

MEDIA FOR WHOM? THE NEED FOR ALTERNATIVES TODAY

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No doubt, the media is developing by leaps and bounds in India. Often one wonders what good it does in India. Has it in any way helped the development of the really marginalized? Since all the advancements in information technology have profited mostly the upwardly mobile, one has to think of an alternative media. A cursory look at the way the media work in the country, in spite of all government pronouncements on development communication, shows that they are owned, managed and controlled by the upper classes. Obviously, the media can only support the status quo. The values embodied in the media are concurrent with the values and customs of a consumer society. In fact, the media are becoming so independent of public policy, so immune to public needs, so scornful of government regulations and so dependent on profit, that they have become one of the most powerful businesses on the face of the globe. In many ways they have become more powerful than the very governments in which they operate, for they hold a unique combination of both political and economic power.

Although information, education and entertainment are traditionally spoken of as the main functions of the media, following global patterns, Indian media too has allowed entertainment to dominate almost entirely. Cheap entertainment propelled by commercial interests rule the mainstream media at every stage. TV channels have mushroomed, but most of these have cheap film-based programmes merely to attract viewers and thus increase ad revenue. Low-income consumers receive a glut of garbage information that tells them everything about anything of no significance, while the privileged get premier info services. With the present government, more interested in saffronization at every level, development by means of the media is something that is almost forgotten. Therefore it is important to suggest alternatives

to the present form of media manipulation. But before we go into that, let us take a brief look at the way the concept of development is understood in the country.

1. Development Crises

India has grown through three areas of development alternatives.

The first kind of development, which followed the modernisation theory, consisted mostly in relief-oriented, project development attempts. Non-governmental agencies (NGO's) ventured to help people in need by helping in building roads, wells, houses, etc. in disaster stricken or/and economically backward areas. Material well being was taken for development.

In the second stage it was felt that literacy was the most important tool for development and that everyone needed to be made literate. The concentration was therefore on adult literacy, non-formal education centres for dropouts, etc. The assumption here was that education would bring about attitudinal changes and consequently social changes. But then, is our present education geared to face these challenges?

In the third stage, following Freirian cultural pedagogues, development activists felt rather sharply that education leading to social awareness needed to be the thrust of development. Economic and social development had to go hand in hand. A people's development has to start from grass roots, each society feeling the need for it and the kind of development they need. This meant greater emphasis on areas like health, education, and agriculture according to the needs the people in any given area. It was clearly understood that, left to itself, economic development would be counter-productive and lead to further poverty amidst the plenty of the few.

It is important here to notice that none of these models of development have cancelled the others, and one is not built on the other. They all co-exist in our country.

It is in the first two areas that the duly elected governments

and to a great extent also the NGO's have concentrated their efforts. The mainstream media has contributed much in encouraging people to keep up the status quo, following the modernisation theory. This is like encouraging people to develop without providing the basic amenities of life.

2. The Development of the Media

The media as faster and more efficient means of communication, a basic necessity in development, is the result of technological advances. Over the years the various media like print, telegraph, photography, film, radio, television, have reflected the tremendous technological growth made in recent years.

It is over a century since the media is with us in a big way. Although the print medium has been around for more years, its impact as a mass medium began to make waves only in the late nineteenth century. Over the last ten years, television has exploded into the lives of the ordinary people as never before. And the other media too have developed much more, proving the maxim, one medium never cancels another, but only builds upon it.

Although the various media have developed, it is important to consider whether these have contributed in any way to the development of people, especially those of lower income groups and those living below the poverty line. It is a general norm that in most developed countries media have only contributed to the development of the developed communities. There is little faith in the mass media for the development of people.

Today it is being recognised that the modern electronic media are more apt for the dissemination of information and for entertainment, and that small low cost cultural media are much better suited for education and development.

This is why it is often suggested that development workers need to choose their type of communication media carefully. By its very nature, development needs a method of communication that is liberating, egalitarian, indigenous, rural and geared to the betterment of all, especially the poor, the marginalized and women. A cursory look at the characteristics of the mass media tells us that

the development needs to look for alternative means.

Let us look at the characteristics of the various media as prevailing today and observe why alternative media are important.

