ARE HARD-TO-GET RESPONDENTS ANY DIFFERENT IN THEIR READING BEHAVIOUR FROM OTHERS?

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Background

The first Indian National Readership Survey was carried out in 1970. Since then, India has witnessed three more NRS studies (NRS-II in 1978, NRS-III in 1983-84 and NRS-IV in 1990).

Over the years, it has frequently been said that the `generalist' NRS does not adequately cover the needs of advertisers and advertising agencies for products and services aimed at relatively small but clearly more affluent upmarket audiences. Moreover, a number of users also wanted data beyond AIR such as time spent, proportion read and issue pick-up for individual titles. It was to serve these specialist needs that MEDIASEARCH, the specialist media research division of MARG, decided to launch the first Upmarket Media Survey (UMS-I) in 1985-86. The Second Upmarket Media Survey (UMS-II) has just been completed. UMS-II is a study of the media habits of upmarket Indians - defined as adults from Rs 4000+ Monthly Income households living in any of the one million + population cities. The study is based on 11,000+ personal interviews which have been conducted across 25 cities. UMS-II covers 276 individual titles in 12 major Indian languages. UMS-II uses the Recent Reading Model - with grouped titles.

This written paper is based only on data for Bombay and Calcutta; the achieved sample sizes are 774 for Bombay and 000 for Calcutta.

The respondent for the survey was a 15 years+ person selected randomly from amongst all such household members by using the Kisch grid. Whenever the selected individual was not immediately available, upto three calls (including the first call) were made to interview the respondent. If such an individual was not available even after three calls, he/she was to be purposively substituted from +/- 5 neighbouring households as long as :

i)   The neighbouring household was in the same income group (Three income groups were used : Rs 4,001 - 6,000, Rs 6,001 - 10000 and Rs 10001+)

ii)   The person had the same sex as the individual to be substituted

iii)   The person had an age within +/- 2 years of the age of the individual to be substituted.

If no such individual could be found within +/- 5 households (of the household with the individual to be substituted), then the individual interview was to be treated as a casualty.

Comparison of Reading Behaviour
(of Hard-to-get Respondents with that of Easy-to-get ones)

Even when the individual interview was successful, it was not always conducted at the first call. Since we had instructed that three call backs be carried out before substituting the respondent, the successful call number could be 1, 2, or 3, in case where the selected individual was successfully interviewed.

Even if substitution of an individual was undertaken, the substitute's interview could have culminated at the first, second or third call.

We have compared the reading behaviour of those who could be interviewed only at third call with those who were interviewed at the first call itself. This comparison has been carried out at two levels. We have first done a comparison at a macro level by comparing the intensity of consuming print. At the second, more micro level, we have compared the propensity to consume different types of titles.

Intensity of print consumption

a. Reach of the Press

As can be seen in the table below, reach of the Press is somewhat lower among those who could be interviewed only at the third call as compared to those who were interviewed successfully at the very first call in Bombay.

However, the opposite holds true for Calcutta.

Table I1 :

Reach of Press - by First/Third Call

| | Bombay | | Calcutta | |
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Readers of any publication	88.1	86.1	85.4	89.5
Base	628	36	418	57

The reach of the Press is, by no means, a complete descripton of the **intensity** of print consumption. It is not difficult to envisage two groups of people with total reach of press at 80% for both the groups and yet the first group reading, on an average, twice as many publications as the second group, or spending one-and-a half times as much time on reading newspapers and magazines as compared to the second group. In other words, the total number of publications read and the total time spent on reading newspapers/magazines may be a more accurate measure of the intensity of print consumption.

b.Number of publications read

Relatively hard-to-get respondents (i.e. those who could be interviewed only at the third call) in Bombay claimed to have read a little over 14 titles on an average, while comparatively easy-to-get respondents claimed to have read only 12 titles in the past year. Thus, hard-to-get respondents (hereafter referred to as HTG) in Bombay, on an average, read more titles than the easy-to-get ones (hereafter referred to as ETG). However, in Calcutta, the average number of titles read by the HTG respondents was almost on par with the number of titles read by the ETG ones.

