International Journal of

COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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INTERNATIONAL
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SOCIAL RESEARCH

VICE CHANCELLOR'S MESSAGE

It gives me immense pleasure to see the first issue of International Journal of Communication and Social Research (IJCSR) being launched by the Department of Convergent Journalism of the Central University of Kashmir (CUK). From its very inception, CUK is committed to academic excellence. The publication of the journal in this regard is one more feather in the cap. Universities are places which are supposed to disseminate and generate knowledge. What pleases me most about the launch of this journal is that it is perhaps the first ever international communication journal published from our state despite the fact that the University is still in its nascent stage. The Department of Convergent Journalism is just two years old. It is really appreciable that it has achieved this feat in such a short time. I extend my blessings and good wishes to the Department and the editorial board of IJCSR. I do hope that the journal will set milestones in communication and social research.

Prof Abdul Wahid

COORDINATOR'S MESSAGE

Dear faculty member/scholar/reader,

It is really a matter of pride for the Department of Convergent Journalism to launch a journal on communication and social research. The department is just two years old and we have achieved such a feat so soon. I am thankful to all my colleagues and especially to Dr. John Babu for making it happen. From the very beginning the Department of Convergent Journalism, CUK is committed to providing best possible education and training to journalism students. Since research is an essential aspect of academics, it is mandatory to orient the department with research activities in the field of communication and social research. The publication of IJCSR is just like one more milestone reached in this direction. I hope you will like the first issue of the journal.
Happy Reading!

Shahnaz Bashir
Dept. of Convergent Journalism

FROM EDITOR'S DESK

With the ever increasing convergence of new technologies, the means of communication research as well as methods of research are changing. Researchers have been finding the new sources of online and print academic journals for effective and speedy information dissemination and disclosing their research reports. Since there is dearth of quality interdisciplinary communication studies journals from South Asia, International Journal of Communication and Social Research (IJCSR) encourages critical, constructive research with a special focus on the third world.

IJCSR is an outcome of my research endeavor on developmental issues for the last fifteen years, and my effort to bring out an academic journal since last one year. But my dreams have materialized with the enormous support of Vice Chancellor Prof. Abdul Wahid and my beloved colleagues in the Department of Convergent Journalism, at Central University of Kashmir.

IJCSR is established as a means to disseminate findings of media academics and social scientists to in-turn stimulate further research in communication, media and social science, and integrate various fields of understanding around them. I hope the purpose will be served when teaching faculties, research scholars and students use the journal and contribute well researched articles to it.

I thank Vice chancellor Prof. Abdul Wahid, my colleagues in the editorial team, the editorial and advisory board members at national level. Also heart-felt thanks to renouned academicians in communication studies Prof. Arvind Singhal (USA) and Prof. Daya K. Thussu (UK) for accepting to be editorial board members, and contributing an article in the first issue.

Dr. K. John Babu
Editor-in-Chief

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CONTENTS

Objectives of the Journal

International Journal of Communication and Social Research (IJCSR) aims to provide a specialized forum for the exchange of academic research and professional practice pertaining to broad areas of mass media and social development with wider scope of national and international importance. Special emphasis will be placed to encourage original research and empirical analysis to achieve deeper understanding in various aspects of mass media on social sciences. It envisage that research papers, book reviews, published in this journal will contribute for building knowledge base for advancing development models practice across the globe.

IJCSR welcomes articles on issues of current interest with case studies, survey research, content analysis, innovative ideas and solutions to social problems to the specific topics: Development and communication, Media and Human rights, Right to Information (RTI) and Media. Political Communication, New Media and Politics, Convergence in Media, Media and Governance, Media and Third World, International Communication, Media and Culture, Media Anthropology, Films, Pictorial Communication, Media Economy, Media Ownership, Media Education, Media and Society, Media History, Media and Conflict, Glocalization, Media and Gender, Media and Environment, Media and Minorities, Media and the Marginalized, Alternative Media, Media and Inclusive Growth, Media and Freedom of Expression, Media Laws and Policy, Micro-level Media/Community Media, Media and Diversity, Traditional or folk Media and development, Literary/Creative Journalism, The Language of Media, Advertising and Public Relation, Scrutinizing Media, Graphics/Animation/Cartoons, Communication Theories and Models, Information and Communication Technology.

Papers are also welcome from other allied social science fields. The journal will consider all methodological approaches.

For any query please contact:

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Adaptive macro and micro communication strategies to eradicate polio in India: Social mobilization, opinion leadership, and interpersonal influence at unprecedented scale[1]

Prof. Arvind Singhal, Ph.D.
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In the long roster of documented polio cases in India, Rukhsar Khatoon of Howrah District in West Bengal has a coveted place: she is the last entry, dated January 13, 2011. Two years later, on January 13, 2013, with no other polio cases reported, the World Health Organization declared India as being free of the wild polio virus. India's Rukhsar Khatoon is one among many "lasts" in the annals of global polio eradication: In 1991, a child in Peru represented the last case in the Americas; in 1997, a child in Cambodia was the last case in the Pacific region; and in 1998, a child in Turkey was the last case in Europe (Ferris, 2013).

With India's name off the list of endemic countries, only three countries remain that have yet not eliminated the stranglehold of the wild poliovirus – Nigeria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. India's triumph over the wild polio virus demonstrates that it is possible to wipe out polio from this world. Not since 1979, when the smallpox virus was completely eradicated from nature, has the

world come so close to eradicating another infectious disease -- no small feat for a disease whose recorded history goes back several thousands of years. An Egyptian stele, a tablet employed as a tombstone, from about 1500 B.C., for instance, depicts an individual with an atrophied leg, signifying polio's long-stand in history.

The purpose of the present article is to analyze India's march toward polio eradication, focusing on the relentless implementation of macro and micro communication strategies. I discuss the micro-targeting and messaging interventions to achieve large-scale compliance, especially in the states of UP and Bihar, analyzing the elements of social mobilization, involvement and engagement of local opinion leaders, and a data-driven adaptive strategy. No country, at any time, has utilized the art and science of social communication for a greater public good as India did to wipe out polio. This article represents a modest attempt to analyze the communication-centric[2]

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elements that contributed to this public health triumph of epic proportions, and represents, truly, India's gift to the world.

Toward a polio-free world

It may come as a surprise to many that prior to 1955, until a vaccine for polio became available, the worst outbreaks of the disease were reported in Western Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United States (Oshinsky, 2005). Prior to, and post-World War II, polio was deeply feared globally and second only to the atomic bomb in the US because it hit indiscriminately, causing panic akin to present-day terror attacks. Polio spared no one, not even American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and worse, it was insidiously partial to children, especially boys. One of the worst polio epidemics in the U.S. occurred in 1952, when 58,000 healthy people in the U.S.

Figure 1: Patients hooked to iron lungs in the 1952 U.S. polio epidemic Source: Wikipedia Commons (Public Domain)

contracted polio, of which 3,200 died, and 22,000 were left with deformed limbs, braces, crutches, and wheel chairs (Gould, 1995). An all too familiar sight in US hospitals were polio wards with endless rows of patients hooked to iron lungs, ungodly mechanical ventilators that breathed for people who lost muscular control (Black, K., 1996) (Figure 1).

The tide against the scourge of polio began to turn when Jonas Salk announced the development of a safe and effective injectable vaccine on April 12, 1955. It was immediately put to use for the greater public good. When famed television reporter Edward R. Murrow asked Salk about who owned the patent to the vaccine, his response was: "The people I would say. There is no patent. Could you patent the sun?" While the Salk polio injectable vaccine has been available since the mid-1950s and the Sabin oral polio vaccine (OPV) since 1962, polio still has no cure. Vaccine-based prevention is the only cure!

Some 20 million people are living today who have been crippled by the polio virus. Polio is spread through the oral-fecal route from one person to another. The virus enters the body orally, multiplies in the intestine, and then spreads through feces in places besieged by poor hygiene and sanitation, high population density, and inadequate health services. The virus usually strikes children under the age of five, and can cause death and permanent, irreversible disability through paralysis of limbs. For every one case of paralysis that is reported, roughly 200 people carry the virus, 90 percent of them without symptoms (see http://www.polioeradication.org/Polioandprevention.aspx#sthash.4TMsKhbV.dpuf) Once a substantial number of children in a community (80 to 85 percent) are fully immunized against polio, the virus finds it difficult to find a host and dies out.

In 1988, some nine years after the world had eradicated the scourge of smallpox[3], the World Health Assembly established the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI). The triumph over smallpox was a phenomenal global public health feat, given the highly virulent disease killed an estimated half-a-million Europeans annually in the early 19th century (Hays, 1995). A killer without comparison, smallpox took 300 to 500 million lives during the 20th century, rendering tens of millions blind all over the world, and leaving hundreds of millions pock-marked survivors (Koplow, 2003; Henderson, 2009). After eradicating smallpox, the global public health community turned its attention to polio eradication. When GPEI was established in 1988, polio was endemic in 125 countries and some 350,000 cases of infant paralysis occurred each year (Figure 2).

The GPEI, spearheaded by national governments, WHO, Rotary International, UNICEF, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and more recently the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is the largest public health initiative the world has known. Since 1988, some two billion children have been immunized against polio in more than 200 countries involving over 20 million vaccinators and volunteers. The number of polio cases has spiraled downward – by 99.9 percent -- from 350,000 in 1988, to a couple of hundred in 2013. An estimated 10 million children have been spared paralysis (see http://www.gatesfoundation.org/What-We-Do/Global-Development/Polio). Of the 3 types of wild polio viruses, the last recorded wild case of type 2 was in 1999, and of type 3 in November 2012. Only type 1 wild polio virus persists. The number of countries with endemic polio have dropped from 125 to three (Figure 3)!

Toward a polio-free India

With its billion-plus people, squalid urban slums and remote rural communities, India was expected to be the last sanctuary for the wild polio virus (Paul, 2007). However, backed by strong political will, a country as huge and diverse and poor as India managed to stop polio in its tracks (Chaturvedi, 2008). Completing the "last mile" called for every ounce of human effort, ingenuity, and data-driven macro and micro strategy (Figure 4).

Beginning in the mid-1990s, the polio eradication efforts in India were intensified around National Immunization Days (NIDs) and "pulse polio" campaigns to reach every child under the age of five in every round. A National Polio Surveillance Project was established in 1997 to closely track the evolving epidemiology of the disease, and target efforts accordingly. The NIDs yielded good results in many states as immunity increased over time and the number of polio cases declined. The strategy changed accordingly, moving from a focus on a general population to more intensive engagement in localized geographic areas with particular communities where the children were at highest risk.

Despite this focused targeting, in the two most populous and poorest states in north India -- Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar – the polio virus was resilient and relentless, finding new hosts amidst poverty, high population density, and poor hygiene and sanitation (Cheng, 2004). Especially troubling were some 107 Blocks (an

Figure 2: Some 125 countries had endemic polio in 1988.

World Map of Polio in 1988
Barring Few, Most Countries are Polio Endemic

Source: WHO

Figure 3: The world map of polio in 2013

World Polio Map in 2013 with India Polio-Free
Nigeria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan Remain Endemic

Figure 4: India's long road to polio eradication.
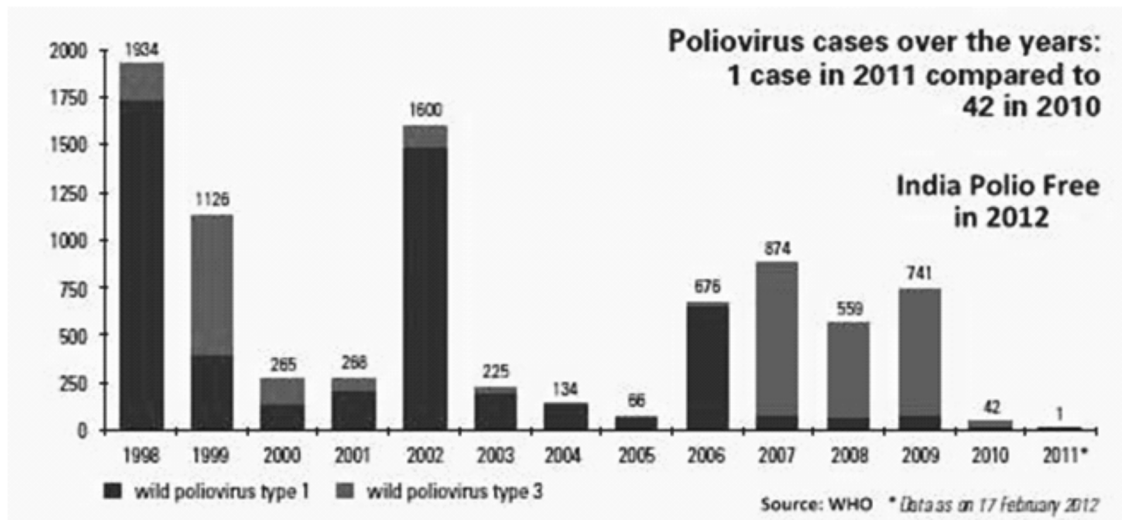
Figure 5: The dark areas represent the 107 polio reservoirs in western UP and Bihar State
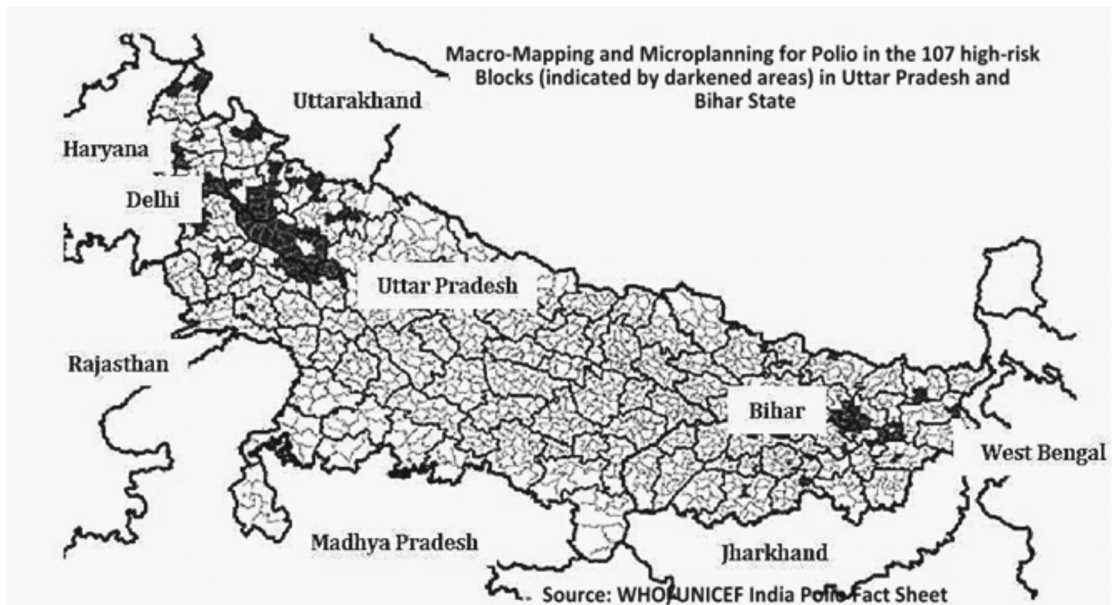
administrative unit within a district) of western UP and Bihar States which represented "polio factories" (endemic reservoirs). In 2003, an estimated 80 percent of the world's new polio cases originated in these locations. To rid these two states of polio would require sustained and highly coordinated social mobilization campaigns.

Data-driven macro and micro communication strategies

By any measure, the scale of the polio eradication effort in India was staggering. In the last decade leading up to eradication, more than 170 million Indian children under the age of 5 were being vaccinated in two national immunization campaigns, involving the mobilization of 2.5 million vaccinators (UNICEF, 2012). Additionally, up to 70 million children in the highest-risk areas were vaccinated multiple times during Subnational Immunization Days (SNIDs). The on-the-ground mobilization was of epic proportions.

UNICEF, in cooperation with various international, national and state-level partners, led the implementation of intense social mobilization and behavior change communication campaigns (Black, M., 1996; Chaturvedi, 2008; Mittal & Matthew, 2007).[4] What made the polio communication activities extraordinary, especially in UP and Bihar state, were the mapping and record-keeping associated with the macro-plan (at the state, district, and block level) and a relentless drive to reach each child as per the micro-plan (at the village, locality, and household level). Mapping and monitoring of each household was developed into a precise art

(or "German engineering"), where the room for error was minimal given the goal was complete eradication (Singhal, 2008).

More importantly, these macro and micro-plans for reaching every child under the age of five were continually refined, strengthened and benchmarked to measure their efficacy and effectiveness (Singhal, 2008). Michael Galway, who guided UNICEF's communication and social mobilization efforts during these crucial years in India, emphasized: "The polio communication effort on the ground came with a tremendous accountability to both donors and clients. Therefore, the communication strategy had to be evidence-based, data driven, epidemiologically-guided, adaptive, and localized."[5]

Achieving compliance, overcoming resistances and rumors

The organization of NIDs and SNIDs would mean little if caregivers did not know *when* and *where* these polio rounds would take place, and if they were not convinced that that these drops were essential to protect their children (Athar, Khan, & Khan, 2007). While it may seem that the central communication message is simple (immunize your child) and needs to be reinforced repeatedly without variation, challenges existed in reaching isolated communities, migratory populations, and every child during every round, as also in countering rumors about vaccine safety.

Tracking the immunization status of every child under the age of five was crucial in the NIDs and SNIDs, especially in the high-risk areas. If a child went unvaccinated during a polio round – at the

neighborhood immunization booth or during the door-to-door visit, the reason for missing the child (e.g., child was sick, in school or in the playground, or out of town) were noted, and at least three additional attempts were made within the following week to make sure the child was immunized.

Another challenge involved continued compliance by families in each round, spaced once every five to six weeks in the 107 high-risk blocks of western UP and Bihar state. How to convince families that polio can still cripple children who have been immunized several times? Michael Galway noted in a personal interview: "People live difficult lives in this part of the world and they, understandably, get angry when we are back in their house every six weeks with a polio vaccine. What they really want is electricity, water, schools for their children, sanitation, and better health care."[6]

An even tougher challenge was convincing those who were misinformed and resisted vaccinations for reasons that were personal, local, cultural, and frequently changing. To do so, frontline workers developed new tools to engage with families, to record the reasons for refusal, to better understand the complexities of multiple community identities even within the same village or urban slum, and to overcome deeply-rooted social and cultural barriers, such as the practice in UP and Bihar of not allowing newborns to be immunized. When questions were raised or resistances detected, answers were researched, messages pre-tested in the field, and the social mobilization team, composed of local health workers and volunteers, would rope in key influencers –

whether imams, school teachers, community leaders or medical doctors – to engage and convince the families.

Efforts to eradicate polio globally and in India, received a big setback when a 2003 *fatwa* issued by influential Muslim clerics in the West African nation of Nigeria warned their communities to avoid polio vaccination for it would, they said, make children sterile[7]. Heeding the *fatwa*, members of some Muslim communities in northern Nigeria stopped vaccinations. A minority of Muslim leaders in India also supported the *fatwa*. UNICEF and other partners joined hands with premier Muslim institutions (e.g. Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia Milia Islamia University, and others) to address and overcome misguided *fatwas* or other ostensibly faith-based opposition. In addition, local religious leaders were engaged in mosques and *madrasas* (religious Islamic schools) to support polio eradication. Many of them signed appeals and provided printed testimonials during prayers, festivals, and community events. Countering rumors without delay, and that too in close partnership with credible and influential religious and local leaders, help put the Polio program back on tracks.

Influence of social mobilizers and local opinion leaders

In 2008, during one of the SNIDs, I spent several days in western UP to witness the social mobilization activities first-hand. I met dozens of community mobilizers belonging to the Social Mobilization Network (SMNet), which UNICEF helped launch in 2001. At the time of my visit, some 4,300 community mobilization coordinators (CMCs) actively worked in

44 districts in UP, supported by an umbrella of block, district, and sub-region coordinators, who continuously liaison with local administration, public health officials, stakeholders, and partner agencies to utilize resources optimally. The CMCs were strategically placed in high risk areas (HRAs) concentrated around western UP and select eastern and central pockets of the state, forming the link with the underserved community most at risk. On average, each CMC tracked 440 households and about 375 under-5 children, covering about 1.85 million households and 1.6 million children during each of pulse polio rounds (once every 5-6 weeks), in addition to routine immunization of children (Singhal, 2008).

