By Robert E. Simmons, Kurt Kent and Vishwa M. Mishra

Media and Developmental News in Slums of Ecuador and India

While newspapers reach more of the ghetto dwellers than might be expected, radio has access to a far larger proportion, especially among women. In Indian slums, listeners regard radio as more believable than the press.

► The rapid growth of urban slums is a characteristic common to the developing countries. Much of the influx originates in the rural areas. Whether the migrant moves because of the various attractions of the city or to escape the hardships of life in the rural areas, the city presents the strong prospect of change in the individual's way of life. Slum-dwellers find themselves in a social and mass media environment that may contribute to their development of new life styles and to their society's way to modernization.

Mass media generally are regarded as purveyors of new values and behavior, if not direct agents of change. Yet, there is the counter assertion that mass media frequently fail to reach the slum-dwellers. Certainly, as recent U.S. experiences with urban ghettos suggest, there are communication problems in deprived areas of big cities. A central descriptive and theoretical question is whether these problems result from the nature of mass media content or the way that slum-dwellers react to the mass media that reach them.

Media research in modern nations has emphasized the functions of mass media in human socialization and the relationships between socio-economic circumstances and media use. A person's rise in aspirations and his social gains are generally accompanied by increased use of mass media, if not facilitated by that use. A principal intent of the studies reported here is to determine whether these patterns apply to slum-dwellers as well. This preliminary report, drawn from a larger study of functions of mass communication in social adaptation and modernization, centers on newspaper developmental content available in slum areas of Guayaquil, Ecuador, and New Delhi, India—and on audiences' mass media behavior in both places. The funds available limited the study to one city in Latin America and one in Southeast Asia.

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Gratitude is expressed to Professors Nixon, Phillip J. Tichenor and Roy E. Carter Jr., Minnesota, and the Centro International de Estudios Superiores de Periodismo para América Latina (CIESPAL), Quito, for counsel and assistance.

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Newpapers in Slums

During the pretesting of questionnaires, respondents who said they could read were asked to name the newspaper that they read most frequently. Those residents of the *barriadas marginales* of Guayaquil and the *basties* of New Delhi also were asked to name the newspaper that they considered most prestigious. Newspapers were selected for the content analysis on the basis of the findings in the pretest interviews; the decision was upheld by findings during the full-scale interviewing. (Other data were collected concerning radio-listening. That part of the study is still under analysis.)

Complete field research results indicate that in New Delhi most of the readership was concentrated in two Hindi-language newspapers, *NavBharat Times* and *Hindustan,* and two Urdu-language newspapers, *Pratap* and *Milap.* The English-language *Hindustan Times* was fifth. In Guayaquil, *El Universo* accounted for 96% of the readership and *El Telégrafo* 3%.

When the New Delhi respondents were asked to name the newspaper each considered most prestigious, the two Hindi-language newspapers led, with the Urdu-language newspaper *Milap* and the English-language *Hindustan Times* tied for third place. Not one respondent named either the renowned *Statesman* or *Times of India.* In Guayaquil, two newspapers accounted for 98% of the mentions. They were *El Universo,* which was ranked first, and *El Telégrafo,* which was ranked second.

Data from the two field studies indicate that there is an elite press/mass press dichotomy in New Delhi that isn't matched in Guayaquil. Both India and Ecuador are known for relatively rigid social stratification, but there is less homogeneity in the Indian population—particularly concerning language. The language of India's elite press is English, and the use of English has, in itself, been a factor in identifying the upper and upper-middle classes in that country. In Guayaquil, Spanish is the universal language—though a difference could be expected in the cities of the Ecuadorean highlands, where Andean Indian dialects are found.

The Newspaper Sample

Newspapers included in the sample were *El Universo* and *El Telégrafo* of Guayaquil, and *Hindustan, NavBharat Times, Pratap, Milap,* and the English-language newspapers *Hindustan Times, Statesman* and *Times of India.*

The sample comprised a week of consecutive issues of each publication, printed during the period in which the survey research field work was under way. After pretests, the content coding categories were limited to seven: institutional and social change, social welfare, pace of development, physical projects, foreign aid, foreign trade, and monetary and fiscal policies. Two measures were used to compute scanning and coding reliability.[1]

Over-all, the Indian newspapers led the Guayaquil papers in the percentage of developmental news-editorial items, in relation to total news-editorial content (Table 1).

