit into existing communication and behavioral patterns rather than radically altering them. Irrespective of the stages of development of particular villages, permanent values of leadership, status, and structures stay, and it is clear that the rural population perceives media as entertainment rather than instruction (Eapen 1979).

Eapen's statements, and those of Block et al contradict what Schneller had to say about the effects of SITE. Block et al's conclusion has more of a diplomatic ring attached to it. They feel that the SITE program, even though it was not as successful as it ought to have been, was not too disappointing either. In other words it was neither a success nor a failure.

It seems clear from the results of the SITE evaluations that the introduction of this one-year supply of information to Indian villages neither transformed them into hotbeds of development, as some had hoped, nor caused the disintegration of Indian rural society, as others had feared (Schneller 1983).

However there is another aspect to the SITE which could have been beneficial.

As an educational communication project, SITE faced many of the same choices and problems that any attempt to use television programming for rural development would encounter. Certain of those choices were conditioned by the special characteristics of satellite broadcasting. An attractive, if improved argument for direct satellite broadcasting to rural areas is that the customary urban orientation of television can be avoided. When a television system begins with service to urban areas and only subsequently expands to cover outlying rural areas, program content invariably reflects urban interests and tastes (Schneller 1983).

In the Indian context, one of the most important factors is probably identification of the audience. Because of the wide and clear cut differences between urban and rural audiences there would have to be differences in the kinds of messages and programs that go out.

Developmental television requires such clear definitions of the audience, if it is to avoid the inevitable problem of a hundred thousand set owners (Obviously upper middle class in a developing country) versus a few hundred community television sets in villages. Catering for the voluble, influential, urban elite in such a situation is bound to be the solution, unless it is clearly stated otherwise (Chaudri 1986).

Considering the relative success of the SITE program India decided to launch its own satellite to suit the educational and developmental needs of the country (Chaudri 1986).

There has been a recurrent argument among the protagonists that television ostensibly was brought to India for education and development and it must be appropriately utilized for this purpose. They have also argued that television should not become a toy of entertainment for the rich (Agarwal 1986).

While this is what is expected from television there is another report to further strengthen the fact that TV may in fact become a toy of the elite.

Some have reported to it as a "capitalistic conspiracy of communication." In simpler terms, the argument put forward is that there is a conscious and planned real effort to use the medium for creating the images of chaotic social tension, conflict and violence to keep the aspiring poor to fight amongst themselves so that the rich could continue to hog the scarce resources and to centralize the power by careful manipulation of the mass media, especially visual media like cinema and television (Agarwal 1986).

However, looking at it from a more positive point of view:

Different forms of communication are possible and their objectives maybe to entertain, inform, give organized knowledge, develop skills, provoke thinking and arouse

curiosity, co-relate knowledge with problems or bring about change (Chaudri 1986).

The SITE program, in spite of its shortcomings, was a successful experiment, in terms of its establishing a base in India for the use of satellite technology and the medium of television in development.

The Indian Satellite experiment proved that countries like India have the technical and managerial capability to design, operate, and maintain advanced communication technology. The hardware worked without a hitch. Solitary attempts at imaginative and systematic program production were made in SITE by the Indian Space agency. Now broad-based long term systematic efforts at developing appropriate development-support programming are called for, if the media are to live up to their potential (Mody 1979).

The SITE project by its very existence, made it very clear that satellite technology and the medium of television could be used as a tool for disseminating developmental messages. Reaching out to the remote, rural areas would not be that difficult and this technology would be comparatively economical in the Indian situation. This was established as the basis of the Indian Satellite program to follow, which was the launch of the Indian domestic satellite -- INSAT.

INSAT

The INSAT commitment to India was to bring about the change mentioned above, through rural education:

...by reaching down the ladder beyond the conventional stages of education. Thus, the thrust of education for development lies not in asking people to change, but in providing them through media, with the ability to see their own problems and to provoke them continuously to think searchingly for solutions (Chaudri 1986).

The arrival of INSAT brought with it the tremendous diffusion of Indian television (Appendix B). As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, this diffusion also had another reason.

The millions of new TV viewers in the third world countries provide tremendous potential for development communication. But television is not being utilized generally for purposes of promoting literacy, improving nutrition, limiting family size or increasing productivity. Instead TV content is being dominated by entertainment programs. The attractiveness of entertainment programs for the public is one of the main reasons for the rapid worldwide diffusion of television during the 1980's (Singhal et al 1988).

With the increasing rapid diffusion of television, and the TV hardware equipment a need arose for an increase in program software to fill the broadcast time.

Programme production, earlier a monopoly of Doordarshan, the government run national television system in India, was then opened by the Indian government to outside artists, producers, directors and technicians (mostly connected with the Bombay film industry (Singhal et al 1988).

With the rise in private program production the era of commercial television began and soap operas started entering the Indian TV scene. The first soap opera which had developmental themes attached to it was Humlog. Humlog was recorded as a major success and was based on the earlier Mexican soap operas.

Pro development soap operas are one bright spot in the generally unfulfilled potential of third world TV. They are a subtle and unique combination of education and entertainment style programming which is broadcast to promote some aspect of development (Singhal et al 1989).

'Humlog' in Hindi meaning 'Our People' was based on Televisa's Mexican pro development soap-operas. The soap opera 'Simplemente Maria' telecast on Peruvian TV in 1969 was the earliest and most famous pro-development soap opera. This was a rags to riches story of a simple migrant girl Maria who achieves high socio-economic status and was a positive role model for upward mobility. Issues such as liberation of low income women, class-conflict, and intermarriage between the urban rich and the migrant poor were raised (Singhal et al 1989).

The lesson of 'Simplemente Maria' was simple; soap operas in Latin America attracted large audiences and could also convey an educational theme that would contribute to national development (Singhal et al 1989).

Pro development soap operas present an unusual type of media message in that they are based on human communication theories. The soap operas are designed to influence television viewers to learn intended behaviors and values from positive and negative role models depicted in the TV program. 'Identification' is the technique which employs a process through which an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions are shaped by another person who serves as a model (Singhal et al 1989).

When a character in a pro-development soap opera displays a socially desirable behavior, he/she is rewarded, and when the character emulates a socially undesirable behavior, he/she is punished. Through such identification, a television soap opera can influence a viewer to imitate a television character's behavior (Singhal et al 1989).

Seeing the success of the Mexican soap operas and being convinced that Mexican pro-development soap operas could be suitably adopted by other third world countries to serve national development goals, Humlog was launched (Singhal et al 1988).

Humlog was an attempt to blend Doordarshan's stated objectives of providing entertainment to its audience, while promoting pro-development social values at the same time (Singhal et al 1989).

Humlog was broadcast on Indian TV for 17 months in 1984-85, a total of 156 episodes each lasting 22 minutes. All the episodes were in Hindi. At the close of each episode a famous Hindi film actor summarized the episode in an epilogue of 30-40 seconds and "provided the viewers appropriate guides to action in their lives" (Singhal et al 1989).

The soap opera's plot centered around the joys and sorrows of a lower-middle class joint family, with a substory addressing underworld activities and political corruption.

Humlog began primarily as a family planning soap opera. Pressures from audiences, sponsors, and debates in the Indian Parliament resulted in a toning down of the family planning theme. Instead emphasis was placed on closely related themes such as the status of women, family harmony, and family welfare (Singhal et al 1989).

A survey conducted showed that a high percentage of the respondents learned pro social attitudes and behaviors from Humlog. Out of the 1,170 respondents 71 percent had learned that family size should be limited. Thus some of the intended effects of Humlog were achieved (Singhal et al 1989).

The main lesson from the humlog experience was that indigenous soap operas in India could attract large audiences and big profits (Singhal et al 1988).

India now produces a remarkable amount of indigenous programming and the Indian serials are more popular than the foreign serials (Singhal et al 1988).

One of the conclusions that the article by Singhal et al (1988) arrived at concerned the socio-demographic characteristics of the adopters of television in India.

They are more likely to be urban than rural and of higher income (Singhal et al 1988).

With regard to the social effects of television in India Singhal et al say that TV widens the gaps between the urban elites and the poor. But is this what the INSAT objective was, to make TV a tool of the rich man? The expected results were different and what has been achieved seems to be different.

There are very few studies that have looked at the amount of television content on Indian television. Looking at the concept of developmental content more broadly, how much and what kind of developmental content is there in the media in developing countries?

Studies of Developmental Communication

A meta-research case study of development journalism reports that:

In the 20 studies researchers concluded seven times that too little development journalism was published for it to have an impact or influence on national development (Fair 1988).

A content analysis of English language newscasts on the national television services of Malaysia and Pakistan concluded that:

No evidence was discovered of development news being given favorable play in newscasts. This implies that even if an effort were made to include numerous development items in a newscast, no systematic pattern of highlighting the stories was made (McDaniel 1984).

Another observation of this study was that in these two developing Asian nations the political personalities wished to be seen as the champions of development issues. The author concludes that this is a counter-productive idea because it might undermine development as a responsibility of the whole population, picturing it instead as an activity of the influential and politically powerful (McDaniel 1984).

Another study of seven Indian daily newspapers found that development news accounts for 10.50 percent of the news space. This content analysis concluded that the news media seemed to devote a very substantial part of their energy and resources to covering politics. The analysis shows beyond any shade of doubt that the dailies attached more importance to politics and government than any other subject or category (Haque 1986).

According to Haque the term development journalism connotes several meanings. It seems that quite often the advocates and critics of this type of journalism are not quite clear as to what it really means (Haque 1986).

Unlike what many authors have to say, Haque says that the third world journalists are well aware that the media are not for government propaganda "uncritically toeing the government line."

The responsible press seems to play its watchdog role within either self imposed or externally stimulated constraints. The press seems to recognize that these are some socio-economic development goals facing the society. Government is the chief formulator of those goals, but the media must help mobilize the citizens to help achieve those goals. Media are not a neutral bystander (Haque 1986).

Haque interprets what is happening in the Indian press in the way of development journalism by saying:

Clearly Indian elite press takes its role as a vehicle for dissemination of political information seriously. Politics and government constitute the most newsworthy topics in the press. The high degree of attention given to subjects in this news category probably suggests that the press facilitates a higher degree of participation of the people in the political process by supplying political information to the people (Haque 1986).

Shah says that one of the problems with development news studies is the failure to recognize that all news could be development news (Shah 1991).

Compared to previous studies, Shah's approach towards development communications is a more universal one. Shah finds that the other problem with the studies that examine development news is with the methodology that the developmental content studies employ. This he feels has led to some very confusing and contradictory findings about the coverage of development news.

Shah studied three Indian newspapers by establishing a different set of categories in consultation with a number of development communication scholars.