In western UP, the frontline social mobilizers that I met were mostly women, who lived and worked in communities that are at high-risk for ongoing transmission of the polio virus. With some training, these mobilizers maintained and updated extremely complicated data and records of children in their area, which is consolidated upward during each round through multiple levels (community, locality, block, district, and State), analyzed, and fed back with amazing alacrity.

What made these on-the-ground social mobilizers tick was the personal rapport, credibility, and trust they brought to an interpersonal encounter. As Chaturvedi (2008, p. 5) noted: "Nothing beats the familiar face, the lilt of the local dialect and the genuine concern of the friendly neighborhood aunt who may say: 'He looks a little pale today, have you taken him to the doctor? Don't neglect your health while looking after the babies and don't forget to come to the polio booth on Sunday'". Such personalized, localized interaction with a locally-respected woman, backed by a network of local influencers and opinion leaders, provided an opportunity for iterative dialogue, discussion, and decision-making, leading to the imbibing of the two miracle drops of the oral polio vaccine.

Opinion leadership is the degree to which an individual is able to influence informally others' behavior in a desired direction (Rogers, 2005; Singhal & Dearing, 2006). SMNet's social mobilizers worked very closely with local "influencers" (religious, occupational, and societal) to actively engage them in convincing resistant households. Between January 2006 and April 2007, the percentage of local influencers who accompanied vaccination teams during house-to-house activities doubled in high-risk pockets of UP, significantly boosting immunity in the community (Figure 7). Further, the presence of local *pradhans* (chiefs of local government), medical practitioners, imams, and shop keepers, visibly demonstrated that polio eradication was not an imposition from the outside, but a goal that the community owned.

The cumulative effect of community influencers working shoulder-to-shoulder with community mobilizers is evident in Figure 8, showing the number of households resistant to immunizing their children in Uttar Pradesh dropped by half in within six months.

Adaptive communication strategy

The on-the-ground mobilization and vaccination strategy in western UP and

Figure 6: A micro-plan detailing households within a locality in a polio endemic village. Source: Arvind Singhal

Figure 7: The rising engagement, over time, of local influencers in UP state.
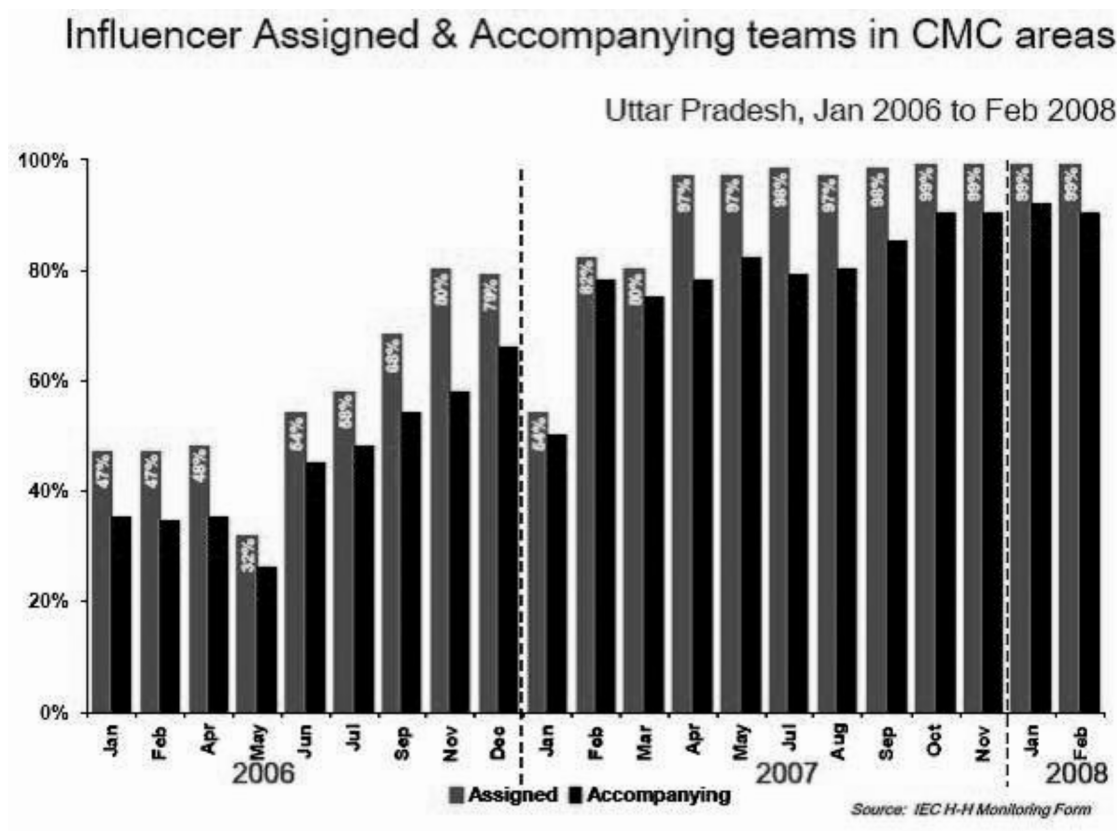
Figure 8: The declining number of resistant households as community influencers work shoulder-to-shoulder with community mobilizers.
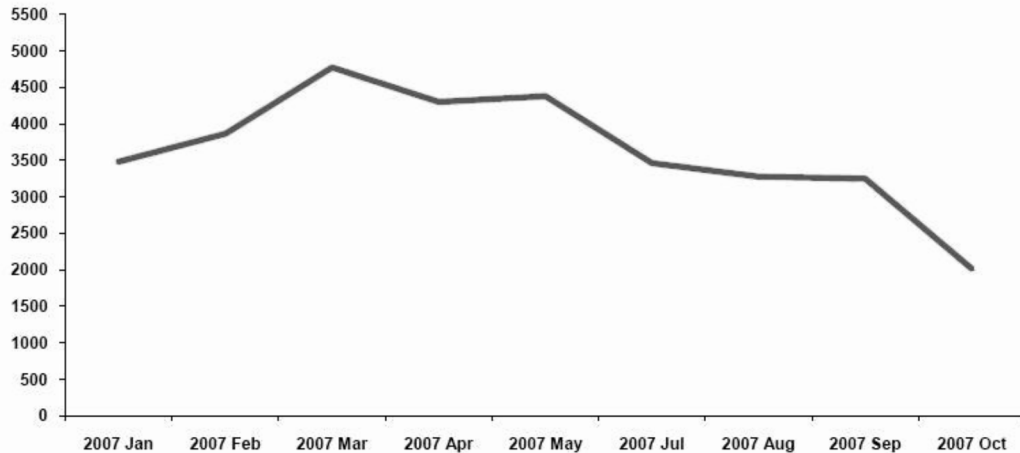
Figure 9: The rising coverage of newborns to keep pace with the evolving epidemiology of the polio virus.
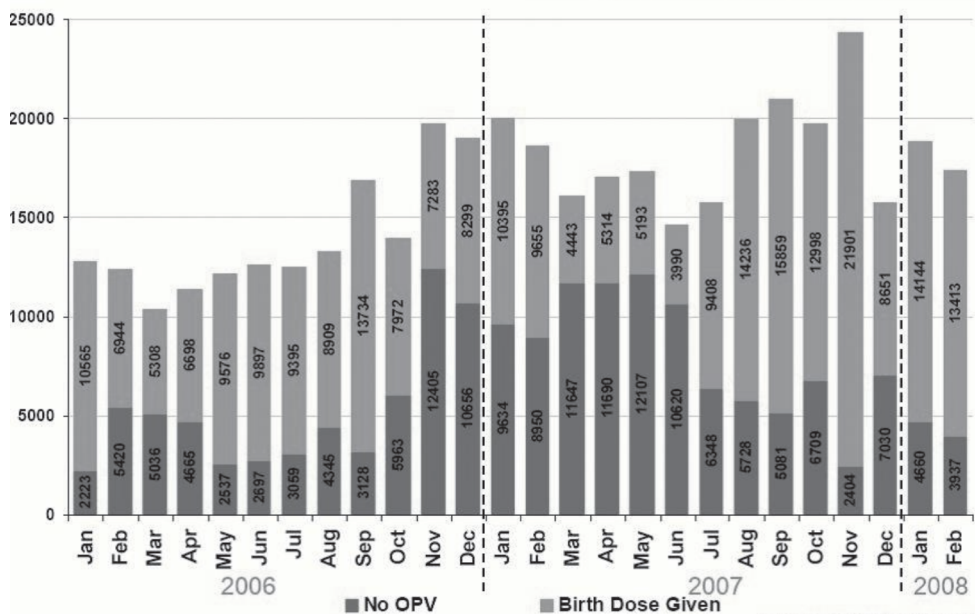
Bihar was dynamic and nimble, guided by emerging data, and responding to the evolving epidemiology of the polio virus. For instance, as immunity levels began to rise in communities for children under the age of five, it was imperative to increase the vaccine coverage of newborns. Newborns were especially at risk for polio, given the established social norm in rural and semi-urban households in UP and Bihar to shield the newly-arrived from "evil outside eyes," – a cultural response to cope with high infant mortality. Immunizing newborns was critical in UP and Bihar, the two most populous Indian states with a combined population of 300 million, where some 18,000 babies were delivered each day.   No newborn could be missed.

This shift to target newborn households is evidence of how the communication strategy was continually adapted to keep pace with the epidemiological data. As polio in north India became more clustered in the youngest children, getting to these newborns before the polio virus was imperative. Community mobilizers were on location with alacrity, convincing mothers of newborns and their husbands and in-laws to immunize their child within hours (or days) of their birth (Figure 9).

Conclusions

There is much for the world to learn from India's journey to eradicate polio:

- the relentless implementation of macro and micro communication strategies;
- the micro-targeting and micro-messaging to achieve compliance, overcome resistance, and counter rumors;

- large-scale and intensive on-the-ground social mobilization and active and purposive involvement of local religious and opinion leaders; and,
- an evidence-based, data driven, epidemiologically-guided, adaptive communication strategy.

The room for error with polio eradication is next to zero, given that it takes only one individual to transmit the virus. India's journey toward remaining polio-free needs be equally relentless, until Nigeria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan eradicate the wild polio virus.

It has been over 30 months since Rukhsar Khatoon's name was recorded on India's polio roster. That is an epic triumph in the annals of global public health. It has brought the world a step closer to eradicating polio. We all await the day when the final entry will be made in the global roster of polio cases.

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Endnotes

1. When Prof. K. John Babu, editor of the International Journal of Communication and Social Research invited me to serve on the editorial board, and invited me to contribute an article, I took his invitation seriously. I asked myself: what value could I uniquely add to this inaugural issue. After some deliberating, I decided to make an attempt to capture, even if modestly, the salient elements of India's macro and micro-level communication and social mobilization strategy to eradicate polio. That this new journal originates from India helped in steering my decision. It would not be boastful to say the following: no country, at no time, has at such unprecedented scale, used the art and

science of social communication for a greater public good as India did to wipe out polio – a public health triumph of epic proportions. It is India's gift to the world, and a tribute to its millions of polio workers.

Personally and professionally, I have been privileged to have many encounters with India's polio program. I have vivid memories of imbibing the oral polio vaccine drops straight out of a refrigerator in a doctor's office as a child growing up (in the late 1960s) in Lucknow, UP state, and then in Chakradharpur, Bihar state (now in Jharkhand). Later in life, as a health and social communication researcher and scholar, I witnessed at close quarters India's polio eradication program in western UP in 2008, under the auspices of UNICEF, the agency that led the on-the-ground social mobilization and communication actions.

My activities included field visits to several blocks and villages of Meerut District and in-depth interactions with officials and community mobilizers of UNICEF's SMNet, local health officials, and polio resistant families. Further, I reviewed archival records (in Delhi and Meerut), both historical and current, of India's march toward polio eradication. Especially golden were in-depth personal interviews with Michael Galway and Naysan Sahba, both officials in UNICEF's Programme Communication Unit in New Delhi, and Dr. Hamid Jafari, WHO's project manager for Polio Surveillance in India. Robert Cohen, Ketan Chitnis, Rina Gill, and Neha Kapil of UNICEF's C4D unit and Jeffrey Bates of the Polio Team, New York, helped enhance my understanding of the macro and micro communicative elements in India's polio strategy (see Singhal, 2008).

Since 2010, I have been privileged to serve on the Independent Monitoring Board of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative, which has helped to further sharpen my understanding of the vital role of communication and social mobilization in eradicating polio from the remaining three endemic countries: Nigeria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Closser, 2008). Toward this end, I have learned quite a bit from participating in on-the-ground polio activities in northern Nigeria (especially in Sokoto and Zamfara states) and in Pakistan (including Lahore and vicinity in Punjab state and areas in and around Peshawar in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).

An important disclaimer: The views that I express here are solely mine – in my capacity as a scholar and sense-maker of communication strategy, and not to be attributed to either UNICEF or the IMB. This piece, while written especially for this volume, draws upon my previous sense-making attempts (i.e. Singhal, 2008). Almost all the data presented here is in the public domain and most of it available from the following sites: http://www.polioeradication.org/ and UNICEF (2012) available at http://www.unicef.org/india/Polio_Booklet-final_(22-02-2012)V3.pdf. Also, see McNeil (2011).

2. In this article, we focus more on the interpersonal and ground-based elements of the polio communication strategy (see also Obregon et al. 2009), while acknowledging the important role of mass-media polio campaigns, include the long-running one featuring Bollywood

superstars, Amitabh Bachchan and Shah Rukh Khan, promoting the two miracle drops. In addition, there was widespread media coverage of sports stars and other celebrities vaccinating children, radio jingles, millions of strategically placed posters, banners and print advertisements, and continuous engagement with all mass media – national, regional and even the local vernaculars.

3. The only other infectious disease that has been eradicated is rinderpest (a German word meaning "cow plague"), a viral, highly contagious, and deadly disease afflicting cows (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rinderpest). In June of 2011, the United Nations FAO confirmed the disease was eradicated.

4. While UP and Bihar were the last bastions of the polio virus in India, West Bengal, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Delhi were always at risk, because of migration (of laborers and their families) from UP and Bihar to work on construction projects and in agricultural fields. Even within a state or a district there is seasonal migration of labor to work in fields, orchards, brick kilns, and construction projects. Hence, during each polio round, a vast array of "mobile" polio teams were employed to cover migrant populations at bus stations, construction sites and on trains.

5. Personal interview with Michael Galway, Chief, Programme Communication, UNICEF, New Delhi, conducted on January 9, 2008.

6. Personal interview with Michael Galway, Ibid.

7. See http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/node/6637, retrieved on August 8, 2013.

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Press and political parties: An analysis of 2009 election coverage in India

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Introduction

The launching of the first political party, Indian National Congress in 1885 to fight against the British rule, laid the foundation for political parties in India. Since then, political parties are emerging in the country for various purposes of protecting the interests of vested groups. Broadly, the political parties are of two types: national and regional. Since, India has a multi-party system as different movements at various points of time in the history of the country turned into different political outfits because the movements gained political colour. For example, Lok Satta, a movement against corruption in Andhra Pradesh became a political party in the 2009 elections. Some other political parties began as social or political organizations before Independence, and later they emerged as political outfits to champion the cause of the people. For instance, Dravida Kazhagam, a movement against the North Indians or Aryans became a political party after Independence as Dravida Munnetra Khazagam (DMK) which later split into AIADMK and DMK.

The Communist Party of India which came into existence in the 1920s split into two in 1963 as Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxists).

Even the Indian National Congress, the age-old party split into various parties as Congress(S), Congress (R), Tamil Manila Congress (TMC), and so on. Further, some of the political parties like Akali Dal, Asom Gana Parishad, Telugu Desam, Shiva Sena remained as regional parities, confining themselves to particular states. However, the peculiar trend in the Indian politics is that the political parties centre on particular individuals. For example, Shiva Sena, though it is a political party, its activities centre around it's founder Bal Thackery. Furthermore, the political parties merge with other parties, completely losing their identity or relevance in the country. However, if any group or movement is to become a political party, it has to register with the Election Commission of India which allots a symbol to the party to contest the Lok Sabha or State Legislature elections. Thus each political party has a flag, colour and a symbol to propagate or conduct meetings.

In the political campaigns, semiotics[1] play a vital role when a particular party identifies itself with the symbol/sign or colour. Since illiteracy is predominant in the country, the people are familiarized with party symbol or sign to identify the party during the elections. Therefore, political parities create awareness among

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the people about the party through various means like giving statements, protests, rallies and so on using its symbol or flag or colour. Apart from it, the political parties launch campaigns on various issues either supporting or opposing them. Nevertheless, nine political parties in the state of Andhra Pradesh contested in the elections in 2009 Lok Sabha and Assembly polls. Thus, the present study makes an attempt to analyze the news coverage of political parties and issues by four select newspapers in the state. The primary objective of the study is to ascertain the news coverage given to the political party and the issues in terms of favourable, unfavourable and neutral direction.

Methodology

In view of the specific objectives of the study, content analysis is used as a method to ascertain the coverage to the political parties in Andhra Pradesh in 2009 elections.

Selection of newspapers: Four newspapers were selected for the present study keeping in view their circulation, geographical location, and the language. They are: *The Hindu, Deccan Chronicle, Andhra Jyothi* and *Eenadu.* While *The Hindu* and *Deccan Chronicle* are considered elite dailies in English, the other two are premier Telugu newspapers in Andhra Pradesh. *The Hindu* has the highest circulation among the English dailies of the region, whereas *Eenadu* has the highest circulation among the Telugu dailies published from this region. The other two dailies stand in the second place in their respective languages. Two considerations went into the selection of the two different language dailies: 1) English being the associate official language and the main medium of intellectual exchange among the elite in the country, the English dailies are read by the majority of policy-makers, decision-makers and administrators 2) the language newspapers are read by the masses and reach the majority of the population in the region.

The universe and the sample: The universe for this study comprises all the editions of the four selected dailies published during the calendar year i.e., January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009, as 2009 is the election year for the Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections. The year was divided into three sub-periods as the elections were held in the month of May. The first four months were the preparation for elections; the next four months were election campaigns and the last four months were the governance by the new political party. It was thought that the new government would take a minimum of three months to settle, and the actual governance would begin in the last four months of the year. As soon as the elections were over, the parties would indulge in the results analysis, and therefore the last four months of the year was taken as another sub-period.

Sampling procedure: While selecting the sample, keeping in view the time and financial resources available for the researcher, it was thought that a sample of 10% of all the editions of the four newspapers would be sufficient. This sample, selected randomly, would be adequate for generalising to the universe (Stempel, 1952; Riffe. et. al., 1993). Two methods were adopted to select the editions to constitute the study sample: 1) continuous week, and 2) constructed week.

The sample selection was done in two stages:

i. Stage one. A continuous week sampling method was adopted to select randomly three continuous weeks (one continuous week comprises days from Monday to Sunday) from all the weeks in the designated time period – January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009. In order to select the required weeks through this method, the sample year was divided into 3 sub-periods, that is, i) January, February, March and April; ii) May, June, July and August; iii) September, October, November and December. Then three weeks that is one each from the three sub-periods were randomly selected.

ii. Stage two. The second stage comprised a constructed week method (Budd et. al., 1967). For this purpose seven days of the week were randomly selected from each sub-period to construct a week. That means, a Monday, a Tuesday, a Wednesday, a Thursday, a Friday, a Saturday and a Sunday were selected randomly from all Mondays, Tuesdays …etc., of each of the sub-period. Thus, three constructed weeks were selected from the three sub–periods of the sample year.

All in all, the following weeks were selected through continuous week method making up for three weeks of the sample.

Sub-period I: March 22 - March 28, 2009
Sub-period II: June 7- June13, 2009
Sub -period III: D e c e m b e r 2 0 - December 26, 2009
No. of days: 21

Total No. of editions: 84

The following days of the week were selected through constructed week method making up for the three weeks of the sample.

Sub-period I: January 7, January 25, February 16, February 28, March 11, April 3, and April 30
Sub-period II: May 12, May 31, June 22, July 10, July 22, August 8 and August 20
Sub-period III: September 8, September 30, October 3, October 25, November 26, December 11, and December 26
No. of days: 21
Total No. of editions: 84

Since no public holidays occurred during these 42 days, all the editions of the four newspapers published on these days were considered for analysis. Thus, basing on the continuous and constructed week methods, there were 42 editions per daily and a total of 168 editions for four sample dailies came up for analysis.

