

The Pedagogical Acceptance of Media Anthropology: References from India

Dr. Pradeep Nair

Abstract- Media Anthropology is known as an area of study within social or cultural Anthropology and now a day as a part of media and cultural studies that deal with the Social and cultural aspects of mass media. As an inter-disciplinary stream of study, Media anthropology is influenced by the approaches and practices taking place in Visual Anihropology, Film, Television and Performance Studies and Development Communication. This manuscript looks media anthropology as an application of theories, concepts, methods, Approaches and instruments to understand media studies from a socio-anthropological Perspective. The study makes an in-depth analysis of the interaction taking place between various Academic and applied aspects of anthropology and multitude of media with some relevant References from India. The study deals with the new directions to re-conceptualize mass media relations to culture and society and their particular role in providing common arenas for constructing social relations, concepts of individual role as a media content consumer, and moral evaluations. A significant aspect of these new media anthropological studies discussed in this Manuscript is to understand the intricate connection of media production and consumption With the wider processes of commoditization and transnational culture. An interesting area of study under this domain is also to analyze how media professionals are situating themselves and their work in relation to more global media trends

Key Words: Media Anthropology, Media Effects, Cultural Values, Conceptual Framework, Media Audiences and Media Uses

1. Introduction

Today media anthropology is understood as a new study object for both anthropology and media studies, not as a new discipline within the social sciences. Majority of the anthropologists, social scientists and communication scholars are ready to accept it as a new area of study within social sciences, anthropology and media studies but are reluctant to accept it as an independent domain.

The debate started before three decades in 1980's when a lot of studies have been conducted all over the world on media effects especially on television viewing. These studies were based on the popular belief that television has immense power to influence individual behavior. Most of the studies concluded that television can change

the mind of any member of the society and therefore can change the individual action. These studies studied television programmes as televisual representation of various cultures and how these cultural symbols are broadcast and penetrated into someone's mind (the viewer of the programme).

Most of these studies followed a casual explanation of media effects and how media can influence people by creating a common theme or problem to discuss and debate. The agenda setting approach one of the most critically debated approaches is more concerned about how media constitutes a forum or bulletin board in which society's central issues are aired for consideration. The scholars like McLuhan and Katz were very optimistic about the relationship between anthropology and mass communication

Dr. Pradeep Nair is an Associate Professor and Head, Department of Mass Communication and Electronic Media at Central University of Himachal Pradesh. His was awarded PhD in Development Communication from University of Lucknow. Dr. Pradeep Nair's research interest lie at studying the application of cost-effective information and communication technologies to work towards inclusive democracy using different communication formats of participatory nature specially with the marginalized groups and neglected individuals.

(McLuhan, 1964; Katz, 1989). It was the time when media anthropology started coming up with new theoretical concepts and methods.

Dickey first time defines mass media as communication media that can be widely distributed in virtually identical form, including not only film, video, television, radio and printed texts but also as advertising, publicity and World Wide Web (Dickey, 1997: 414-427). Whereas Spitulnik argued mass media as cultural artifacts, experiences, practices and processes (Spitulnik, 1993). Communication scholars started realizing that media are economically-and-politically driven concepts and are well linked to the developments taking place in science and technology and was bound up with the use of language. Because of these broad characteristics of mass media, anthropologists and social scientists started approaching media as institutions, workplaces, communicative practices, cultural products, social activities, aesthetic forms, and as historical developments.

A large number of studies took place in 1980's and 90's on studying mass communication as a subject matter of anthropology. Most of the anthropologist acclaimed that they were well aware of the trends in communication research. But later on in mid 90's, mass media went for further expansion from conventional to new media, television and radio broadcasting to internet and mobile communication, the subject suddenly started expanding. The change in the practices of communication, the diversity of mass media and media audiences, media uses and multivocality and indeterminacy of media texts has insisted the scholars to take more serious concentration on media studies from anthropological point of view.