These scholars suggested that development news should:

1. Emphasize development processes rather than events
2. Contain when needed, content critical of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
3. Discuss the relevance of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
4. Provide contextual or background information about development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
5. Speculate about the future in relation to development needs.
6. Discuss the impacts of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues on people.
7. Discuss development processes in other regions or countries.
8. Compare the subject with original goals
9. Compare the subject with development claims

10. Make references to development needs of people, generally including:
- a) Primary needs like food, housing and employment
 - b) Secondary needs like transportation, energy sources and electricity
 - c) Tertiary needs like cultural diversity recognition and dignity (Shah 1990).

Shah's study classified 15.87 percent of the news in the sample as development news. The most frequently mentioned categories were international and national economics, social welfare, agriculture and rural development, and industry, science and technology (Shah 1990).

This result shows that the three newspapers are fairly homogeneous in their coverage of development issues. The results also indicate that some important development issues receive little or no attention. Culture and religion, and human rights, for example were largely ignored in development news items and other key development issues such as village and small industry, family planning, and environment were ignored altogether (Shah 1990).

Shah's study also emphasized the geographical focus of the development news:

It is quite interesting to note that rural areas, where much of India's development efforts are concentrated, received relatively little attention in development news items (Shah 1990).

Shah's study found that the predominant focus of development news items was urban rather than rural.

In fact, in all the newspapers, urban areas are the predominant focus of development news items more often than rural areas. While more emphasis on rural areas may not be surprising for the English language papers (whose circulation areas are primarily in urban areas), the trend is somewhat curious for the NavBharat times, which, as mentioned earlier, enjoys a fairly large readership in rural areas (Shah 1990).

According to Shah:

The emphasis on a relatively few development topics, a reliance on official sources of news, an emphasis on members of the government military-industrial complex as subjects of news, and a focus on national and regional settings may result in a lopsided, if not inaccurate portrayal of the development process in India (Shah 1990).

The two reasons for some interesting findings which resulted from this study, according to Shah, are, using a different methodological approach and accepting the possibility that any news item could potentially contribute to development and be classified as development news.

Shah (1988) also felt that most studies looked at the quantity of development news and not the quality.

By ignoring the quality of development news, researchers assume that (1) the mere presence of development news will contribute to development; (2) each item can contribute equally to development and (3) the greater the quantity of development news, the greater the contribution to development (Shah 1988).

Shah conducted another study wherein a content analysis of the scripts of AIR (All India Radio) was undertaken.

Most development news studies have focussed largely on print news. Only a few studies have examined development news produced by broadcast media (Shah 1988).

The categories and methodology were almost completely the same as the previous study of the newspapers in India. This content analysis however emphasized the quality of the development news items (Shah 1988).

The lack of attention to radio news is somewhat surprising because of its importance as an effective channel of mass communication in developing countries where literacy is low (Shah 1988).

Shah (1991) found that 14.8 percent of the newscasts included at least one development news reporting criterion. The findings on the various development categories were very similar to the previous study.

Issues vital to development in India but never appearing in items coded as development news included irrigation and flood control, India's minimum needs program, water supply, hill area development, relations between industry and labour, economic aid and nuclear issues (Shah 1988).

When the quality of development news was studied, Shah found that the news reports did not reflect the thorough, investigative style reporting advocated by the development news reporting criterion.

The low quality of development news on AIR suggests a need for improved reporting of development news. Needed is coverage of some topics that are ignored completely by AIR but are potentially important to national development and more frequent coverage as development news of some topics that AIR does report regularly (Shah 1988).

This study will adopt Shah's perspective of development communication which says that all news can be developmental news. Or in a more broader sense, all kinds of television programming can have developmental content. The sample of this study will thus include all kinds of television programs from India, including advertisements.

The sample will be divided into two sections before the content analysis is done. Section 1 will include all kinds of programs

excluding only the advertisements, and section 2 will constitute all the advertisements which will then be studied separately.

Hypotheses

Section 1

The following are the hypotheses for the first section which has been coded and created on the basis of the programs in the sample. With the above problem statement and the theory as the background we can put forth a few statements or major expectations that this study intends to test.

H 1. At least 25 percent of the sample is expected to be developmental in content.

Explanation- Prior studies have looked at the development versus non-development content of Indian newspapers and radio and have concluded that there is a very low percentage of development content in Indian newspapers and Radio.

Shah found 14.8 percent of development news in radio newscasts and 15.87 percent of development news in newspapers. Looking at the medium of television we can expect that 25 percent of the of the programs would have at least some developmental content in them.

The difference that occurs in the percentages between the previous studies and this study is due to the fact that the previous

two studies done by Shah were done with only news programs and news articles as samples.

This study, on the other hand, looks for developmental content in all kinds of programming on Indian television and not just the newscasts. The first hypothesis arrived at thus relates to this. We expect that the trend in the presence of developmental programs would be similar to the prior two studies by Shah, while giving a little more leeway because of the difference in the kind of sample being studied.

H 2(a). The emphasis of the developmental themes will be on children, women and health issues as compared with the other themes.

(b) Children, women and health themes collectively will occur more frequently than all the other development themes combined.

(c) Each of the categories of children, women and health will occur significantly more often than each of the other categories when compared on a one on one basis.

Explanation- Shah's study found that the focus of developmental programs was international and national economics, social welfare, agriculture and rural development, and industry, science and technology. However the fact that Shah's sample included only news programs clearly makes us redefine our

expectations of what we think would be the more frequently occurring development themes in all kinds of TV programming in general.

Looking at some previous studies we see that the emphasis of developmental themes in India have been family issues, social welfare, women's issues and health issues (Singhal 1989, Agarwal 1986) This and the knowledge that the Indian Government is aiming at controlling the population, and improving the existing quality of life of the deprived and the neglected classes is what brings us to this hypothesis.

H 3. (a) The number of programs with latent developmental content (non avowedly developmental) will be higher than the number of programs with manifest developmental content (avowedly developmental) .

(b) Overall the total time of the non-avowedly developmental programs will be higher than the total time of the avowedly developmental programs.

Explanation- Developmental issues can be found in all kinds of programs (Shah 1990). The programs which are avowedly developmental constitute a very small percentage (Karnik 1981). There is a tendency for the developmental content to be more latent rather than manifest because there is a higher percentage of entertainment programs (Karnik 1981) and in order to cause

smoother attitudinal and behavioral change the communicator would try to make the developmental themes more subtle so that they can be conveyed through either a role model or a soap opera or a folk art form etc. (Lowry 1989, Singhal 1989).

- H 4.** Programs with developmental content will more frequently be in the regional language, Telugu, as compared
- (a) With each of the other languages and;
 - (b) With all possible combinations of the other languages.

Explanation- The programs address towards the audience of a particular state. The population of the rural audience that speaks and understands only the regional language of that state is higher than more cosmopolitan audiences that can also understand other languages. The media would thus prefer to use the regional language to bring about the highest rate of comprehension (Block 1979, Eapen 1986, Agarwal 1978). There might also be some multilingual usage where more than one language is used. In this case, too, Telugu, the regional language would be more frequently used.

- H 5.** (a) In both developmental and non developmental programs, urban characterization would occur significantly more often than rural characterization.
- (b) Urban characterization will occur most frequently in developmental programs.

Explanation- Most of the programs are produced in the city and also cater to the urban masses. The advertisers use the urban audience as their target audience. In order to have a high rate of viewership among the urban masses there would be a tendency to use urban characterization. The lure of the city and urban areas among the rural masses would be another reason for the above hypothesis.

H 6. In programs with developmental content credits would occur significantly more often than the other three categories, captions, credits and captions and none (no written material at all).

Explanation- Credits are used at the beginning or towards the end of programs to inform the viewers who produced the program who directed it, who participated in it and who were the other people responsible for successful completion and airing of the program. Captions are descriptive written statements which convey a message or information of some kind, or may reinforce some idea or theme that can be heard or is being visually displayed on the screen.

Most development programs are long and descriptive. There is therefore no need to use captions for reinforcement. Therefore the percentage of credits used in programs would be more than the

percentage of captions, credits and captions and none (no written material at all).

Section 2

Based on the same explanations in Section 1, made on the basis of prior studies and logical assumptions, the following are the hypotheses for the second section which contains information coded for the advertisements in the sample.

H 1 At least 25 percent of the sample is expected to be developmental in content.

Explanation- Same as in Section 1.

H 2 The emphasis of the developmental themes would be on children, women and health issues as compared with the other themes.

Explanation- Same as in Section 1.

H 3 (a) There will be significantly more PSA's with developmental content as compared to commercials with developmental content.

(b) PSA's with development content would be of a significantly longer duration than commercials with developmental content.

Explanation- Public Service Advertisements are produced because there is a specific developmental message to be disseminated especially by some 'do-good' organization. They have no commercial motive whatsoever. They can be compared to avowedly developmental programs. Commercials on the other hand are produced with the basic objective of promoting or marketing a particular product or products.

Going by Shah's perspective that every program can have developmental content, we can assume that commercials may raise a developmental theme or two. However, there would be more PSA's with developmental content than commercials. Producers of PSA's will also make a deliberate attempt at getting their message across and thus in spite of high advertisement rates PSA's would tend to be of a longer duration than the commercials.

H 4 Advertisements with developmental content will more frequently include the regional language, Telugu, as compared with the other languages.

Explanation- Same as in Section 1.

H 5 (a) In all the advertisements urban characterization will occur significantly more often than rural characterization.

(b) Urban characterization, will occur more often in developmental advertisements than rural characterization.

Explanation- Same as in Section 1.

H 6. Captions will occur significantly more often in all advertisements than credits or the other categories.

Explanation- Advertisements as a rule do not generally use credits, because of the high cost of air time. They tend to be very short and contain a lot of images and information packed into a capsule. Reinforcement techniques will thus be used to make the advertisement's intent or message more clear to the viewer by using written inserts which are in the form of captions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis

The research methodology that was used to answer the research questions and to test the hypothesis is content analysis. Content analysis is one of the more conventional methods of analyzing media content. Valid inferences are made by analyzing the content of media, in this case television programs.

A concise definition of content analysis can be stated as follows:

Content analysis is a phase of information processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared.(Holsti 1969).

Content analysis has traditionally been done with print media (Berelson 1952). Shah conducted a content analysis of radio programs by converting the audio to script form. Video content analysis is more complicated than these two since it involves both audio and video. The audio and video content need not be conveying the same message. The audio could be saying one thing while the video shows another (Al-Dwahi 1991). On the other hand both of them could be saying the same thing. We thus see the need to develop a different content analysis technique in order to analyze the video content.

Since television can convey a message through either an audio or a video channel, in this study both were examined. If either channel were conveying a developmental theme (together or separately), then that segment was classified as developmental. No attempt was made to compare joint audio and video occurrences of developmental themes with single channel occurrences.