The unit of analyses for this study consisted of all the news items, published in the front page and inside pages of four selected dailies.

Operational definition of unit of analysis: Following is the definition of unit of analysis used in this study.

A news item is any item dealing with timely event with current dateline. It is defined as an account of events reported by the paper's own correspondents or reporters and wire service stories. Human interest stories are included in this item (Parthasarathy, 1984: 107-108). Specifically, political news is defined, for the purpose of the present study, as any news item that contains statements or promises made by the political parties or

leaders of that political party or the activities taken up by them such as procession, strike, boycott or any other mode of protests to highlight a problem or an issue. Even functions or programmes conducted by political leaders or parties to celebrate a victory or an event associated with the political party is also considered a political news item in the present study. However, this category excludes the news items that contain policy statements or official activities involving political leaders in the capacity as a minister or an official functionary. The category also includes election process, Telengana issue and others. However, the statements given by ministers in the Parliament and state Assembly have been excluded from this category.

Thus, the unit of analysis, as per the above criteria, published in the front page and inside pages of the dailies during the sample period (January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009) was considered for coding into the subject categories developed for the purpose.

Subject categories: The subject categories for the study are classified into two: 1) political parties, and 2) others. Broadly, the political parties' category includes the following sub-categories.

a) Political activities, issues, candidates and leaders and appeal to political parties by different groups of people.

b) Political parties such as Congress, Telugu Desam, Telengana Rashtra Samiti, Prajarajyam party, Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (M), Majlis-e-Ithehadul Muslamin, and Lok Satta

c) Election process: this category includes news related to the conduct of elections and declaration of results.

d) Telengana issue. This category includes news related to Telengana issue such as statements issued by non-political parties while the statements of political parties will be coded in the respective political parties as mentioned above.

e) Integrated Andhra Pradesh. Statements made by other than political parties on the theme of integrated Andhra Pradesh.

f) Other political parties. Other political parties such as Janata Dal (S), Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi party and so on.

Geographical categories: The unit of analysis such as news item is also analysed in terms of geographical region –, state, and national. Thus, the geographical regions were defined as follows:

i) The units of analysis under state category contained events or happenings concerning the state of Andhra Pradesh. If a news item, though date-lined as New Delhi or Mumbai, reported a subject concerning the State, it was considered under State category.

ii) National category comprises those units of analysis containing events of relevance for national subjects excluding the state as defined above. For instance, trade agreements or foreign ministers' visit to the home country in connection with diplomatic relations were considered national. News that happened around the country excluding Andhra Pradesh was also treated as national. Similarly, if a foreign datelined story

reported events concerning India, it was treated as national news.

Data coding sheet: A code sheet was prepared incorporating the subject categories and geographical categories mentioned above. The code sheet was pilot-tested by the researcher on five editions of each of the sample newspapers (i.e., on a total of 20 editions) along with a second trained coder who was a research scholar in Journalism. Further, necessary changes were made to the subject categories based on the pre-test and the code sheet was finalised.

Inter-coder reliabilities: Inter-coder reliabilities were calculated for all the news items under each subject category in order to obtain the level of consistency in coding. A trained coder who was a doctoral student in journalism and who was proficient both in English and Telugu language was employed for the purpose of coding. As part of pilot study five editions of each newspaper were taken for coding. After the first coder (i.e., researcher) coded the five editions of each newspaper, the second coder did the coding of the same editions. When the totals of each subject category of each newspaper were available with the two coders, the formula[2] was applied to calculate reliability. It was found out that the coder reliabilities in each subject category ranged from 90% to 100%

Directional analysis: The purpose of using the directional analysis is to find out how the newspapers have accorded treatment to political themes in their coverage of the subject categories. Here, only the news items coded under political category were analysed to find out the treatment given to political themes by the four newspapers on a 3-point scale: favourable, unfavourable and neutral. The method of coefficient of imbalance was used to establish the favourable, the unfavourable and the neutral treatment given to political news items. The coefficient of imbalance was developed by Janis and Fadener (1965) as a method of measuring the degree of imbalance i.e., the extent to which favourable, unfavourable or neutral treatment is accorded to a topic or message or theme in a given news item.

For instance, a favourable story was determined by news reflecting cohesion, cooperation, stability and strength, positive developments and growth with in a political party or a theme in politics category. For example, 'Praja rajyam chief woos protestors in city' is considered a favourable story for the party. An unfavourable story was determined by news reflecting conflicts, delayed decisions , disorganisation, indifferent attitude of the party or any other group or individuals within the party, instability and weakness, negative occurrences within the political parties concerning some issues in the political party or a theme in the politics category. Lastly, neutrality was determined by news reflecting neither positive nor negative conditions nor a lack of controversial material. For example: BJP celebrates Vajpayee birthday.

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2. To calculate reliability, the following formula suggested by Holsti (1968) was adopted

$$R = \frac{2\,(C_1, C_2)}{C_1 + C_2}$$

Where $C_{1,2}$ is the number of category assignments both coders agree on, and $C_1 + C_2$ is the total of category assignments arrived at by both coders (see North et al. 1963)

$$Cf = \frac{fu - u2}{rt} \quad f < u$$

$$Cf = \frac{f^{2} - fu}{rt} \quad f > u$$

Where
f = favourable units of content
u = unfavourable units of content
t = number of units of total content
r = total units of relevant content

Results

A total of 4339 news items have been analyzed during the study period of one year i.e., January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009. Among the four dailies, *The Hindu,* published more number of news items followed by *Andhra Jyothi* (Table 1).

The present study focuses on the coverage given to political news particularly the political parties. Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of frequency of news items to political theme. The coverage of news is analyzed in terms of allocation of frequency of news items to nine recognized political parties in Andhra Pradesh – Congress, Telugu Desam, Telengana Rashtra Samiti, Prajarajyam

party, Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India(Marxist), Majlis-e-Ithehadul Muslamin (MIM), Lok Satta, and other political issues like Telangana issue, Elections, Integrated Andhra Pradesh and other political parties. Out of these nine political parties, four are national parties- Congress, BJP, CPI((M), CPI and the remaining TDP, TRS, Prajarajyam party, MIM, and Lok Satta are state parties which are very active in Andhra Pradesh. Furthermore, 'other political parties' category includes Samajwadi Party, JD S), BSP, Siva Sena and so on.

In terms of news coverage, Congress, the oldest national party received the first rank in all the four dailies. *The Chronicle* (22.3%) gave the highest per cent to the Congress followed by *The Hindu* (20.5%), *Eenadu* (19.2%), and *Jyothi* (16.3%). Further, 'other political parties' category received second rank in all the four dailies. However, the BJP, the national party received the third rank in the two English dailies, and the Telugu Desam, the regional party, received third rank in the two Telugu dailies. The Muslim party, MIM did not receive any coverage in *The Hindu* and *Jyothi*. Further, an issue of current interest, Integrated Andhra Pradesh received lowest coverage in three dailies- *The Hindu, Jyothi* and *Eenadu* while *Chronicle* ranked it ten out of thirteen sub-themes in politics

Table 1

| Unit of analysis | D A I L I E S | | | |
	The Hindu	Deccan Chronicle	Andhra *Jyothi*	Eenadu
News items				
Others	741	620	567	587
Politics	407	395	531	491
Politics (%)	35.5	38.9	48.4	45.5

Table 2: Percentage distribution of frequency of news items on politics news by themes.

Sub theme	D A I L I E S											
	The Hindu			Deccan Chronicle			Andhra Jyothi			Eenadu		
	Fr	%	Rank Order	fr	%	Rank Order	fr	%	Rank Order	fr	%	Rank Order
Congress	83	20.5	1	88	22.3	1	87	16.3	1	94	19.2	1
TDP	37	9.0	4	39	9.9	4	59	11.2	3	60	12.2	3
TRS	19	4.7	8	17	4.2	8	57	10.7	4	34	6.9	7
PRP	27	6.7	7	30	7.5	5	50	9.5	6	46	9.4	4
BJP	60	14.3	3	49	12.4	3	57	10.7	5	45	9.2	5
CPI	14	3.5	11	11	2.8	11	30	5.7	8	25	5.0	9
CPI (M)	30	7.4	5	19	4.8	7	31	5.8	7	27	5.5	8
Lok Satta	8	1.9	14	1	0.3	13	24	4.5	10	17	3.5	10
MIM	-	-	-	3	0.8	12	-	-	-	1	0.2	13
Telengana	15	3.7	9	14	3.6	9	13	2.5	11	13	2.7	11
Elections	29	7.2	6	25	6.4	6	30	5.6	9	40	8.2	6
Integrated AP	9	2.3	12	12	3.0	10	13	2.5	12	10	2.0	12
Other Political Parties	76	18.8	2	87	22.0	2	80	15.0	2	79	16.0	2
N =	407	100		395	100		531	100		491	100	

Note: TDP: Telugu Desam; TRS : Telangana Rashtra Samiti; PRP: Prajarajyam party party; BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party; CPI (M): Communist party of India (M); CPI: Communist party of India; MIM: Majlis-e-Ithehadul Muslamin; Integrated AP: Majlis-e-Ithehadul Muslamin; Other PP: other political parties.

Table 3: Correlation coefficients of frequencies of politics news items by themes among four sample dailies.

	The Hindu	Deccan Chronicle	Andhra Jyothi	Eenadu
1. The Hindu				
2. Deccan Chronicle	.97			
3. Andhra Jyothi	.83	.85		
4. Eenadu	.89	.93	.93	

category. *The Hindu* and *Chronicle* had the highest correlation in the coverage of political themes while *Jyothi* and *Eenadu,* the two Telugu newspapers correlated highly (Table 3). The analysis of variance in respect of the coverage of political themes in the four dailies showed that the four newspapers differed significantly at $p < .05$ (Table 4).

Front page

The front page analysis finds that a clear difference among the four newspapers in their coverage of political parties in terms of frequency of news items and space. *The Hindu* gave more prominence to the national parties –Congress, other political parties and BJP while *Chronicle* covered other political parties, Congress and Telugu Desam in the descending order of preference. Among the two Telugu dailies, *Jyothi* gave prominence to Congress, Telugu Desam and TRS in the descending order, and *Eenadu* dedicated more frequency of news items to Congress, Telugu Desam and other political parities in terms of frequency of news items and space. However, MIM did not receive any coverage on the front page in all the four dailies- *The Hindu, Chronicle, Jyothi* and *Eenadu,* while Lok Satta did not receive any coverage in *The Hindu, Chronicle* and *Eenadu.*

Inside pages

The present analysis gives details of coverage given to political parties and other political issues in the inside pages. The two English dailies *The Hindu* and *Chronicle* gave more coverage to Congress followed by other political parties, while the two Telugu dailies – *Jyothi* and *Eenadu*

dedicated more frequency of news items to other political parties. *The Hindu* and *Jyothi* did not cover any news item related to MIM Party during the study period while *Chronicle* and *Eenadu* gave three news items and one news item respectively. The national party, BJP received better coverage in all the four newspapers, while the two Communist parties too obtained a significant coverage in the inside pages. The Telangana issue and The Integrated Andhra Pradesh received less than three per cent of coverage.

State news

The present study shows that the Congress received more coverage than other categories in the state news in the three newspapers – *The Hindu* (18.5%), *Chronicle* (18.8%) and *Eenadu* (15.2%). Next, the state party, TDP received better coverage in all the four newspapers in terms of frequency of news items (Table 5). Though MIM, a state party based at Hyderabad, did not receive any coverage in papers- *The Hindu* and *Jyothi,* the other two newspapers- *Chronicle* and *Eenadu* gave negligible coverage to it. Two important issues- Telangana and Integrated Andhra Pradesh received less than eight per cent in the two English dailies, while the two Telugu newspapers dedicated less than six per cent of frequency of news items to the issue. In terms of space too, these two sub themes received the same space in all the four newspapers. Further, the newly-launched political party Prajarajyam party received more coverage in the four newspapers as follows: *The Hindu* (13.5%), *Chronicle* (13.9%), *Jyothi* (10.9%), and *Eenadu* (11.6%). Moreover, Lok Satta received negligible coverage in *Chronicle* while the other three

Table 4: Analysis of variance of frequencies of politics news items in four newspapers.

	SS	df	MS	F
Between Groups	302.270	3	100.757	5.708[*]
Within Groups	85208.278	4827	17.652	
Total	85510.548	4830		

*P < .05

Table 5: Distribution of frequency of news items to State news by politics themes in inside pages.

Sub theme	D A I L I E S							
	The Hindu		Deccan Chronicle		Andhra Jyothi		Eenadu	
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	Space	fr	Space
Congress	33	18.5	30	18.8	41	12.0	47	15.2
TDP	31	17.4	29	18.3	40	11.7	40	12.8
TRS	11	6.2	14	8.9	38	11.3	29	9.5
PRP	24	13.5	22	13.9	37	10.9	36	11.6
BJP	13	7.3	5	3.2	32	9.5	21	6.8
CPI	6	3.4	4	2.6	26	7.7	22	7.2
CPI (M)	9	5.0	2	1.3	23	6.8	18	5.8
Lok Satta	8	4.5	1	0.7	22	6.5	17	5.5
MIM	-	-	3	1.9	-	-	1	0.4
Telengana	6	3.4	4	2.6	9	2.7	10	3.3
Elections	10	5.7	13	8.3	19	5.7	22	7.2
Integrated AP	6	3.4	8	5.0	8	2.4	7	2.3
Other PP	21	11.7	23	14.5	44	12.8	38	12.4
Total	178	100	158	100	339	100	308	100

newspapers gave better coverage to the party.

National news

In the category of national news, the present analysis examined the coverage given by four dailies to national news. In this context, the analysis was very clear about coding the news items in terms of state and national level, and if a state party issued a statement about a national issue, the coding for such news item was done under the category of state political party. Similarly, a national party like Congress, or BJP issued a statement about an issue related to Andhra Pradesh, the news item was coded under the national party. But, some political parties or independent political parties or independent politicians issued a statement about Telangana issue or Integrated Andhra Pradesh, they were coded under the specific category, Telangana issue or Integrated Andhra Pradesh. The other political parties at national level received more coverage in all the four newspapers. Almost one-fourth of the news items went to this category. Next, BJP received more coverage than Congress in the national news in the inside pages. MIM did not receive any coverage in all the four newspapers while Lok Satta did not obtain any coverage in the three newspapers – *The Hindu, Chronicle* and *Eenadu.* The TDP received two news items in *Eenadu* under the national level news.

Direction of analysis

In the present study, an attempt was made to assess the direction of treatment given to the 13 sub-themes under political category. As stated earlier, the coefficient of imbalance was used to find out the degree of treatment given to different sub-themes by the sample dailies. For this purpose, a three-point scale namely favourable, unfavourable and neutral was adopted to assess the direction of treatment given to the sub-themes. The aim of this analysis is to capture the aspects of the political processes which were made explicit by the newspaper while giving coverage to the political parties. For instance, a news item highlighting the strength, growth, and positive aspects of a political party can be designated as favourable story to that party. Another politics–related news item may cover explicit conflicts involved in the political party or process can be designated as an unfavourable news story to that political party.

Table 6 shows the direction of analysis of news items related to political news. The study took into consideration only 1489 news items from four newspapers put together which are amenable for direction of analysis in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral: *The Hindu* (331), *Chronicle* (319), *Jyothi* (456), and *Eenadu* (383). The four newspapers covered the political news positively but with a variation. *Eenadu* covered them highly positively while *Chronicle* did it with less positively. Overall, the chi-square analysis in the coverage of political news showed that there was no significant coverage in terms of direction among the four newspapers. Further analysis shows that *The Hindu* covered Congress with more favorable (42) news items even when *Chronicle* followed the same with more favorable (51) news items. The two Telugu newspapers differed with the two English newspapers. The two newspapers covered the Congress with more unfavorable news items *Jyothi* (52) and *Eenadu* (58). But,

Table 6: Directional analysis of coverage of the total politics news items in all the sample dailies.

Dailies	Direction of coverage				Coefficient of imbalance
	N	F	UF	Ne	
The Hindu	331	164	121	46	+ .064
Deccan Chronicle	319	142	129	48	+.018
Andhra Jyothi	456	214	170	72	+.045
Eenadu	383	195	135	53	+.079

N = Number of news items; X2 = .07042 P < .05 (df = 6) ns
F = Favourable; UF = Unfavourable; Ne = Neutral

Table 7: Direction of analysis of the politics news items by newspaper.

Sub theme	D A I L I E S											
	The Hindu			Deccan Chronicle			Andhra Jyothi			Eenadu		
	F	UF	Neu	F	UF	Neu	F	UF	Neu	F	UF	Neu
Congress	42	30	14	51	31	20	28	52	19	28	58	15
TDP	20	12	5	14	26	3	30	16	13	40	14	6
TRS	12	5	2	10	6	2	28	20	8	17	9	8
PRP	14	10	3	17	7	7	29	18	6	30	9	8
BJP	30	36	8	18	30	8	38	25	6	31	13	3
CPI	8	4	7	5	4	0	15	10	5	13	10	2
CPI (M)	20	9	3	11	9	3	16	9	7	12	9	6
Lok Satta	4	3	1	-	-	-	12	7	5	10	5	2
MIM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Telengana	9	9	2	10	7	4	10	7	2	9	4	2
Elections	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Integrated AP	5	3	1	6	9	1	8	6	1	5	4	1
Other PP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	164	121	46	142	129	48	214	170	72	195	135	53

F = Favourable; UF = Unfavourable; Neu = Neutral

Table 8: Theme-wise coefficients of imbalance of politics news items in the sample dailies.

Sub theme	The Hindu	Deccan Chronicle	Andhra Jyothi	Eenadu
Congress	+.068	+.157	-.195	-.170
TDP	+.043	-.168	+.185	+.39
TRS	+.329	+.197	+.122	+.117
PRP	+.131	+.176	+.184	+.370
BJP	-.072	-.114	+.172	+.358
CPI	+.100	-	+138	+.110
CPI (M)	+.132	+.075	+.170	+.086
Lok Satta	+.109	-	+.164	+.259
MIM	-	-	-	-
Telengana	0	+.115	+.141	+.288
Elections	-	-	-	-
Integrated AP	+.197	-.175	+.124	+.09
Other PP	-	-	-	-

The header "D A I L I E S" spans the four daily columns.

these two Telugu newspapers covered Telugu Desam Party with much more favorable news items- *Jyothi* (30) and *Eenadu* (40). More over, the two English dailies – *The Hindu* (36) and *Chronicle* (30) covered BJP with unfavorable news, while *Jyothi* (38) and *Eenadu* (31) covered the party with favorable news (Table 7).

Table 8 explained the theme-wise coefficients of imbalance. *The Hindu* (+.068) covered Congress Party less favourably as compared to *Chronicle* (+.157) which gave positive tone to the Congress party. The other two Telugu papers – *Jyothi* (-.195) and *Eenadu* (-.170) covered Congress Party critically. The state party, Telugu Desam was covered positively by three newspapers – *The Hindu* (+.0.43), *Jyothi* (+.185), and *Eenadu* (+.39). Further, the two English newspapers – *The Hindu* (- .072), and *Chronicle* (-.114) critically covered the BJP while the two Telugu newspapers – *Jyothi* (+.172), and *Eenadu* (+ .358) wrote in favour of the BJP. The Telangana issue and Integrated Andhra Pradesh issue were positively covered by the newspapers.

Conclusion

Andhra Pradesh, a state which witnessed the launch of new political parties like Telangana Rashtra Samithi, Lok Satta and Prajarjyam party became a centre of attention for political alignments. Combined with the launch of new political parties, the media ownership apparently is seen to be aligning with the political parties. Keeping in view the changing dynamics of political parties, the present study is undertaken with a view to capturing the trends in political news in the four select newspapers - *The Hindu,*

Deccan Chronicle, Andhra Jyothi and *Eenadu.* The year 2009 was very crucial as the country went to elections for Lok Sabha and the Andhra Pradesh State legislature. In this context too, the study analyzed the newspapers' content of political parties to understand the treatment given to political news.