With the advent of digital media communication, new theories, trends, subject matters and problems started inviting attention of social scientists and media scholars to conduct serious studies on how the new media can provide social and cultural integration on a massive scale. Scholars like Spitulnik and Dickey argued for conducting new studies on the process of constructing social and cultural identities in

interaction with media and encouraged communication scholars and anthropologists to conduct studies to understand how media are used in mundane and extraordinary practices to create and contest representations of self and other (Dickey, 1997; Spitulnik, 1993).

The concept of media anthropology conceptualizes from these arguments and started recognizing as an area of study to integrate media studies into the total social and cultural fact of modern life. The area provides ample scope to theorize media processes, products and its uses as complex parts of social and cultural reality. Many cross-cultural research studies were conducted in last two decades and some studies are still in process in India and in other countries in order to test the findings of communication studies conducted in these above mentioned areas carried by individuals and institutions and to see how they can be applicable to some other social and cultural setups.

2. Conceptual Framework of The Study

Media anthropology is understood as anthropology of modern societies. Even though the debate was that the discipline does not invent new theories and methods rather than it borrows them from cultural anthropology and communication studies, media anthropology is not a mere exercise of mechanically applying anthropologists' concepts and techniques to media phenomena. The identity of media anthropology is based on a conceptual framework with its debate on the use of ideas and methods to study the various aspects of media.

The conceptual framework of media anthropology depends on the methods and techniques which are practiced today to study the structural changes taking place in the society and which the media is trying to bring out in front of the people to understand their own identity as a social unit.

Unfortunately at conceptual front, media anthropology has been treated as a field of contact between the two disciplines of anthropology and mass communication rather

than generating its own disciplinary frame. Anthropologists and communication scholars approached media anthropology from their own directions with different histories and for different purposes.

But now the landscape of media studies has changed and expanded to a wide extent. From print to electronic and now to the digital age, mass media has changed and is changing the ways people work, think about themselves and interact with each other. The new media especially internet, mobile communication and high definition broadcasting are infiltrating every aspect of social and cultural life in many cultures and societies. The flow of images, sound and textual information over multiple delivery platforms are complex process and have a strong influence on the contemporary societies. So, the domain itself needs its own concepts, methods and interpretations to establish its own new disciplinary standards to mark its own boundaries and police the scholarly activities within it.

2.1 Objectives

The study deals with the following objectives in order to understand the relationship between mass communication and anthropological studies developed in 80's and 90's and the new emerging dimensions of media anthropology

1. How media anthropology deals with the issues related to media representation and shaping of social and cultural values within a society?
2. What are the premises of media anthropology as a new area of study and how it has been defined and recognized in India?
3. To discuss the application of instruments (theories, concepts, methods, approaches, tools and techniques) to understand media studies from a socio-anthropological perspective.
4. To make an in-depth analysis of media anthropology as an approach to understand the interaction between various academic and applied aspects of anthropology and the multitude of media while taking some relevant

references from India.

5. To discuss how Indian universities/institutions are incorporating media anthropology as a subject area within a research framework to enable the students to develop a critical perspective on media, culture and society.

6. How media industries, social and development sectors are providing scope for research based social and cultural campaigns which are intended to bring a complete process of cultural modernization in the country. What kind of job opportunities are available for communication strategists to design and deliver media messages to the intended audiences?

2.2 Structure

The structure of the study focused on two main dimensions -

1. How consumption of media messages can create social and cultural integration by providing the individual with a kind of social and cultural commons within the mass of society, an illusion of participation in social and political events, a common perception of the world and a reinforcement of public opinion and how these issues can be studied under the domain of media anthropology.

2. In what ways media anthropologists are accepting media anthropology as a new area of study within the domain of applied anthropology and applied communication and how the theoretical basis for the study of media has been established in anthropology.

2.3 Theme

From the perspective of both communication and cultural anthropology, the study of media anthropology can provide some valuable insights on the function of media within a society. The theme is relevant because it can help us to understand the day to day interaction between media and society from cultural point of view.