According to Berelson 1952,(Weber 1985) content analysis is used for a variety of specific purposes. This study focuses on describing the trends in the communication content of Indian television programs.

Content analysis deals with four methodological sections (Stempel 1989), selection of the unit of analysis, category construction, sampling of content and reliability of coding.

Sampling of Content

The state in India from which the random sample for this particular study was selected was Andhra Pradesh (Figure 3). This is quite a 'typical' state of India and has also been the center of many television experiments including SITE.

The capital of Andhra Pradesh is Hyderabad and this is where the largest transmitter for this particular state is located. The TV station for this state is also located in this city. This state has one channel through which both the national and regional programs are telecast at different times during the day.

India

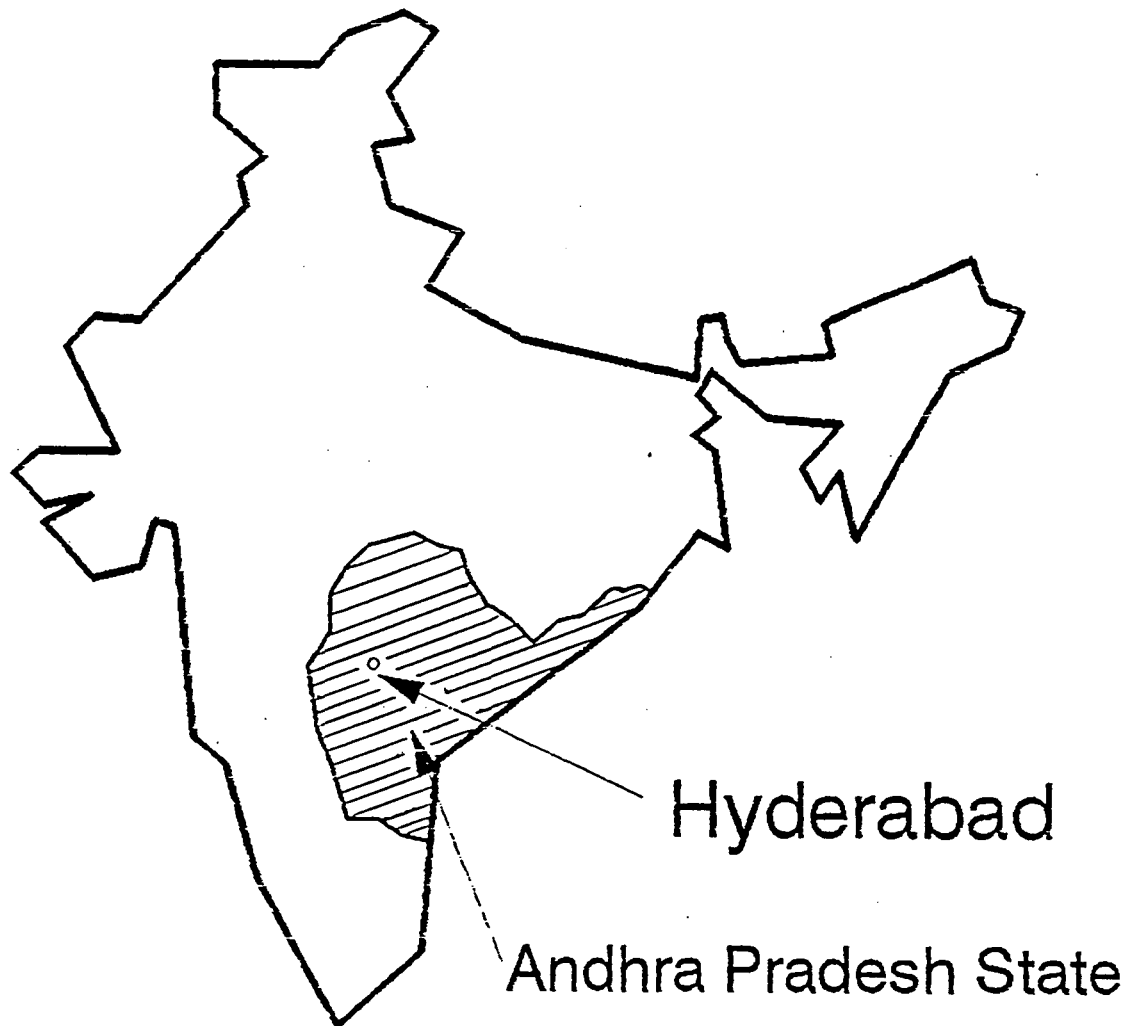


Figure 3. Map of Andhra Pradesh
(State from which sample was acquired)

The viewers in this state are exposed to approximately 100 hours of television programs every week.

A lot of difficulty was faced by the researcher while bringing the tapes into the United States from India. Attempts were made to acquire 20 two hour tapes, however a lot of problems were faced with the customs authorities. The number of hours of program sample that could be brought thus had to be minimized and was cut down to twelve hours.

For purposes of this study only programming telecast during the weekdays (Monday through Friday) was considered. Weekend programming (Saturday and Sunday) was excluded because, it would have been difficult for the researcher to acquire any more tapes. Weekday programs are very different from weekend programs.

Weekends have almost a full day's worth of programs and thus a larger sample would be required to study seven days worth of programs. A more focused look at weekday programming would give a larger sample and we could justify the generalization of the sample to five weekdays.

Using a table of random numbers (Babbie, 1983), a random sample of 10 hours of weekday programming was selected from five consecutive weekdays.

Starting Monday morning from the first telecast and continuing until the last telecast Friday night, the programs were divided into half hour slots and were consecutively numbered. A table of random numbers was then used to pick out 24 30-minute programs.

The programs were taped in Hyderabad in the PAL system and the tapes were later converted to the American NTSC system. The dates when the programs were taped were Monday July 29th, Tuesday July 30th, Wednesday July 31st, Thursday August 1st and Friday August 2nd, 1991.

Selection of Units of Analysis

Units of analysis are the sub-divisions which are used as a basis for counting the relevant aspects of the content (Berelson 1952). Units of analysis can also be described as people or things whose characteristics social researchers observe, describe and explain. Units of analysis may include a person, a group or social artifacts (Babbie 1989).

The units of analysis in a content analysis would typically include words, statements, sentences, paragraphs or entire articles (Stempel 1989). These could be used as units of analysis for the print media or for scripts of audio-visual media. The units of analysis for this study would thus have to be either thematic or time-based units.

There were two different sections to this study, the first one looked at the program content only and the second section looked at the advertisement content only. However, the same coding categories were used for the two sections.

Section 1 The units of analysis in this particular section were time-based as well as thematic units of analysis. In all there were 24 half hour blocks to be coded.

Time based units: Each half hour random sample was broken down into six segments. Each segment was considered as a separate unit. There was one half hour segment where the program was a live snooker championship being telecast and the programme ended much before the scheduled time. There was no program following this and this segment thus was a short one. One half hour segment was cut short because of a power failure. Considering these factors out of a potential n of 144, an n of 127, was obtained.

Each of the program segments was coded concerning whether or not a development theme occurred, the language or languages of the segment, use of credits or captions etc. In addition the actual time length in minutes of any development theme which occurred was calculated to the nearest fraction of a minute. Whenever a developmental theme was brought up in a segment, the stopwatch was started and was run as long as the developmental theme lasted. This was done for all developmental units irrespective of whether it was an avowedly or an non-avowedly developmental unit.

Section 2 This section would look at all the advertisements which occur during the 24 30-minute programs. Each advertisement would be considered a separate unit regardless of its length.

Category Construction

Even though this particular study has two sections with different units of analysis, the same coding categories were applied to both sections.

In all there are six coding categories, three of which are applicable only if the units have a developmental theme. While some of these categories are mutually exclusive, others are not. The operationalization procedures for each category will be explained later in the chapter.

The six coding categories are as follows:

1) Type of Communication (for all units)

This is a mutually exclusive category.

1.1. Developmental

1.2. Non-developmental

2) Development themes (Only for units with a development theme)

This is not a mutually exclusive category.

2.1. Children

2.2. Women

2.3. Education

2.4. Health

2.5. Safety

2.6. National Integration

2.7. Agriculture

2.8. Others.

3) Programming (Only for units with a development theme)

3.1 Avowedly Developmental

This is not a mutually exclusive category.

3.11. Lecture Demonstrations

3.12. Talks and Interviews

3.13. Documentaries

3.14. Others

3.2 Non avowedly Developmental

This is not a mutually exclusive category.

3.21. Folk art

3.22. Soap Operas

3.23. Classical art

3.24. News

3.25. Others

4) Languages (for all units)

This is not a mutually exclusive category.

4.1. English

4.2. Telugu

4.3. Hindi

4.4. Others

5) Characterization (for all units)

This is not a mutually exclusive category.

5.1. Rural

5.2. Urban

5.3. Others

6) Use of written captions (Only for units with a development theme)

This is a mutually exclusive category.

- 6.1. Credits only
- 6.2 Captions only
- 6.3 Credits and captions
- 6.4. None

All these categories would be the same for both sections of the units except for the programming category which would be replaced in the section where the unit of analysis is the advertisement. In this case the type of advertisement would be classified as follows:

3) Type of advertisement

This is a mutually exclusive category.

- 3.1. Commercials
- 3.2. Public service advertisements
- 3.3. Others

Reliability of Coding

There were two coders in addition to the researcher who coded the same half hour segment to test for inter-coder reliability. Both the coders were Indian girls who were students at the Iowa State University. Coder 1 was a graduate student from the computer science department, and having lived in Hyderabad for some time was familiar with the programming and understood the different languages. Coder 2 was a graduate student from the child

development department and was also familiar with the programming and languages in the sample.

Before the inter-coder reliability was started the research objectives and motives were explained to the coders in detail. They were then briefed about the operationalized definitions of the various terms and were given typed sheets containing the operationalized definitions of the various terms and concepts used in the research. After clarifying the doubts of the coders the intercoder reliability test was started.

One half hour segment (i.e.) six units of analysis were coded by the three coders separately. Before coding each coder was briefed separately about the details of the research. Each coder was given a copy of the list of the operational definitions of all the variables and concepts used in the study. The two coders and the researcher coded the units separately. The following are the results of the inter coder reliability test.

According to Stempel and Westley (1989), one of the approaches to deal with inter-coder reliability in content analysis is to deal with category frequencies, with the statistical technique being to correlate frequency distributions of two or more coders on the same material (Stempel 1989). This method of inter-coder reliability was adopted in this study.

The overall average reliability was 96.55 percent. The reliability for each separate category was also calculated. Except the developmental themes category and the program format category, all

the other categories had 100 percent agreement. The developmental themes category had 87 percent agreement and the program format category had 92.33 percent agreement. These were considered high enough to accept the reliability of the coding methodology.