The study period is divided into three sub-periods: Sub-period I (January, February, March and April), Sub-period – II (May, June, July, August), Sub-period - III (September, October, November, December). Thus the study found that *Deccan Chronicle,* a newspaper owned by former Member of Parliament belonging to Congress, since long is known for it's positive coverage of the party. In continuation of its pro-Congress leanings, the paper gave positive coverage by placing news items of the party in the front page, and also putting them on top of the news pages. *Jyothi,* on the other hand gave negative treatment to Congress news items. *Jyothi,* a paper known for its anti-Congress stand gave that party negative coverage. The front page news items on the Congress Party highlighted the internal squabbles of the party, and Congress Chief Minister YS Rajasekhar Reddy (2004-2009) umpteen times made statements against the two newspapers - *Jyothi* and *Eenadu* in the State Assembly naming them as two papers which were opposing his rule while saying that these two newspapers had pro-TDP slant. The study, overall, found that these two newspapers gave positive coverage to TDP and negative coverage to Congress. The direction of analysis for the sub-period I showed that these two newspapers gave negative coverage to Congress and positive coverage to TDP.

However, *The Hindu,* and *Chronicle* too gave more news items to BJP in the sub-period I, yet their coverage was negative to the BJP. *The Hindu* is known for its values to journalism, it's view towards BJP apparently seemed to be negative as the paper highlighted the power struggle within the party, and intra-party problems on the front page. The sub-period I was considered to be a prelude to the elections, the paper positioned the news items on the front page and inside pages about the BJP by highlighting the unfavourable news. *Chronicle* known for it's coverage of more Congress news much more than other eight recognized political parties in the state, published stories related to BJP by highlighting negative angle. But, *Jyothi* consistently gave a good coverage to two political parties–Prajarajyam and Lok Satta before elections.

Prajarajyam was launched before elections by popular film actor, Chiranjeevi and his campaign too received wide coverage in the newspaper with banner headlines, and depicted the party as winning party in the elections, and hence the paper gave positive coverage. Also, Lok Satta which was campaigning against corruption received a good coverage, but the same party received less coverage in the sub-period II in *Jyothi.* During the sub-period-II, *Eenadu* and *Jyothi* covered Congress party negatively and TDP positively. *Eenadu* depicted a picture that Congress would lose elections in the state, and campaigned against Congress Party like *Jyothi.* After the elections that was held in May 2009, the Congress Party came to power in the state, and United Progressive Alliance at the centre, the coverage for the party in the two Telugu papers did not change much in terms of negative

highlights. The two papers focused on the promises made by Congress Party headed by the late chief minister YS Rajasekhar Reddy who died in a helicopter accident in September 2009.

Telengana and Intergrated Andhra Pradesh: The study took into consideration the issue of Telengana and Integrated Andhra Pradesh during the study period. In fact, Andhra Pradesh state consists of three regions - Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telengana, and Telengana region politicians have been demanding a separate statehood for that region since 1969. The demand has died down over a period of time, and in 2001 the demand has come to the fore with the formation of Telengana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), when the political leaders from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema are opposing the demand, and are vociferously asserting for an integrated state.Thus the present study analyzed the news contents about this one issue, divided into two groups - Telengana and integrated Andhra Pradesh by the respective political leaders belonging to the two regions.

The analysis found that the four newspapers gave a positive coverage to these two themes, and *Chronicle* highlighted the Telengana issue positively while giving negative coverage to the Integrated Andhra Pradesh. However, *The Hindu* did not give more coverage to Telengana issue while *Eenadu* gave more positive coverage to Telengana issue as compared to Integrated Andhra Pradesh.

During sub-period III, the Telengana and integrated Andhra Pradesh issue received more coverage in all the four newspapers. But, TRS received less coverage after the

elections. The difference in this trend was that various organizations working for the separate Telengana received more coverage in the newspaper. A particular event like the TRS chief, K Chandrasekara Rao was on fast-unto-death for nine days in the first week of December and subsequent announcement by the Union Home Minister that the "separate Telengana process has begun" impacted the different groups forming associations like joint action committees in both the regions demanding Telengana and retaining the Andhra Pradesh as integrated. This resulted in more coverage in the sub-period III.

Over all, the study concludes that the newspapers have their own alignments to political parties; the nexus between the press and political parties is evident in this study.

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Community radio - obscurity to prosperity: A case study of HAMARA MSPICM 90.4, a community radio of Solan, Himachal Pradesh

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Abstract

Community radio is a radio service which is offering a third model of radio broadcasting in addition to commercial and public broadcasting. Many of us have grown up with All India Radio and its Medium Wave Channels. The paper defines and focuses on the fundaments of CR and how community radio movement has started in India. The case study shows the light on the Community Radio Hamara MSPICM 90.4, pioneer in the field being the first Institution in Himachal Pradesh to get a license, by M.S. Panwar Institute of Communication & Management (MSPICM).

Key words: social benefit, social objectives and social gain

Introduction

Community stations serve geographic communities and communities of interest. A key feature of a community radio station is that it is Local in every way-in its geographic reach, its language, the content of its programming and its management and ownership. They broadcast content that is popular and relevant to a local, specific audience but is often overlooked by commercial or mass-media broadcasters. Community radio stations are operated, owned, and influenced by the communities they serve. They provide a mechanism for enabling individuals, groups, and communities to tell their own stories, to share experiences and, in a media-rich world, to become creators and contributors of media. Much of the legislation has included phrases such as "social benefit", "social objectives" and "social gain" as part of the definition. Community radio has developed differently in different countries, and the term has somewhat different meanings in the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The historical philosophy of community radio is to use this medium as the voice of the voiceless, the mouthpiece of oppressed people (be it on racial, gender, or class grounds) and generally as a tool for development. Community radio is defined as

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having three aspects: non-profit making, community ownership and control ownership and control, community participation. It should be made clear that community radio is not about doing something for the community but about the community doing something for itself, i.e owning and controlling its own means of communication, (AMARC 1998).

Definition of CR

Tabing (2002:9) defines a community radio station as 'one that is operated in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community.' According to Tabing, 'the community can be territorial or geographical-a township, village, district or island and can also be a group of people with common interests, who are not necessarily living in one defined territory.' Thus community radio may be owned and managed by one group or by combined groups. It could also be controlled and run by people such as women, children, farmers, fisher folk, ethnic groups, or senior citizens. Tabing points out that a high degree of people's participation, both in management and programme production aspects distinguishes community radio from the other media. Also, the principle sources of support for community radio operations are individual community members and local institutions.

The Seventh World Congress of AMARC held in Milan, Italy, 23-29 August 1998 emphasised on the just and equitable access to and participation in communications media for strengthening the rights of indigenous peoples, minorities, migrants and refugees. There was also focus on education and training to enable people to develop their own media and communication skills.

Modern community radio stations serve their listeners by offering a variety of content that is not necessarily provided by the larger commercial radio stations. Community radio outlets may carry news and information programming geared toward the local area (particularly immigrant or minority groups who are poorly served by major media outlets). Specialized musical shows are also often a feature of many community radio stations. Community radio stations typically avoid content found on commercial outlets and they will operate with like community radio should be 10 percent radio and 90 percent community. There is also a distinction drawn in contrast to mainstream stations, which are viewed as pandering to commercial concerns or the personalities of presenters. Community radio has been built around the ideals of access and participation. Stations have been run by locals, typically to serve a local audience.

Fundamental principles of CR

The two fundamental principles that guide community radio are Public Access and Participation. Public access means that all members of the community must have access to the broadcast services provided by the station i.e the content is produced for and reaches all the inhabitants of the local community. Access here also inherently means access to the language of programming. Additionally access would mean access to the station's content production and broadcast centre itself. This means that the community radio station is making itself available to the community

in all possible ways. If the station is fully accessible it opens the doors for participation. Participation implies that the local community participates in the day-to-day content creation and operation of the community radio station and is included in the discussion and decision making process of the station's activities. The community is involved in defining the goals and objectives and thus the vision and mission of the Community Radio Station. The community also participates in electing issues on which content is to be produced, as well as the programme scheduling for various target audience and the programme duration. In order to incorporate these core principles, the community radio station needs to establish appropriate systems and mechanism that enable community access, ownership and participation.

Two philosophical approaches to community radio exist, although the models are not mutually exclusive. One emphasizes service and community-mindedness, focusing on what the station can do for the community. The other stresses involvement and participation by the listener.

In the service model locality is valued; community radio, as a third tier, can provide content focused on a more local or particular community than a larger operation. Sometimes, though, providing syndicated content not already available within the station's service area is viewed as public service. In the access (or participatory) model, the participation of community members in producing content is viewed as a good in itself. While this model does not necessarily exclude a service approach, there is some disagreement between the two.

The community radio movement in India

While Indian radio is shifting from a government monopoly to a highly-commercialized broadcasting network, citizens' groups are also demanding that the media be democratized.

Imagine a country which has 18 officially-recognized languages and a total of 1652 mother tongues in a country nearly a billion strong and spread over an area of 3.2 million square kilometres. Given its diversity and expanse, one could well understand the problems that tribal, under-privileged, or minority cultures face in getting their voices heard.

As far as the radio is concerned, long years of official domination by the government, outdated, but existing British regulations, and the rampant commercialization of the airwaves have complicated the problem. Citizens groups and non-profit organizations in India are pushing for a wider representation on the centralized and hierarchical Indian radio network -- with some success. Court rulings have recently favoured the establishment of new, local stations and campaigners from across India are underlining the importance of radio in shaping the destiny of Indian society For decades, India's radio stations have been centralized, unable to cater to the regional diversity of India, and lacking editorial independence. Now, citizens' groups are pressuring the government for a community radio model.

Call it by any name - community radio, rural radio, cooperative radio, or

development radio - its proponents feel that radio holds the key that will unite India's linguistic and ethnic diversity and improve the economic disparity and the huge rural-urban divide. "Imagine having your own radio station where you can walk in any time to ask for your favorite music, share some important local event or chat with your neighbor who's now become a celebrity," says media advocacy campaigner Ms. Sucharita S. Eashwar from Bangalore.

The right for communities to own the airwaves came after a long struggle. A struggle by people who believed that voice was power and that in order to truly empower communities and citizens the media needs to be community owned and managed. The community radio movement in India was born from the invigorating and rights based 1995 judgement of the Supreme Court declaring airwaves to be public property. In India the campaign to legitimise community radio began in the mid-1990s, soon after the Supreme Court of India ruled in its judgment of February 1995 that "airwaves are public property". The judgment inspired several free speech advocates, academics and community members across the country to being a concerted campaign to legitimize community radio in India.

In 1996, a Bangalore based media advocacy group called VOICES organized a gathering of community radio stakeholders. A declaration calling for the establishment of a third tier of broadcasting, i.e. community broadcasting, was signed. A suggestion that AIR's local stations should allocate regular airtime for community broadcasting was put forward. Requests were also made for grant of licences to NGOs and other non-profit making groups for running community radio stations. Subsequently, UNESCO made available a portable production and transmission "briefcase radio station" kit to VOICES to do experimental broadcasts of programmes for a hands-on learning experience towards the objective of setting up an independently-run community radio station.

A UNESCO sponsored workshop, hosted by an Andhra Pradesh NGO, Deccan Development Society (DDS) from July 17-20, 2000 in Hyderabad issued the 'Pastapur Initiative' on community radio that urged the government to take its intentions of freeing broadcasting from state monopoly to its logical conclusion, by making media space available not only to private players but also to communities. This landmark document urged the government to create a three-tier structure of broadcasting in India by adding non-profit community radio to the already existing state-owned public radio and private commercial radio.

Simultaneously, several initiatives had already started working on community radio in terms of production and dissemination of participatory programming. In South India, Deccan Development Society worked with Dalit women's collectives to start Sangam Radio, the programmes for which were made by the community, but were 'narrowcast', i.e. played back to the community over cassette players at group meetings. Another landmark initiative was jointly set up by VOICES and MYRADA - called Namma Dhwani (Our Voices), where programmes were produced by communities in and around the village of

Budikote (about 100 kilometers from Bangalore), and were distributed over the nearest All India Radio station and subsequently over the local cable network. In the west, Kutch Mahila Vikas Sanghatan, a civil society group in Gujarat worked with the women in Kutch District to produce programmes on local developmental and cultural issues, and started broadcasting on the nearest All India Radio Station. In the northern part, Alternative for India Development made programmes with community members in Garhwa block of Jharkhand, and broadcast programmes over the Daltonganj All India Radio Station. Community Groups in Chamba, and Rudraprayag, both in Uttarakhand started producing participatory programmes and broadcast over the World Space Satellite Radio network.

By early 2003, the government of India released the first set of community radio guidelines, but unfortunately, restricted eligibility to educational institutions only. Marginalized and voiceless communities continued to remain outside the ambit of the then released community radio policy guidelines. Anna FM was India's first campus "community" radio station. Launched on 1 February 2004, it is run by the Education and Multimedia Research Centre (EMRC); all programmes are produced by Media Science students at Anna University. Practitioners and community radio advocates continued to push the government towards expanding the mandate of the community radio sector to include communities living in rural, remote and hilly areas of the country.

On 16 November 2006, the government of India implemented new Community Radio

Guidelines, which permit NGOs, educational institutions and agricultural institutions to own and operate community radio stations. By 30 November 2008, there were 38 operational community radio stations in the country. Of these, two are run by NGOs and the rest by educational institutions.

The first community-based radio station licensed to an NGO (as distinct from campus-based radio) was launched on 15 October 2008, when Sangham Radio, licensed to Deccan Development Society, in Pastapur village, Medak district, Andhra Pradesh state went on the air at 11:00 am. Sangham Radio, which broadcasts on 90.4 MHz, is licensed to the Deccan Development Society (DDS) (an NGO which works with women's groups in approximately 75 villages in Andhra Pradesh). The community radio station is managed by "General" Narsamma and Algole Narsamma.

The government recently clarified that certain categories of news are permitted on radio, including sports news and commentaries, information on traffic and weather conditions, coverage of cultural events and festivals, information on academic events, public announcements pertaining to utilities such as electricity and the water supply, disaster warnings and health alerts. Five minutes of advertising per hour is allowed on community radio. Sponsored programs are not allowed, except when the program is sponsored by the government at the local or state level. The Community Radio Forum, India, was registered as a Society and Trust on 26 February 2008. Members from the Community Radio Forum participate in screening committee meetings to screen

potential applicants, and the organization is also recognized as a national level self-regulatory body in the Draft Broadcast Bill as published by the Government of India.

By 1 July 2010, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting announced that 715 applications for CR licenses had been received, including 104 under the old campus-radio guidelines. By 1 February 2012, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had received a total of 991 community radio licence applications. Grant of Permission Agreements had been signed with 161 applicants and 126 community radio stations were on air.

From April 1, 2012, the Ministry of Communications and IT has hiked the spectrum fees to Rs. 91,000-a fivefold increase from the previous annual fee of Rs. 19,700. This move provoked widespread protest from functional community radio stations, advocacy bodies like Community Radio Forum and Community Radio Association of India, and even the Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcast has gone on record to say that his Ministry's views were not sought before the decision was taken. Several community radio stations also observed a 'Day of Silence' on 9 May, where the spectrum fee hike was announced, protest songs were broadcast, community views were invited, and subsequently transmission was switched off for the rest of the day. After pressure from various stakeholders, the Ministry for Information and Communication Technology (MoCIT) announced that the spectrum fee and royalty charges would be rolled back to annual fee of Rs. 19,700. Currently, the spectrum fee is Rs. 19,700 annually, till September 2013, at which

time the Ministry will re-examine the matter.

According to the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, the current status (as on 25 April 2013) of Community Radio in India as there are 148 CR stations are operational.

In India, radio is shifting from being a government monopoly to a highly-commercialized broadcasting service. Media advocacy groups say the media needs to be "democratized" simultaneously as it moves away from official control. Privatization and total deregulation is not enough if the media becomes irrelevant to the vast majority of Indians. Now, while the policies are being developed, is the time for non-profit groups, educational and research institutions, cooperatives, women's groups, and development organizations to seize the available opportunities created by liberalizing the electronic media. Radio has already proven its relevance to Indians. Recent government studies suggest that radio in India could potentially reach up to 98.5% of the population. There are homes that have radio-nearly double the number of homes that have TV.

Information can make or break you. Information can enable or disable you. You can have information and feel empowered or you can be deprived of information and opportunities, rights and freedom. In the disaster in Uttarakhand, information was the biggest casualty. How? Although stories of devastation and horror are flowing out of Uttarakhand, we have almost no real information on the exact situation in the upper reaches of the Himalayas. The massive floods that struck

Uttarakhand is a wake-up call to the government as well as citizens. The tragedy is also an institutional disaster. Before the cloudburst and flash floods wreaked havoc, the Indian Meteorological Department had warned of heavy rainfall in Rudraprayag, yet disaster management agencies made little effort to prepare. The lack of coordination in states prone to natural calamities makes quick response in such a situation nearly impossible. India's most hi-tech communication lab, Defence Electronics Application Laboratory (DEAL), is in Dehradun, but even after two weeks of the tragedy, the government failed to take assistance of DEAL to establish communications.

Community radio will be very helpful to disseminate the new during crisis situations. During natural disasters, and for some time afterwards, people affected will ask many questions and are desperate for information. When this disaster took place, unlike in the past, we are living in the era of real-time information and media and the sources are many and diverse-radio, television, Internet, SMS, mobile phones, and so on. Yet, we could not find many of those real-time media playing any decisive role in finding solutions. It is often noted that the real effective solution to many disasters, where government action is always inadequate, like we have in India, local communities remain the first responders. Their role, especially youth, in saving lives during the first few hours after a disaster, is critical. The role of community radio is tremendous in natural calamities. A public radio station with a reach of 15-20km becomes highly powerful with the integration of mobile telephony in real time. The region, brutalized by floods, has only three community radios running-Kumaon Vani (Mukteshwar), Henvalvani (Chamba Valley) and Mandakini Ki Awaz (Rudraprayag). These radio stations have been broadcasting live programmes that inform and sensitize communities and tried to reach all flood-affected families.

A case study

Setting up of a Community Radio 90.4 by M.S. Panwar Institute of Communication & Management (MSPICM), Solan - a media and management Institute, in a small hill town of Solan with a population of 50,000 was a historical moment for Himachal Pradesh. It is a pioneer in the field of Community Radio being the first Institution in Himachal Pradesh to get a license for FM Community Radio. They have Journalism and Mass Communication Courses, students will get hands on experience in broadcast Journalism.

HAMARA MSPICM 90.4 is the first community radio station not only in the state of Himachal Pradesh but also in other hill states of India. It was the 41st CRS of India and was inaugurated on 13th March 2009 by Ms.Aasha Swaroop, Chief Secretary of Himachal Pradesh coinciding with the 7th Consultation on Awareness on Community Radio for the North West Region organized by MSPICM, Solan and CEMCA in Association with Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India in which representatives from about100 NGOs and educational institutions participated.

Initially, from March 13, 2009 onwards, test broadcast was started for the period of two hours regularly from 8 A.M. to 9 A.M.

in the morning and 6 P.M. to 7 P.M. in the evening. After one month of CRS operation, one hour was added in the afternoon from 1 P.M. to 2 P.M. From July, 2009 onwards Radio was on air for six hours every day from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M. in the morning, 12 P.M. to 2 P.M. in the afternoon and from 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. in the evening. From 15th August, 2009 onwards, radio is on air for 12 hours every day from 7 AM to 12 PM in the morning and 3 PM to 10 PM in the evening. Some morning programmes were repeated in the evening. Since May, 2010, the radio is on air for 14 hours every day. In June, 2010, a team from University of Hyderabad conducted a study on two NGO-run community radios and two Campus –run radios.

HAMARA MSPICM 90.4 FM Community Radio Station and the Community Radio of University of Mumbai were the two campus radios selected for the study. The visiting team visited the coverage areas of Community Radio and interacted with the listeners. They got a positive feedback from the listeners and we were surprised to learn that we have such a wide and dedicated listenership in four districts- Solan, Shimla, Sirmour and Bilaspur.

It would also help in grooming professionals in broadcast journalism. The students of the institute would get hands-on experience in scriptwriting, reporting and editing for radio. They would thus be exposed to the real experience of working in radio studios/stations." The institute's Director, Dr BS Panwar adds, "The content revolves around developmental issues of health, agriculture, employment, government opportunities, literacy programmes and life coping skills etc. The plan is to increase such content to about 60-70%."