The theme is also important to connect both anthropology and mass communication research

and to understand how mass media arrives and adjust itself in a dominant system of social and cultural communications. The expansion of mass media with the advent of internet and mobile as two most interactive communication platforms has restructured the whole gamut of mass communication making it more diverse in its nature, functions, and effects along with the cultural context in which they exists.

3. Literature Review

The 1996 Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology has shown a new indicator of the growing interest in media anthropology as a new subject area. Philip C. Salzman distinguished the traditional forms of mass media, the print media and the electronic media. He discussed in his study titled 'The Elephant Trojan Horse: Television in the Globalization of Paramodern Cultures' in 1996 that the electronic media has changed the whole nature of mass communication across the globe. While discussing on the power of influence what television has as a communication medium, he argued that the electronic forms of communication is coded through the same human skills of speech and body movements that are characteristics of face-to-face communication.

In his study, he tried to convince that television broadcasting is highly diverse in nature and it can transmit and broadcast messages across social and cultural boundaries and has the potential to bring immense social and cultural changes in societies not possible by any other communication medium. He invited social and cultural anthropologists to study television and its social and cultural impact and thus his study provides a scope for conducting studies in the domain of media anthropology.

Scholars like Ruth Benedict, Clifford Geertz, Ernest Gellner, and Anthony Smith worked to produce knowledge in mass communication and thus brought a shift from mass society to anthropology and provided space for mass communication to appear on the scene. The studies conducted by these scholars addressed

the issue of television's effect on national identity. These studies focused on the role of television in the mobilization of nationalism as a resource and also on how television has helped to instrument nationalism to get employed in a particular political and economic situation (Benedict, 1946; Geertz, 1963; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1994).

A study conducted by Mankekar titled 'National Texts and Gendered Lives: An Ethnography of Television Viewers in a North India City' in 1993 discuss about the way in which men and women, located in specific sociocultural context, interpret entertainment serials shown on Indian television. The study proceeds to explore the place of the viewers' active engagement with television in terms of their constitutions as national and gendered subjects (Mankekar, 1993).

The study initiated a debate at various intellectual platforms in India on how and in what ways television programmes produce culture and how this culture is defining people's behavior. The study argued that the human process of understanding consists of depositing those modes of being which define us into cultural elements. In other words, we learn how to behave, so to speak, by going to the cultural elements which we have already created. The role to television here is to allow this movement, because people go to television to watch a prime time soap-opera but at the same time, the soap opera is a cultural element that tells them (viewers) how to be a member of society, what are the symbols of cultural identity and how to carry the process of cultural interpretation. Thus, television reflects the social and cultural face of the society (Mankekar, 1993: 543-563).

Another study conducted by Sushil Arora titled 'Problem and Controversies attached to framing of 'Quality Film': Audience Views' in 1990 also argued that film and video including television is an integrative element of society. If we want to understand people or culture, we have to look for film and television and its role in society. This study also encouraged media anthropologist to discuss and debate more on media effects

tradition in mass communication studies (Arora, 1990: 185-191).

Studies like 'Communication and Cultural Development: a Multidimensional Analysis' by George A. Bennett in 1981, 'The Effects of Television Viewing: a Cross-Cultural Perspective' conducted by Susan Kent in 1985 and 'Culture/Media: a (mild) Polemic' by Faye Ginsburg in 1994 talks about how culture is transmitted through mass media especially television and how this transmission of culture has shaped the human society. All these studies brought mass media in the centre of anthropology and communication studies.

Anthropologists like Landers 1974, Turner 1985, Auge 1986, Handelman 1990, McLeod 1999 and communication scholars like Carey 1975, Dayan and Katz 1992, Rothenbuhler 1998, Marvin 1999 studied the relationship between television and culture and how social and cultural messages are carried by television and other visual media and how it integrates the human society.