(a) Variables analyzed:

6 units x 30 variables = 180 total cells.

(b) Author vs Coder 1:

Agreement on 171 of 180 cells.

Reliability = 95.16%

(c) Author vs Coder 2:

Agreement on 174 of 180 cells.

Reliability = 96.67%

(d) Coder 1 vs Coder 2:

Agreement on 176 of 180 cells.

Reliability = 97.83%

(e) Average overall mean for reliability:

$$\frac{95.16 + 96.67 + 97.83}{3} = 96.55\%$$

Operational Definitions of the Various Terms and Concepts

The available literature in development communications as discussed in the previous chapter defines the various terms related to development in many different ways. The operational definitions used in this study are based on these previous studies, modified to suit Indian conditions.

Four additional variables (Character, Language, Theme 1, Theme 2) were computed using SPSSPC while running the statistical analyses. This helped in the application of some statistical tests. Each is explained below along with the previously identified variables.

Development Communication: Development in this context relates to national development and not personal development (Shah 1990).

Any unit which makes a reference to any one or more of the following would be considered as a developmental unit.

Any content which:

1. Emphasizes development processes rather than events
2. Contains when needed, content critical of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
3. Discusses the relevance of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
4. Provides contextual or background information about development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues.
5. Speculates about the future in relation to development needs.
6. Discusses the impacts of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues on people.
7. Discusses development processes in other regions or countries.
8. Compares the subject with original goals
9. Compares the subject with development claims

10. Makes references to development needs of people, generally including
- a) Primary needs like food, housing and employment
 - b) Secondary needs like transportation, energy sources and electricity.
 - c) Tertiary needs like cultural diversity recognition and dignity. (Shah, 1990).
11. Makes references to specialized needs of the masses like children's issues, women's issues, health, family planning, AIDS, drug abuse, adult education, conservation of nature and national integration. (Shah 1988, Lowry 1989, Singhal 1989, Agarwal 1978).

Non Development Communication: Any program or advertisement that does not raise even one of the issues classified as development would be non development.

Children: Where the focus of the developmental theme is children. Anything relating to child care, child mortality, vaccines for children, importance of the girl child, amniocentesis, child nutrition, etc.

Women: Where the focus of the developmental theme is women. Anything that might deal with nutrition for women, health and hygiene for pregnant women, dowry, importance of general

hygiene for women and better ways of cooking and serving more nutritious food, etc.

Education: Where the focus of the developmental theme is education. Any reference to adult education, children's education, women's education, importance of education for the girl child and education in general, etc.

Health: Where the focus of the developmental theme is health. Any reference to Aids, family planning, drug problems, alcoholism and proper hygiene, etc.

Safety: Where the focus of the developmental theme is safety of all kinds. Anything dealing with safety while driving, using helmets while riding bicycles, following road rules, safety for factory workers, safety while dealing with fires and any other theme that may relate to safety.

National Integration: Where the focus of the developmental theme is national integration. Any reference to there being no differences between different people speaking different languages, believing in different religions, belonging to different communities and different cultures and wearing different costumes. References to the country being one united country in spite of its profound diversity.

Agriculture: Where the focus of the developmental theme is agriculture. Any reference to better farming techniques, use of fertilizers, implementation of new methods of farming, using seeds, using farm machinery, soil erosion and improved production, etc.

Others: In all the categories where this is used it would mean that the segment might belong to a particular category (like development, developmental theme, language, characterization, etc.) but does not have a specific sub-category.

Theme 1: was computed to find out the collective frequencies of the developmental issues of children, women and health issues.

Theme 2: The rest of the developmental themes -- agriculture, national integration, safety, education were summed to find out the collective frequencies of these developmental issues.

Lecture Demonstrations: Any program that might be in the form of a classroom lecture and demonstration.

Talks and Interviews: Any program that might be in the form of a talk or an interview.

Documentaries: Where the programming is in documentary format.

Folk art: Any program that is in some folk art form

Soap Operas: Any program that might be a sitcom or a soap opera.

Classical art: Any program that is in the form of classical art.

News: This would include regular newscasts, news discussions, current affairs programs and discussions on current topics.

English: the language used in the program is English.

Telugu: the language used in the program is Telugu.

Hindi: the language used in the program is Hindi.

Language: was created by computing English, Telugu and Hindi together. Multilingual usage if any could be specifically identified by doing this.

Rural: the characterization used in the program is rural wherein the character might be from a rural area, or speak a rural tongue, or wear a rural costume.

Urban: The characterization used in the program is urban wherein the character might be from an urban area, or speak an urban tongue, or wear an urban costume.

Character: Since it was possible for a segment to be both urban and rural, this variable was constructed to distinguish between segments that were exclusively urban, exclusively urban, or both.

Credits only: The written script used in the programs is only for credits.

Statements only: The written script used in the programs is used to reinforce a particular theme in the form of a written statement.

Credits and statements: Both credits and statements are used.

None: Neither credits nor statements are used.

Commercials: Advertisements that are used to promote products or people for increasing commerce and business.

PSA's: Public service advertisements that are aimed at bringing about social change or aimed towards the development needs of the people.

CHAPTER 4: DEVELOPMENTAL CONTENT OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS

Using SPSSPC, hypotheses tests were performed for the tables concerning the TV programs.

Hypothesis 1. At least 25 percent of the sample is expected to be developmental in content.

Table 1. Observed versus expected values for developmental and non-developmental content

Count Total%	Observed Values	Expected Values
Developmental Content	50 39.4%	32 25%
Non-developmental Content	77 60.6%	95 75%

Chi Square Value = 5.7912
Degrees of Freedom = 1
p = .02

Result- The Hypothesis was supported.

Finding- Of the sample, 39.4 percent of the segments were found to contain developmental content. A total of 60.6 percent of the segments were non-developmental in content. The 25 percent

figure was used as a benchmark to see how the actual differed from this figure. On the basis of the chi square test between the expected and observed values it was found that the observed value was significantly higher than 25 percent and supportive of the hypothesis.

The relatively high proportion of segments which contain at least one developmental theme suggests that television carries a significant amount of development information in many different types of programming. This suggests that Shah's recommendation to look for development content across the programming spectrum has merit.

Hypothesis 2(a). The emphasis of the developmental themes will be on children, women and health issues as compared with the other themes.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- The frequency table indicates that children, women and health issues have not been given as much emphasis as the other three themes of agriculture, education and national integration.

The kind of developmental content that is present seems rather out of balance. This study revealed that the dominant theme was education rather than children, women, health, agriculture or national integration.

Table 2. Frequency table for occurrence of development themes

Presence of Themes	Valid Percentages	No. of Cases
Children	2%	1
Women	22%	11
Health	17.3%	9
Agriculture	10%	5
National Integration	18%	9
Education	34%	17

Hypothesis 2(b) Children, women and health themes collectively will occur more frequently than all the other development themes combined.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Development themes, whichever group they belong to tended to occur individually rather than together (Table 3). In the second group however, two themes from the group tended to occur together more often as compared to the first group. The themes were not found to be interwoven together very often. They were mostly

approached as separate themes. Presenting a few inter-related together themes might have improved the balance of the presence of the various developmental themes.

Table 3. Frequency table for the two groups of themes

	No. of cases	Valid %
<u>Theme 1</u>		
(Children, women and health)		
Only one theme	15	11.8%
2 Themes together	1	.8%
3 Themes together	1	.8%
<u>Theme 2</u>		
(Agriculture, education and national integration)		
Only one theme	27	21.3%
2 Themes together	11	8.7%
3 Themes together	1	.8%

Hypothesis 2(c). Each of the categories of children, women and health will occur significantly more often than each of the other categories when compared on a one on one basis.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Chi square tests run individually between each of the variables in the two groups were not possible since there were so few cases in any of the categories. However, on interpreting the figures from Table 2 it was found that the frequencies of each of the three themes in the first group when compared to each of the three themes in the second group was much smaller, except for the women category. The overall frequency of women as a developmental theme is not higher than all the others. A similar trend was found for health. Coverage of children as a developmental issue is less than almost all the others. This leads to a conclusion that these topics were not covered much more.

Hypothesis 3(a). The number of programs with latent developmental content (non avowedly developmental) will be higher than the number of programs with manifest developmental content (avowedly developmental).

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Table 4 indicates that there was a more or less equal distribution of the avowedly developmental and non avowedly developmental programs. Nevertheless there is a slight difference. 58 percent of the programs were avowedly developmental while only 42 percent of the programs were non-avowedly developmental (Table 4).

A chi square test was done based on an expectation of a 50/50 split between the two groups. The chi square value of .6362 revealed

that there was no significant difference between the number of avowedly and non-avowedly developmental programs (Table 4).

Table 4. Frequency table for program type

Valid Percentage No. of Cases	Observed Values	Expected Values
Non avowedly Developmental Program	42% 21	50% 25
Avowedly Developmental Program	58% 29	50% 25

Chi Square Value = .6362

Degrees of Freedom = 1

p = .50

Table 5 shows a more detailed distribution of avowedly developmental and non-avowedly developmental programs. Programs that were avowedly developmental were classified as lecture demonstrations, talks & interviews or documentaries. Results show that lecture demonstrations were more frequently used than other formats. For non-avowedly developmental programs, possible classifications included folk art, soap operas, classical art and news. News and Soap operas were the most frequently used formats in which non-avowedly developmental programs occurred.

Table 5. Frequency table for avowedly developmental and non-avowedly developmental programs

Frequencies	Valid Percentages	No. of Cases
<u>Avowedly development programs</u>		
Lecture Demonstrations	55.2%	16
Talks & Interviews	20.7%	6
Documentaries	31.0%	9
<u>Non-avowedly development programs</u>		
Folk Art	9.5%	2
Soap Operas	38.1%	8
Classical Art	0%	0
News	47.6%	10

Hypothesis 3(b) Overall the total time of the non-avowedly developmental programs will be higher than the total time of the avowedly developmental programs.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- The average time of the developmental programs was 2.576. The median was 1.445 and this is indicative of a very skewed variance. The means for the avowedly and non-avowedly developmental programs was also calculated and the Analysis of Variance test was performed.

The mean length of the avowedly developmental themes was 3.53 minutes long compared to 1.25 minutes for the non-avowedly development themes. The ANOVA test indicated that the two mean scores were statistically very different at the $p = .0001$ level.

Comparing the two average means of the non-avowedly developmental segment and the avowedly developmental segment we can derive a proportional relationship of the two. We could thus say that every non-avowedly developmental segment has .37 times as much development as the avowedly developmental segment.