3. Characteristics of the Mass Media

3.1 Mass media involve one-way communication

Mass media offer top-down communication, controlled by the government or the moneyed classes; hardly any feedback is possible from the audience. The government imposes its views on every aspect of development. Even in the daily round up of news, the government in power chooses what people should know. The moneyed classes in their turn also have a certain bias and status quo to maintain. Their values, beliefs and aspirations find precedence over the poorer people who are a majority in the country. The controlling classes continue to hold sway irrespective of the concerns of the people, who are at the receiver's end.

This kind of communication calls for an alternative. And so we talk of people's communication, participatory communication, or group media. According to Raymond Ambrose, participatory development allows the people to shape their own development. The people identify their problems and seek feasible solutions. Integrity, culture, personal values and self-identity are the foundations of empowerment, pointing the way in which development will occur.¹ Participatory communication presupposes that the people are equal, that they have access to dialogue, discussion, and decision-making, and that they are part of the action. A number of small media, called group media, have been developed with this aim in mind. Group discussions and productions of media like posters, plays, puppetry, story-telling, and street plays allow for such participatory dynamics.

3.2 Mass media lack culture specificity

The mass media as it exists in India is not very culture-specific. Culture, quite clearly, is a very important aspect of

communication. Communication is possible only through a specific culture. The mass media caters to a large mass of people and hence the question arises, Whose culture will it assume? Often it assumes the culture of the elite, to which the ordinary people are aliens. Hence we speak of another alternative. Cultural communication includes traditional media like story-telling, folk tales, songs, music, dance, and drama. Naidu points out that humans do not reach a true and fully human level except through culture, i.e., by cultivating natural goods and values. Human beings make their social life more human through the progress of customs and institutions. Society expresses, communicates and preserves great spiritual experiences and aspirations so that they might serve the interest of all humankind.²

Mainstream media has brought in what is called cultural imperialism in a big way. Accordingly people have little respect for their root culture and run after everything Western. This is anti-development.

Sociologists say that any message gets communicated fast and clear when it is presented in local cultural forms. Taking this seriously, the government of India has done considerable research and documentation of the various folk media of the country through its Song and Drama Division. The only problem is that these media have become vehicles for the presentation of government policies and developmental concerns. What the people really need has hardly ever been considered. The whole concept of participatory communication, considered the most effective form of development communication today, has been ignored.

Love for, appreciation of, and expertise in the traditional media of the place like *tamasha* (Maharashtra), *therukoothu* (Tamil Nadu) and *nautanki* (North India), can be fostered systematically through workshops and seminars on these.

3.3 Mass media are directed mostly at the urban class

The mass media are often urban based. The media have easy access to all the cities. Hence cities have all the benefits of development. The media find it easy to talk to urban audiences.

Almost every news item and the other feature items in the media are geared to city audiences. Is it possible that nothing newsworthy happens in our villages?

Hence it is important to talk about rural media, a media to which the rural audiences have easy access. Rural audiences have knowledge of and control over these rural forms.

Rural media such as story telling, singing, dancing, and village dramas can be developed and taught through the experts in these fields.

3.4 The mass media are generally very costly

The media are beyond the reach of the ordinary lower middle class group. Owning a media group is absolutely impossible. Even buying daily access to media is almost impossible to the lower income groups. Hence an alternative is to be sought in low-cost media.

Training and production in low-cost media such as slides without camera, lantern slide projector, puppets, various forms of village dramas, and group games, could be amply studied and analysed to develop appreciation for these.

3.5 The mass media are generally entertainment-oriented

The glamour and showmanship displayed in the mass media mesmerise the ordinary people, and entertainment becomes the end-all of the mass media. Hence we need to create media where education and development are given more importance.

Theories of development, growth and education need to be made popular especially among the poorer classes. Such theories could serve as powerful tools of communication and development in the rural areas.

4. Why Should Development Workers concentrate on the Various Alternative Media?

From what has been said it is clear that the development workers need to adopt an alternative approach to the media. They simply cannot be part of a media culture that ignores the plight of the marginalized and concentrates on a consumer culture.

In a country like India where there are a large number of poor, voiceless people, development workers are supposed to get involved in their lives and help them voice their aspirations. Working with such people, they can surely contribute to their all-round growth if local cultural forms are used for awareness and education.

5. Group Media, Cultural Media, Low-Cost Media, Rural Media, and Educational Media - are these not the same?

Group media, cultural media, low-cost media, rural media, educational media, are not different names for one and the same thing. They have similar characteristics but different thrusts. Various elements of these can be combined together in certain forms like street plays, story-telling, and puppetry.

