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Paper No. 20
Feeling the Pulse: Radio, Audiences and Change in the Nilgiris

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Introduction:

Radio was introduced to India in 1923 by the British and All India Radio has expanded since then to become the largest broadcasting organization in the world. At the time of Independence in 1947, there were only six radio stations in India and now there are nearly 200 stations serving a diverse population of 950 million people. Television was introduced in the early 1950s and since then both radio and TV have been considered important tools for development by the relevant authorities. However, ‘it is estimated that despite all the investments and expansions, only about 20-25 percent of India’s population has actual access to television’ (Joseph, 1996: 65). The press remains under private control in India and newspapers are published in ninety-six languages and dialects (Yadava, 1996: 17). Rural people, however, have little or no access to newspapers because of cost, the low literacy rate in most rural areas, and the difficulties involved in distribution (Ratna, 1995, Srampickal, 1995 ). Radio is a much more powerful medium in this context because it is affordable by most groups no matter their economic status: the medium is portable and above all flexible.

This paper analyses how radio listeners in the rural areas of Tamil Nadu, in South India, listen to low power radio stations in the context of changing media environment.\textsuperscript{1} Radio Audiences in rural areas of South India also have exposure to television. Apart from the national television [Doordarshan] they also have limited access to cable television. This exposure to other visual media has altered the way rural audiences use radio. In order to know the background and other related issues the paper include the following aspects of broadcasting:

- New Broadcasting Policy
- Background information on radio in India
- Program composition
- The problem: Development Broadcasting

\textsuperscript{1} Research for this paper was undertaken with two postgraduate student grants from Edith Cowan University.
In the last decade, TV, satellite TV, cable TV have made a dramatic impression on audiences, bringing a great variety of programs into rural and urban homes which have entertainment value and commercial interest. Realizing this the Government of India sought to regulate satellite TV by enacting a new Broadcasting Bill [1997]. According to this Act all the private television stations have to up link from India and not from overseas, as they may at present and may carry only limited advertisements. Furthermore, they need to apply for a license to the Broadcasting Council based in New Delhi. However, 'public service broadcasting' and news channels like BBC, CNN are exempt from this procedure so long as they remain free to the audiences (Cherian, 1996; 1996 a; Media, 1996). These changes have created a very competitive mediascape and Doordarshan, the national television provider, telecasts mostly film based entertainment programs to attract audiences.

Since, radio now functions in this competitive media environment in India, many of the long held beliefs about the significance of radio programs for development are open to question. Radio was perceived to be an important medium because it was cheap, flexible and able to provide information in local languages. In short it was perceived as a democratic medium. However, much of the planning for the use of radio in developmental programs remained bureaucratic and top down, thereby skewing the communication process (Yadava, 1996: 18). The communications experts rarely set out to understand how rural people used the medium, how the low power radio stations might serve the rural population in new and interesting ways, how the audiences used
the different mass media in rural South India. There was an assumption that the rural audiences were unsophisticated and incapable of 'reading' complex messages. The introduction of satellite and cable television in the 1990s radically altered the development equation.

An examination of the new Indian mediascape reveals important questions to be answered:

- Why do rural audiences listen to radio? When do they tune to different radio stations? And what are the stations they listen to?
- Why do audiences participate in radio programs? In what way does audience participation enhance the impact of programs among rural audiences?
- How are the developmental programs helpful to audiences?
- Does AIR broadcast programs at an appropriate time to rural folks?
- What effect does cable TV have on radio listening in rural South India?

In seeking answers to these questions we conducted fieldwork and interviews with rural and tribal audiences in the Nilgiris and Nagercoil in Tamilnadu. The Audience Research Unit of AIR has hitherto ignored both audience groups. Further, interviews were also conducted with program officers of AIR in Tamilnadu early this year.