The average mean times of the avowedly developmental and the non-avowedly developmental programs was significantly different. This finding confirms our expectations that avowedly developmental program segments will be almost completely developmental as compared with non-avowedly developmental segments.

The total time of the avowedly developmental programs is 102.3 minutes and this is much higher than that of the non-avowedly developmental programs which was 26.25 minutes. This finding did not support the hypothesis.

Table 6. ANOVA test for the avowedly and non-avowedly development programs

Program Time	Mean Score	Total Time	No of Cases
Time of avowedly developmental programs	3.533	102.3 minutes	29
Time of non avowedly developmental programs	1.255	26.25 minutes	21
All developmental segments	2.576	128.8 minutes	50

ANOVA Test

Mean Square = 63.1789

Degrees of Freedom = 1

F Ratio = 19.2315

p = .0001

Hypothesis 4(a). Programs with developmental content will more frequently be in the regional language, Telugu, as compared with each of the other languages.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Table 7 shows that the most frequently occurring language was found to be English with an occurrence rate of 46.5

percent as compared with 27.6 percent of the regional language, Telugu, and 33.1 percent of the national language, Hindi.

The Chi square values for development content and program type was cross tabulated against the three languages, English, Hindi and Telugu to determine the significant differences in the way the three languages are employed for disseminating developmental messages.

Table 7. Language frequencies of all the programs

Language	All Programs	Developmental Programs
English	46.5% 59	70% 35
Telugu	27.6% 35	6% 3
Hindi	33.1% 42	38% 19

Note: Percentages add to more than 100% because more than one language could be used.

Tests for the use of English on Indian television showed that English -- a language which most Indians do not understand -- is the language choice for program segments that contain development

content. When avowedly developmental programs are considered, the trend is even stronger. Thus serious questions are raised about the ability of such programs to effectively reach target audiences.

Tables 8 and 11 show that English is significantly more likely to be used in programs with developmental content than on those with non-developmental content. Half of all development programs are in English, compared to only 31.2 percent of all programs. Table 11 shows that this difference is primarily due to the language of avowedly developmental programs, for which 86.2 percent are in English. For non-avowedly development programs, English is used for only about half the time.

The use of Hindi in development and non-development programs was rather similar. Table 10 shows that non-development programs use 29.9 percent of Hindi while development programs use 38 percent of Hindi. The interesting finding with reference to Hindi was that 66.7 percent of non-avowedly developmental programs used Hindi as compared with 17.2 percent of the avowedly development programs (Table 12).

From Table 9 we can see that Telugu was more significantly likely to be used in non-development programs as compared with development programs. 41.6 percent of the non-development programs used Telugu as compared with 6 percent of the development programs. The chi square table for program type versus Telugu could not be run because there were only three programs with any kind of development content in Telugu.

Table 8. Developmental content versus English

Count Row %	English not used	English used
Non-developmental content	53 68.8%	24 31.29%
Developmental Content	15 30%	35 70%

Chi Square Value= 18.37
 Degrees of Freedom= 1
 p = .00002

Table 9. Developmental content versus Telugu

Count Row %	Telugu not used	Telugu used
Non-developmental content	45 58.4%	32 41.6%
Developmental Content	47 94%	3 6%

Chi Square Value= 19.19
 Degrees of Freedom= 1
 p = .00001

Table 10. Developmental content versus Hindi

Count Row %	Hindi not used	Hindi used
Non-developmental content	54 70.1%	23 29.9%
Developmental Content	31 62%	19 38%

Chi Square Value= .905
 Degrees of Freedom= 1
 p = .341

Table 11. Program type versus English

Count Row %	English not used	English used
Non-avowedly Developmental	11 52.4%	10 47.6%
Avowedly Developmental	4 13.8%	25 86.2%

Chi Square Value= 8.63
 Degrees of Freedom= 1
 p = .003

Table 12. Program type versus Hindi

Count Row %	Hindi not used	Hindi used
Non-avowedly Developmental	7 33.3%	14 66.7%
Avowedly Developmental	24 82.8%	5 17.2%

Chi Square Value= 12.62
Degrees of Freedom= 1
p = .0003

Hypothesis 4(b). Programs will more frequently be in the regional language, Telugu, as compared with all possible combinations of the other languages.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Multilingual usage did occur though it was comparatively much smaller than individual language usage. The local language, Telugu was used once with English and was never used in combination with Hindi.

Telugu, the regional language, is used and understood only by the people of this one particular state of Andhra Pradesh. Producing local programming for every state in their own regional language would prove to be highly expensive. This is probably the reason for

the very low use of Telugu in any kind of programming, whether developmental or non-developmental.

Multilingual usage was very infrequent. English and Hindi both being languages used at the central level was used together a few times and Hindi and Telugu also occurred together a couple of times. However, English and Telugu were rarely used together. The high cost of specialized local programming, is probably the reason for this factor too.

One of the most interesting aspects of this study was the language factor. It was an almost shocking revelation to note that the most commonly used language in both developmental and non-developmental programs was English. The least used language was Telugu, the regional language, which in fact should have been the most frequently used language. Very high significance levels were obtained on this hypothesis.

One of the reasons for the high usage of English is probably the academic factor. The medium of instruction in India is English. The fact that most of the programs are produced by the universities as open university programs, and the fact that there is a lot of English news, documentaries, and lecture demonstrations in English are probably the causal factors for the high usage of English.

Table 13. Frequency for multi-lingual usage in all programs

Language	Valid Percentage	No. of Cases
None of the 3 Languages	4.7%	6
Hindi	22.8%	29
Telugu	26.0%	33
English	35.4%	45
English and Telugu	.8%	1
Telugu and Hindi	-	-
English and Hindi	9.4%	12
All three languages	.8%	1

Hypothesis 5 (a) In both developmental and non developmental programs, urban characterization would occur significantly more often than rural characterization.

Result- The Hypothesis was supported.

Finding- The frequencies for the two variables, urban and rural were calculated. The frequency table clearly shows that 95.3 percent of the programs had urban characterization while only 11 percent of the programs had rural characterization.

There was some overlap since the units could have more than one kind of characterization. Joint occurrences were separated out in

There was some overlap since the units could have more than one kind of characterization. Joint occurrences were separated out in Table 15. Results still support the hypothesis. Urban characterization alone occurred in 112 out of 127 cases (88.2 percent). Both rural and urban characterization occurred together in only 9 out of 127 cases (7.1 percent). Only 5 cases had exclusively rural characterization.

Table 14. Frequency table for urban and rural characterization

	Valid Percentage	No. of Cases
Rural Characterization	11%	14
Urban Characterization	95.3%	121

Note: Percentages add to more than 100% because some segments could be both urban and rural.

Table 15. Frequency table for mixed characterization in developmental and non-developmental content

Characterization	Valid %	No. of Cases
None of the 2	.8%	1
Only Urban	88.2%	112
Only Rural	3.9%	5
Both rural and Urban	7.1%	9

Hypothesis 5(b) Urban characterization will occur most frequently in developmental programs.

Result- The Hypothesis was supported.

Finding- The frequency run for the character variable (Table 16) revealed that even in just developmental programs urban characterization was dominant in 43 out of 50 cases (86 percent). Both rural and urban characterization occurred 5 times out of 50 (10 percent).

Urban characterization dominates Indian television. Shah's study also found that there was a lot more urban characterization in Indian newspapers and radio than rural characterization. As in the language category, it was found that very little mixed characterization was used.

Table 16. Frequency table for mixed characterization in cases with developmental content

Characterization	Valid %	No. of Cases
None of the 2	2%	1
Only Rural	86%	43
Only Urban	2%	1
Both rural and Urban	10%	5

One of the most important reasons for the imbalance in language use and the characterization depicted is due to the kind of audience receiving these programs. A total of 80 percent of the TV sets in India are in the cities and urban areas. A vast majority of the audience for these programs is thus urban. This is probably why the language use and characterization is so skewed.

Even the rural masses, who always tend to be lured by the glamour of the city, find the presence of the English language and depiction of urban characterization very interesting and appealing. The producers of the programs want a high rate of viewership for their programs and the advertisers want to reach their audience one way or another. Therefore the basic purpose of reaching the right kind of audiences with the right kind of developmental messages, that of disseminating developmental messages in the most comprehensible way, is pushed somewhere far behind.

Hypothesis 6. In programs with developmental content, credits would occur significantly more often than captions or credits and captions or nothing at all.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- Apart from the frequencies, chi square tests were run between the program variable (avowedly and non-avowedly developmental programs) versus the categories of credits only, captions only and none.

Table 17 shows that 72 percent of the programs had not used any written material at all. This the the only significant finding in this category. The n's were too low to run chi square tables. Captions occurred 18 percent of the time. Both credits and captions together occurred only 8 percent of the time and credits alone appeared only 6 percent of the time.

Indian television uses announcers to give the audience an outline of what programs they are going to see that particular day and take them from program to program. This is probably what causes lesser use of credits. Captions were used a few times in avowedly developmental programs. Lecture demonstrations made use of graphics and captions to elucidate ideas. The most significant finding in this category was that developmental programs hardly ever use any written material.

Table 17. Use of written material in developmental programs

	Credits only	Captions only	Credits and captions	None
Frequency	6%	18%	8%	72%
distribution	3	9	4	36

CHAPTER 5: DEVELOPMENTAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS

Hypothesis tests were performed for the second section of the sample, which were advertisements. At the beginning, it was expected that due to the increase in sponsored programs and commercialization of Indian television there would be quite a large number of advertisements in the 12 hour sample. Unlike what was expected there were only 25 advertisements in the sample. Since each advertisement irrespective of its length was considered a separate unit, the 'n' was equal to 25.

Because of the small size of the sample, there were a lot of limitations as to the kind of statistical tests that could be performed. Chi square tests could not be performed because of the small sample size. In spite of the small sample size of the advertisements, we can arrive at some generalizable conclusions about this section, especially when we compare the finding to the previous section.

The following are the findings from the hypothesis tests that were performed.

Hypothesis 1. At least 25 percent of the sample is expected to be developmental in content.

Result- The Hypothesis was supported.

Finding- The expected values and the observed values were almost the same. A total of 28 percent of the advertisements, as

compared to the expected value of 25 percent, had developmental content. A total of 72 percent of the advertisements, as compared to the expected value of 75 percent did not have any developmental content.

Table 18. Expected versus observed values of developmental content in advertisements

Count Total %	Observed Values	Expected Values
Developmental Content	7 28%	6 25%
Non-developmental Content	18 72%	19 75%

Chi Square Value = .1
Degrees of Freedom = 1
p = .70

The chi square test showed that there was no significant difference between the expected and observed values.