Certain social, political and economic factors may have influenced the balance of development items to some degree (Table 2). In Guayaquil, the sample was drawn during the time that President Johnson and Latin American chiefs of state were meeting in Punta del Este, Uruguay, and the Ecuadorean chief executive was upbraiding the United States for its Latin American aid policies. India was facing prospects of mass starvation in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal because of famine conditions resulting from se-

[1] One measure was the observed percentage of agreement. The other was Scott's "pi" (see William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 19: 321-25). One byproduct of the research project reported here is a new method of obtaining probability estimates of the reliability of scanning and coding. An article by Kurt Kent describing the computer program for this technique can be found in *Behavioral Science* (in press).

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TABLE 1

Development Items as a Percentage of All Items, by Nation and Newspaper

Item	*Total Number of Items*	*Number of Development Items*	*Percent Development Items of Total Items*
India:			
Hindustan Times	954	262	27.4
Times of India	1,073	267	24.8
Statesman	962	168	17.4
NavBharat Times	1,041	252	24.2
Hindustan	1,061	279	26.2
Pratap	607	75	12.3
Milap	528	75	14.2
Total for India	6,226	1,378	22.1
Ecuador:			
El Universo	1,693	296	17.4
El Telégrafo	1,531	239	15.6
Total for Ecuador	3,224	535	16.5

vere droughts—though it is true that food supply has long been a critical problem for India. And though the Indian Parliament was meeting, its budget session with a traditionally heavy production of development news would come at another time.

The Guayaquil papers gave relatively more attention to education, business and other financial matters, while the Indian press focused more on social problems—with the exception of the Guayaquil papers' lead in discussion of housing and slum-clearance.

The fact that the Indian newspapers gave considerable coverage to family planning, famine relief and rationing, and nation-to-nation foreign aid appears, in large part, to be a reflection of the nation's crucial and continuing problems with the balance between population and food supply. As stated above, at the time of the survey India was greatly concerned with efforts to get emergency food supplies.

The Guayaquil newspapers' more extensive treatment of commercial development, trade agreements, taxes, and transportation and communication seems related to two circumstances:

First, Guayaquil is Ecuador's leading seaport as well as one of the nation's two leading commercial centers. As such, it has a relatively high level of economic activity. Second, Ecuador's gross national product per capita is $189 (U.S.), as compared to India's $73,[2] indicating relatively greater wealth for the South American nation.

The comparatively greater attention given to matters of education in the Guayaquil newspapers also might be attributed in part to Ecuador's economic advantage. During the 1960s, that nation managed to invest a substantial portion of its central government budget in public education. One reflection of this is that primary and secondary school students in Ecuador comprise 40% of the population aged 5 to 19, while the comparable figure for India is 29%.[3]

During the first half of 1967, Guayaquil publications reported extensively on adverse conditions in that city's poverty areas. While preparations for the field study were under way, a local civic group met with considerable success in a private fund-raising effort to im-

[2] Bruce M. Russet, et al., *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 156-57.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

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TABLE 2

Percentage of Development Items in Relation to Total Development Item Content*

	Guayaquil	*New Delhi*
(1) Institutional and social change:		
Expansion of commercial activity	8.4%	5.2%
Family planning	0.4	2.3
Housing and slum-clearance	5.4	1.6
(2) Social welfare:		
Famine relief and rationing	——	17.9
Clothes for poor	0.2	1.0
(3) Pace of development:		
Demands for higher wages	3.6	6.4
(4) Physical projects:		
Hospital and clinic projects	1.1	1.4
Education projects	10.4	4.7
Transportation and communication	19.4	7.1
(5) Foreign aid:		
Nation-to-nation assistance	3.6	9.1
(6) Foreign trade:		
Trade agreements	3.2	0.8
(7) Monetary and fiscal policies:		
Budget subjects	0.4	1.2
Taxes	9.9	3.6

* The column totals do not reach 100 because insufficient coding reliability caused some subcategories to be dropped. Among them were land reform, rent control and property laws, industrial projects, agricultural projects, exports, imports, prices and inflation, and monetary and fiscal policy planning.

prove conditions in the *barriadas marginales* — neighborhoods such as those in these studies.