**Background:**

AIR has three levels of broadcasting. They are the national, the regional and the local. The national stations broadcast a variety of programs that include centrally produced news bulletins in Hindi and English, music, plays, sports and other spoken word programs. The regional stations are located in different states of India and serve regional audiences with a similar mix to the national stations but with an emphasis on the regional language. Local radio is a comparatively new concept in the history of broadcasting in India. These radio stations are flexible, area specific and serve a small area and broadcast in the regional language.
During the eighties, radio had reached a saturation level on the AM network. Nevertheless we should not lose sight of the fact that radio was decidedly urban phenomenon and radio had a market penetration of 4.4 sets per 100 persons (Yadava, 1996: 17). Rural India benefited from a decision by All India Radio to develop a FM network mainly for local radio in the smaller towns of India. On 31 March 1995, there were 177 broadcasting centers, with 105 regional radio stations and 65 local radio stations. They covered ninety seven per cent of the Indian population and ninety per cent of the geographical area. There are 111 million estimated radio sets distributed among 104 million households. AIR broadcasts programs in twenty-four languages and 146 dialects, catering to the needs of 930 million people in India. The low power transmitters are intended for local or community radio broadcasting. These stations broadcast locally relevant programs catering to the needs of local people (Anjaneyulu, K. 1989; Laflin, 1989). The medium and high power transmitters are generally used for regional and national broadcasting.

The News Services Division of All India Radio broadcasts 89 bulletins in 19 languages, which are broadcast from Delhi and are relayed by other stations of AIR, located in the different parts of the country. Apart from this, forty-one regional news units located in different parts of this country produce 134 news bulletins. The ESD also produces news in 24 languages, which are directed towards listeners abroad. In addition to this, current affairs programs on Sunday in English, similar program on Wednesday in Hindi, 'Morning News' in English and 'Samachar Prabhat' in Hindi which includes a commentary on current affairs, and a look at the daily news papers are broadcast everyday in the morning. In short AIR has become the world’s largest radio broadcaster (Anjaneyulu, 1989:**) and the local stations constitute part of this overall system.

Program Composition

AIR programs can be classified into three divisions. They are
• News.
• Music.
• Spoken word programs.

These three program categories cover an enormous range of programming genres. For example, news constitutes 22.49 per cent, Music 39.73 per cent and spoken word programs 37.78 per cent of AIR programs. Music programs include classical (30.15 per cent), folk (11.56 per cent) light (21.65), devotional (12.86 per cent), film (19.79) and western (4.05 per cent). In the spoken word area, programs like talks and discussions (26.58 per cent), drama (6.97 per cent), religious (0.49 per cent), women (3.76 per cent), rural (13.59 per cent), industrial (2.15 per cent), school/ university (8.15 per cent), children (2.46 per cent), youth (10.33 per cent), tribal (2.76 per cent), armed forces (3.17 per cent), publicity (6.59 per cent), and other programs (13.09 per cent) are included (See Audience Research Unit 1995).

AIR is a comprehensive broadcaster designed to meet the needs of a linguistically diverse and culturally heterogeneous audience. Part of its remit is development. That is, AIR is charged with providing programs designed to contribute to the social, cultural and economic uplift of those segments of the Indian population designated in need of assistance for a number of reasons be they political, cultural or economic. This function has become a problem.

The Problem:

This 'Top Down' approach to development perceived by the rich elites of the cities had no consideration for the 'felt' needs of the people. As a result, the early optimism of developmental communication failed to enthuse the masses and more specifically the actual clients of the area specific programs at the grass roots". (Singh, 1996, p. 39)
Development broadcasting in India initially began to inform rural audiences about new agricultural practices, health issues, family planning and so on (Bhatia, 1992:49). Despite claims to the contrary, development broadcasting has not been a success in India (Yadava, 1966: 16 - 20). The real problem is that in past thirty years little significant improvement has been made in any of the designated areas with the target audiences. We would argue this stems from the way in which development broadcasting as been conceptualized, as an essentially ‘top-down’ enterprise. Like India, in many countries the situation has not improved. In fact in some parts of the third world like Africa, and South America, illiteracy, poverty, and epidemics are on the rise. An important question to be asked is; ‘What went wrong?’ What we plan to show is that the single biggest error in developmental broadcasting has been its failure to understand how ‘readerships’ are formed (Hartley***). Developmental communication has largely adopted quantitative and instrumental approaches to the issue of audience formation. (Agrawal, 1981: 136 - 146; Gupta, 1984: 76 - 78). What we propose is a qualitative approach to audience studies, which sees the audience as constructed through the discourses of radio circulating within a culture. Meanwhile, India (AIR, 1987 March), Pakistan (PBC, 1984 November), and Tonga islands (TBC 1987, March) claim that they have successful development broadcasting largely through the adoption of ‘bottom-up’ approaches to development.