These studies laid a foundation for media anthropology to argue that how in the process of the evolution of societies; mass media became the vehicle of the transmission of culture. So the domain of media anthropology explores with the understanding that what is happening with culture is because of media. Studies conducted by Krishna on 'Feature Film as a Political Medium' in 1993, 'Feature Films and Visual Anthropology: India- a Case Study' by K N Sahay in 1988 helps the Indian scholars to understand how Indian culture has adopted Film and Television and how mass media especially visual media is integrating the Indian society by building national identity both socially and culturally, spreading consumerism and how it is changing the role of individuals in the process of modernization.

4. Methodology

In this study, the classical anthropological approach is used. Most of the findings are relied on observation (participant or direct), textual analysis, case studies and interviews. Survey and qualitative analysis is also used to conduct some

part of the study to find out the trends of media studies carried in anthropology.

Some specific studies from India are used as references to understand the conceptual framework developed by anthropologists to study mass media and what kind of research are conducted in traditional and non-traditional anthropological settings . Data about the references/cases is obtained from interviews (primary data), published papers, published reports and media reports. These references are basically considered and analyzed to study the overall picture of the media anthropological framework developed in India and abroad. The focus of these case studies is to analyze:

- Media anthropology as an independent domain
- What does anthropology understand by mass media
- How does anthropology approach to mass media as a social and cultural institution
- What is the objective of an anthropology of mass communication
- How media anthropology has been accepted as an area of study in the curriculum of anthropology and communication studies
- How industry is responding to this new area of interest

While going through these references, it has been observed that a lot of points of contacts are there between both anthropology and mass communication/media studies. In the study, a number of issues are reviewed that have been addressed in the review of literature and the section which deals with the issues of conflict to understand how media anthropology is growing as a subject of interest among media scholars and social scientists although still it is not an institutionalized area.

5. Issues Considered For Study

Most of the issues addressed in this part of the study have tried to explain how mass media creates social and cultural integration in a world where many other social and cultural networks are already doing the same. The issues also have a

focus on the scope of media anthropology as a new domain of knowledge and how Indian universities and social science institutions are incorporating media anthropology in their curricula.

5.1 Scope and Areas

As far as the growth and scope of the subject is concerned, media anthropology grows out of the anthropology of modern societies and their culture finding a place under the broad arena of mass media. It is different from cultural anthropology as it turns its attention from 'exotic' to 'mundane' and from 'indigenous' to 'manufactured culture' while preserving the methodological and conceptual assets of anthropological tradition.

The study of media anthropology in communication studies is gaining a lot of attention these days because it prepares media practitioners for more complete engagement with the symbolic construction of reality and the fundamental importance of symbolic structures, myth and rituals in everyday life.

Media Anthropology is a multidisciplinary field of study having a wide scope for the graduates from the fields of Communication, Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, and Philosophy.

Media anthropology as a practice provides the scholars two main branches/areas to build a career -

i. Research Branch:

This branch especially deals with studies related to media structures, function, process, impact etc of media information, technologies, mediums, professionals, audience and control.

ii. Applied Branch:

This branch deals with the communication of anthropological information and insights through media channels in widely acceptable styles and formats. The branch also provides an

opportunity to the scholars to promote anthropology in various media by influencing journalism practices to add a sixth 'W' - whole to the conventional list of '5 Ws' - who, what, when, where and how, in order to create an alternative method of gathering and presenting information that can help to fill the educational vacuum, not with more detail, but more perspective.

Communication is a key tool that anthropologists use to understand social and cultural environment by focusing on each and every aspect of the social and cultural life of a nation. In social and cultural anthropology, communication is used to educate and train people to study and analyze the nature and state of specific social and cultural structures and institutions which widely affect all the process of social and cultural developments in the society. The approach is to understand the media and cultural process as institutions, as workplaces, as communicative practices, as cultural products, as social activities, as aesthetic forms, as historical developments and alike. The studies are mostly concerned with the understanding of the relationship between media institutions/channels and the patterns of socio-cultural changes basic to the problems of contemporary nation building.

The scope of media anthropology is tremendous. It offers an excellent opportunity to communication scholars having a background in social sciences and humanities (with a good understanding of social-cultural anthropology) along with communication to study how media institutions in transitional societies can best manage the communication activities and tools to facilitate cultural modernization.