In its document on Principles of Communication, the World Association of Christian Communication (WACC) had stated very clearly the following:

1. Communication is participatory.
2. Communication creates community.
3. Communication liberates.
4. Communication develops and supports cultural identity.
5. Christian communication is prophetic, i.e. it challenges existing structures and leads to action for transformation.

This is the ideal role of the various media listed above. The Puebla Document of the WACC again summed up

concisely the advantages of group media: “Without neglecting the necessary and urgent presence of the mass oriented media, it is urgent we intensify our use of the Media of Group Communication (MGC). Besides, being less costly and easier to handle, they offer the possibility of dialogue and they are more suited to person to person type of evangelisation that will evoke truly personal adhesion and commitment.”³

Various concepts and yardsticks have been used to define development, such as per capita income, calories intake, literacy rate, health index, basic needs, and minimum needs. Different approaches and strategies have been tried for bringing about growth and development. One of the best ways to look at development is the maximum good of the largest number of people.

6. Communication Revolution

Today we are living in the age of information and communication. We are all experiencing instant communication and instant change. Even from India, we can talk on the phone to people in almost any part of the world. Satellite television makes us eyewitness observers to the swearing in ceremony of the President of the United States, we can watch an international war, we can watch all kinds of games and sports live. However, notwithstanding the revolutionary changes in communication technologies and the space age communication devices, we in India witness ineffective development, especially in the rural sector.

Learning from Daniel Lerner’s theories, developmental activists in the country emphasised the relationship between communication, urbanisation and modernisation. This led to the thinking that the greater the communication facilities, the greater or even faster is modernisation and development. Getting inspiration from such thoughts, UNESCO in the nineteen-sixties laid down certain norms for media structures. Countries not fulfilling these norms were considered underdeveloped and deficient in communication; they were advised to go in for an expansion of media facilities. In India the significance of communication in equipping people with new information and skills and mobilising

them for willing participation in various development programmes and activities has been well-recognised and emphasised in the first Five Year Plan itself. The need for understanding and appreciation of the various development programmes and schemes by the people was clearly underlined. In the subsequent Plans, the concern about communicating with the people even in the remotest villages has been voiced with increasingly greater emphasis and force. That is why communication has been developed in manifold ways in the country. In recent years, besides the consistent development in the mass media – print, radio, cinema and television – there has been a definite policy shift in favour of adopting newer communication technologies to accelerate the pace of development and change. The country is on the threshold of a new communication revolution of which satellites, computers, multi-channel television, CD's, CD-ROM's, e-mail and Internet are major manifestations. Communication-wise, the whole country is indeed knit together, and the people can have common experiences of joy, grief, information and aspirations through the mediation of the various means of communication.

7. Where Are the Rural Poor in All These?

The rural poor have limited access to these communication technologies. This is mainly due to four mutually reinforcing factors: low literacy (about 51%), low purchasing power (about 40% of the population live below poverty line), poor means of transportation (for delivery of newspapers and maintenance of radio and television sets), and lack of relevant information.

In other words, there is a noticeable correlation between backwardness or underprivileged conditions and deprivation of communication resources.

There is also the general belief that rural people are “lazy, ignorant, resistant to change, fatalistic, have limited aspirations, generally have profuse distrust in or hostility towards government/administration and are generally passive to progressive ideas and do not believe in or have no capacity to take risks.”⁴

But then there are ample examples from NGO's in the

country on how proper use of media has changed poor people's concepts.

The rural people are not sufficiently exposed to media for development in the country. Several researches have shown the tremendous impact of media on economic, social and political spheres. The media has helped people locate alternative ways of making a living. It has helped raise their social and economic status. It has created demands for better facilities, raised literacy standards, shifted influences from age-old and traditional status to knowledge and ability, and helped in the process of power change from heredity to achievement. It has enabled traditional leaders to defend their power by raising their information level. One of the earliest soap operas on Indian television, *Hum Log*, based on a Brazilian format, was tremendously instrumental in inculcating positive attitudinal changes and freedom of choice among women regarding family planning, savings, literacy, alcoholism, and environmental issues. Incidentally this serial was seen only by the city dwellers.

8. Media for Development in India

Today in India, as in several developing countries, the media has grown to become an entertainment industry mainly at the service of the upper classes. The lower classes, not really aware of the impact of the media, remain slaves to its ever-exploiting ways.