Development Communication

Development theorists like Lerner (1958), Pye (1963) and Schramm (1964), and others opined that merely listening to radio messages would bring about development. These authors proved very influential and many developmental projects were initiated in India using radio as a preferred medium of instruction. AIR brought farm forum programs in which messages flew from agricultural department to the rural listeners. Melkote (1991) suggests that poor rural farmers were not included in the message formation which meant the messages were bound to fail. This top- down approach saw messages were largely disseminated from the planners to the public, from urban centres to rural peripheries without taking into account the views of rural people who were ignored. This
resulted in incomprehension of the developmental messages on the part of the audience because they were very technical, making them complex to understand. We identify two important questions generated by these discussions about the efficacy of radio for development communication:

- what are the challenges the low power radio stations have to conquer in order to function as a developmental tool;
- What role does media autonomy and the new media policy play in making radio a useful developmental tool?

Commercial Broadcast: A challenge

Until 1997, electronic media in India were under the direct control of the government. After a long historical and political struggle for media autonomy (Reeves 1994) the Prasar Bharati Act, which gives autonomous status to government owned media radio and TV was enacted in 1990 and some amendments were made in July 1997 and implemented in September 15 1997 ("Prasar Bharati", 1997). The autonomous status allocated through the Prasar Bharati Act definitely gives certain freedom to 'public service broadcasting', to AIR and DD. However, there are provisions in the act, which could allow the central government to interfere in the program production if deemed necessary by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Consequently, we cannot expect a completely free environment for the media to function in, unless there are policy changes in the act ("Prasar Bharati", 1997; 'How Independent', 1997). These include greater autonomy for broadcasters and freedom in program production. This would occur within a different mediascape characterised by greater commercialism and competition from foreign broadcasters.

The rapidly increasing number of foreign satellite channels, with largely westernized program fare and the consequential mushrooming of cable TV networks, have led to the demand to permit private broadcasting from Indian soil. The Indian Telegraph Act
(1885) did not prohibit cable TV networking in India and CNN began broadcasting in 1990 with its coverage of the Gulf War and gradually cable TV networks expanded and now challenge the dominance of Doordarshan, the national television broadcaster. The Government of India decided to end the broadcasting monopoly of All India Radio and Doordarshan. This historical decision was made after the Supreme Court of India, in its landmark verdict on 9th February 1995, said that there was no right to broadcast, implied in Article 19 (1) (a), Freedom of Speech and Expression of the Indian Constitution. In order to safeguard national security, the Supreme Court suggested regulation and licensing as a remedy. The Supreme Court also recommended an autonomous broadcasting authority, independent of the government, to control all aspects of the electronic media.

Subsequently a new broadcasting Bill created an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) which regulates satellite television in India. Television channels have to apply to this authority for a license, however, news, sports channel and the public service broadcasting Doordarshan (national television) are exempt from these restrictions. All the channels, which up linked from overseas now have to up link from India. Foreigners may invest money in Indian media companies but they cannot own or manage the company. These new regulations provide restricted autonomy for AIR and DD who will continue to be controlled by the bureaucracy. Moreover, through the new Broadcasting Bill all the private and satellite TV in India will also be indirectly controlled. In essence the new act and its provision significantly change the contours of broadcasting in India permitting more competition and different voices to be heard. These change percolate throughout the Indian mediascape and have a bearing on developmental communication.

National Television and Development:

Television reaches fewer people than radio in rural India. The centralized telecasting system and its message delivery system, especially relating to agriculture and other aspects are irrelevant to the audiences. Meanwhile, Cable TV networks and Satellite
TVs penetrate different parts of the country. The accessibility of these new media is, however, limited to the upper strata of the society (Joseph 1996, Gupta 1996). However, cable and satellite television delivery are changing the conditions for development communication to occur despite the claims of Doordarshan that only limited number of audiences in rural areas have cable subscription. However, in order to conquer and compete with satellite TV, Doordarshan, the national television, has expanded and shifted its programming strategies to attract audiences throughout India, including the rural communities, by emphasising entertainment. Its staple has become a popular film-based program.