Programmes on different issues are voiced on HAMARA MSPICM 90.4 CRS. Issues covered include Health, Nutrition, Problems of Community, Sports, local talent, women and child oriented programmes etc. Programmes related to creating awareness on issues like female foeticide, career, counselling, tips to rural youth etc. At this stage, students of the institute, members of the community like volunteers from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Self Help Groups (SHGs) and local students from other institutions are the main participants in the radio in terms of content generation and taking care of the operational activities of the radio. We are making all out efforts to rope in members of the community through Department of Information & Public Relations, Nehru Yuvak Kendra, Department of Youth Affairs & Sports, Department of Rural Development & Panchayat Raj etc. Many volunteers both male and female from the nearby communities have come forward to join the radio as performers and presenters and many programmes are made in the local language Phadi. We have formed media clubs in the local schools of Solan and Shishu Panchayats in the schools of rural areas and are providing them training in making radio programmes.

MSPICM seeks to serve the community residing in a radius of 15 km from the institute. Perhaps Initially broadcasting for two hours, the number of hours increased with the MoU that the institute entered into with IGNOU to become a training centre for radio jockeying. Today, Hamara

broadcasts mostly in Hindi and Bhagati (local dialect) for 12 hours. The RJ training programme has also ensured a steady stream of human resources to the station.

Dr. Panwar, (Ph.D. in Communication) from University of Hyderabad also realises that music occupies a significant space on the fixed point chart. Phone-in requests are a regular feature as are birthday greetings. Ghazals are another important feature on *Hamara*. "Radio is quite a popular medium in the ranges and *Hamara* considers the young audiences as a special sort of sub-community. However, we are not competing with the other commercial FM channels. We are on a different trip altogether," says Dr. Panwar. People walk into the studio to sing folk songs. Talented children from the local schools and colleges actively participate in *Baccho Ki Paathshaala.*

Limitations of Hamara 90.4 CRS, MSPICM Solan, H.P.

1. Low signal - Because of no signal in many areas, HAMARA 90.4 CRS is covering limited areas. The reach is restricted due to hilly terrain. We request that our CRS should be taken as a special case and we may be allowed to install high power transmitter as per provision in the guidelines of CRS.

2. Limited resources - There are limited resources to keep radio going. The Government should take effective steps to provide advertisements through DAVP and other government departments on the lines of advertisement provided to print and electronic media. This step would go a long way to generate resources for the sustenance and development of CRS.

Policy decisions should be taken by the Government to address this problem which is common to almost all community radios.

MSPICM is collaborating with DRISTI, a media advocacy and training NGO, and Mountain Forum Himalayas through which six radio producers from MFH and four reporters from Solan will be trained over a period of one year at the Panwar Institute. Drishti will locate a trainer at the Institute. "This can be seen as a step towards our deeper commitment towards community-based programming," says Dr. Panwar.

Conclusion

Since community radio has proved to be an excellent empowering media tool on the ground, kudos to the government for making it possible that NGOs can have permits to run such operations. In a country like India, where 70% of the people live in rural areas, where governance is a casualty, information is a miss and media is non-existent, community radio is a must. It is perhaps time once again for people to come on the street to demand their permits and the exemption of licence fees as has been promised by the ministry. The Government of India-Ministry of Information and Broadcasting must speed up the process in giving the license without much cumbersome process and must encourage those who are interested in launching the community radio broadcasting systems. Community radios should be financially sustainable and especially the corporate sector in that particular society must come forward by giving them advertisement campaign so that the community radios will be financially stable. A truly community owned community radio

station can change the way development.

Hamara MSPICM community radio 90.4, echoes loud and clear in the hills of Solan of Himachal Pradesh. *Hamara* is worthwhile since the main focus of the programmes is to create awareness amongst the local community on employment avenues, hygiene, agriculture, environment, health and women related issues. Health issues it mainly focussing is like health tips for senior citizens, tips for reducing maternal mortality rate, nutrition for women during pregnancy, discussion on different health related problems and their remedies etc. Women related programmes like home management, cooking, beauty tips, women's health tips, new born baby tips, government schemes for women and children etc. Despite the presence of commercial FM stations in Solan, *Hamara* still stands tall both literally and figuratively. Perched on a hillside in the picturesque Shivalik ranges of Solan, Himachal Pradesh, the facade of the M.S. Panwar Institute of Communication and Management (MSPICM) is deceptive. Today, *Hamara* broadcasts mostly in Hindi and Bhagati (local dialect) for 12 hours. The RJ training programme has also ensured a steady stream of human resources to the station.

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Transparency and accountability in administration: A study of Right to Information Act

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Abstract

The Right to Information Act 2005 was passed by the UPA (United Progressive Alliance) Government with a sense of establishing truth based society. It is a milestone in India's democratic system. It is seven years since the RTI was passed; the performance on the implementation front is far from perfect. Hence the present study will analyse the impact on the attitude, mindset and behaviour patterns of the public authorities to reveal RTI to the people. Most of the people are still not aware of their newly acquired power. It will analyse and focus on major portion of ethics, transparency and accountability in building up the moral society through good governance. It will also look at the way the Government, NGOs and other enlightened and empowered citizens can supplement the benefits of this Act manifold. The study will stress on how RTI will not only help in mitigating corruption in public life but also in alleviating poverty- the two monstrous maladies of India.

***Key Words:** Transparency, Accountability, Public administration, anti-Corruption movement, South Asia*

Introduction

India now is witnessing not mere corruption but national plunder (Brahma Challeny, 2010). There are still millions in India who dream of transparency and accountability/answerability in public administration for corruption free society; although, it is considered as fourth largest economy in the world with the land of natural resources. Moreover, India is a country with multiple identities and incomparable & prosperous cultural heritage. However, the rich resources of the nation have been facing perpetual problems like poverty, illiteracy and corruption in its own land by its own politicians and bureaucrats and still being considered as a developing country. The expansion of constitutionalism and democratic system has given rise to the notion of administrative accountability (Shamsul,1970). Mass democratic state of present times is not realistic without a huge army of permanently employed state officials, generally characterized as the

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bureaucracy with rationalized mentality with high ethical back ground. This raises the question of managerial accountability. (Shamsul also stated that "the goal of politics is to manage the behaviour of administration; the behaviour of administration are carried on by structure of government; whoever controls the administration controls the activities of government". Here in this paper an attempt will be made as to how both administrative and political accountability could be ensured for good governance in India.

Notion of political responsibility

Wolf understood that "Accountability/ answerability/responsibility relationships engage election process and designated legislative body, it indulge people's representatives and decision-making authority, it also engage government legislative members and its civil servants, it includes internal hierarchical relations and network in the civil service and it deals between administrative authority and citizens". He addressed the theme of accountability/responsibility in language of four fundamental questions. Obaidullah observed that "the contemporary notion of accountability/answerability is linked with four essential questions of Why? Who? What? And How?" These will help us to settle conflicting demands of egalitarianism, efficiency and ethics. "Accountability/answerability is concerning relationships of authority and power, it is concerning giving accounts in trade of delegated powers and responsibilities and regarding the processes and institutions that can help to produce relevant and reasonable accounts" (Wolf, 2000). Wolf recognized at least five proportions in the perception of

accountability:

- Lawful proportions (Rule of Law)
- Economic proportions (make use of public resources)
- Strategy and performance dimensions (Meeting goals, promises and opportunity)
- Self-governing proportions (Informing and consulting legislatures and citizens)
- Ethical proportions (Behaving in accordance with codes of ethics or general decent standards).

These proportions of all exist completely in the daily relationships of public administration and conduct behaviour even if they are not raised as open concerns. How can we recover accountability in public administration? In several nations, including India, effectiveness has been the centre of current decades of reorganization and other proportions such as self-governing accountability and ethics have been missing out. "Answerability is an essential constituent of any structure of government that seeks to be efficient. Accountability and effectiveness are, consequently, the two sides of the public service coin". While massive gains in good organization, flexibility and service to general public have been made, the mission ahead should be underpinning good governance and accountability/answerability while moving on in recovering the effectiveness of public administration. Good organization of policy making and policy functioning is in itself a key aspect of good governance. The malicious effects of corruption — the lack or poor quality of essential public infrastructure and services effected the most marginalized sections in the third world societies in general and

India in particular. Therefore third world administrative societies have to invite modern technologies to overcome unethical activities of people's representatives as well as bureaucrats such as bribes, favouritism and discrimination on the basis of caste and creed and religion. Henceforth they need to improve their administrative procedures and practices to achieve efficiency in administration.

Moreover the present day administration requires faith of its people in delivering goods and services to them on time with this much mental revolution in bureaucrats and politicians can be a stepping stone towards economy, efficiency and Excellency in administration. A report on bribery in India published by *Trace International in* January, 2009 (as sited in "Battling India's ...") states that…

- 91% of the bribes were demanded by govt. Officials.

- 77% of the bribes demanded were for avoiding harm rather than to gain any advantage.

- Of these 51% were for timely delivery of services to which the individual was already entitled, example, clearing customs or getting a telephone connection.

Bill Gates (2008) in his article "Making capitalism more creative" talks about Creative Capitalism where he tries to find new ways to bring for more people into the system in order to achieve equal opportunities. Moreover, in his conception he wants to strengthen the capitalism instead of socialism to provide opportunities for large section of society where socialism can bring limited people in to the sphere of opportunities which leads to grab the a massive wealth. In addition he believes that capitalism has provided opportunities and improved the lives of billions of people.

The explosion of new information and technology that leads to communication technologies is also allowing for a rapid, global circulation of theories and practices, enabling the public to demand higher standards of ethics, transparency and accountability in the government as well as private sectors which determines the nation's growth. These precondition values of good governance and sustainable developments not only support reactive to public policy but also to the high levels of public sector performance which also play a crucial role in preventing the onset of systemic corruption. There is now global recognition that corruption impedes economic development, undermines strength and trust in public institutions. Hence, we should make capitalism more creative. Moreover, deprivation, poverty and discrimination may exist among all societies all though in different proportions.

Amartya Sen's (1999) book on *Development as Freedom* explores the relationship between freedom and development. According to Sen, development should be measured by how much freedom a country has since without freedom people cannot make the choices that allow them to help themselves and others. He defines freedom as an interdependent bundle of political freedom and civil rights, economic freedom including opportunities to get credit, social opportunities: arrangements for health care, education, and other social services,

transparency guarantees, by which Sen means interactions with others, including the government, are characterized by a mutual understanding of what is offered and what to expect, protective security, in which Sen includes unemployment benefits, famine and emergency relief, and general safety nets.

Based on the example of the former Soviet Union, Sen argued that political liberties are necessary for sustainable development. He also tackled the paradox of the Chinese hare and the Indian tortoise in terms of economic growth, pointing to the fact that China had invested in general literacy and basic health before opening its economy in 1979, while the "socialist regime" in India in the 1960s and 70s neglected those very areas in pursuit of full nationalization under the license Raj. While Indian democratic processes can be painfully slow, they provide a firmer guarantee of stable growth in the long run

Perhaps, education is being abandoned since independence is one of the primary reasons for nation's sick development. In addition, higher education is being terribly neglected since then. Possibly, that could be the reason why now more than forty percent of the un-educated/semi-literate youth are coming for politics to gain economic properties through various state ideological apparatus. It is known fact that in history those countries which have played and playing crucial role in international organizations like United Nations organization and World Bank are hundred percent educated countries since centuries. With their powerful weapon of education, they are still remaining as great countries.

In order to attain such a proper society, first of all people need to be educated. Although education doesn't belong for any particular group, it is in the hands of few people especially among those who can offer. Moreover, developing country like India where majority of the population remains as poor and education is not their primary preference. In fact, a pure and honest transparent and accountability state is a dream for those who are financially weak. Indeed, after globalization, most of the government institutions have became self financed and hardly getting funds from the government. Moreover, number of corporate institutions have emerged and started asking heavy amount of fee especially in professional courses like Engineering and Medicine. In fact, ability is nothing without opportunity. Consequently, one can imagine if a person is deprived of basic needs and having a choice to pursue higher education, how can he/she enter in this expensive institutes without financial assistance. Equal Opportunity Commission Report, (2008) recommended that an Equal Opportunity Commission Bill should be constituted by the government to look into the grievances of the deprived groups in public and private sector defined on certain grounds such as sex, disability, religion, caste, language etc. Moreover, The Equal Opportunity Commission Bill seeks to address discrimination of all kinds. "Its primary aim is to create an equality benchmark and code of fair practices for both the public and private sectors.

Apart from that, committee has given straight instructions that the proposed commission should be independent of political interference but subject to political scrutiny and judicial review.

However, the proposed bill must have judicial and legal powers such as civil and summon and investigate, it should be a recommendatory body without any authority to handout sentences. This is in keeping with the view that ombudsman ought not to duplicate authority. Unlike, other commissions this commission should have the distinctive features basing its cases only on hard evidence. Finally, the proposed commission should go into cases relating to all sectors like education, employment and policy making. However, proposed commission has recommended the interests of the deprived can be guarded not only against the state but also as against a private employer.

Therefore, one needs to explain the importance of transparency and accountability in administration in the era of globalization. Perhaps, education is the key for all existing problems in the society. However, it becomes a quite challenging factor among many of the developing countries in spreading the awareness of education. Education is the solution of many of problems. It is education which promotes good habits, values and awareness towards anything like terrorism, corruption and disease. Likewise, It's the education which transforms a person to live a better life and more importantly in a socially well being. Education does make a remarkable effect on one's personality. Education involves gathering of knowledge in multiple aspects. It helps a person to draw the best out of their mind and spirit. Moreover, Education plays a vital role in the personal growth and the social development among all of us.

Nussbaum (2003) in her article "Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen. and Social Justice" classifies the central human capabilities into ten types for human wellbeing, i.e. real opportunities based on personal and social circumstance such as 1. *Life:* being able to live, 2. *Bodily health:* being able to have good health, being adequately nourished; being able to have adequate shelter. 3. *Bodily integrity:* being able to move freely from place to place. 4. *Senses, imagination, thought:* being able to use the senses; being able to imagine, to think, and to reason--and to do these things in a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education; being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing, and producing expressive works and events of one's own choice. 5. *Emotions:* being able to have attachments to things and persons outside ourselves. 6. *Practical reason:* being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life. 7. *Affiliation:* Being able to live for and in relation to others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; being able to imagine the situation of another and to have compassion for that situation; having the capability for both justice and friendship. 8. *Other species:* being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature 9. *Play:* being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities. 10. *Control over one's environment:* (A) *Political:* being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the rights of political participation, free speech and freedom of association. (B) *Material:* being able to hold property (both land and movable goods); having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others.

Finally, Nussbaum classifies capabilities into three types such as Basic, Internal, and Combined Capabilities. Acceding to Nussbaum, The aim of public policy is the promotion of combined capabilities; this requires two kinds of efforts (1) the promotion of internal capabilities (say, by education or training) and (2) the making available of the external institutional and material conditions.

Education is the property that gives confidence, self-respect and, dignity. Moreover, Amartya sen defines Education as development. Besides, Education is the heart and soul for any nation in order to achieve prosperity. Similarly, education plays an important role in providing human beings with all the needed equipments in leading a harmonious life. It has been an acceptable fact all throughout the world that education is the only fundamental way by which a desired change and upliftment in the society can be taken into effect. Moreover, Education is the solution of many types of problems. It provides with the knowledge in determining what is good and bad for people.

David Levine (2004), in his essay "Poverty, Capabilities and Freedom", opined the idea of capabilities is developed in a specific direction to suggest a way of thinking about poverty suitable to a modern society. Poverty is defined as the opposing pole to freedom, and freedom is linked to creativity in work. Creativity in work is considered the exercise of a human capability, specifically the capability to do skilled labour. Poverty results, then, either when this capability does not develop, or when the opportunity to exercise it is unavailable.

Against this Melanie Walker, (2006) in his paper "Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making", sets out to contribute to the emerging debate to show how the capability approach offers an assertive alternative discourse to dominant human capital ideas in education. It considers core ideas of capability and functioning, and the emphasis in Sen's approach on each person's freedom and opportunities to develop valued beings and doings. The article then shows more concretely how the ideas might be operationalized by producing a provisional, situated list of education capabilities, with specific attention to gender equity in contemporary South African schools. It closes by presenting and emphasizing the importance of public debate and discussion around the policy potential of the theoretical and empirical ideas rose.

Khaparde (1992) says that according to Ambedkar material negligence and indifference to knowledge were the reasons behind the backwardness of the Indian people particularly of the lower strata of the society. B R Amedkar considered acquisition of knowledge to the 'Sine qua non' (an essential condition or requirement) for the success of democratic experience. He said that when three-fourths of the population was drenched in ignorance and did not know its rights and responsibilities there could be no hope for self-government notwithstanding the fact that three-fourths of the population is drenched in ignorance, our representative system will be a shame, and there would be a rule of wealth against poverty, of power against weakness.

It is now clear that there is a 'checks and balance 'system for the administration of

the country through the vigilant civil participation. Quite often it is apparent that the larger scams have equal participation in the media which is invisible to the common man.

Albert Weale (1978), in "Equality and Social Policy", he talks about the basic difference between Procedural equality and Substantive equality in making any social policy. He advocates substantive equality is rational in distributing the resources in unequal society instead of procedural equality. So according to him consideration of substantive equality is very important in making any social policy under which people may be treated differently, in order to produce among them greater equality of benefit.

Understanding resistance

For centuries, people have been resisting for various reasons and these resistances have taken different forms and shapes. Be it a global protest against globalization, or public rallies against corruption, or resentments because of cut in social welfare spending, resistance is everywhere, showing its omnipresent nature. And 'why do people resist' has been attracting different answers from leading thinkers for years with no consensus. People's resistance is witnessed in the form of public anger, a movement or a revolution which can result from dissatisfaction of individuals over a particular issue or for a greater common goal. These resistances irrespective of their outcomes, i.e., success or failure, play a significant role in introducing changes in society though the amount of change varies and depends on the effectiveness of the resistances. 'People often succeeded in

movements and resistance demanding change, but even when they failed, their actions set in motion important political, cultural, and international changes.' (Tarrow 1994).

People's resistance can be broadly of two types. while in the first category, we see people resisting because they are the immediate victims of any law, or policy, or a decision taken and implemented by any authority; in the second category, we can keep protesters who are not the immediate victims (at least not in near future) and they are mainly concerned about a better future for the generations to come. We can take the examples of people's resistance against anti-corruption movement, land grab and environment movement to fit into these three categories respectively.

All these people's resistances have many things in common but all of them are unique in nature. The common features may include: the act of challenging, resisting, or making demands upon authorities, power holders, and/or cultural beliefs (Goodwin and Jasper 2009) with a common goal and belief etc. While the resistances differ from each other on the ground of the *ideology, persistence, reach and kinds of people's participation, modus operandi, the outcome, etc.*

With typological changes of people's resistances, the modes of resistances have also been changing. And this calls for a detailed study. This chapter conceptualizes people's resistance, studies the change in scholarships on resistance and analyzes the relation between power and resistance in the context of modernist and post-modernist approach.

Anti-corruption movement

The world's largest democratic country India today seems one of the most vulnerable countries for corruption too. Recently India witnessed the ever big corruption scandal after independence. If we put the biggest scams in order of priority it can be like this. 2G Spectrum Scam, Commonwealth Games Scam, Telgi Scam, Satyam Scam, Bofors Scam, The Fodder Scam, The Hawala Scandal, IPL Scam, Harshad Mehta & Ketan Parekh Stock Market Scam and Reddy's scams. As a result there is a serious distrust among the civil society who now moving against the established corrupt system which demands the civil participation in the administrative mechanism other than the elected body to monitories the funds and to make the administration more transparent.

The call for these anti-corruption movements appear to have its seed from a party called 'Jago Party'. This party though not active in electoral politics put its agenda through various mass media. This party has a strong *mantra* against corruption. The anti-corruption movement demanded the establishment of a *lokpal* at the centre and *lokayukta* at the state and district levels to curb and punish the culprits. The *lokpal* committee as per the demand by the anti-corruption movement urged to establish *lokpal* at the centre level. It must be consisted of a chair person along with eight members and subordinate officials having a five years tenure which could only be removed by the president on a Supreme Court conference. Moreover, they demanded the unconditional probe of corruption charges against the union ministers and the officials of group A and above.