Unlike the previous section which had more than the expected amount of developmental content, this section had the same anticipated amount of developmental content. As Shah had suggested, development content can be present in all kinds of programming, one of which could even be advertisements. The

results show that Shah's approach to development communication has value.

Advertisements are a very important source of revenue to any TV station. They are very expensive to air. They are produced basically to market or promote some consumer product or on the other hand if it is a PSA it is produced by a do-good organization which spends money to produce the PSA but does not get any financial gain from it. This is probably the reason why we find so few PSA's as compared to other advertisements in general.

Out of 25 advertisements in the sample only four were PSA's and all of them had developmental content (Table 20). There were 21 commercials in all in the sample and of them only three had any kind of development in it. There is very little developmental content in commercials which as mentioned before is produced to market consumer products. This is probably why there is less developmental content in commercials than in PSA's.

Hypothesis 2. The emphasis of the developmental themes would be on children women and health issues as compared with the other themes.

Result- The Hypothesis could not be tested because of the low n's.

Finding- The frequency tables for the developmental theme revealed that children's issues were not addressed at all. The frequently occurring themes were agriculture and health which

appeared two times each. Women's issues, education and safety were each brought up once. The table clearly indicates that virtually none of the developmental issues got much attention.

The commercials that brought up developmental themes were basically fertilizer advertisements or advertisements for health products.

Table 19. Frequency table for development themes in advertisements

Presence of themes	Valid Percentages	No. of Cases
Women	14.3%	1
Health	28.6%	2
Children	0%	0%
Agriculture	28.6%	2
Education	14.3%	1
Safety	14.3%	1

Hypothesis 3(a). There will be significantly more PSA's with developmental content as compared to commercials with developmental content.

Result- Too few cases to test.

Finding- There were four PSA's with developmental content as compared with commercials with developmental content which was three. More cases would be needed to test the Hypothesis.

Table 20. Frequency table for developmental content in PSA's and commercials

Advertisement	Valid Percentage	No. of Cases
Commercial	42.9%	3
Public Service Advertisement	57.1%	4

Hypothesis 3(b). PSA's with development content would be of a significantly longer duration than commercials with developmental content.

Result- Too few cases to test.

Finding- From Table 21 we see that the average length of any advertisement with a developmental theme was .41 minutes. PSA's were longer than commercials in length. The mean time of PSA's was .493 minutes while the mean time for commercials was .307 minutes. This trend seems similar to the previous section where the avowedly developmental programmes were of a longer duration than the non-avowedly developmental programs. However the difference could not be tested because of the small sample size.

The trend however indicated that the time of PSA's with development content is higher than the time of commercials with development content.

Table 21. Mean scores of length of developmental themes in advertisements

Time of Advertisements	Mean Score	Total time	No of Cases
Time of all development advertisements	.413	2.891 minutes	7
Time of Public Service advertisements	.493	1.972 minutes	4
Time of Commercials	.307	.921 minutes	3

Hypothesis 4. Advertisements with developmental content will more frequently include the regional language, Telugu, as compared with the other languages.

Result- Insufficient data for chi square test, but trend supports hypothesis.

Finding- 64 percent of all the advertisements in general were in the regional language, Telugu. This was in absolute contrast to the previous section wherein English dominated both the developmental and non-developmental programmes. There were four developmental advertisements that used Telugu as compared to one using Hindi and one using English (Table 22).

Table 22. Language frequencies of all the advertisements

Language	All advertisements	Developmental advertisements
English	28% 7	14.3% 1
Telugu	64% 16	57.1% 4
Hindi	4% 1	14.3% 1

In this section however, English took over only 28 percent of the advertisements. Hindi was present only in one advertisement. There were no multilingual advertisements as we see from Table 23.

In this section again, language was a very interesting factor. Contrary to the findings in the previous section, a third of the advertisements were dominated by the regional language, Telugu.

Unlike program producers the advertisers could probably afford to spend money on regional language use.

Table 23. Multi lingual usage in developmental advertisements

Language	Valid Percentage	No. of Cases
None of the 3 Languages	4%	1
English	28%	7
Telugu	64%	16
Hindi	4%	1

From first hand experience that the author has, most advertisements tend to be made in many languages. This does not mean that the same advertisement would have more than one language. The same visual or video is used in all the regions, however, each region dubs its own local language onto the video.

This was similar to what was happening in the SITE project. The same video was used but the audio was was dubbed in the local language of the six different clusters of the country. This is comparatively economical and is one of the causal factors of

increased use of local language. There was no multilingual use in advertisements.

Hypothesis 5(a). In all the advertisements urban characterization will occur significantly more often than rural characterization.

Result- Insufficient data for chi square test, but trend supports hypothesis.

Finding- 84 percent of all the advertisements had urban characterization. The trend was very similar to the previous section which showed the same kind of results. Only five advertisements had rural characterization.

Table 24. Frequency table for characterization in advertisements

Total % Count	All Advertisements	Developmental Advertisements
Rural Characterization	20% 5	71.4% 5
Urban Characterization	84% 21	42.9% 3

Note: There could be rural and urban characterization occurring together, therefore the percentages may not add up to 100%.

Hypothesis 5(b). Urban characterization will occur more often in developmental advertisements than rural characterization.

Result- The Hypothesis was not supported.

Finding- From Table 24 we can see that 71.4 percent of the advertisements with a developmental theme had rural characterization. This was in contrast with the previous section wherein the developmental programs were also urban in characterization. Only 42.9 percent of the advertisements with a developmental theme had urban characterization.

The general characterization in this section was the same as in the previous section. A total of 84 percent of all the advertisements irrespective of the presence of developmental content had urban characterization. The reason for this is probably the same as the previous section.

However, the most interesting finding here was that rural characterization dominated the ads with a developmental theme. The ads with a developmental theme were clearly and specifically aimed at the rural masses. The advertisers seem to have a clear direction as to who they want to reach and with what messages, thereby making their advertisements clear and precise and without any "noise" occurring in the communication.

As mentioned earlier, with commercial producers, their primary objective was to market their product by communicating

clearly without any "noise" so that their financial objectives would be met. Producers of PSA's seem to be audience specific, and thus as a result the characterization seems to match with the kind of audience at whom the PSA's are aimed.

Hypothesis 6. Captions will occur significantly more often in all advertisements than credits or the other categories.

Result- Insufficient data to test.

Finding- Captions, as we can see from the frequency table were used more than the any of the other categories. A total of 57.1 percent of the advertisements used captions to reinforce the messages that were trying to get across to the audience. Two of the advertisements with a developmental theme did not use any written material, while one advertisement with a developmental theme used credits.

Captions, as expected were used very frequently in advertisements. These, as mentioned before, are probably used to reinforce the developmental messages that the advertisement is trying to disseminate.

The most interesting finding in this section of the study was the fact that advertisements were so few in a 12 hour sample.

Table 25. Frequency table for use of written material in developmental advertisements

	Valid Percentages	No. of Cases
Credits only	14.3%	1
Captions only	57.1%	4
Credits and Captions	-	-
None	28.6%	2

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

Looking at the results for Section 1 and Section 2 we can arrive at a few general conclusions about the presence and kind of developmental content on Indian television. Indian television seems to be fertile ground for the dissemination of development communication messages. There seems to be a rather good blend of avowedly and non-avowedly developmental content. Nevertheless the distribution of the developmental themes seems rather uneven.

Now that we find a lot of developmental content, the question arises as to how much of it the target audience is going to understand and how much of it the target audience is going to relate to.

These questions are rather interesting and thought provoking. According to the findings of this study, most of the developmental content is in the English language which is understood very little in the rural areas. The characterization is predominantly urban, to which the target audience may not be able to relate.

The fact that there is not much written material used does not cause too much concern since the target audience is expected to be primarily illiterate.

What should concern us most are the issues of language and characterization. These two issues raise the question of whether Indian television is doing what it is supposed to be doing.

With the introduction of technology, most developing countries have expressed the desire to produce indigenously, the content of media: television and radio programs, films, music or other educational or entertainment materials (Reddi 1987).

The theories being applied to this study are agenda-setting and cultivation. From the findings of this study, we can assume that the kind of agenda being set for the target audiences is at least in part, developmental. Nevertheless how are the target audience expected to understand what agenda is being set for them if they do not understand the language? The results indicate that the agenda doesn't fit the Indian society. How are they expected to cultivate the information if they are not able to relate to the environment and situations shown in the programs?

This dissemination of the developmental themes, using English and urban characterization might create an effect other than we want. These messages might influence the rural masses to become more curious about the use of the English language which usually brings along with it the influence of western culture. As in many countries, western and third world, this might bring about a setback to indigenous culture, tradition and knowledge.

There is concern for the content of communication and its impact upon societies, as the communication industry now includes those organizations which transmit culture and artistic work through modern industrial techniques (Reddi 1987).

The continued exposure to urban lifestyles might increase the already growing number of migrants from rural to urban areas. What we would then see would be a primarily traditional and rural culture being lured towards urbanization and the so-called "modern" culture.

Starting out with the objective of bringing about developmental change, what might happen would be a drastic change in culture, tradition and lifestyles. Relating this to the earlier mentioned grand agenda-setting and cultivation theories, we can conclude that the primary objective of Indian television is not being met.

We can thus see a need to emphasize the use of local and regional language programming and to adopt a more rural culture in developmental programs, if Indian television is to be used as an agenda-setting and cultivation agent of developmental messages to the Indian population, 80 percent of which is rural.

Suggestions for Future Research.

One of the basic ideas of this study was to examine the use of developmental communications in a broad sense. The maximum possible sample was thus obtained. However the generalization factor might probably become more powerful by using a larger sample and also by including weekend programming in the sample.

The language category in this study revealed some very interesting findings. Future studies should emphasize this variable

and try to analyze the impact, the use of English and Hindi is having on the audience. Another related area is the use of urban characterization. What are the effects of not portraying rural areas?

Studies have already been done in the areas of anti-developmental messages on television (Zuberi 1991, Adnan 1991). According to Zuberi (1991), negative messages or anti-developmental messages are often repeated on Pakistani TV. Is this happening in Indian TV too? Maybe the language and characterization factors are contributing to this. Therefore, it is not only essential to look at the developmental content but also what may be known as anti-developmental content.

The use of opinion leaders is quite high especially in avowedly developmental programs. They act as role-models for viewers and this has been found to be fairly successful as an "identification" technique (Singhal et al 1989). This could be another area to be looked at with reference to development communications.

Development communications research on Indian television has been limited thus far. With all the findings raised in this study, one can see the importance of conducting more research in this area.

Indian Television is fairly young and it started off with a very noble objective. Research in this area might encourage authorities to focus more efforts on the original objectives. Maybe the day is not far away when this can happen. As one saying goes:

"You see things as they are and ask why?
I see things as they are not and ask why not?"