With growing commercialization, privatization and globalization, television has increasingly been identified with entertainment, with programs designed primarily to cater to the tastes of the urban middle and upper classes. The dilution of educational content of television naturally reinforces the existing disparities in conventional educational facilities which, in turn, hinder human development by accentuating inequalities in information levels and thereby help perpetuate exploitative processes (Joseph, A., 1996: 63)

Doordarshan's policy shift has affected all dimensions of broadcasting in India. 'The aims of broadcasting in India were set out as education, information and entertainment. But in its desire to compete with foreign television networks and cable operators, our own Doordarshan has put things upside down. In its national and metro channels, the emphasis is on entertainment and that too entertainment of the filmi type' (Joglekar 1996: 50). While the focus amongst critics has been on television we perceive that these policy changes have also affected the ways in which people think about radio broadcasting in rural areas.

Exploring Audiences
In order to explore how rural audiences use low power radio stations in the context of changing mediascape, this fieldwork was conducted in the Nilgiri hill areas of Tamil Nadu, South India. The data were collected through interviews and participant observation, recorded and transcribed and coded for analysis (Glaser 1978, 1992; Glaser, & Strauss 1967). The following observations and comments are based on this data. The principal researcher is from Tamil Nadu and Tamil is his mother tongue, which facilitated interviews with Toda people. Seventy days were spent in Ooty where participant observation techniques were used observe the Toda life style. Access to people was not difficult because influential Toda leaders were very happy to arrange visits to various villages and introduce people to the researcher. During his stay in the villages, he participated in family functions, ceremonies and ate their food. The people were open to the project once it had been explained clearly to them. Permission was sought from the Toda people before any conversation was taped. On certain occasions, especially during the early stages of data collection, the intercept method of interviews was used and strangers in the street were approached and asked for information about the people and the village. Toda people were interviewed in their homes, open areas and even in streets wherever they were free and felt at ease to co-operate. Due care was also taken to include a true cross section of the Toda population in the Nilgiris. The discussions in this paper are the outcome of thirty interviews carried out with the Toda people and field notes made during the interviews. Considering the time constraints, this paper briefly discusses how and why Toda people use radio as an important source of information.

Radio: the balanced medium.

Radio has the potential to address various issues for rural audiences. In other words, the nature and characteristics of this medium help to disseminate messages effectively.

Radio was noted to be a more credible source of agricultural information even in those households which had a TV set, primarily because the programs were scheduled at more convenient timings,
were regular and most of them were directly concerned with field operations. (Gupta 1996, p.6).

It is highly possible for low power radio stations to identify local issues and problems. Once the community identifies the problems it is possible to look for solutions to solve them. Here, the radio could help the community to gain some awareness relating to local health issues, agricultural practices and so on. Sometimes, these radio stations are extremely helpful in conveying messages, which require urgent consideration from the community. The radio could work along with local voluntary organizations, which deal with local problems and issues through their interpersonal channels such as in the Philippines (Librero, 1993: 218-223).

Earlier, the main concerns of mass media were economic development and industrialization (Melkote 1991). Now the main issues are information related to basic issues like eradication of poverty through cottage industries, handicrafts, and so on. This medium could also be used to create awareness about sensitive issues like caste system, dowry system and so on. The shift from economic development to essentially local concerns reflects the policy changes discussed above. Television has become almost entirely an entertainment medium thereby creating spaces for radio to become a more balanced medium, providing information based programming as well as entertainment. Radio’s cost and wide reach are obviously an advantage to this respect.

The low powered radio stations allow rural audiences to have easier access to this medium. This is recognised by AIR media personnel who encourage audience participation. Interestingly, the younger generation, even though attracted by entertainment based satellite and cable television, also use radio to express their talents in writing, singing, acting through ‘Variety Programs’. These Youth programs include short stories, drama, tribal, folk, devotional songs, interviews, panel discussions and so on and are very popular throughout the Nilgiris.
In order to present these programs, youth from different villages come together and prepare themselves to produce programs. This preparation encourages them to forge an identity by developing leadership and organization skills. The programs also help them improve their performance skills in singing, acting, writing, conversation, and also enhance their general awareness.

Since television does not have production units at community levels it is hard for the rural people to involve themselves in programs.

The fact that there has been no attempt to promote local or community television through the provision of simple program generating and playback facilities on a local transmitter—which could be done at a reasonable cost—suggests that there is little remaining interest in using television as a catalyst for education, social progress, or participatory democracy, or even in increasing access to it among the poor, especially in rural areas (Joseph 1996: 65).