It also demanded the prime minister and the judiciary in *lokpal* ambit. It also sought harsher punishment for the accused based on their ranks. In response to this the government demanded there should be five government nominees and again demanded the exception of MPs for their acts in the parliament. Besides the government refuted saying the probe of corruption charges against the low level officials should be dealt with CBI and *lokpal* can deal with higher level officials. They also demanded that the *lokpal* cannot prosecute but only can refer the case to Supreme Court. The government again demanded the exemption of PM and judges but provide for inquiry into the graft charges after they vacate the office.

There were series of hunger strike or fasting which were held in different places. The recent protest in the form of fasting was held at Delhi which acquired wider popular attention. There were almost one lakh people who are believed to have been in this movement. The arrangements as follows, 2.5 lakh sq meter water proof marquee, air conditioners, ceiling fans,100 water tapes,100 LCD Television sets, 650 movable bathroom and toilets, well trained doctors , ambulances and the service of250 fulltime volunteers This move was forcefully suppressed and the leaders were arrested and many of them were mercilessly beaten up.

As we mentioned in the beginning about the genesis of this movement, the Jago Party had regularly been giving its ideas through the leading mass media of the country before the onset of this movement. This party is basically an endeavor of the upper or middle class whose politics is apolitical. Their main agendas are

reservation for none, job and education for everyone, education through free English medium mode. Capital punishment for terrorists, murderers and rapists and corrupts. Twenty four hours electricity, comfortable train journey through privatization of various services, less involvement of governments in the market, more private enterprises through tax reforming and finally no income tax whose annual income is up to 4 lakh along with the reduction of the number and rates of taxes. This party which represents the upper or middle class are the key players who are active in this episode of anti-corruption movement. From the very agendas of this party it s apparent that they are not even bothered about the lower middle class or the bottom group.

Now let us come back to the movement. This anti-corruption movement received a wider popular attention but as time passed, the right wing ideologies took gave a strong support and it turned out to be more of a political than a social movement.

Summary of key observations

A research study was undertaken in Andhra Pradesh to understand the nature and seriousness of government to implement transparency and accountability in public administration in order to create a corruption free society through Right to Information Act. A related aim of the study was to explore policy recommendations and strategies using the study outcomes as a basis. The study findings suggest the need for some urgent policy measures to arrest and punish culprits severely in the State such as formulation of a comprehensive anti-corruption laws by the Government, regulating the

punishments severely by setting up threshold levels for minimal diversion, formation of a fully functional State support to eradicate corruption, forming the ACB courts at the earliest, comprehensive land reforms implementation with appropriate legislation to prevent the alienation of land from the hands of the poor, reviewing the APSEZ policy and bill and a moratorium on further diversion of land for SEZs, projects like coastal industrial corridor etc reviewing the approvals to existing SEZ, implementation of the Anti-Corruption movement recommendations at the earliest etc. The study findings clearly points to the need to address the growing problem of entering of corruption into judiciary offices.

The study is a preliminary attempt to understand the phenomenon of transparency and accountability and its impact on ethics and democratic structures. Notwithstanding the limited time frame and resources for the study as well as paucity of data related to various dimensions of accountability and transparency in new public administration, it is hoped that the study will provide a useful framework and a basis for a more detailed analysis and building of data base in future on the nature and forms of corruption in Andhra Pradesh in general and India in particular.

Summary in the words of anti-corruption movement leaders

On one side India has 80% of India's 1.2 billion earn less than 2$ per day, one third of global poor live in India, every second child in India is malnourished, a mother has to chose to educate or send a child to

work with grinding 17+% inflation, where majority of the country's people life has reduced to a life of daily struggle for existence and one third of India's districts are engulfed by Maoism that is direct threat to nation. Corruption impoverishing people, stunting development, causing insurgency and weakening the ability of country to defend itself and eventually will destroy the nation. What India is facing today is nothing less than existential threat. The lack of development is fueling Maoist insurgency that has affected 1/3 rd of the country and is poised to engulf the nation. The military purchase kickbacks and shoddy equipment is weakening India's military so much that India today cannot withstand wars with its neighbors and for a county of its size has none worthy indigenous development. All the progress and development being talked about in India today is helping only 13-15% of the people, leaving behind a sea of humanity impoverished. Billions worth of country's mineral wealth that belongs to all citizens is looted to the hilt by select few with the connivance of politicians, bureaucrats and media.

What is the scale of scandals? Just last few months, the 2G scam worth 1.76 lakh crore rupees (40 billion dollars) and the CWG (commonwealth games) scam is 40,000 crore rupees (9 billion dollars). Every day it is getting more audacious, more ruthless. According to Transparency International India ranks among worst in corruption, it stands same as impoverished African nations. More than 140 countries ratified UN Convention against corruption but India refuse to ratify it. It is time to put a stop to this. It is time to get the stolen funds back. It is time for India to remove the oppressive barriers to India's genius which

until 1700's held 25% of World's GDP. This genius is suppressed today with a high percentage of highly corrupt people.

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Endnotes

In order to promote, transparency and accountability in administration, Parliament passed "Right to Information Bill, 2004 on 15th June, 2005, "The Right to Information Act" was notified in the Gazette of India on 21st June, 2005. The "Right to Information Act" has become fully operational from 12th October, 2005 so as to enable a citizen of India to secure access to information under the control of Public Authorities. After the Act came into existence, it has become evident that there are many anticipated and unanticipated consequences of the act. These have manifested themselves in various forms. While some of the issues pertain to procedural aspects of the government others pertain to the capacity aspects. Hence, there was a need to evaluate the implementation of the Act based on actual data and information. With the above context, DoPT, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievance and Pension, Government of India has engaged PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) for assessing and evaluating the Act with specific reference to the key issues and constraints faced by the "Information Providers" and "Information Seekers". For more information see: http://www.rti.gov.in/rticorner/RTI_methodology[1].pdf

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Framing Kashmir: How the Indian elite press frames the Kashmir issue in its editorials

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Abstract

Kashmir issue finds a significant mention in the editorial sections of the English-language Indian elite press. Around 12 percent of the total number of editorials published in 'The Times of India,' 'The Hindu' and 'The Indian Express' between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2002, make some kind of refernce to Kashmir. Around 95 percent of these editorials use one of the following eight frames while refering to Kashmir: History frame, Legality frame, Nation State frame, Law and Order frame, Democracy frame, Human Rights frame, International Relations frame, and Conflict Resolution frame. Among these 'International Relations' frame and 'Law and Order' frame emerge as High Import Frames, i.e., the most frequently used (Used in 70.81 percent and 63.75 percent of the editorials respectively.). 'Conflict Resolution' frame, 'Democracy' frame, 'Legality' frame, and 'Nation State' frame emerge as Medium Import Frames (Used in 23.81 percent, 20.89 percent, 12.14 percent and 9.52 percent of the editorials respectively.). And 'Human Rights' frame and 'History' frame emerge as Low Import Frames, i.e., the the frames least used in the editorial sections of the above mentioned newspapers (Used in 6.60 percent and 3.38 percent of the editorials respectively.).

***Key words:** Kashmir, Elite Press, Editorial Position, Frames, Framing, 'Primary Frame,' 'Secondary Frame'*

Introduction

Kashmir is one of the oldest unresolved issues before the United Nations. It is a constant source of tensions, both military and diplomatic, between two nuclear and, most of the times, hostile neighbours. But most significantly, the issue is holding in balance the political destiny of more than 10 million people, who live in one of the most heavily militarised regions of the world.

The Kashmir dispute has been a major cause of tensions between India and Pakistan for more than 50 years now. The two countries have engaged in two full-scale wars (1947-48, and 1965), a 'limited war'[1] and innumerable border skirmishes over the issue. The issue has also shaped, to a large extent, the foreign policies as well as internal political life of the two nations (Lamb, 1993, p. 2). And ever since the two countries conducted nuclear tests in May 1998 and proclaimed themselves as

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nuclear powers, the Kashmir issue, with its potential for setting off another military confrontation between the two countries, has attracted special attention of the international community (Talbott, 2004, pp. 161-162).

Justification of the problem

Since the very beginning of the dispute there have been a number of Kashmir-related studies, analysing different aspects of the issue and looking at it from different points of view. A brief survey of the literature reveals that most of the studies on the Kashmir issue are from historical and legal points of view. There are also many biographies, autobiographies, personal accounts and published correspondences which wholly or partially pertain to the Kashmir issue. However, not much research has been carried out to understand how the mass media of different countries and regions understand and 'frame' the Kashmir issue. This study is a small effort in this direction.

Media is the main source of information for both the general masses and the extended national elite, anything that comes in the media immediately enters the public sphere, and therefore, becomes part of the policy-making process. India being a democracy has a vibrant press with a long history of political involvement. It is mostly privately owned and enjoys a great degree of freedom from governmental control or censorship. Therefore, it has a substantially high degree of credibility, which enhances its power to influence the public debate on various issues of national significance and consequently influence the policy-making process.

Indian press is not a monolith; it is rather highly diversified in its content and format. However, media studies conducted at various places around the world have indicated a high degree of consensus in the mass media when it comes to questions of perceived national significance. It would be interesting to see what level of conflict or consensus exists in the Indian elite press, which offers a wide range of opinion on different issues of national significance, on the question of Kashmir.

Indian elite press, because of its high credibility, significant across-the-nation circulation and political nature, is both an indicator of official/elite view of things as well as of any change that may occur in that view in the near future. It is, therefore, significant in the light of the above discussion to ascertain how the Indian elite press visualizes and presents the Kashmir issue.

A brief history of the Kashmir issue

The State of Jammu and Kashmir attained its modern form under the rule of the Dogra dynasty of Jammu after Maharaja Gulab Singh, a chieftain under Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab, purchased it from the British after the defeat of the Sikhs in the Third Anglo-Sikh war in 1846. The second defining moment in the modern history of the state came in 1947, when British India was partitioned into two independent dominions – India and Pakistan.

The dispute dates back to the days when the British at last left the subcontinent in 1947. At the time of the 'Transfer of Power' the

country was divided into two separate entities namely, India and Pakistan.

The British India Empire consisted of eleven Provinces and several Tribal Areas, which were ruled directly by the British. The Princely States (there were at least 562 of them), which made a third of the Empire, had varied degrees of legislative and jurisdictional powers. But they were part of the British Empire since they acknowledged the Paramountcy of the British Crown (Lamb, 1993, p. 4).

At the time of the Partition the rulers of the princely states were given, at least in theory, the choice to freely accede to either India or Pakistan, or to remain independent. The Maharaja of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh, contemplated independence (Schofield, 1996, p. 25). One incentive for this thinking may have been the special geographical location of the State (Lamb, 1993, p. 7). According to one version, Hari Singh was obliged to accede to India in October 1947 in the face of a "tribal invasion" of the State (Schofield, 1996, p. 49) from Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. However, more recent research suggests it was the Muslim subjects of Poonch and Mirpur who revolted against the unpopular Maharaja (Snedden, 2013). Whatever the real sequence of events, its a fact that even in such a tight situation the Maharaja only made a "conditional accession" to India.

Pakistan, which also had claims to the State because of its Muslim majority population, contested the Maharaja's accession to India and termed it as one

based on "fraud and violence" and therefore not bona fide (Schofield, 1996, p. 61). Pakistan currently controls a significant portion of the state which is known by various names like 'Azad Kashmir', 'Pakistan Occupied Kashmir', or 'Pakistan Administered Kashmir', depending on ones political affiliations or convictions.

In 1948, the United Nations became deeply involved in the Kashmir issue. On January 1, 1948, India formally accused Pakistan of complicity in the tribal invasion of Kashmir and requested the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to desist from all such activities in the future. Pakistan strongly rejected this accusation and replied two weeks later with a series of counter-charges accusing Indian of actions aimed at "the destruction of the State of Pakistan". The United Nations mediated a cease-fire agreement on January 1, 1949, and posted military observers on both sides of the 'Cease Fire Line' (also called the Line of Control). What followed was a series of Security Council resolutions which among other things called for a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine its political future. The plebiscite, however, never materialized. The idea of plebiscite, or self-determination, would nonetheless determine Kashmir's internal politics and its relations with New Delhi in the years to come.

In the post-1947 Kashmir, a separate ethno-national consciousness remained consistently strong, but it was only in the late 1980s that a full-blown armed rebellion against India erupted, which continues till date with varied intensity. Despite its consistent denial at the official level, it is widely believed that Kashmiri militants received (and continue to receive) arms, training and other logistical support from

Pakistan. However, Cohen (2002) argues that "Pakistan's role was not the decisive factor in starting the uprising, although it has been a critical factor in sustaining it" (p. 19).

Although India has succeeded in restoring some semblance of "normalcy" through three state assembly elections since 1996, its authority is still to a great extant dependant on the presence of a large number of troops in the state. Even though Indian officials routinely claim a decline in militancy, incidents of violence and human rights violations feature quite regularly in the local press.

Theoretical framework

Mass media and polity: There is an intimate connection between mass communication and the conduct of politics. Mass media are critical to the contemporary politics as they play the role of "linkage institutions", communicating the opinion of the mass pubic to the elected officials and vice-versa (Leighley, 2004, p. 134). They also promote the circulation of news and opinion within the politically interested public. Active participation in political life is strongly associated with the use of mass media for information purposes. Mass media also possess this great ability to shape public opinion by 'framing' issues in particular ways. The media's selection of issues (agenda-setting) and their treatment (framing) "help structure individuals' beliefs about what issues are important, their evaluation of public figures, and their preferences about appropriate policy responses to social problems" (Leighley,

2004, p. 193).

In democratic systems, the mass media have a "complex relationship with sources of power and the political system" (McQuail, 2005, pp. 523-524). According to Eilders (2002) they "maintain and structure the constant exchange of issues and opinions between different actors" (p. 27). Moreover, the elite members, which includes 'opinion leaders' among others, of a society depend on a common stream of information so as to "adapt their choices and decisions to one another" (Arora & Lasswell, 1969, pp. 4-5), and to develop a common and stable context of the 'reality' surrounding them. In every nation there is usually a single newspaper, or a small number of newspapers, which the national political elites use to communicate with each other and with the common masses (Arora & Lasswell, 1969, p. 3). In the Indian context it is the English-language national press that fulfills the role of an elite press as defined above. There are primarily two reasons for this. First, English is the *de facto* administrative language, especially of central government institutions. Second, India being a linguistically diverse nation, English is the preferred language of the national elites, which includes elected officials, bureaucrats and public intellectuals.

Eilders (2002), however, contends that media are not neutral sources of information but rather "take an active role in the political process by selecting and structuring information, interpreting and evaluating the stream of events continuously taking place and supporting or rejecting particular policy options" (p. 26). But this lack of neutrality does not necessarily mean a challenge to the status quo. Rather, as McQuail (2005) argues, "Fundamental challenges to the nation state

or its established institutions are hard to find in the mass media" (p. 495).

Framing: Understanding mass communication through the concept of 'framing' has become increasingly common. The idea of a 'frame' in relation to news has been widely and loosely used in place of terms such as 'frame of reference', 'context', 'theme', or even 'news angle'. More precisely the idea refers to "interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broad context" (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003, pp. 10-11).

The concept of 'frames' or 'frame analysis' has its roots in the seminal work of Erving Goffman – Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience, published in 1974. Goffman characterized frames as follows:

> I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. (pp. 10-11)

Gitlin (1980) has defined frames as "principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (p. 6).

According to Entman (1993) "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation."

Fisher (1997) defines "frames as semi-structured elements of discourse which people use to make sense of information they encounter."

Unlike Goffman, the trend in media studies is to treat framing as a more conscious process. Like Entman, D'Angelo (2002) and Reese (2007) both argue that frames are consciously selected by journalists. Ryan (1991) puts forward this view of framing in the following words:

> Frame can be used to mean an intentional distortion of what happened … ordering information into a coherent story. Truth doesn't stand alone; rather people engage in a selection process … ordering a story requires some pre-existing notion of the story …. the real battle [however] is over who's interpretation, who's framing of reality gets the floor. (p. 53)

Research time-frame

For the purpose of of this study, the editorial content of three English-language Indian national dailies viz. The Hindu, The Times of India, and The Indian Express, was analysed for a period of three years between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2002 was analysed.

The above mentioned time-frame was chosen considering that five important events symbolising certain crucial dimensions of the Kashmir issue, and having a direct bearing on it, took place during this period.

In June 2000, the Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly adopted the

recommendations of the State Autonomy Committee Report, which envisaged the restoration of the pre-1953 constitutional position for Jammu and Kashmir vis-a-vis New Delhi. The demand was promptly rejected by the central government on the ground that it sought, in the words of the then Home Minister Mr L.K. Advani, to "set the clock back".

Second was the short-lived unilateral ceasefire announced in July 2000 by arguably the most numerous and most powerful militant organisation fighting against Indian rule in Kashmir, the Hizbul Mujahideen.

Third was the two-day summit between the Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf in July 2001. The meeting was organised with the aim of resolving long-standing issues, including Kashmir, between India and Pakistan.

Fourth was the attack on Indian parliament in December 2001, which India blamed on Pakistan-based militant groups fighting Indian rule in Kashmir. The attack was followed by a huge mobilisation of forces by India to its border with Pakistan, which resulted in an almost year-long military stand-off between Indian and Pakistani forces.

Finally, the state legislative elections that took place in Jammu and Kashmir in October 2002, and that were described by the Indian press as "a significant victory for Indian democracy" ("Democracy wins," 2002).

Methodology

The researcher has primarily used content analysis technique. The quantitative findings, however, are followed by a thorough qualitative analysis. To ascertain how the Indian elite press frames the Kashmir issue, the editorial content of three English language Indian national dailies, viz. *The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, and *The Indian Express*, was analysed for frames used in them. The said papers were chosen considering their large readership and wide all-India coverage. Further, the selection of newspapers was made keeping in mind the need to have a sample that broadly represents the spectrum of mainstream political ideology in India, with *The Times of India* to the right of centre, *The Hindu* leaning to the left, and *The Indian Express* known for its anti-establishment stance. All the editorials appearing in the above mentioned papers between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2002 were selected for analysis.

The unit of analysis or the coding unit was the individual article/editorial. The frames used to categorize the coded articles were developed by the researcher himself as no previous set(s) of categories pertaining to the subject of the study were found to exist.

The one overarching frame that bound the whole editorial together was coded as the 'Primary Frame' and the other frames, if present in the same editorial, were coded as 'Secondary Frames'.

The frames

After going through the literature on the Kashmir issue, the researcher developed the following eight frames to understand how the

Indian elite press has, advertently or inadvertently, 'framed', and continues to 'frame', the debate on the Kashmir issue:

1. History frame
2. Legality frame
3. Nation State frame
4. Law and order frame
5. Democracy frame
6. Human rights frame
7. International Relations frame
8. Conflict Resolution frame
9. Other frame

Frame definitions

History frame refers to the history of the Indian sub-continent leading to its partition in 1947 and the creation of independent India and Pakistan. Since Kashmir problem came into being at the time and as a result of partition, which left a deep impression on the psyche of both the nations, this frame assumes great significance.

Legality frame reflects the legal aspects of the Kashmir issue like the controversy regarding the legitimacy of Maharaja Hari Singh's accession to India. It also includes the debate about the applicability and relevance of the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir. It also refers to the special provisions in the constitution of India for the state of Jammu and Kashmir (Article 370).

Nation state frame refers to India's 'sovereign concerns', as expressed in the media, like geographical integrity, national integration, secularism, public opinion, communal harmony etc.

Law and order frame reflects the

concern expressed in the Indian media about "cross-border terrorism". It tends to analyze the situation primarily through monitoring levels of violence, and presents a rather simplistic dichotomy of peace and violence.

Democracy frame concerns with references in the Indian media to the wishes of the people of Kashmir, and the legitimate means of knowing their wishes (local legislative elections vs. Plebiscite).

Human rights frame refers to the large number of human rights violations that have taken place in Kashmir over the last two decades of armed resistance.

International relations frame sees the Kashmir problem in the light of India's relations with other countries (especially Pakistan) and multinational organizations (such as EU, ASEAN, SAARC etc.). The question of 'third party intervention' also comes under this frame. Conflict Resolution frame refers to the acknowledgment of Kashmir as a political dispute and the need to resolve it.