Slums and Mass Media

No two economically or socially deprived areas are exactly alike. What North American urban renewal seeks to erase would probably seem palatial to the lower-class residents of Guayaquil and New Delhi. To ensure conceptual similarity, selection of areas of the two cities for inclusion in the samples was based, in the main, on the physical circumstances, such as housing and type of construction, in relation to that of other areas of the cities, and on the presence or condition of municipal facilities such as streets, lights and water. Other factors were the rate of population increase and density, the length of time that the residential areas had existed, and the level of personal income per household.

Respondents were selected in a multistage probability sample in each of four *parroquias* (church parishes) in Guayaquil. The New Delhi sample was drawn from the recently revised electoral rolls of four *basties*. All respondents were 18 years of age or older. No provision was made for replacement in sampling. There were 399 questionnaire interviews completed in Guayaquil and 406 in New Delhi.

Relatively high rates of education and media use were found in both studies. Responses to information items in the questionnaires tend to support the findings (Table 3).

In the Guayaquil sample, 52% of those who reported any formal education said they had six or more years' schooling, including secondary school or other forms of schooling such as secretarial training or other technical or vocational education. The comparable group in the New Delhi study comprised 51% of those with formal schooling.

The larger proportion of persons with education in the Guayaquil sample appears to be related to Ecuador's fi-

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TABLE 3

Characteristics of Guayaquil and New Delhi Respondents

	Guayaquil (N=399)	*New Delhi* (N=406)
Have had formal schooling	88%	40%
Can read	88	42
Read newspaper	86	38
Listen to radio	88	63
Read magazines	47	11
Have viewed television	21	12

nancial investments in education and the percentage of school-age youths who are involved in classes, both of which were discussed above. It also may reflect the fact that economic conditions in the Ecuadorean lowlands are generally better than those in the rest of that country, a situation that could have impact on developments in social areas.

There was more extensive use of newspapers and radio by those in the Guayaquil sample than those in New Delhi. In general, there is a greater availability of newspapers and radio receivers in Ecuador, and that country also ranks higher on literacy than India does.[4]

The presence of television is not extensive even in the major cities of Ecuador and India. Nationwide, it was reported that in 1964 there was one TV receiver per 1,000 Ecuadoreans, and in India the ratio was one receiver per 1,000,000 persons.[5] Commercial television operates in Guayaquil. In New Delhi, the only TV broadcasting being done at the time of the study was by a division—the "television wing"—of All India Radio.

In Guayaquil, the single leading site of TV-viewing was the home—that of the interviewee or a neighbor. Reports of television-viewing in a bar or cafe, one of the viewing patterns during the early days of TV in the United States, were less frequent. Television-viewing by the New Delhi interviewees was all concentrated in one *basti* that offered opportunities for program-watching in a community center supported by a private welfare agency.

Although extensive group listening to the reading aloud of a newspaper has been reported in other studies, neither the Ecuadorean nor the Indian study found much evidence of group reading and discussion of newspaper content. The figure was 8% in the Guayaquil sample and 12% in the New Delhi sample. A similar finding was reported by Rao, who discovered only one newspaper-reading group in a study involving two Indian villages.[6]

The Guayaquil and New Delhi respondents varied in their perceptions of newspaper and radio credibility. In Guayaquil, respondents rated newspapers and radio equal in believability—65% for each, in separate questions. In the New Delhi study, 72% of the respondents felt radio was the most trustworthy medium of mass information, and only 11% named newspapers as most believable. An earlier study in Quito, Ecuador, found that interviewees ranked newspapers ahead of radio for believability,[7] and a study in Santiago, Chile, discovered that interviewees thought radio was most believable.[8]

The case has been made that radio is perceived as highly credible because of the "magical power" of the spoken word—especially among the preliter-

[4] UNESCO, *World Communications* (New York: UNESCO Publications Center, 1964), pp. 188, 214.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Y. V. Lakshmana Rao, *Communication and Development* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966).