Table I2

Number of Publications Read - by First/Third Call

| | Bombay | | Calcutta | |
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Average no. of titles read (at all in past year)	12.1	14.4	11.8	11.2
Average no. of titles read (AIR)	5.5	5.3	4.4	3.7
Base	628	36	418	57

However, in both the cities, the share of AIR titles in total number of titles read was lower among the HTG respondents than among the ETG ones. Since AIR was determined on the basis of 'when last read' question, this suggests that the period of last reading was more distant among HTG respondents than among the ETG ones.

This is also borne out by an analysis of 'when last read' question.

c.Time spent on print

As the table below suggests, the picture is somewhat different across the two cities - Bombay and Calcutta.

In Bombay, the total time spent on print by HTG respondents (69 minutes per day) is higher than that spent by the ETG ones (57 minutes in a day). However, in Calcutta, the reverse holds true (time spent on print is 68% minutes per day versus 77 minutes per day for HTG and ETG respondents respectively).

Table I3

Total Time Spent on Reading Print - by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Time spent on print (no. of minutes/day)	57.0	68.8	76.9	68.1
Base	628	36	418	57

So, to sum up, the reach of the Press does not appear to vary significantly between the two groups of respondents. However, a comparison on the other two measures - number of publications read, and time spent on reading print suggests that the intensity of print consumption in Bombay is clearly higher among HTG respondents (vis-a-vis ETG respondents). However, in Calcutta, it is the ETG respondents who consume print with greater intensity (as compared to their HTG counterparts).

Propensity to Consume Different Types of Titles

a.   Propensity to read different types of publications

At a very broad level, we need to check out whether the propensity to read different categories of publications - dailies vs magazines, English vs Indian language publications, or General Interest vs Business vs Women's magazines - is any different between HTG and ETG respondents.

Dailies vs Magazines

As the table below suggests, the reach of dailies is somewhat lower (66.7%) among HTG respondents than among ETG respondents (68.0%) in Bombay. However, in Calcutta, dailies reach a slightly higher proportion of HTG respondents (80.7%) as compared to that of ETG ones (78.7%).

A greater proportion of HTG respondents in Bombay (77.8%) read at least one magazine than do their ETG counterparts (73.4%). However, in Calcutta, the proportion reading a magazine is no different between the HTG and ETG respondents (66.7% for both).

Table P1 : Reach of Dailies vs Magazines

by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Reach of :				
Any Daily (%)	68.0	66.7	78.7	80.7
Any Mag. (%)	73.4	77.8	66.7	66.7
Total reach of Press:				
Share of Dailies (%)	77.2	77.5	92.2	90.2
Base	628	36	418	57

English vs Indian Language Press

Reach of English Press among the more difficult-to-get respondents (58.3%) is almost on par with that among their ETG counterparts (57.8%) in Bombay. In Calcutta, exposure to English Press is clearly higher among the HTG respondents (59.6% of third call respondents as against 50% of first call respondents being exposed to English Press).

In Bombay, the proportion reading any Indian language publication is higher among HTG respondents (69.4%) than among their ETG counterparts (62.7%). However, in Calcutta, there is hardly any difference between HTG and ETG respondents on the propensity to read Indian language publications.

Table P2 : Reach of English vs Indian Language Press

by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Reach of...				
Any English Publication (%)	57.8	58.3	50.0	59.6
Any Indian Language Publication (%)	62.7	69.4	79.7	78.9
of Total Reach of Press...				
Share of English Press	65.6	67.7	58.5	66.6
Base	628	36	418	57

Both in Bombay and Calcutta, the share of the English Press in total reach of Press is higher among HTG respondents than among their ETG counterparts (67.7% vs 65.6% in Bombay and 66.6% vs 58.5% in Calcutta).

In Bombay, there is a clear linguistic difference between HTG and ETG respondents. Thus, HTG respondents patronise more of the Gujarati Press and less of the Marathi Press as compared to their ETG counterparts.

Table P3 : Average Issue Readership of Eng/Lang Press by

First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	**Third Call**	**First Call**	**Third Call**
Any Indian Lang. Pub.	62.7	69.4	79.9	78.9
Any Hindi Pub.	37.1	33.3	11.7	5.3
Any Gujarati Pub.	17.7	36.1	-	-
Any Marathi Pub.	30.6	16.7	-	-
Any Bengali Pub.	-	-	73.7	75.4
Base	628	36	418	57

Different types of dailies/magazines

As the table on the next page (Table P4) suggests, there are differences between HTG and ETG respondents on what type of publications they choose to read.