Other frame includes all those interpretations that are not covered in the above stated categories.

The above mentioned frames are an attempt at making the frames both 'issue-specific' as well as 'generic' as far as possible.[2]

Findings

Out of the total 5,487 editorials published in the three newspapers taken up for analysis, between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2002, 651 (i.e., 11.86 percent) made some kind of reference to the Kashmir issue.[3] Out

Table 1: Percentage of editorials employing a particular frame

Frame	Percentage
International Relations	70.81
Law and Order	63.75
Conflict Resolution	23.81
Democracy	20.89
Legality	12.14
Nation State	09.52
Human Rights	06.60
History	03.38
Other	05.68

Overall content (n=651)

of these 651 editorials 199 were published in *The Hindu*, 208 in *The Times of India* and 244 in *The Indian Express*.

As can be seen in Table 1, around 95 percent of the editorials that discussed the Kashmir issue used one of the eight frames devised by the researcher for the purpose of content analysis. As is clear from the above figures, 'International Relations' frame and 'Law and Order'

Table 2: Percentage of editorials employing a particular frame as the 'Primary Frame'

Primary Frame	Percentage
International Relations	41.17
Law and Order	21.66
Conflict Resolution	10.44
Democracy	06.60
Legality	05.22
Nation State	05.99
Human Rights	03.38

Note: 164 out of the total 651 editorials (i.e., 25.19 percent) employed only one frame while referring to the Kashmir issue and that frame was coded as 'Primary Frame'.

frame dominate the editorial coverage of the Kashmir issue in the three national English dailies during the years 2000, 2001, and 2002.

Three-fourth of the editorials (74.81 percent) employed more than one frame while discussing the Kashmir issue.

As can be seen in Table 2, 'International Relations' frame and 'Law and Order' frame are the dominant 'Primary Frames' accounting for 41.17 percent and 21.66 percent editorials respectively.

Table 3: Percentage of editorials that employ a particular frame as the 'Secondary Frame'

Primary Frame	Percentage
International Relations	29.65
Law and Order	42.09
Conflict Resolution	13.36
Democracy	14.28
Legality	06.91
Nation State	03.53
Human Rights	03.22
History	02.92
Other	00.61

Overall content (n=651)

The most ubiquitous 'Secondary Frame' is the 'Law and Order' frame, which appears in 42.09 percent editorials.

As can be seen in Table 4, 'International Relations' frame was the most extensively employed frame in 2000 and 2001, followed by the 'Law and Order' frame in both years. In 2002, the 'Law and Order' frame was the most extensively employed one; followed by the 'International Relations' frame (n=169).

Table 4: Percentage of editorials employing a certain frame in a particular year.

Frame	Percentage		
	Year 2000 (n=209)	**Year 2001 (n=191)**	**Year 2002 (n=251)**
International Relations	66.51	80.1	67.33
Law and Order	57.42	62.83	69.72
Conflict Resolution	27.75	31.93	14.34
Democracy	2.39	8.9	45.42
Legality	15.31	8.38	12.35
Nation State	13.88	5.24	9.16
Human Rights	6.7	9.42	4.38
History	4.78	3.14	2.39
Other	7.66	2.62	6.37

Overall content (n=651)

Table 5: Percentage of editorials employing a certain frame as the 'Primary Frame' in a particular year.

Primary Frame	Percentage		
	Year 2000 (n=209)	**Year 2001 (n=191)**	**Year 2002 (n=251)**
International Relations	36.84	50.78	37.45
Law and Order	20.09	21.99	22.71
Conflict Resolution	14.35	13.61	4.78
Democracy	-	0.52	16.73
Legality	10.05	2.09	3.58
Nation State	9.57	2.62	5.58
Human Rights	1.44	5.76	3.19
History	0.96	-	0.4
Other	6.7	2.62	5.58
Total	100	100	100

Overall content (n=651)

The figures in Table 4 show two interesting trends. First is the sudden increase in the use of the 'Law and Order' frame in the year 2002, both in comparison to the other dominant frame – the 'International Relations' frame – and in absolute terms. Not only does it overtake the 'International Relations' frame to become the most extensively used frame in that year, there is a steep increase of about 46 percent in its employment in comparison to the previous two years. Second is the much greater increase in the employment of the 'Democracy' frame in the year 2002. This frame shows an increase of more than 400 percent in its employment over the combined employment of this frame in the previous two years (2000 and 2001). The elections held for state legislature in Jammu and Kashmir in October 2002 may explain this heightened emphasis on the 'Democracy' frame in that year.

As can be seen in Table 5, the most widely employed 'Primary Frame' in all the three years (2000, 2001, and 2002) is the 'International Relations' frame. 'Law and Order' frame was the second most widely employed 'Primary Frame' in all the three years – 2000, 2001, and 2002.

Unlike in 2000 and 2001, in 2002 the 'Democracy' frame was employed as a 'Primary Frame' in more editorials than the 'Conflict Resolution' frame.

Discussion and conclusion

The Kashmir issue gets significant coverage in the editorial columns of the three Indian elite newspapers taken up for analysis (*The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, and *The Indian Express*) during the years 2000, 2001, and 2002. Around 12 percent of the editorials published in these newspapers during the three years make some kind of reference to the Kashmir issue.

Two frames, namely the 'International Relations' frame and the 'Law and Order' frame, dominate the editorial coverage of the Kashmir issue in the above mentioned newspapers. The issue is discussed chiefly in the context of India's relations with other countries, especially Pakistan, and the violence in the Kashmir valley. The two themes quite often appear concurrently in the editorials of the said newspapers. The 'International Relations' frame and the 'Law and Order' frame appear together in more than one-third of the editorials that refer to the Kashmir issue. This juxtaposition is often used to reinforce, or simply reiterate, the official Indian position on the happenings in Kashmir – that they are mainly the handiwork of a mischievous neighbour (read Pakistan). An editorial in *The Hindu*, dated May 21, 2002, puts it like this:

> In combating the menace of cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, there certainly is a strong case for working on various viable options to mount sustained pressure on Pakistan, given its `interest' in the State and its generally acknowledged `contribution' to terrorist activity there. ("Rekindle political processes," 2002)

'Cross-border terrorism' is the key phrase in such write-ups. Frequently used by the editorial staff of the three newspapers, the phrase not only implicates Pakistan, thereby making a point that the militancy is non-indigenous in nature, but also reduces it to

mere terrorism or mindless violence, conveniently forgetting the political nature of the armed struggle and the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. For example, in an editorial titled "General UN fantasies," dated October 1, 2002, *The Indian Express*, while commenting on President Parvez Musharraf's speech in the UN General Assembly, writes:

> Few in the world today are willing to believe in the myth of 'freedom struggle' used to cover jehadi terrorism that has been responsible for the death of tens of thousands of innocent Kashmiris.

The use of phrases like 'jehadi terrorism,' 'Islamic terrorism' and 'jehadi groups' in the context of Kashmir became more frequent after the 9/11 attacks in the US. In all likelihood the purpose was to gain the support of the sole superpower for India's stand on Kashmir. The following extract from an editorial in *The Indian Express* titled "Evil strikes" and published on the very next day after the 9/11 strikes, is an example of how the Indian elite press tried to club the Kashmir issue with the problem of so-called 'global Islamic terrorism':

> Terrorism – whether it is in New York's Manhattan or Kashmir's Srinagar – is the same everywhere and has to be fought with all the might of all those who believe in a civilised way of life.

The Hindu in an editorial published some days after the 9/11 attack writes:

From India's standpoint, it is just as well that the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, has already zeroed on Jammu and Kashmir while outlining a short list of conspicuous places that might actually attract America's attention during its stated campaign against international terror. ("Defining the anti-terror agenda," 2001)

Meanwhile, the 'International Relations' frame was used, other than to talk about the Kashmir issue in the context of India-Pakistan relations, to discuss the positions of various important nations (like the US, UK, Russia etc.) and international organizations (like EU, ASEAN, SAARC etc.) on the Kashmir issue, or how these nations or organizations can pressurize Pakistan to make it stop supporting the militants in Kashmir. For example, an editorial titled "More support for India's claim," which appeared in *The Hindu* on April 20, 2000 on the occasion of then British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook's visit to India, states:

> By adding Britain's voice to the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's warning call to Pakistan not to attempt to redraw boundaries in blood, Mr. Cook corrected a long-standing imbalance in Labour's policy perception on the Kashmir issue.

Another editorial appearing in *The Hindu* on June 5, 2000 and titled "India and the Asia Pacific," talks about the concern of Southeast Asian countries at the growing tensions between India and Pakistan over Kashmir:

> South Asia and Kashmir in particular emerged as a potential

nuclear flashpoint in Asia, causing increased concern to Southeast Asia. ASEAN will certainly want to know how India plans to deal with its western neighbour and prevent a major confrontation. Like the U.S. and the rest of the world, it will like to see a resumption of dialogue at the earliest.

Endorsement of India's position on the Kashmir issue by powerful nations also finds special mention in the editorial columns of the three newspapers analysed. For example, an editorial appearing in *The Hindu* on October 6, 2000, says:

> The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has offered an endorsement of India's position on Kashmir by calling for a decisive end to "foreign interference" in Jammu and Kashmir. The barely coded denunciation of Pakistan in this specific context was supplemented by his parallel suggestion for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute "on a bilateral basis through compromise''. ("Seeing through the same prism," 2000)

There is also this tendency to blame the Kashmir 'problem' on the 'geopolitics of Cold War'. *The Indian Express* in its editorial published on May 8, 2002 states:

> The basic problem of Kashmir is largely due to the geopolitics of Cold War played by the dominant Western powers. ("The Infiltration test," 2002)

Similarly, *The Times of India* in its editorial titled "Cold war and Kashmir," published on March 18, 2000 asks rhetorically:

> Is Kashmir a continuing casualty of the now defunct cold war between the western powers and the erstwhile USSR?

In an editorial published on November 18, 2000, *The Times of India* goes so far as to suggest that:

> The British wanted a pliant Muslim state on the North West of India to countervail perceived potential Soviet pressure on the Persian Gulf and on the subcontinent. According to this plan, Kashmir should have gone to Pakistan. However, this misfired because of Pakistan's attempt to grab Kashmir by force and Maharaja Hari Singh's accession to India.

The importance of Kashmir in India's foreign policy is succinctly put forth by *The Times of India* in an editorial published on September 25, 2001 in these words:

> Kashmir ... all things said and done, is the prism through which India views Pakistan, and indeed, even the US and the rest of the world. ("Flexi-pack policy," 2001)

India's official position remains that Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union, but at the same time successive Indian governments have shown willingness to discuss and 'solve' the Kashmir issue 'bilaterally' with Pakistan. This contradiction in India's position on Kashmir is also reflected in the Indian elite press. Reflecting the maximalist official Indian position on Kashmir, *The Indian Express* in its editorial published on May 17, 2002 says:

The point that needs to be made again is that the complete state of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. ("Uniting for peace," 2002)

And in the context of the much hyped Agra Summit, *The Indian Express* in its editorial titled "Risky road to peace," published on May 31, 2001 says:

> After all, the general [General Parvez Musharraf] must realise that, summit or no summit, India's sovereignty over J&K is non-negotiable.

While at another point commenting on the Kashmir issue in the context of the unilateral ceasefire announced by Hizbul Mujahideen in July 2000, *The Indian Express* in its editorial titled "Let the talks begin," published on July 31, 2000, says:

> There can be no permanent gains and hope of peace if Pakistan is left out of the equation.

In another editorial, titled "Talking terms," published on April 7, 2000, *The Indian Express* says:

> Hurriyat leaders are calling for tripartite talks, a sensible stance given that no durable peace is possible without Pakistan.

This stance of the Indian elite press, which shows readiness to talk to Pakistan about Kashmir while at the same time asserting that India's sovereignty over Kashmir is 'non-negotiable', as *The Indian Express* puts it above, is in complete sync with the official position of India on the Kashmir issue.

After the 'International Relations' and 'Law and Order' frames, the two most frequently used frames by the three newspapers, between 2000 and 2002, are the 'Conflict Resolution' frame and the 'Democracy' frame. Both these frames occur in more than one-fifth of all the Kashmir issue-related editorials.

The fact that Kashmir is a dispute and, therefore, needs to be resolved is well acknowledged in the editorial columns of the three newspapers analysed. It is another matter that such a stance goes contrary to the assertion that the 'complete state of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India.' *The Times of India*, in its editorial titled "Core identity," published on July 23, 2001, writes:

> The Indian position on Kashmir rests on two premises. One, the unquestionable legality of Kashmir's accession to India [emphasis added]. And, two, Kashmir's symbolic relevance to India's necessarily secular identity, of its core belief in pluralist existence.

All the three newspapers, however, recognize the necessity of a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The need for a 'peace process' is well accepted by the Indian elite press. There is support for talks regarding the political future of Kashmir not only with Pakistan, but also with the armed militants active in Kashmir and those Kashmir-based political organizations that claim to represent them and by extension the people of Kashmir, especially the All Party Hurriyat Conference (known as 'Hurriyat' in short). *The Hindu* in an editorial titled "The lost opportunity,"

published on August 10, 2000, says:

> The bottomline that needs to be recognised is that the multi-dimensional Kashmir problem warrants a suitably dovetailed multi-track approach - engaging the National Conference and other mainstream political parties in Jammu and Kashmir, the separatist groups under the Hurriyat umbrella and, above all, Pakistan at the diplomatic level.

The Times of India in an editorial titled "Resolving conflict," published on September 23, 2002, advocates the resolution of the Kashmir issue in the following words:

> The North and South Koreans, even though technically at war, have agreed to restore rail and road links and start a process of reconciliation. The Tamil Tigers have agreed to give up their demand for a separate sovereign Eelam and accept autonomy within Sri Lanka.
>
> It will be natural for Indians and Pakistanis to ask when their dispute over Kashmir will end so that the two can start living as friendly neighbours.

The 'Democracy' frame in our study covers any reference to the 'will of the people of Kashmir' in the context of the political future of Jammu and Kashmir. The official Indian position is that:

> The will of the people does not need to be ascertained only

through a plebiscite. Democratic elections are a recognised means of ascertaining the wishes of the people and the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir have repeatedly participated in such elections. ("Indian Position," para 104)

The above sentiment is echoed by *The Indian Express* in its editorial titled K-word, again and again, published on November 13, 2001, in the following words:

> Successive elections in the state have conclusively showed that the state is administered only in accordance with the "wishes of the Kashmiri people".

The Times of India in its editorial titled "Terror trail," published on October 2, 2002 around state assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir, says:

> A peaceful poll with a reasonably high voter turnout would significantly weaken Islamabad's case for being a principal party to the Kashmir dispute.

The 'Democracy' frame was employed almost exclusive around the legislative assembly elections held in Jammu and Kashmir in September-October 2002. *The Hindu* in an editorial published after the completion of the assembly elections writes:

> The people of Jammu and Kashmir have, by their impressive participation in the poll process, demonstrated their firm conviction in democracy and, more importantly, sent a clear signal favouring a peaceful settlement to the vexed `Kashmir problem'. ("An

impressive exercise," 2002)

Similarly, *The Times of India* in its editorial titled "Defining dialogue," published on October 16, 2002, says:

> The international community and Pakistan have tirelessly repeated the mantra that a solution in Kashmir should take into account the aspirations of the people. India has maintained that this has been done through past elections and even more spectacularly through the present one.

On the other hand, references to the UN-proposed plebiscite are conspicuous by their near absence. The few occasions one comes across any reference to it is in the context of Pakistan's stand on Kashmir. For example, *The Hindu* in an editorial published some time before the Agra Summit, says:

> There are several ways in which the "wishes of the Kashmiri people" could be ascertained, and the objective reality at this moment is that Gen. Musharraf has called neither for a format of tripartite talks, involving India and Pakistan as also the 'Kashmiri groups', nor a plebiscite under the now irrelevant U.N. resolutions [emphasis added] on this issue. ("Evidence of goodwill," 2001)

From this scant reference to the question of plebiscite under the UN resolutions, together with the employment of the 'Democracy' frame almost exclusively around the time of assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir, one may infer that the Indian elite press confirms to the official Indian position that the holding of regular elections in the state are sufficient to ascertain the will of the people and therefore there is no need for a plebiscite as enjoined by UN Security Council Resolution 47 of 1948.

There is considerable discussion on the legal dimension of the Kashmir issue in the editorial columns of the three English language Indian national dailies taken up for analysis by the researcher. More than 12 percent of the editorials that refer to the Kashmir issue employ the 'Legality' frame. However, this discussion on the legal status of Jammu and Kashmir is mostly limited to the constitutional position of Jammu and Kashmir vis-a-vis the centre; the special status that Jammu and Kashmir enjoys under Article 370 of the Indian constitution, and the question of autonomy.

Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly's adoption of the State Autonomy Committee Report in June 2000 generated considerable debate in the Indian elite press with all the three newspapers, which were taken up for analysis, supporting the demand for autonomy. This is one major Kashmir-related issue where the Indian elite press takes a line significantly different from that of the Indian government. *The Hindu*, in an editorial published on July 13, 2000 says:

> What needs to be recognised is that the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union was in effect contingent upon the State being given a greater measure of autonomy is a settled historical fact. ("Starting the dialogue," 2000)

Similarly, *The Indian Express* in its editorial

titled "Winning minds in J&K," published on May 24, 2002, says:

> Autonomy to J&K could help address the popular clamour for a distinct identity within the Union.

In an editorial published at the time when the report of the State Autonomy Committee was being debated in the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, *The Indian Express* wrote:

> Yes, autonomy is a legitimate demand of the Kashmiris; its scope in the current context may be debatable but its historical relevance cannot be doubted. ("Farooq's gambit," 2000)

The Times of India in an editorial titled "Action in Srinagar," published on July 18, 2002, writes:

> We should thank Mr Advani for emphatically rejecting the parivar's trifurcation proposal and conceding that Kashmir is a "special case" — an admission which will hopefully end all talk of abrogating Article 370.

The said newspapers not only defend the idea of autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir but they also take pains to explain that it is different from the issue of the 'devolution of powers' to the states in general. For example, *The Hindu* in an editorial titled "A retrograde stance," published on July 28, 2001, says:

> Any credible formulation for resolving the J&K imbroglio has to recognise that 'autonomy' in relation to it

means much more than and vastly different from what is commonly understood by it or by the expression `devolution of powers' to the States in general.

It does not, however, mean that the elite press endorsed the autonomy resolution passed by the Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly. The endorsement is qualified with the advice "to recognize the ground realities". On this issue, the elite press places itself somewhere between the state government and New Delhi.

'Legality' frame also includes any references to the debate over the legitimacy or legality of Maharaja Hari Singh's accession to India. However, there are very few references to this theme in analysed newspapers. And as expected, no newspaper raises any doubt about the legitimacy of the Maharaja's accession to India. Similarly, keeping with the official line, the UN Security Council resolutions on Kashmir are described as "no longer relevant" or "obsolete".

About 10 percent of the Kashmir-related editorials view the Kashmir issue through the prism of such sovereign concerns as India's 'geographical integrity', 'national security', 'public opinion' or 'communal harmony'. These editorials talk about "threat to national security" that the situation in Kashmir poses. They also talk of the supposed "sinister designs" of the militants operating in Kashmir to disturb communal peace in the country through their actions, either by targeting a particular community or some place of worship. For example, while writing about the militant attack on Ragunath Temple in Jammu, *The Hindu* writes:

> What has apparently prompted the terrorists to play upon the

communal factor by targeting a place of worship is the highly vitiated communal atmosphere nationwide on account of the recent developments on the Ayodhya front and in Gujarat, more specifically the Godhra carnage and the mindless revenge killings that followed it. ("Sinister designs," 2002).

The Hindu, owing to its South India focus, often criticises the leaders in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu for supporting the Tamil secessionist movement in Sri Lanka spearheaded by the LTTE, reminding them of India's problem in Kashmir. In an editorial titled "Indian consensus on Sri Lanka," published on May 10, 2000, the paper writes:

> It is one thing for these parties [some South Indian political parties like MDMK that support the LTTE's cause of a separate state for Tamils in Sri Lanka] to adopt political resolutions on the Eelam issue at their conferences, but quite another to be in Government and advocate secession in another country. Political leaders cannot be immune to the problems faced in Kashmir. India cannot adopt double standards either in combating terrorism or supporting secession.