[7] CIESPAL, *Utilización de los Medios de Información en Quito* (Quito: CIESPAL, 1966).

[8] Roy E. Carter Jr. and Orlando Sepúlveda, "Some Patterns of Mass Media Use in Santiago de Chile," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 41:216-24 (Summer 1964).

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TABLE 4

Education and Newspaper-Reading

	GUAYAQUIL *Education (years)* *1-5* (N=57)	*6 or more* (N=217)		*NEW DELHI* *Education (years)* *1-5* (N=69)	*6 or more* (N=79)
Newspaper reading	4 or more times weekly	38%	68%	3 or more times weekly	66%	88%
	1-3	62	32	Less frequently	34	12
		100%	100%		100%	100%
	Chi-square = 16.64			Chi-square = 9.08		
	$p \leq .0001$			$p \leq .002$		
	$C = .24$			$C = .24$		

ates.[9] There is an intimacy with the presentation from radio and television, and a sense of first-hand observation, that evidently is not realized in newspaper-reading. There apparently is a similar pattern in U.S. ghettos. In one deprived area in Pittsburgh, interviewees who were asked which news medium was the most reliable and factual ranked TV first (77%), radio second (12%) and newspapers third (6%).[10]

The difficulty caused by the nature of the reading material tends to militate against both understanding and trust of the newspaper. Even in developing nations, journalists seldom make great concessions in their level of presentation for the poorly educated or otherwise culturally deprived. Another problem in India is that of language differences, such as between Hindi and Hindustani. Also, it is obvious that the record of performance and responsibility on the part of a class of mass media will have some effect on the situation.

Communication research has indicated a strong association between education and media use. It was hypothesized in the two field studies reported here that education would be associated with newspaper-reading and radio-listening. In these studies, the hypothesis was found tenable only in the case of newspapers (Table 4).

In both cities, radio programming emphasized entertainment. Guayaquil radio stations provided news coverage and some informational programs. All India Radio put more emphasis on discussion programs than did the Guayaquil stations. But informational programming was in the minority in both cities. The findings suggest that the balance in programming or the type of content offered might be costing radio its influence with the educated members of the potential audience.

In a traditional group in society, the roles assigned to the sexes stress the need for a broad range of knowledge on the part of the male—but not the female. In line with this, it was hypothesized that being male would be associated with more frequent newspaper-reading, so long as newspapers carried considerable informational content. Findings in both Guayaquil and New Delhi supported the hypothesis (Table 5).

Group membership has been found, in some circumstances, to be an indicator of media use. One explanation is that participation in group activities emphasizes exchanges of information. "Group" was defined in these studies as any formal or informal organization displaying some regularity in holding of meetings. Data from the New Delhi

[9] J. C. Caruthers, "Culture, Psychiatry and the Written Word," *Psychiatry*, 22: 307-20.

[10] T. H. Allen, "Mass Media Use Patterns and Functions in a Negro Ghetto," unpublished master's thesis, West Virginia University, 1967. For further data from this study, see the same author's "Mass Media Patterns in a Negro Ghetto," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 45:525-27 (Autumn 1968).

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TABLE 5

Respondent's Sex and Newspaper-Reading

	GUAYAQUIL Sex			NEW DELHI Sex	
	Female (N=124)	Male (N=209)		Female (N=14)	Male (N=142)
Newspaper reading: 4 or more times weekly	52%	64%	3 or more times weekly	43%	80%
1-3	48	36	Less frequently	57	20
	100%	100%		100%	100%
Chi-Square = 4.66			Chi-square = 9.49		
$p \leq .03$			$p \leq .002$		
C = .12			C = .24		

TABLE 6

Group membership and Newspaper-Reading in New Delhi

Newspaper-reading:	Membership No (N=87)	Yes (N=68)
3 or more times weekly	69%	85%
Less frequently	31	15
	100%	100%
Chi-square = 5.60		
$p \leq .017$		
C = .18		

TABLE 7

Group Membership and Radio-Listening in New Delhi

Radio-listening:	Membership Yes (N=167)	No (N=85)
3 or more hours daily	17%	33%
Less than 3	83	67
	100%	100%
Chi-square = 8.53		
$p \leq .003$		
C = .18		

study supported the hypothesized relationship; the data from Guayaquil did not (Tables 6 and 7).