There is a peculiarly intimate relationship between the social, cultural and communication process. Media anthropology provides a new ethnographically informed, historically grounded and context-sensitive approach to communication scholars and cultural scientists to study the ways in which people use and make sense of media technologies. The subject has great potential to explore the dynamics of social and cultural processes of media consumption, production and circulation.

So, we can see media anthropology as an independent field within the broad discipline of social sciences and humanities dealing with the relationship between the mass media and culture. The main focus of the study is more about how culture is transmitted through the mass media, and the media process or system by means of which society is shaped. Anthropology is the social science, studying culture, whereas media anthropology is the specific field which deals with the whole process through which culture shapes human beings through the mass media.

5.2 Institutions and Curricula

Presently many departments of Communication of Indian Universities are offering Media and Cultural studies as one of their optional subjects at Post Graduate level. People trained in Journalism and Mass Communication with a degree in Anthropology, Sociology or Psychology can find a job assignment in the field of Media Anthropology. The Centre for Media and Cultural Studies of Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai offers a Masters program in Media and Cultural Studies, whereas the School of Arts and Aesthetics of Jawahar Lal University (JNU), Anwar Jamal Kidwai Mass Communication Research Centre (AJK-MCRC) of Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, School of Media and Communication of Pondicherry University and Sarojini Naidu School of Arts & Communication, Hyderabad University have specific modules on media and cultural studies as a part of their regular master program in mass communication. Many old schools of sociology and anthropology in India like Lucknow, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, have specific modules on media anthropology as a part of their regular sociology and anthropology programs.

These specific modules on media anthropology, media and cultural studies offered by these institutions aims at honing skills of media students within a research framework which enables them to develop a critical perspective on media, culture and society.

Research programs offered in the field of media anthropology by Indian universities encourage

scholars to study the determinations of media technologies, micro-group cultural traditions, reception situations, and immediate social, cultural and economic configurations. Universities and research organizations offering research programmes in the field of media & cultural studies generally promote a local vision of acts of communication with mass media placed within a domestic communication having inter-discourse connections thus linking new communication and media technologies, television, internet and other media to the family dynamics and other conventional social and cultural networks.

5.3 Industrial Acceptance and Job Market

Media anthropologists learn to communicate effectively with people from a variety of media backgrounds, cultures and places, studying an incredible range of audience populations from displaced immigrants to employees of multinational corporations. A formal education in media anthropology cultivates an understanding of the multicultural perspectives of mass media. Media anthropologists use cross-cultural perspectives to study how media contents are received by various audiences.

Media organizations hire media anthropologists before implementing key policies in areas from producing cultural contents to news production all over the world. Media anthropologists working with Intel's People and Practices Research Division immerse themselves in potential markets in order to understand local information and technology wants and needs. A number of Intel's innovative and successful technological models have been developed for the emerging global markets based on ethnographic research carried by the information anthropologists of Intel.

Media anthropologists have also scope in development agencies working in environment sector. By using the skills of effective communication and understanding of media issues, one can work with state development agencies, businesses and community leaders to develop and spread quality awareness and policy

about environmental issues. With a knack for understanding diverse social and cultural perspectives from media point of view and an objective eye, media anthropologists are often excellent at conflict management, negotiation and dispute resolution.

A rapid fluctuation in the current economy demands a clear understanding of global social and cultural changes and its impact on local communities and how people are adopting these changes. Media anthropologists are trained to look at new media technology and how people are using them differently according to their social and cultural needs. Media anthropologists are preferred to communicate these technology driven social and cultural changes to masses through mass media. They are skilled in a number of techniques to gather, understand and integrate data that helps them to assess and adapt new communication practices, public message design, to analyze media usage, consumer mindset, programme appeal, research data and programme producer's motivation.