However, it is also important to consider that rural audiences need entertainment. Film songs, drama and short stories from radio are highly preferred program formats among rural audiences. The cultural programs, village profiles, folk songs, tribal songs, and devotional songs are also considered as useful and interesting programs by rural communities. The AIR realizes the importance of field based programming and radio personnel are beginning to respect rural audiences' views irrespective of their socio-economic, political and educational background. In other words, due to the policy changes identified above, radio is becoming more accessible for audience participation than television.

Patterns of listening: The significance of news.
The accessibility of radio is important to tribal groups in the Nilgiri area. These include the Toda, Kota and Kurumba. The most important tribe are the Toda, the most established and numerous tribal group in the region.

Toda settlements may be classified into two divisions. One group of Toda settlements is located near Ooty town and the other settlements are scattered and located in the remote hill areas. Comparatively, the settlements that are located near the Ooty town have more facilities than remote settlements, such as transport, school, primary health centres, power supply and so on. The presence of electricity allows the use of television. Meanwhile the remote settlements are deprived of these basic necessities of life and are secluded from the other people living in the Nilgris. This distinction between semi-urban and remote Toda communities is important in terms of media use because the fundamental facilities and location entirely change the way people use mass media including radio. For example, the settlements that are situated near Ooty town have better access to facilities than settlements in the interior areas. The Toda people from the scattered settlements tend to visit Ooty town once a week. Again the trend is such that men go to the town rather than women. When the Toda men come to Ooty town to purchase necessities such as groceries, they also buy a newspaper and take it back to their settlement. The paper, which is an important source of information for the people, is then made available to family and friends. However, radio remains the most significant source of news and information for the Toda people.

Irrespective of AIR's poor coverage of rural areas (Bhaumik 1996: 8) audiences prefer news from AIR in the morning hours. Since AIR Ooty does not have morning
broadcasts audiences' tune into a nearby regional radio station, Coimbatore, for news, farm program devotional and film songs. Due to this, people demand morning transmission from Ooty radio station so that they could listen to locally relevant agricultural programs. Agricultural families still expect a lot information on farming from radio and they listen to "Thottamum Thozhilum", an agricultural program which is broadcast in the evenings. However, most of the agricultural families still consider radio as a morning medium, indicating their preference to listen to radio at that time. This seems to be a draw back because; audiences who expect current relevant, local developments and instructions from radio are left with other regional neighboring radio station. Furthermore, information relating to farming differs between hill areas and plain lands.

Major regional stations broadcast news very late in the morning- 6 am English news, 6.30 regional news and 7.15 am national news from New Delhi. People in the age group of 40 - 55 listen to radio news in bed in the morning. It is very important to give serious thoughts to news timing because AIR has greater news credibility than other media like newspapers among rural audiences. As a result audiences tune to Sri Lanka as early as 5 in the morning. Farmers who leave to work in the field before 6 am prefer to listen to the news before leaving home. A 13 year old girl said "daddy listens to news and film songs early in the morning". When elderly persons in a household listen to radio programs, the news and information from radio also reaches other members of the family.
Even though the agricultural programs are sometimes irrelevant and hard to comprehend agriculturists listen to these programs and hope to receive useful information. They also use transistors in the field. Three popular programs in Ooty are Yengal Giramam (Our Village), Malai Aruvi (Tribal song), and Seidhigal (News).

Developmental programs: Who is Listening?

All India Radio (AIR) has now moved to a 'bottom up' approach to developmental programs. This can be realized when we listen to agricultural and other developmental programs. Media personnel are not very particular in choosing experts to present programs. On the other hand, a poor farmer's views are discussed and presented. The decentralization policy and low power radio stations also enhance audience participation.

Ooty radio personnel attach importance to audience participation in programs and no longer encourage 'elite' participation. Men and women, rich and poor, literate and illiterate all are given opportunity to participate in various cultural and folk programs. Recently audiences have begun to approach AIR Ooty to express their intention to become involved in locally relevant cultural programs. "Malai Aruvi" (Tribal Songs) is now one of the most popular programs with the Toda audiences. Nevertheless, AIR still has to develop a satisfactory feedback mechanism that allows them to assess the success of this policy shift. This mechanism is necessary because AIR personnel transfer from Ooty on a regular basis for health and personal reasons causing a lack of continuity in cultural programming.