Media are definitely great motivators. As Wilbur Schramm has pointed out, media have the power to initiate, stimulate, provoke, and promote rural development by providing varied perceptions, interests, motivations, beliefs, faiths and ideas. The participation of the people in the production and consumption of the media helps them accumulate consumer goods and services, besides acquiring political, social, psychological and cultural processes. Once the people in rural areas are motivated by strategic, planned and regulated media exposure, change can be brought about in any aspect of human life. Media can facilitate change and bring in development among rural people, if the messages disseminated help raise their aspirations, popularise the need for literacy and

education, stress the trend to seek more information on new ideas, propagate innovative ideas, remove superstitions, inculcate greater knowledge about people and the world, and stimulate increased contacts with developed people.

In India, the media has been used merely for the urban elite. It has become a mere tool for entertainment. Businessmen use the media to cultivate consumer interests among the urban elite. Advertisements and mindless entertainment programmes, including cheap films, both foreign and local, have become the central thrust in the media. Primarily, there has to be sufficient education on the power of the media for development. With over 50% living as rural poor, the media needs to be cleansed, and programme planning has to be directed at development. It would not at all be wrong to argue that increased communication is widening the socio-economic disparities between the urban rich and rural poor. The neglect of the basic welfare and material well being of the rural populace is creating conflicts and causing turmoil in the country.

As it is, the Indian society remains a pyramid, with a very small minority of elite enjoying the benefits of development, and a very large majority being deprived of adequate necessities for basic livelihood, not to say anything of access to media and education. In India, which is committed to a socialistic, secular and democratic society, media should serve the masses, and be geared to bring about improvement in living standards of the common people. But media expansion has largely helped consolidation and maintenance of the status quo. The benefits of planned development over the years have gone to those who are better off. Even specific plans and projects meant to benefit the deprived sections of society have been largely cornered by the well to do.

9. In Such a Situation We Intend to Contribute Our Mite

If properly monitored, media can surely be a tool for development in a third world country. We need to study very professionally the purpose of media, its thrust, its way of influencing people and changing their attitudes, etc. We would draw much from our findings to give a new thrust to media for development.

In India, governmental and non-governmental agencies often think that it would be nice to develop low-cost, rural media for the rural people. But the rural people themselves are averse to such media. Whenever we try to help them develop songs, street plays, puppets, stories, and stage plays, the people demand that they be shown popular films and television programmes.

We are not against low-cost cultural media for development. These are needed and these have their place. But to say these are enough for the rural audience is not fair. The rural cultural media are studied and developed because these actually are cultural manifestations and it is only through the use of these that any of the mass media can enhance their mass appeal. Hence the folk and rural cultural media need to be understood, studied and utilised within the context of the ever-spreading mass media.

The important need is to make the rural mass leaders aware of the power of mass media for development and education.

10. Strategies for Action

The electronic media are controlled by the Union Government. This is in reality a stumbling block with regard to using these media for development. If the electronic media were in the State list, each state could develop these according to its own culture and specific needs.

Right now government and non-government agencies have tried to open up community listening and viewing centres. There has also been an attempt to run rural newspapers with lots of rural reporting. As the present newspapers are city-based, there is hardly any rural reporting. Rural reports attract attention today only if they are about disasters, famines, floods, etc. In the near future there is the possibility of the development of community radio, which can cater to rural development in a much powerful way. We need to prepare ourselves for all these.

There is a large NGO sector involved in rural development. Today most of the NGO's are content with low-cost, cultural media, but everyone knows a film or a video is a more powerful and easier

means to communicate developmental messages. Since its repetitiveness is very high, it can be spread far and wide.

11. Street Play as an Example of an Effective Alternative Medium

Today street plays have been recognised as a powerful and effective alternative medium. In fact all the characteristics of alternative media can easily be identified in a well-prepared street play.

Normally a street play is improvised on the spot, in the context of a workshop. It is never learnt from a text or adapted from a previous text. The contribution of the people (the participants of the workshop) in preparing and presenting the play is paramount. This is definitely very different from watching a film or a television programme where someone else's production is thrust on to the audience. In a street play, the script is taken from the lives and struggles of the people themselves. The street play is not a one-way communication, it is participatory, it is group media alive.