Trained media anthropologists always have immense scope in the media industries for the evaluation and risk assessment of media programmes. Government social organizations, cultural agencies and departments, academic and research institutions, communication consultancies working in the field of social and cultural development, media organizations, and non-government organizations working in social sectors generally advertise their vacancies in newspapers. Websites of these organizations also publish the details of the jobs, eligibility and application procedure. One can work with these agencies as a media anthropologist, cultural communication specialist, journalist, researcher, and as a media consultant.

5.4 Commercial Viability of the Discipline

The remuneration in media anthropology and cultural sectors depends on one's qualification and experience, his/her expertise in social and cultural issues and on his/her communication skills. Having a degree or diploma in communication studies along with a good

understanding of social and cultural development issues can help young scholars to earn a decent monthly salary at entry level positions.

A Master's or Doctoral degree in communication studies with a formal education/specialization in social sciences/humanities is recommended for more opportunities. Reputed Non Government Organizations and Communication Consultancies can offer good remuneration to media anthropology professionals for their different projects/programmes. International donors and government partners also offers good positions for people having a good understanding of cross-cutting support in ethnographic media research. A strong leadership, team development and networking skills may promise one a high position in media and cultural sectors.

5.5 Skills Requirement

As a media anthropologist one should have a good understanding of the effective communication to plan and create initiatives at all levels, from designing simple social and cultural messages for print or electronic media or for a website to strategize a complete socio-cultural communication campaign. Social and cultural campaigns require research based communication strategies to design and deliver media messages to the intended audiences. As a media anthropologist one should have to learn how a complete process of cultural modernization takes place in a country. Carrying research based anthropological and cultural studies for educational institutions, research organizations and media production houses requires a scientific approach capable of allowing the immersion in volatile social and cultural contexts, a capability to eliminate social and cultural distances and psychological barriers and a minute observation of microscopic behaviours. As a media anthropologist if you have the skills to identify social values on which cultural consumption practices are based, you may have a chance to do it really significant in the field of applied communication.

6. Discussion, Implications and Conclusion Communication scholars and cultural

anthropologists across the globe have a common agreement that mass media in some form or another have touched almost all societies and had pervade the entire social and cultural fabric. The relations between mass media, society and culture have been a major subject of inquiry for several decades within social sciences, humanities and communication studies. The developments concerning the nature of media power and influence, the communication process, media language and the ethnography of media audiences have been a subject of interest for both anthropologists and communication experts in India in last five decades.

But the question is that where they want to place these studies? Whether in the domain of cultural anthropology or in the domain of media studies? Cultural anthropology in India is more concerned about the power of mass media and in particular their roles as vehicles of culture. In most of the studies, carried by Indian scholars, the approach is to analyze mass media as forces that provide audiences with ways of seeing and interpreting the social and cultural world, the ways that ultimately shape their own existence and participation in the society.

The arena of Indian media studies are a fragmented terrain, highly sensitive to the developments taking place at social front and to the particularities of changing media technologies and media uses. So, both the domains of media and anthropological studies miss to understand the process of media production and consumption of media messages as a separate area of study and also how this production process is changing from a conventional process to an independent, alternative and decentralized process.

Here media anthropology offers a more wide scope to study the new media applications like interactive television (Internet Protocol Television), virtual reality, digital compression, direct satellite broadcasting, social networking platforms (Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, My Space, Orkut), mobile communication, digital films; how they are functioning in the changing social and cultural contexts; how media contents

are produced and delivered on these new interactive platforms, how these contents are used and interpreted within the larger context of new media ecology.

In addition to the growing body of research on new media technologies, a number of new studies have begun in India to explore the socio-cultural dynamics of these new alternative media platforms. The concerns of these studies are mainly to establish exactly how mass media with emerging technologies assist in constructing a virtual and digital society and how people are participating in this virtual world with their diverse social and cultural backgrounds.

Media anthropology is offering the anthropology and communication scholars a new direction to reconceptualize mass media relations to culture and society and their particular role in providing common arenas for constructing social relations, concepts of individual role as a media content consumer, and moral evaluations. A significant aspect of these new media anthropological studies is to understand the intricate connection of media production and consumption with the wider processes of commoditization and transnational culture. An interesting area of study under this domain is also to analyze how media professionals are situating themselves and their work in relation to more global media trends.