It might be worthwhile in a future comparative study to explore the differences related to membership in particular classes of groups or organizations.

It has been suggested by Lerner[11] and others that geographic mobility—the extent to which one travels and encounters new things—is associated with media use. Two lines of reasoning are that travel exposes the individual to new ideas and new ways of doing things, and that travel away from home might afford him more opportunities to utilize knowledge obtained through the mass media. It was, therefore, hypothesized that geographic mobility would be related to more frequent use of newspapers and radio. With the .05 level of significance as a criterion, the data supported the hypothesis only in relation to newspapers in Guayaquil and radio in New Delhi (Tables 8 and 9). In Guayaquil, an apparent negative relationship between mobility and radio-listening was found (Table 10).

Conclusions

Despite other deprivations, the slum-dwellers interviewed in these two studies are not to be counted outside mass media audiences, though education and financial condition limit their participation. The general pattern of mutually complementary growth of urbanization, education, literacy and media use, described by Lerner and others, seems to apply in the two areas studied.

Over-all, the Indian and Ecuadorean newspapers studied in this project devoted similar proportions of total news-editorial space to discussion of aspects

[11] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 94-95.

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TABLE 8

Geographic Mobility and Newspaper Reading in Guayaquil

Newspaper-reading:	*Mobility* *Low* (N=184)	*High* (N=154)
4 or more times weekly	54%	65%
1-3	46	35
	100%	100%

Chi-square = 4.29
$p \leq .04$
C = .11

TABLE 9

Geographic Mobility and Radio-Listening in New Delhi

Radio-listening:	*Mobility* *Low* (N=153)	*High* (N=102)
3 or more hours daily	16%	31%
Less than 3	84	69
	100%	100%

Chi-square = 8.79
$p \leq .003$
C = .18

of development. With a lower national literacy rate than Ecuador's (24% as compared to 56% in 1961), India would not be expected to match Ecuador's rate of newspaper-reading. That fact and the finding that the New Delhi respondents ranked newspapers relatively low in believability suggests that, in the group studied, development news in newspapers is likely to have a limited audience.

In both studies, it appeared that there

TABLE 10

Geographic Mobility and Radio-Listening in Guayaquil

Radio-listening (hours per day, weekdays):	*Mobility* *Low* (N=176)	*High* (N=154)
4 or more	26%	16%
Less than 4	74	84
	100%	100%

Chi-square = 4.28
$p \leq .04$
C = .11

is relatively little group reading and discussion of newspapers that could facilitate understanding of newspaper content or bring pre-literates into the newspaper audience.

As might be expected, radio has a substantial following among the interviewees in both cities, but questions about the level of informational content in the radio broadcasts are still pending. However, in terms of access, it does appear that there is one clear bit of advice for planners of change: those who desire to use mass media to address the women in the urban slums of these two developing countries should think of radio first.

Newspapers may carry more information on development and social change than do the broadcast media, but so far—particularly in India and to a lesser degree in Ecuador—they have been unable to communicate directly with a substantial part of the population that needs developmental news the most.

NATIONAL SAMPLE PREDICTORS OF MASS MEDIA USE

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tions leaves us with very little explained by this set of variables. The set we used, although they may be criticized for unimaginative choice, are ones which have been used traditionally to account for media behavior. Perhaps, the relevance of these variables has long passed.

It would help if we could suggest alternative variable sets. Indeed, it is our intention to search for such alternatives—e.g., extent of social interaction, self-evaluation, cognitive need for information, innovativeness — but the value of such an approach must be determined through subsequent research.

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