Street plays have their origin in the folk theatre forms of India. When the Muslims conquered India in the twelfth century, they discouraged and destroyed the well-established Sanskrit theatre tradition. The practitioners of Sanskrit theatre had to take refuge with the folk theatre practitioners and the characteristics of both merged to a great extent. Today street plays use several of the characteristics of these ancient forms. So the cultural continuity with Indian theatre traditions is very strong in street theatre. Open air, round theatre format, audience participation, songs and dances, mime, are some of the characteristics borrowed from the ancient tradition.

Although street plays began in the streets in the mid-fifties, they have now become a rural phenomenon. Patronised by the NGO's working in rural areas, street plays have been quite successful with the rural masses that are familiar with the tradition of plays in India. Today rural forms of theatre find expression in street theatre. Forms like *therukoothu*, *veethinatakam*, *tamasha*, *theruvunatakam*, *pala*, *chhau*, and *bhad* have all been integrated

into street plays. One notices that cultural elements like songs, dances, folk music and musical instruments have been absorbed into street plays.

As it is a rural phenomenon now, concrete rural issues are tackled in street plays. Problems that are truly rural, such as money lending, caste rivalries, superstition, lack of co-operation, minimum wages, drinking and female oppression, have been featured in these plays. Such issues are of the people and give them food for thought.

Street plays are extremely cheap, unlike the mass media. A professional street play can be staged with no cost at all. All that is expected are commitment and dedication from a group of people who really want to help their people.

A street play is primarily aimed at education and development of awareness. It is not a mere medium of entertainment, but is directed at helping the people analyse and study the situation they are in. Taking a cue from Bertolt Brecht and Augusto Boal, street play practitioners use theatre as a rehearsal for revolution, i.e., as a preparation to change the world. Empowering the powerless and marginalized has become the primary motto of theatre in their hands.⁵

Seen from all these points of view, the street play today is one of the best examples of alternative media, as it contains in itself all the elements of a complete alternative media.

Street plays need not always be revolutionary. Developmental messages can be given in a mild way through the use of powerful stories from real life.

12. Video as an Alternative Medium

There is a very small group of independent filmmakers in the country involved in video making on crucial rural themes. More and more such films are needed, because they help create consciousness. Videos on the Narmada dam have done more conscientizing than any number of street plays on the same issue. Videos on communal harmony, women's rights, evils of superstitions, etc. have contributed much to national development.

Several rural issues need to be highlighted for national consideration. In the same way if the rural people have to develop, besides highlighting issues, a series of videos on their way of living, their perceptions, their values, etc. need to be put into circulation. Audio-visual productions on issues such as economy, industry, environment, agriculture, water, soil management, transportation, health, and housing can help in developing a people. Only well-trained rural folks can do justice to such programmes.

The rural sector also needs constant information regarding the latest developments in agriculture, seeds, pesticides, and new technologies. These methodologies can easily be taught to the rural sector through the mass media. In the country, as of now, since media are run by the moneyed classes, there may be little chance for rural broadcasts. However, there is a very strong audio and video cassette industry growing in India and it is through these channels that we intend to reach developmental messages to the rural sector.

Independent video making has emerged as a major alternative medium in the country. With video cameras of various formats easily available, several media enthusiasts have ventured out to produce videos depicting the plight of the marginalized and the downtrodden. Although documentary filmmaking was initiated and encouraged by the government of India under the Films Division, actual reportage and in-depth analysis of the struggles of the marginalized came to the fore only with the emergence of people like Anand Patwardhan (*Bombay Our City, In the Name of the Father, The Father, Son and the Holy War, etc.*), Deepa Dhanraj (*Something Like a War*), Shabnam Virmani (*When Women Unite*) K.P. Sasi (*Ilayum Mullum*).

Much to their credit, these film-makers have spent time studying and exploring the various issues of exploitation in the rural areas, communalism at various levels, growth of fundamentalism in the country, women's power in solving major societal problems, the awakening of rural women, slums, development issues, etc. Although none of these may get an airing on the national channels, private screenings have helped to disseminate the ideologies in a hard-hitting way. And this is exactly

what an alternative medium can do.

The attempt of Jeevan TV in Kerala to provide value-based programmes in a world where the media is slave to crass commercialisation is commendable. How much this succeeds depends on how the management of the channel is able to combine entertainment and values in a way that does not become didactic. Only after capturing a clientele can it really concentrate on serious nation-building and people-building programmes.