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APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

Section 1

Developmental.....	Dev
Non-developmental.....	N Dev
Children.....	Chn
Women.....	Wmn
Education.....	Edn
Health.....	Hth
Safety.....	Sfy
National Integration.....	Nl Ign
Agriculture.....	Ag
Others (Category 2).....	Oth2
Avowedly Developmental.....	A Dev
Lecture Demonstrations.....	L Dmn
Talks and Interviews.....	T Int
Documentaries.....	Doc
Others (Category 3.1).....	Oth31
Non avowedly Developmental.....	NA Dev
Folk art.....	F At
Soap Operas.....	S Ops
Classical art.....	Cl At
News.....	Ns
Others (Category 3.2).....	Oth32

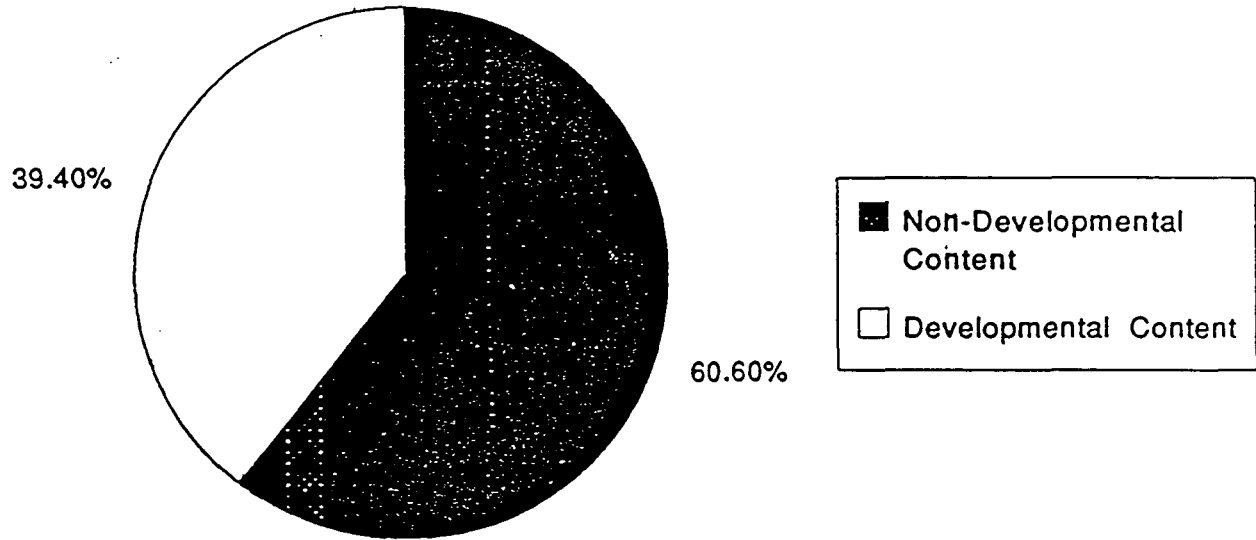
English	Eng
Telugu	Tgu
Hindi	Hdi
Others (Category 4)	Oth4
Rural	Rrl
Urban	Ubn
Others (Category 5)	Oth5
Credits only	Cr
Statements only	St
Credits and statements	Cr St
None	Nn

Section 2

Developmental.....	Dev
Non-developmental.....	N Dev
Children.....	Chn
Women.....	Wmn
Education	Edn
Health	Hth
Safety.....	Sfy
National Integration.....	Nl Ign
Agriculture.....	Ag
Others (Category 2).....	Oth2
Commercials	Comm
Public service advertisements	PSA
Others (Advertisement: Category 3)	Oth A3
English.....	Eng
Telugu.....	Tgu
Hindi	Hdi
Others (Category 4).....	Oth4
Rural.....	Rrl
Urban	Ubn
Others (Category 5).....	Oth5
Credits only	Cr
Statements only.....	St
Credits and statements.....	Cr St
None.....	Nn