The broadcasting personnel have to think in terms of what the people from rural areas know and what their needs are. So the message goes from bottom to top then top to bottom, thus the communication is two ways. This change of direction in communication necessitates communicators to change the way they construct the message for rural population. Instead of assuming the needs of the people, it is essential that the communicators start listening to the people and formulate ideas in such a way that they could comprehend the contents of the message easily. This needs some systematic
research from the field. However, all the program producers are not trained in the area of research and thus social researchers need to be assigned to conduct fieldwork and discuss the outcomes of the research with the producer before making the program. Furthermore, the contents of the message and suitability of broadcast time and the format for the program presentation also need to be tested before broadcasting. In order to involve audiences also in the communication process it is equally important to motivate the audiences to participate in the production of the programs. All of this supports the view that it is necessary to have continuity among production staff.

Even though listeners in a family do not always sit together to listen to the radio they still listen as a group in a household. This is certainly the case in Ooty where village profile programs, which are produced in the village itself, are very popular among the different tribal communities. In this program, which presents the problems of a particular village and its component communities, the important associations, functions, festivals, celebrations are discussed. Village people provide the content for these programs and generally the "casuals" (part time program producers who are locals of this region) produce them. Local cultural programs are second in popularity to news among rural radio audiences. Thus local audiences feel Ooty radio station is useful and important to them. Local programs are popular and one young educated youth said "we don't miss local programs on radio".

Women listen to children's program during weekends. Women also like to listen to radio dramas, which provide them with much entertainment while they do their household chores. Important issues relating to women are depicted through radio dramas, hence their popularity. In addition Toda women also listen to radio programs when they make handicrafts in a group setting. News, cultural programs and film song are popular in this setting.

In many respect radio has now become normalised among the Toda. That is, many now switch on their radio sets and simultaneously involve themselves in various conversations and activities around the house. In this way these listeners continuously
listen to radio program for many hours. By contrast selective listeners know at what time the radio stations broadcast their favorite programs such as news, film songs and drama and listen accordingly.

Is Radio a Morning Medium?

Among people who view television sets, after 7pm marks the beginning of a new set of activities. It is generally considered as a TV time and radio finds it difficult to compete for audiences. Moreover, most people in the Nilgiris work in the fields until 5.00 p.m.. If there is no television in a household all the members of the family listen to radio. Furthermore, some economically better off families feel TV provides them with more informative and entertaining programs than radio. Further, it is very obvious that elderly people listen to radio regularly, whereas as youth are attracted towards cable television. Children also go to neighboring houses to watch TV. Some radio audiences listen to radio from their relatives' house because their own radio set has poor reception. Consequently radio is confronted with the problem of retaining its evening listenership on two fronts: work and television.

The AIR is also confronted with external competition. Some senior citizens listen to BBC Tamil news. Sri Lankan radio is also very popular among the audiences because of its diet of endless popular movie songs. Moreover, people also listen to overseas Tamil broadcasts of film songs from Singapore and Malaysia, especially in the early morning.

Conclusion

The recent change in status has helped AIR radio to become more flexible in terms of program format, presentation, audience participation, and production of programs. The changes have also led to a revision in news content which has become more objective. However, it is important to point out here that AIR need to change the way it recruits people for program production and presentation to ensure that the reforms brought
about by the Prasar Bharati filter down to the local level. The personnel should be selected locally so that they know and understand local culture and what audiences expect from radio. In order to achieve this, in every station there should be an audience research wing which regularly analyses program production and consumption.

For the past fifty years AIR has tended to function as a propaganda arm for the ruling political party's interests and activities as far as news is concerned. This has included development communication in many respects. According to the Director-General of AIR news services division

...development news has to concern itself with all that happens to the whole people and their welfare in the broadest sense of the word. It cannot be only about government plans and official speeches or statistics about projects. A particular person, a family, a village or a particular community should be the stuff of development news (Bhamik, 1996. p.9).

We have to accept that radio has some limitations; it does not have visual aspect and sometimes the audio signals lack clarity. Consequently it becomes essential to consider using the other 'support media' along with radio broadcast. Photographs, posters, other community publications and even rural newspapers can be used to improve the process of radio broadcasting in rural areas (Vyas 1986: 169).

Nevertheless radio still treated with great respect among rural people. As one villager said "We cannot stop listening to radio, we hear film songs and news from all the four sides".

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