The reach of General Interest magazines among HTG respondents is clearly higher than among their ETG counterparts in Bombay (63.9% vs 57.6%) However, in Calcutta, reach of General Interest magazines among HTG respondents is virtually the same as that among the easy to get respondents (49.1% vs 49.5%).

Both in Bombay and Calcutta, a lower proportion of HTG respondents can be reached by teenage magazines than their ETG counterparts (5.6% vs 10.5% in Bombay and 12.3% vs 15.6% in Calcutta).

In Bombay, the reach of business magazines is substantially higher among HTG respondents (33.3%) than it is among the ETG ones (21.2%). However, this does not hold true in Calcutta, where reach of business magazines is at the same level among both the groups.

The reach of women's magazines is lower among HTG respondents than among their ETG counterparts in Bombay (30.6% vs 35.7%). However, the opposite holds true in Calcutta (36.8% vs 31.8%).

The reach of sports magazines is clearly lower among HTG respondents than their ETG counterparts both in Bombay (Nil vs. 2.2%) and Calcutta (1.8% vs 8.1%).

The reach of magazines based on crime stories is lower among HTG respondents (2.8%) than their ETG counterparts (6.5%) in Bombay. However, there is no such difference in Calcutta.

Both in Bombay and Calcutta, HTG respondents have a much greater propensity to read a business publication (defined as a business magazine or an economic/business newspaper) than do their ETG counterparts (36.1% vs 23.9% in Bombay and 15.8% vs 11.7% in Calcutta).

Table P4 : Reach of Different Types of Dailies/Magazines

by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Any General Daily	67.8	66.7	787	78.9
Any Business Newspaper	5.6	5.6	5.7	7.0
Any General Interest Mag's	57.6	63.9	49.5	49.1
Any Business Mag.	21.2	33.3	9.6	8.8
Any Other Magazine	51.1	52.8	49.5	50.9
- Teenage	10.5	5.6	15.6	12.3
-Film	33.3	33.3	32.3	33.3
-Women's	35.7	30.6	31.8	36.8
- Sports	2.2	-	8.1	1.8
- Crime Stories	6.5	2.8	1.4	1.8
Any Business Pub. (Daily/Magazine)	23.9	36.1	11.7	15.8
Base	628	36	418	57

b.Time spent on reading different types of publications

Having looked at the incidence of interaction with different types of publications, let us now also look at the intensity of interaction with different categories of publications. And, for this purpose, we propose to look at total time spent on different types of publications. However, in order to separate the effect of varying levels of interaction with the print medium per se, in different groups, we have calculated the share of different types of publications in the total time spent on print.

Dailies vs Magazines

The share of dailies or magazines in the total time spent on print medium does not vary across HTG and ETG respondents in Bombay. However, in Calcutta, the share of magazines in total time spent on the print medium is somewhat lower among HTG respondents (7.5%) than that among their ETG counterparts (10.2%).

Table P5

Share of Dailies/Magazines in Total Time Spent on

Print Medium by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	**Third Call**	**First Call**	**Third Call**
Avg. Time spent on Print Medium (No. of mins/day)	57.0	68.8	76.9	68.1
Share of... Dailies (%)	85.0	84.2	89.8	92.5
Magazines (%)	15.0	15.8	10.2	7.5
Base	628	36	418	57

English vs Indian Language Press

Regardless of their location, HTG respondents do not differ from their ETG counterparts on the proportion of total print reading time allocated to English Press vis-a-vis Language Press.

Table P6

Share of English/Indian Language Press in Total Time
Spent on Print Medium by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	**Third Call**	**First Call**	**Third Call**
Avg Time Spent on Print Medium (No. of mins/day)	57.0	68.8	76.9	68.1
Share of... English Press (%)	51.6	49.0	39.9	42.6
Indian Language Press (%)	48.4	51.0	60.1	57.4
Share of... English Dailies (%)	43.2	41.9	35.5	39.8
English Magazines (%)	8.4	7.1	4.4	2.8
Indian Language Dailies (%)	41.9	42.3	54.4	52.7
Indian Language Mag's (%)	6.6	8.7	5.7	4.7
Base	628	36	418	57

However, if we look at this data by English and Indian Language dailies and magazines, some differences do emerge between HTG and ETG respondents.