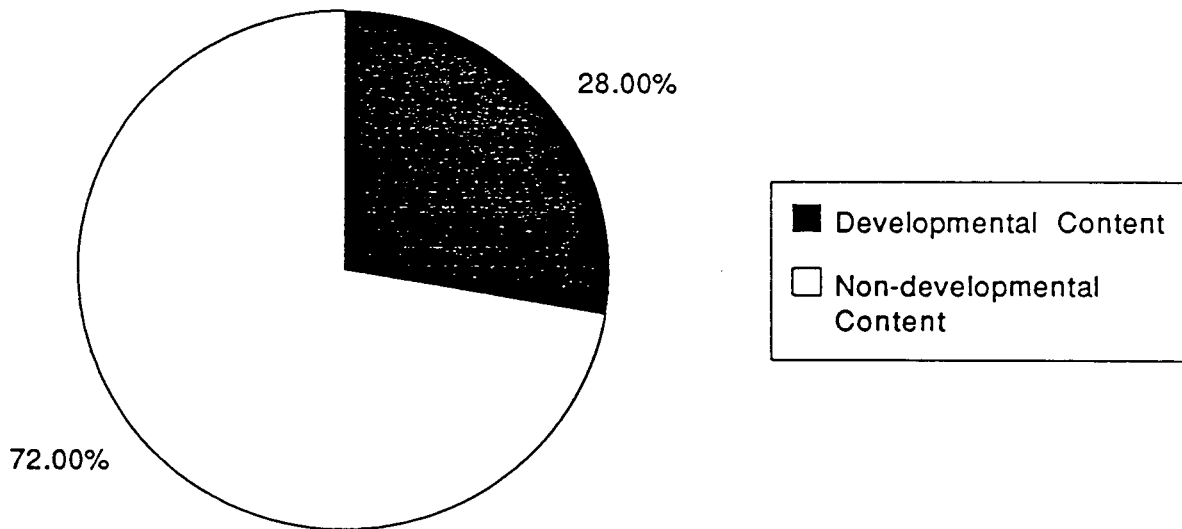
APPENDIX B: GRAPHS

Developmental Content in Programs



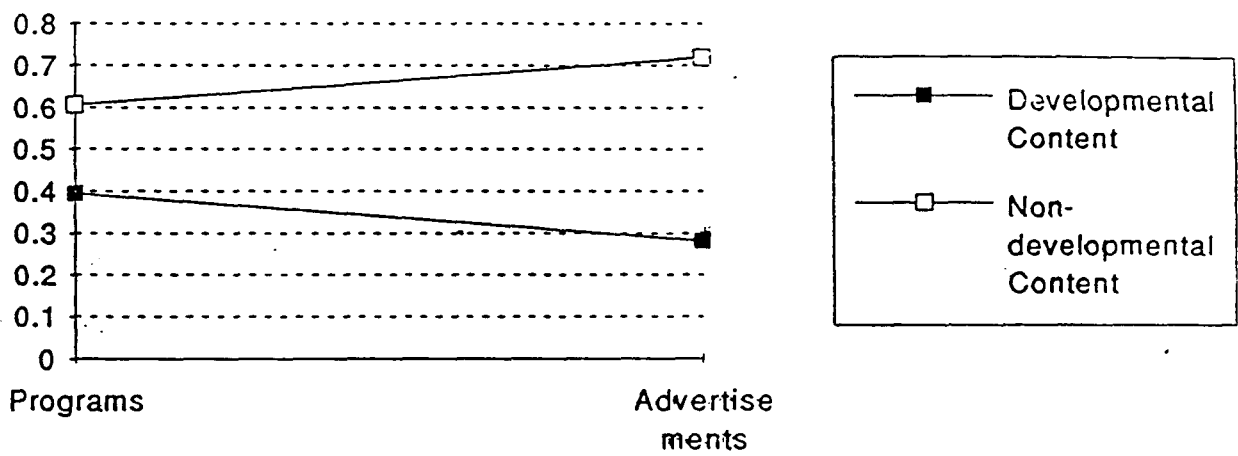
Graph 1

Development Content In Advertisements



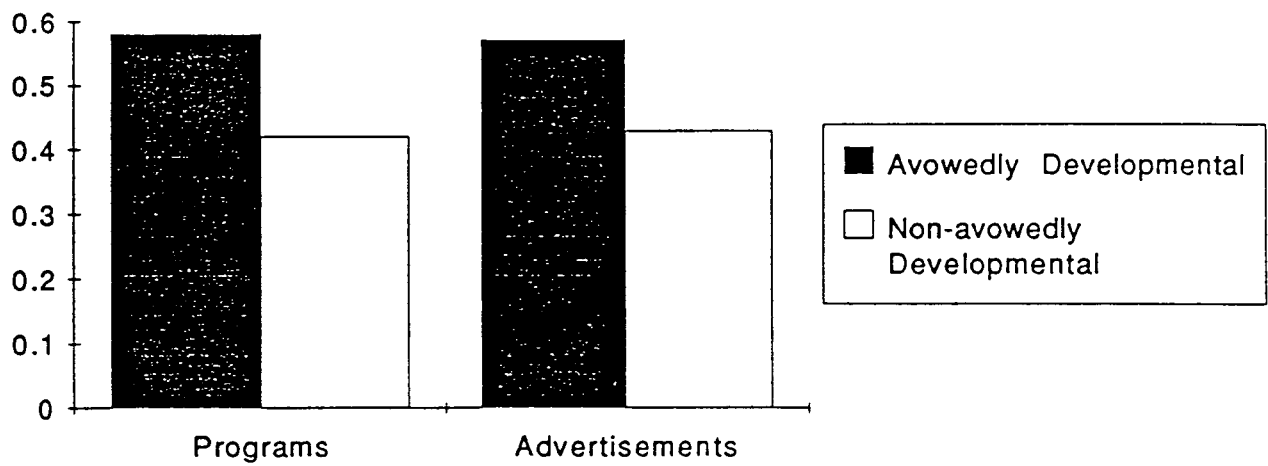
Graph 2

Developmental Content in Programs and Advertisements



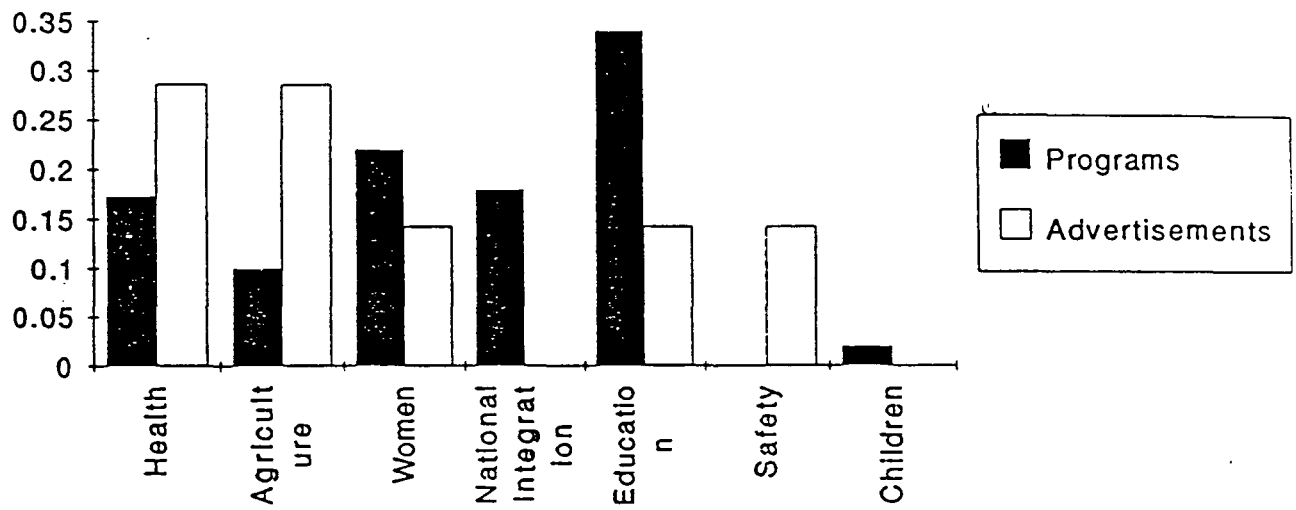
Graph 3

Avowedly and Non-avowedly Developmental
Programs and Advertisements



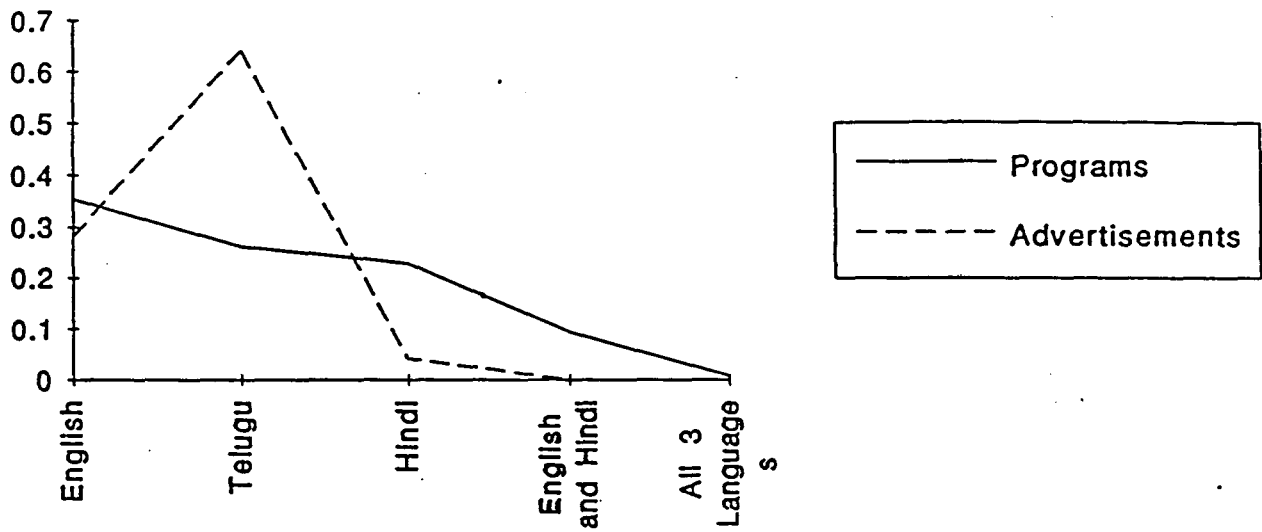
Graph 4

Presence of Developmental Themes



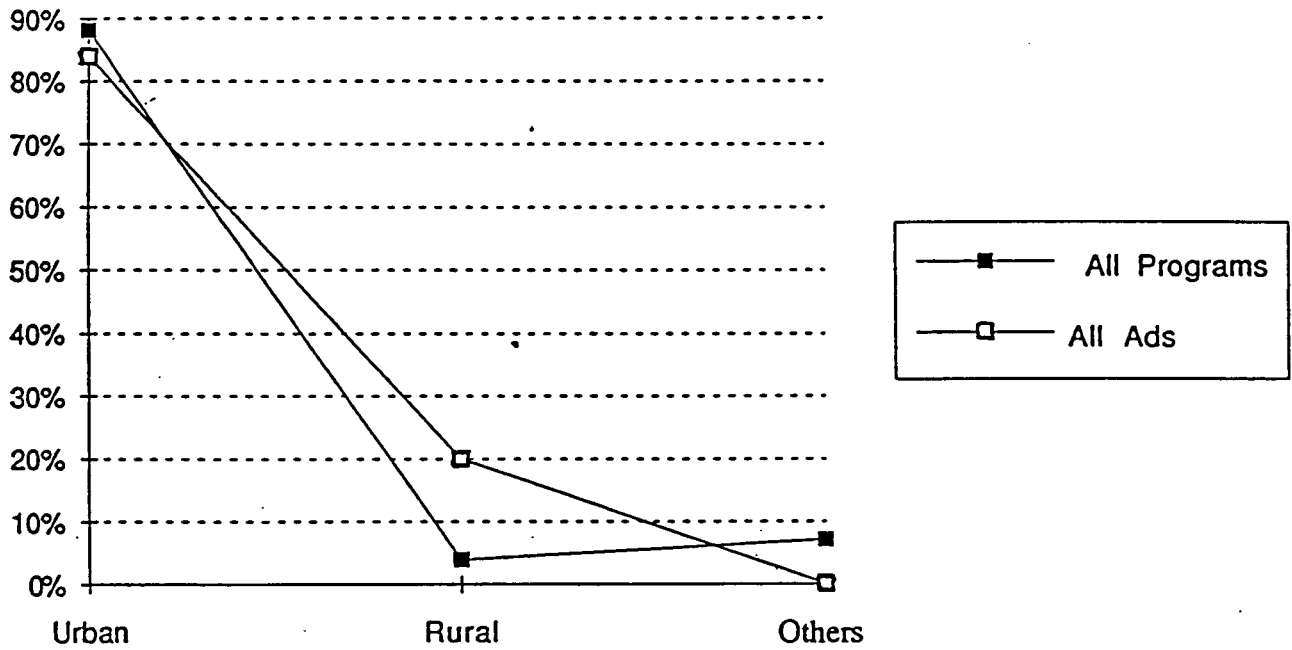
Graph 5

Language use in Development Programs



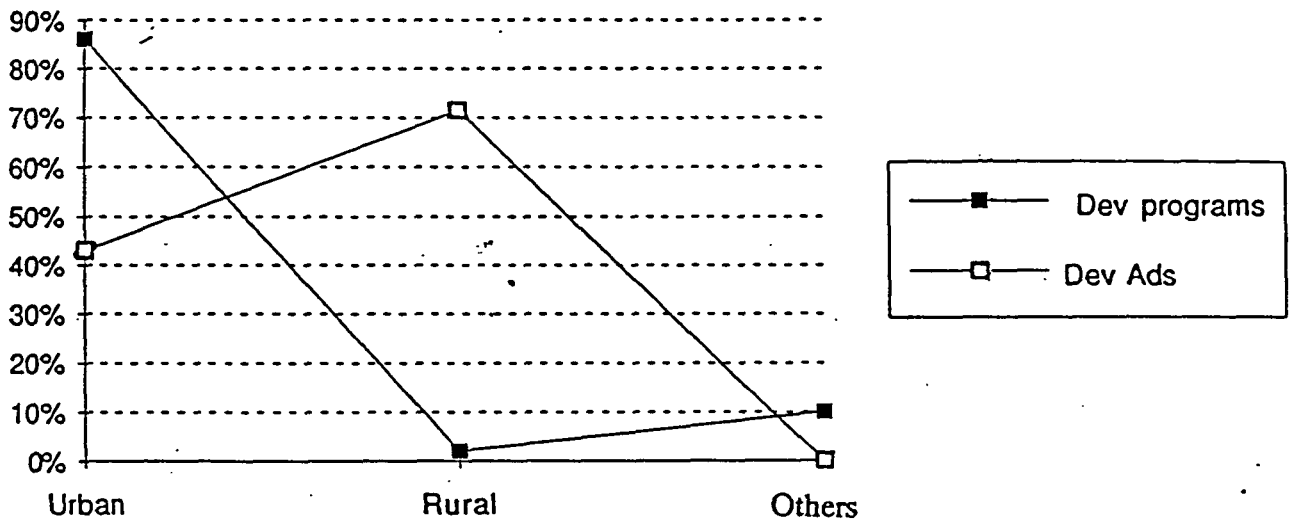
Graph 6

Characterization in All Programs and Ads



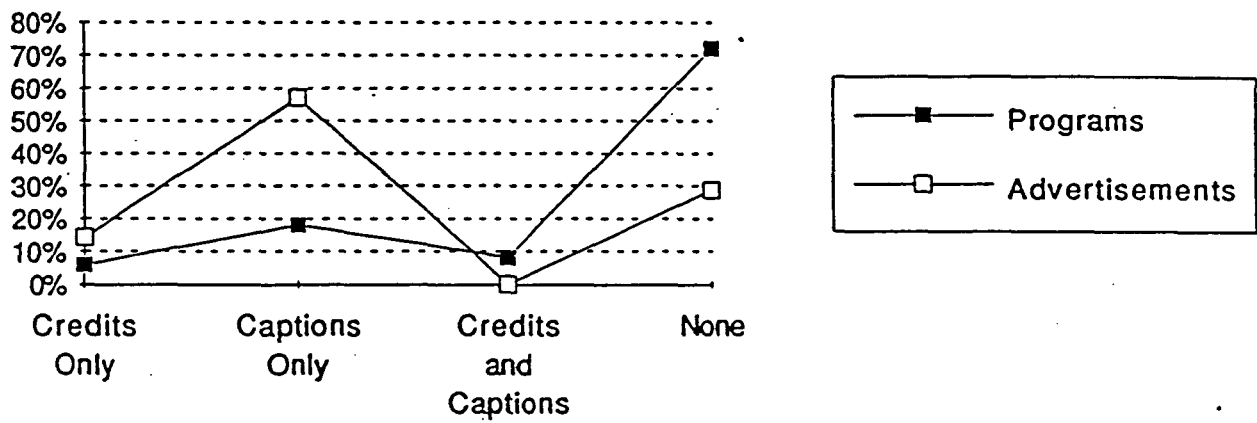
Graph 7

Characterization in Developmental programs



Graph 8

Use of Written Materials in Development
Programs and Advertisements



Graph 9