Media anthropologist have now begun to look the changing political, social, cultural and linguistic dimensions of mass media in the digital era and how these changes are affecting our ways of relating to one another and our ways of understanding ourselves in a more personalized media environment. The Indian universities and institutions of higher learning in media and social sciences are more interested to encourage the young social scientists and scholars to discuss and debate the broader social and cultural conditions that is enabling the emergence of new media technologies, processes and contents and the changing political and economical conditions that impel the circulations of these media contents and messages in diverse societies across the globe with special reference to India and South Asia.

So, finally going through a long debate and discussion on media anthropology and its recognition among Indian scholars it seems good to conclude that media anthropology is establishing itself as a self-standing independent domain of knowledge and its identity is assured by a well-defined object, by a specific conceptual framework and by a hard to deny role in configuring the socio-cultural role of media in an information based society. This new domain of study in India needs more discussion and debate at various intellectual platforms, acceptance among universities higher learning institutions and media industry, incorporation in the curricula of media and anthropological studies, and here we have to go for more efforts.

References

1. McLuhan, Marshall, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill. 1964.
2. Katz, Elihu, 'Mass Media Effects', *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, (2), Oxford University Press, 1989, 492-497.
3. Dickey, Sara, 'Anthropology and its Contribution to Studies of Mass Media', *International Social Science Journal*, (153)1997., 414-427.
4. Spitulnik, Debra, 'Anthropology and Mass Media', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (22), 1993, 293-315.
5. Benedict, Ruth, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.
6. Geertz, Clifford, *Old Societies and the New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: Free Press, 1963.
7. Gellner, Ernst, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
8. Smith, Anthony, 'The Politics of Culture: Ethnicity and Nationalism', in Ingold, Tim, *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, London: Routledge, 1994.
9. Mankekar, P, 'National Texts and Gendered Lives: An Ethnography of Television Viewers in a North India City', *American Ethnologists*, 20 (3), 1993. 543-563.
10. Arora, Sushil, 'Problem and Controversies attached to framing of 'Quality Film': Audience Views, *Man in India*, 70 (2), 1990, 185-191.
11. Bernett, George A. 'Communication and Cultural Development: A Multidimensional Analysis', *Human Organization*, 40 (4), 1981, 330-337.
12. Kent, Susan, 'The Effects of Television Viewing: A Cross-Cultural Perspective', *Current Anthropology*, 26(1), 1985, 121-126.
13. Ginsburg, Faye, 'Culture/Media: A (Mild) Polemic', *Anthropology Today*, 10 1994. (2), 5-15.
14. Landers, Pamela, 'Prime Time Television: Mythology of a Complex Society', *Studies in Visual Communication*, 5(3), 1974, 1-5.
15. Turner, Victor, 'Liminality, Kabbalah, and the Media', *Religion*, (15), 1985, 205-217.
16. Auge, Marc, 'Teleculture Heroes', *Current Anthropology*, 27(2), 1986, 184-188.
17. Handelman, Don, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
18. McLeod, J.R., "The Sociodrama of Presidential Politics: Rhetoric, Ritual, and Power in the Era of Teledemocracy", *American Anthropologist*, 101(2), 1999. 359-373.
19. Carey, James W., 'A Cultural Approach to Communication', *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
20. Dayan, Daniel and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*, Harvard University Press, 1992.
21. Rothenbuhler, Eric W., *Ritual Communication: From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony*. London: Sage Publications, 1998.
22. Marvin, Carolyn and D.W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifices and the Nation: Myth, Ritual, and the American Flag*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
23. Krishna and Catir Naccu, 'Feature Film as a Political Medium', *Visual Anthropology*, 5(3-4), 1993, 271-284.
24. Sahay, K.N., 'Feature Films and Visual Anthropology: India- A Case Study', *Visual Anthropology*, 1 (2), 1988, 171-184.