In Calcutta, the share of English dailies in total time spent on the print medium is somewhat higher among HTG respondents (39.8%) than that among their ETG counterparts (35.5%).

In Bombay, HTG respondents spend a somewhat higher proportion of the total time allocated to print on reading Indian language magazines (8.7%) than do ETG respondents (6.6%).

General Interest vs Business vs Other Magazines

Of the total time spent on magazines, the share of different types of magazines differs substantially between HTG respondents and the ETG ones in Bombay. HTG respondents choose to spend much greater proportion of their magazine reading time on business magazines at the expense of both general interest and other magazines.

On the contrary, in Calcutta, HTG respondents spend hardly any time on reading business magazines (1%), while ETG respondents do spend 5% of their magazine reading time on business magazines. HTG respondents in Calcutta also spend a smaller proportion of their magazine reading time on general interest magazines (54%) as compared with their ETG counterparts (59%). Correspondingly, HTG respondents of Calcutta spend a somewhat larger proportion of their reading time on other magazines (45%) than do their ETG counterparts (36%).

Table P7

Share of Dailies/Magazines in Total Time Spent on
Print Medium by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Avg. Time Spent on Magazines (mins/month)	256	326	235	154
Share of magazines reading on... General Interest Mag's (%)	62	53	59	54
Business Mag's (%)	12	27	5	1
Other Mag's (%) (inc. Film, Women's, Sport etc.)	26	20	36	45
Base	628	36	418	57

So, to summarise :

a. Propensity to read different types of publication :

-The share of English press in the total reach of press is higher among HTG respondents than among the ETG respondents.

-In Bombay, the proportion reading any Indian language publication is higher among HTG respondents than among ETG respondents; among Indian languages, Gujarati being partonised more than Marathi by HTG respondents as compared to the ETG ones.

-There is a greater propensity to read <u>business publications</u> among HTG respondents versus ETG respondents.

-Reach of <u>teenage and sports magazines</u> is lower among HTG respondents as compared to ETG respondents.

b. Time spent on reading different types of publications :

- In Bombay, the HTG respondents spend a greater proportion of their time on <u>business magazines</u> at the expense of the other magazines, as compared to the ETG respondents. The reverse holds true for Calcutta.

Reasons for differences in reading behaviour
(of HTG respondents vis-a-vis ETG ones)

One of the reasons for differences in reading behaviour of HTG vis-a-vis the ETG respondents could be that the demographic profile of HTG respondents is very different from that of ETG ones. In order to check this out, the table below presents a detailed comparison of profile of those who could be interviewed only at the third call with that of those who were interviewed at the first call itself.

There are some clear differences in the composition of HTG respondents which cut across the two cities.

Thus, a greater proportion of HTG respondents (as compared to their ETG counterparts) are :