13. The Potential of Community Radio in Development

The emergence of FM radio in India in the nineteen-nineties brings up the issue of the possibilities of using radio as a community medium. Radio could be an excellent tool in rural areas for community development programmes. Initially both radio and television were used as development media in the country. In a recent attempt in Chitradurga, rural Karnataka, community radio was tried out. But half-hour programmes once a month on the government AIR channel just cannot make any impact. If the government had allowed resourceful NGO's to experiment with the medium, there could have been chances of success.

14. Media Education as an Alternative Development Action

But then what should be one's attitude to the mainstream media, which are all pervading? It is in this context that media education becomes an important alternative action. Media education is the means that William F. Fore proposes. Media education is a question of making people critically aware of the media and its ways. It is a process of becoming critically aware of the way various media influence our beliefs, affect our value systems and change our society. Media education makes us critical and discerning receivers of media messages, with the ability to respond to media manipulations in a way that will help in the education and development of our society.⁶

According to Fore, the mass media world-view tells us that we are basically good, that happiness is the chief end of life,

and that happiness consists in obtaining material goods. The media transforms sexuality into sex appeal, self-respect into pride, the will-to-live into the will to power. They exacerbate acquisitiveness into greed. They deal with insecurity by generating more insecurity and anxiety. They change the value of recreation into competition and the value of rest into escape. And perhaps worst of all, the media construct our experience and substitute the media world for the real world so that we become less and less able to make the fine value judgements that living in a complex world requires.⁷

15. Why is Media Education so Important in India?

If development workers cannot care for the concerns of the poorest in today's India, they have no reason to exist at all. The poor have been much victimised by the media. The media does not care for them because they have no purchasing power. The media wants only to use them as long as they can buy what it sells. Due to their illiteracy and lack of awareness the poor have been made grist for the consumeristic mill of the media. They are exploited at every stage. It is essential that in the first place the church becomes aware of the need to develop alternative means of communication.

Media education is seen as an important thrust in development circles today. India today faces a variety of challenges posed by the media explosion. Films and TV programmes have invaded Indian homes. These spawn an altogether new culture. The values subtly propagated by these new media are not merely unchristian but even anti-Indian. Glorifying violence and sex, belittling marital commitments, stereotyping women as sex objects, projecting material well-being as the goal of human life, increasing consumerism and conspicuous consumption, portraying western modes as superior to indigenous forms, making universal models of media stars, creating a hunger for clothes, cosmetics and junk food, every possible negative influence is being highlighted. It is important that the positive use of media is amply enhanced. Media education tries to look at the media critically and helps the consumers make the best use of media for the betterment of their lives.

Again, the global media has consolidated the implantation and concentration of an advertisement-based commercial media and the parallel weakening of the public broadcasting systems, with obvious negative consequences for development communication. The policy of the US media system is copied verbatim in India, without any attempt at the special needs of the third world country.

Media education as a subject is quite new in India. And it was some development communicators who started the notion of media education in the country.

16. Why is Media Education an Important Subject Today?

Among the Indian upper classes media is considered mostly a tool for entertainment. An enormous amount of capital is spent on entertainment, while a large number of people live under subhuman conditions. What is worse, the glamour of the media appeals so much to these poor people that they forget their lives, their families and their basic human needs and are glued to the media. Media as entertainment can really brainwash them, lead them astray. Such gross mishandling of mass media can be controlled only if the people become conscious of the way media is used by the media controllers. The people need to take action against the gross mishandling of media for purely enhancing product sales.

Another reason for the importance of media education today is the forceful media explosion in these years. Even in the rural areas media has made its impact as never before. No doubt, today media is the phenomenon that has the most influence on people's thinking and their lives. Media education has definitely become the need of the hour, and development workers need to step into this in a major way. They need to give an important thrust to media as an educational tool, one that has definite bearings on the way we live, the values we need to cultivate, and the cultural changes that affect people.

Notes

¹ Herman S. Edward, McChesney, and W. Robert, *The Global Media* (New Delhi: Madhyam Books, 1999).

² Quoted in Abraham Oommen and Paul Manalil, *Media for Society* (Nagpur: NCCI, 1997).

³ Documents of the WACC meeting at Puebla (1984).

⁴ Everett M. Rogers, quoted by M.R. Dua and V.S. Gupta, *Media and Development* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1998).

⁵ Quoted by Dua and Gupta.

⁶ Jacob Srampickal, *Voice to the Voiceless: Power of People's Theatre in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1995).

⁷ William F. Fore, "Commercial Media versus Cultural and Spiritual Values," *Media Development* 41/3 (1994) 15.