- Men

- Working full time

- From Rs 10,000+ monthly income households

- Professionalgraduates/post graduates

- Officers/executives

Table R1

A Comparative Profile of Respondents by First/Third Call

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	**Third Call**	**First Call**	**Third Call**
Base	628	36	418	57
Sex... Male	47	67	43	51
Female	53	33	57	49
Working Status...				
Not Working	53	36	57	44
Working Part-time	3	-	4	7
Working Full-time	44	64	39	49
Age... 15-24 yrs	24	14	13	14
25-34 yrs	22	31	17	23
35-44 yrs	19	20	28	31
45-54 yrs	16	21	17	9
Average Age (yrs)	39	39	43	41
Income...				
Rs 4001 - 6000	69	61	65	67
Rs 6001 - 10000	25	28	28	19
Rs 10000+	6	11	7	14
Average Income (Rs)	6010	6681	6172	6447
Socio-Economic Class...				
A1	20	22	27	28
A2	36	45	52	45
B1	19	19	9	9
B2	10	6	7	9
C/D/E1/E2	15	8	5	9
Education...				
Upto School 9 yrs	15	11	16	14
SSC/HSC	31	25	17	12
College (not Graduate)	14	19	10	11
Graduate/Post-Graduate (General)	32	28	46	47
Graduate/Post-Graduate (Professional)	8	17	11	16
Occupation...				
Not Working	53	36	57	44
Unskilled/Skilled Worker	7	6	1	-
Petty Trader/Shop Owner	5	11	7	7
Clerk/Salesmen/Supervisor	16	8	16	19
Self Employed professionals	1	3	2	4
Officers/Executives	13	28	13	24
Businessmen/Industrialists	5	8	4	2
Household...				
Main Earner and Housewife	2	3	3	2
Main Earner Only	30	50	25	26
Housewife Only	24	6	13	11
Others	44	41	59	61
Main Language spoken at home...				
English	5	3	1	-
Hindi	12	3	7	5
Gujarati	19	39	1	2
Marathi	40	31	-	-
Bengali	1	-	87	91
Other Indian languages	3	-	91	93

However, there are some other differences between the profile of HTG and ETG respondents which are specific to each of the two cities.

Thus, in Bombay, a lower proportion of HTG respondents (8%) belong to the four lowest socio-economic classes as compared to their ETG counterparts (15%). However, the reverse holds true about Calcutta where 9% of HTG respondents, as opposed to 5% of ETG respondents, belong to socio-economic classes C,D,E1 or E2.

In Bombay, a greater proportion of HTG respondents (50% vs 30% of ETG respondents) are main earners, and a much smaller proportion of them (6% vs 24% of ETG respondents) are housewives. However, in Calcutta, the profile of HTG and ETG respondents is very similar on the household status of the respondent.

In Bombay,there are clear differences between HTG respondents and ETG ones on the main language spoken at home. Thus, a substantially greater proportion of HTG respondents speak either Gujarati (39% vs 29% of ETG respondents) or other Indian languages (24% vs 3% of ETG respondents). A comparatively smaller proportion of them (3% vs 12% of ETG respondents) speak Hindi at home. In Calcutta, the profile of HTG respondents does not differ from that of ETG ones on the main language spoken at home.

In Bombay, the proportion who can read Gujarati is substantially higher among HTG respondents (47% vs 30% for ETG respondents). However, in Calcutta, it is Hindi which can be read by a greater proportion of HTG respondents (70% vs 58% of ETG respondents). This difference in ability to read has obvious implications for the estimation of readership of titles in different languages.

We thought that it may be worthwhile to check out whether differences in reading behaviour can be attributed to differences in the profile of respondents of HTG versus ETG respondents. For this purpose, we have carried out all the comparisons of reading behaviour among respondents who were similar demographically. Since sex and working status represent two dimensions on which the profile of HTG and ETG respondents differed most sharply, we have looked at the reading behaviour of men who work full time and who were HTG as compared to full time working men who were relatively ETG. Common sense would dictate that it is full time working men who are likely to be more difficult to get.

Thus, if the reading behaviour of full time working men who could be interviewed only at the third call is not very different from that of the full time working men who got interviewed at the first call itself, it can be inferred that differences in reading behaviour of HTG and ETG respondents can be directly attributed to some other variables which define the profile of such respondents.

A look at tables R2, R3 and R4 clearly points out that differences in intensity of consuming print either get narrowed or remain the same if one looks at only full time working men in Bombay (as opposed to all respondents). However, this does not hold true about Calcutta.

Table R2: Comparative Reach of Press by First/Third Call

Among All Respondents/Men; Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call Index: Call=100	Third Call Index: Call=100	First Call Index: Call=100	Third Call Index: Call=100
Reach of any Publication...				
- All Respondents	100	98	100	105
- Men Working Full-time	100	98	100	99
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

Table R3: Number of Publications Read by First/Third Call

Among All Respondents/Men, Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Average number of publications read (at all in the past year)...				
- All Respondents	100	119	100	95
- Men Working Full-time	100	114	100	92
Avg. no. of publications read (AIR)				
- All Respondents	100	96	100	84
- Men Working Full-time	100	97	100	69
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

Table R4: Total Time Spent on Reading Print by First/Third Call

Among All Respondents/Men, Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call	Third Call	First Call	Third Call
Total time spent on print				
- All Respondents	100	121	100	89
- Men Working Full-time	100	118	100	74
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

Tables R5, R6 and R7 suggest that differences in propensity to consume different types of titles between HTG and ETG respondents do not get narrowed down when one looks at only full time working men.

Table R5: Reach of Dailies vs Magazines by First/Third Call

by All Respondents/Men, Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100
Reach of any Daily...				
- All Respondents	100	98	100	103
- Men Working Full-time	100	106	100	100
Any magazine...				
- All Respondents	100	106	100	100
- Men Working Full-time	100	107	100	77
Total reach of Press... Share of dailies...				
- All Respondents	100	100	100	98
- Men Working Full-time	100	108	100	101
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

Table R6: Reach of English vs Indian Language Press by First and Third Call

by All Respondents/Men Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100
Reach of any English Publication				
- All Respondents	100	101	100	119
- Men Working Full-time	100	96	100	101
Any Indian Lang. Publication...				
- All Respondents	100	111	100	99
- Men Working Full-time	100	118	100	101
Total reach of Press... Share of English Press...				
- All Respondents	100	103	100	114
- Men Working Full-time	100	97	100	103
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

Table R7: Average Issue Readership of Eng/Language Press by

First and Third Call by All Respondents/Men, Working Full Time

	Bombay		Calcutta	
	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100	First Call Index: First Call=100	Third Call Index: First Call=100
Reach of any Indian Language publication...				
- All Respondents	100	111	100	99
- Men Working Full-time	100	1018	100	94
Any Hindi publication...				
- All Respondents	100	90	100	45
- Men Working Full-time	100	96	100	60
Any Gujarati publication...				
- All Respondents	100	204	-	-
- Men Working Full-time	100	225	-	-
Any Marathi publication...				
- All Respondents	100	55	-	-
- Men Working Full-time	100	68	-	-
Any Bengali publication...				
- All Respondents	-	-	100	102
- Men Working Full-time	-	-	100	101
Base...				
- All Respondents	628	36	418	57
- Men Working Full-time	213	20	131	23

In fact, the dimension on which the difference between HTG and ETG respondents is the highest in Bombay, is the reach of Gujarati publication. And, if we look at only full time working men, this difference between HTG and ETG respondents in fact gets widened rather than narrowed. (Index for reach of Gujarati Publications for HTG respondents vis-a-vis easy to get ones is 225 among full time working men as against 204 among all respondents).

It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that differences in the intensity of print consumption of HTG and ETG respondents in Bombay are partially accounted for by differences in the ethnic profile of these respondents.

However, for intensity of print consumption in Calcutta and propensity to consume different types of titles either in Bombay or Calcutta, differences between HTG and ETG respondents cannot be solely attributed to differences in profile of these respondents.

CONCLUSION

Hard-to-get respondents do differ from their easy-to-get counterparts both in the intensity of print consumption and on the propensity to consume different titles. While some of these differences exhibit the same pattern across the two cities - Bombay and Calcutta - many dimensions of these differences are specific to one city.

In both the cities, hard-to-get respondents do differ from their easy-to-get counterparts on several demographic variables, including their ability to read different languages.

The incidence of full-time working men is highest among the hard-to-get respondents and is substantially lower among the easy-to-get respondents. Yet differences in reading behaviour of full time working men belonging to the two groups are not significantly narrower than those for the entire group of hard-to-get and easy-to-get respondents. Thus, mere demographic differences - at least on sex and working status - do not account fully for the differences in reading behaviour of the two groups of respondents.

If differences in reading behaviour could be attributed to demographic differences then these `distortions' could be corrected by weighting, as long as one has an accurate description of the universe (one which is normally external to the study). However, in many countries, syndicated media studies typically happen to have the largest random samples and, therefore, also double up as providers of detailed estimates of universe size and composition. This implies that these surveys must make additional efforts to interview hard-to-get respondents in order to provide both, an accurate estimation of universe composition, and an accurate estimation of the reading behaviour. This is to be borne in mind, particularly in multilingual societies, where not making adequate efforts in contacting respondents may well end up either underestimating or overestimating the strength of publications in one language versus those in other languages.