International human rights organisations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have reported gross violations of human rights, especially by the Indian armed forces, in Kashmir

since the late 1980s when the armed movement against Indian rule started in the state. In addition to extra judicial killings, there have been numerous cases of rape and molestation, and involuntary disappearance. Although the government has often dismissed these allegations as either exaggerations or simply "foreign-instigated propaganda" (Lieten, 2002), the Indian media, including the elite press have highlighted many such instances of human rights violations by Indian forces. However, only six percent of the editorials that discussed the Kashmir issue used the 'Human Rights' frame. There could be several reasons for this lack of emphasis on the issue of human rights violations in Kashmir in the Indian elite press. Since media are thought to be heavily dependent on government sources for news, Indian government's obvious lack of enthusiasm in making any information regarding human rights violations in Kashmir available to the media could be one of the reasons. Another reason could be the conformist nature of mainstream media in general.

The Hindu in its editorial titled "Approach to counter terrorism," published on January 4, 2000, writes:

> The Governments will have to keep the people on their side and not alienate them while fighting terrorism. Even under extreme pressure, the temptation to turn to extra-legal devices or to bring in draconian measures must be avoided and human rights norms and legal processes must be scrupulously observed.

Of the eight frames, the 'History' frame is the least employed one by the three dailies that have been analysed. Only three percent of the

Kashmir-related editorials employed this frame.

On the basis of the above analysis we may divide the eight frames into three categories:

- High Import Frames: 'International Relations' frame and 'Law and Order' frame occur most frequently in the editorials of the analysed newspapers.
- Medium Import Frames: 'Conflict Resolution' frame, 'Democracy' frame, 'Legality' frame, and 'Nation State' frame are the second most frequently appearing frames in the editorial sections of the analysed newspapers.
- Low Import Frames: 'Human Rights' frame and 'History' frame are the least frequently used frames in editorial columns of the analysed newspapers.

Endnotes

1. The two nations engaged in an armed conflict between May and July 1999 in the Kargil district of Kashmir. The conflict was 'limited' in the sense that unlike the previous three wars (1947-48, 1965, and 1971) the hostilities remained confined to a particular section of the shared border.

2. For a discussion on 'issue-specific' and 'generic' frames see: Vreese, C. H. de. News framing: Theory and typology, Information Designe Journal + Document Design 13(1), 51–62

3. All the three newspapers carried two unsigned editorials daily (except on Sundays), or a single somewhat larger editorial on rare occasions. The third unsigned editorial of The Times of India, written in a lighter vein, was not included in the analysis. The analysis includes almost all but not all the issues of the three newspapers between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2002, as some issues were missing from the archives.

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The sociological category of naxalism in India: An analysis

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Abstract: *Social movements are collective ventures. They are large informal groupings of individuals or organizations carrying out or resisting a social change while revolutions are a process which bring out a complete social or political transformation, usually by violent means. There are some similar other terms also like protest, agitation etc. In this paper I have tried to define all these terms and by listing their characteristics, I have tried to examine whether naxalism is a movement, revolution, protest or anything else. It is purely a theoretical paper with insights from renowned sociologists and contemporary political scientists.*

Introduction

The word 'naxalism' emerges from a small remote village in West Bengal called Naxalbari. Naxalites operate in a vacuum created by inadequacy of administrative and political institutions, espouse local demands and take advantage of the prevalent disaffection and injustice among the exploited segments of population and seek to offer an alternative system of governance which promises emancipation of these segments from the clutches of 'exploiter' classes through the barrel of gun (Singh, 2007).

According to this definition, it appears that naxalism wants a complete transformation in social and political set up. But it has been unable to involve all segments of societies of various regions in the process, so it is limited to some groups of people who are carrying out violent activities in various parts of India. Thus overall it looks like it possesses the characteristics of both a

movement and revolution. But in this paper I have tried to closely examine what exactly it is. To understand and discuss the topic properly, I have divided this paper into following topics:

- Social movements
- Revolutions
- Protest, agitation, social change, social transformation
- Naxalite movement in India
- Analysis of category of 'naxalism'
- Conclusion

Social movements

Social movements have traditionally been included in that subfield of sociology known as collective behaviour. Thus we can distinguish a movement from a non movement on the basis of collective action. However, only when the collective action is somewhat sustained, as distinct from a sporadic occurrence, does it take the form

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of a movement (Rao, 1984). These collective actions should be able to inspire and mobilize other people also. It should mobilize a large number of people sufficient enough to call it a movement. Hence a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organisation (Rao, 1984).

Thus three important components of social movements emerge – sustained collective actions, mobilization of people and organisation. But collective actions are of several types: panic responses, hostile outbursts and organised social action. The first two in the list could not be labeled as movements, because they are relatively short term, unorganized outbursts and are not necessarily inspired by an ideology or prompted by an issue.

Thus only when an elementary collective action acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions , established leadership, an enduring division of labour, social rules and social values, in short – a culture, a social organisation and a new scheme of life, it becomes a social movement (Oommen, 2010). By this definition of social movements, two more components emerge – ideology and leadership. A broad definition of social movement was given by Paul Wilkinson (1971):

> A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopian community. A social movement must evince a minimal degree of organisation, though it may range

from a loose, informal or partial level of organization to the highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group. (as cited in Shah 1990:16-17)

This definition also emphasizes upon presence of organisation in a social movement. With organisation, it also relates social movement to social change. A social movement is generally oriented towards bringing about change, either partial or total, in the existing system of relationships, values and norms, although there are efforts which are oriented towards resisting change and maintaining the status quo (Rao, 1984). Thus from all above definitions of social movement, we see that social change is an essential characteristic of social movement. According to one more definition by Wilson John (1973):

> A social movement is a conscious, collective, organised attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by uninstitutionalized means1.

By means of this definition, social movements can be distinguished from related phenomenon. In this definition, uninstitutionalised means for social movement is added. Thus considering all the above definitions of social movements, we can list five components of social movement – objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organisation. All these five components are interdependent and influencing each other. Besides these components, we can list some characteristics of social movement.

1. Social movements are organised

collectivities. The extent and sophistication may vary but there is some division of labour and some recognized hierarchy of rights and responsibilities which participants have evolved.

2. Social movements are large in potential scope. Not all small groups collectively oriented to the achievement of common objectives are social movement. Political parties, interest groups and trade unions are examples of large scale collectivities.

3. Social movements are not necessarily limited to the achievement of the self interested objectives of their members.

4. Social movements are conscious, purposive attempts to bring about change.

5. Without objective, a social movement converts into an agitation or protest. Objectives are evolved as an ongoing process in a movement.

6. Ideology also undergoes change. If objective and ideology are not in sync with each other, they conflict. The ideologies provide direction for evolving strategies and programmes and connect the participants by a common thread of idea.

7. Various strategies and programmes are evolved to mobilize the people. They sustain the movement for a long time.

8. Leadership is need based in the movement and it evolves in the course of the movement. It plays a crucial role in articulating ideologies and objectives.

There are also some limits to the social movements i.e. when the social movements cease to be movement. When a movement becomes routinized with an established institutional procedure of recruitment and commitment and a code of conduct, it becomes part of the institutionalized system losing its innovative features. Thus when a movement with a defined ideology becomes a well established political party, it ceases to be a movement (Rao, 1984).

Revolution

Revolution is the word, which itself refers to radical, transformative change. It describes phenomena from the industrial revolution to ethnic revolution. Revolution is a movement often violent to overthrow an old regime and effect complete change in the fundamental institutions of society. After French Revolution of the 18th century which overthrew monarchy and recreated society from top to bottom, revolution became synonymous to the radical overcoming of past. Many believe that modernity of society could only be achieved through such violent and total transformations. So, the basic characteristic of revolution is that they are rare and distinctive. They fundamentally transform states and societies (Steve, 2009). The political scientist Samuel Huntington suggests (In Steve, 2009):

> A revolution is a rapid, fundamental and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership and government activity and policies.

True revolution unfolds quickly, bringing about "sudden and radical change" (Tim, 2005). Revolutions are very long processes which take place in years or even decades,

not in months. So, revolutions are processes not event. Processes are recurring while events are not. Event is pre-constructed, manageable while processes are not. This implies that revolutions are processes which span many years. Revolutions too possess a common ideological element: a self conscious commitment to epochal change (Steve, 2009). This self conscious commitment could be said to be spirit of revolution which keeps it alive and active for a long time. The revolutionaries generally strive for a fundamental temporal break from the past. Revolutions thus constitute a structural and ideological break from the previous regime. They entail changes to both the political and socioeconomic structures of a polity. They involve an often violent popular movement to overturn the previous regime (Steve, 2009).

Revolutions generally take place when there is a relaxation of the ruling class or loosening of the authority. As long as state is functional, firm or intact, revolution is not possible. A common pattern we see that before every revolution, there is a reform. So, revolutions generally take place in modernization phase. Most of the revolutions we see have a programme, objective or vision. So, revolution requires at least two things – idea and process. We can say that revolution is basically a rationalization process. Every revolution is producing the rationalization of resources. The end product of revolution is also change. A successful revolution should - (i) provide for individual liberty, (ii) result in a flexible and open political system that can deal with economic, social and cultural changes, (iii) generate improvement in the well being of those it affects (Michael, 2004). Revolution therefore is a sudden

and radical transformation of society, affecting individual character, destroying social evil and promoting mastership in the art of life, without being preceded by confusion or diminishing the need for social imagination and intelligence (Delisle, 1920). So, the characteristics of revolution are –

1. Revolution happens at a very large scale.
2. It is a rare process which usually happens once in a lifetime means it takes a long time to happen.

3. It too has goal or objective and people committed for that.

4. It takes place to bring about change in the life of people involved.

5. Not necessarily but generally revolutions are violent and they take place against the state or authority.

There are some revolutions which started long back and they seem to be never ending processes as they are still evolving with some newness like industrial revolution.

Protest, agitation, social change, social transformation

An agitation or a protest is spontaneous. A series of protests may lead to movement. Protest is executed by an external group of people against any organisation while agitation is by insiders of any organisation. Protest is a restricted, limited form of agitation. It must be focused and it is against any existing structure. Protest and agitation are the forms of non-institutionalised collective actions. These are not strictly social movements. But

more often, a social movement develops in the course of time and it begins with protest or agitation which may not have an 'organization' or an 'ideology' for change (Shah, 2002). For instance, when students of the engineering college in Gujarat protested against the mess bill, it was a relatively spontaneous act. But that protest led to the Nav Nirman Andolan of 1974 in Gujarat (Shah, 1977).

The analysis of a particular action determines whether it is a protest or an agitation. A particular collective action may be agitation for some scholars, movement for some others or protest for some. For example, the collective action of a section of society demanding the formation of a linguistic states in the 1950s was viewed as an 'agitation' by some and a movement by others, or the same scholars at a later stage saw 'agitations' transforming into 'movements' (Shah, 2002).

The forms of collective actions, agitations, protests, strikes are said to be the tools of social movement. Both 'social change' and 'social transformation' are long time processes. If society undergoes social transformation, the resulted change is permanent and it can not be undo. For example discontinuity in some traditional social practices can be said to be social transformation. It is not a direct process and it can not be planned. Social change is an outcome of various economic, social, political practices and it also cannot be undone. The relationship between movement and social change is incontrovertible. Social movements are essentially related to social change and

therefore to the social structure. This does not mean that social movement is a necessary condition of social change; on the contrary social change can take place independently of social movements (Rao, 1984).

## A roadmap of naxalism in India

According to Kujur (2008):

> To understand the genesis of Naxal movement, we will have to locate it within the framework of the Communist movement in India. To be more specific, any study on the Naxal movement can not over look the importance of the rise and fall of the Telangana movement (1946-51), since Telangana will always remain the glorious chapter in the history of peasant struggles for Indian communists. So, the roots of the naxalite movement in India can be traced back to the rise and demise of the Telangana movement. It was the first peasant struggle organized by the Indian communists. In fact, it was the first serious effort by sections of communist party leadership to learn from the experiences of the Chinese revolution and to develop a comprehensive line for India's democratic revolution.

The present ideological and organizational split in the Communist Party of India can be traced back to the differences in the thinking of the Party's leadership during the last phase of the Telangana uprising (Ranga Rao, 1984). The second attempt in this regard started in a remote village called

Naxalbari in West Bengal. A tribal youth named Bimal Kissan, having obtained a judicial order, went to plough his land which was usurped by a landlord on March 2, 1967. The local landlords attacked him with the help of their goons. Tribal people of the area retaliated and started force fully recapturing their lands. Then on 18 March, 1967 – 16 days after the formation of the United Front government – a peasants' conference was held under the auspices of the Siliguri subdivision of the CPI (M) leadership in the Darjeeling district. The conference gave a call for the ending of monopoly ownership of land by the landlords, redistribution of land through peasants' committees and organizations and arming of the peasants to destroy the resistance of landlords and rural reactionaries (Banerjee, 2002). What followed was a rebellion which is still continuing and has since spread to almost 13 states and 246 districts of the country, which effectively constitutes almost one-third of the whole country. So, naxalism remains an area of serious concern.

In 2005, naxalite violence claimed over 660 lives as against 556 casualties in 2004. While the quantum of naxal violence registered a marginal increase of 3.8 per cent in 2005 over 2004, resultant casualties went up by 18.1 per cent ("Naxalism...," 2007). In 2005, the states of Bihar and Jharkhand witnessed a few high profile incidents like looting of weapons from the Giridih Home Guard training centre (Jharkhand) and the Jehanabad jail break. However the overall naxal violence increased mainly in Andhra Pradesh due to stepped up violence by naxalites following their unilateral withdrawal from the peace talks and in Chhattisgarh mainly owing to greater offensive by naxalites to derail

Salva Judum, an anti-naxalite movement by local people which some people claim as vigilant groups set by government. In a recent address, the Prime Minister termed Naxalism as the single most dangerous internal security threat for the country. It is the most neglected areas of the country that Left Wing extremism thrives today. These are also the main recruiting grounds for naxalite outfits. While Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are in the forefront of naxal related activities today, many other states remain vulnerable (Singh, 2007). The following map displays the total amount of area affected by the naxalites movement in India. From Bihar to Andhra Pradesh to West Bengal, it forms a red corridor.
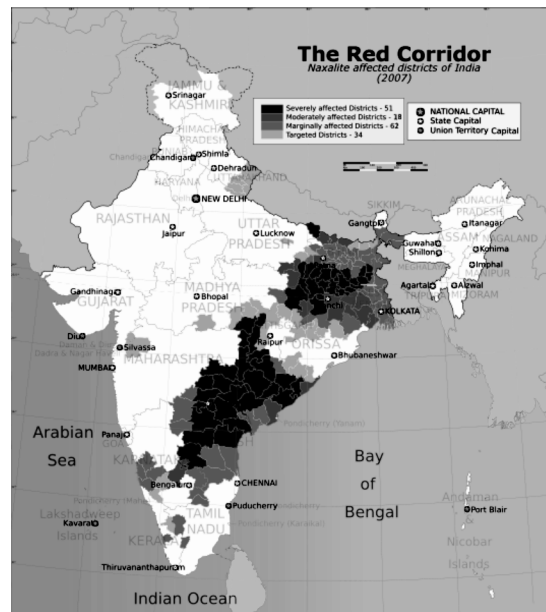
Source: Retreived 2013, August 31 from Wikipedia.

From the onset of this movement, the official approach of the government has been to subjugate the movement through security centric means by deploying the central forces. What government has failed to grasp is the reality of the mass support

which the naxalites enjoy among the tribals and dalits of these areas. The official apathy, lack of economic opportunities and poor living conditions has turned this populace towards the revolutionary ideas which these naxalites claim to propagate. Instead of fully implementing land reforms to alleviate their grievances-as suggested by many impartial observers as well as its own previously mentioned committee of 1969 – the Indian government chose the simplistic path of military suppression of peasant grievances. It unleashed a reign of terror on the naxalite bases and the villagers who supported them. Apart from the state repression, several splits within the naxalite movement in the 1970s weakened its capacity to resist the police and army offensive. By 1972, the Indian state had succeeded in defeating the naxalite rebellion to some extent. It was only after the lifting of the Emergency and the coming to power of the Janata Party at the Centre in New Delhi after the 1977 elections and following a wide scale movement organized by various human rights groups in India and abroad, that the naxalites were released from jails. The different naxalite factions and their leaders found an opportunity to meet and chart out their new path of action in the light of their past experiences. Although committed to the original strategy of eliminating the feudal order in rural India, they parted ways on the question of tactics – one group of followers deciding to lay stress on the parliamentary path of elections (e.g. the Liberation group of the CPI-M-L, concentrated in Bihar), and the others preferring to go back to the path of guerilla warfare, like the People's War Group (PWG) in Andhra Pradesh and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) in Bihar. During the last two decades since the

1980s, these two different streams of Naxalite movement drifted along with their respective tactics – often fighting among themselves. It was after this period that the naxalites emerged as a serious challenge to the Indian state. They have also expanded their area of operations from their old pockets in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh in the 1970s to new guerilla zones in other states like Orissa, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the new millennium.

Analysis of category of naxalism

Social movement is a collective action by a group of people to bring about some social change. Social movements must have an agenda or aim. It should have some ideology. It is a large scale process. On the basis of these criteria if we will examine naxalism, we find that it has objective to achieve an egalitarian society. It is quite a large scale pervasive collective action as we have described in the previous section. But social movements must bring about some social change.

Social changes can be broadly classified in terms of changes occurring within structures and of changes of the structures themselves with or without replacement or by their qualitative change on account of the emergence of additional structures (Mukherjee, 1984). Such types of changes are not witnessed in naxalism. Naxalism has not brought about any change in the structure though they are intended to do so. But they have been successful in mobilizing people and mobilization is an essential part of movement. This social mobilization is directed towards a social change. What is peculiar to naxalism is not

the physical occupation of and administrative control over land by its leaders and followers, but its lasting popularity among the economically impoverished and socially oppressed rural people. Their pitiable living conditions nourish the soil for the rejuvenation of naxalism. Thus it fulfills the conditions of large scale mobilization of people, required to qualify it for social movement. It also has an ideology – the Marxist-Leninist ideology. As it is also described in the previous section, the 'left' movement in this country has been characterized by periodic splits. These splits have closely paralleled ideological rifts between dominant centres of international communism. The emergence of China as a major communist power in the East brought into existence a rival centre of Marxist-Leninist ideology which refused to accept the ideological hegemony of Soviet Russia in the world communist movement. Although this development had its reverberations in the Indian communist movement – first within the Communist Party of India (CPI) and then subsequent to the Sino-Indian armed confrontation, in the form of the birth of the Communist Party of India – Marxists (CPI-M) in 1964 – the movement, has to be examined in the context of the structural realities of our society and its propensities for change in the direction of a more egalitarian system (Sen Gupta, 1972). But it is still struggling to bring about some change in the lives of the people affected; neither has it changed their social status which is basic requirement to qualify for a social movement. Though naxalism has used unconventional methods to make them heard, it should not be considered a social movement unless it becomes able to make some kind of social change.

Revolutions call for total transformation. It requires a complete change from the past and it should involve a majority of people. Naxalism has the goal of total transformation in the existing system and it has been able to involve a majority of rural poor people in the struggle. But by far it has not been able to bring about a complete change in the system or complete structural or ideological transformation. It has the idea and the ongoing process which are essential for revolution. The naxalites have revolutionary spirit; they have required commitment towards the ideology, but they are still struggling. Naxalism has not generated well being for those whom it affects. But it fulfills the criteria of struggle against state or authority as it is continuously struggling against the state since its genesis. It is also violent in nature and called armed struggle by sociologists. Generally but not necessarily, revolutions are violent processes. So naxalism can be said to be revolutionary to some extent, but it still have to be successful to be qualified to become a revolution.

When the collective mobilization aims at effecting wide-ranging and far-reaching changes in the major institutional systems comprising the whole society, we can rightly term it a 'revolutionary movement'. Collective mobilizations aimed at changes within a system are 'quasi movement' (Sen Gupta, 1972). When we examine naxalism on these parameters, we find that it has aim for complete transformation of the society and institution, but it can not be said to be a revolutionary movement as it is still in a nascent state to be a revolution. Before maturing into a revolutionary movement, it will have to pass through the phases of quasi-movement and social movement.

What we find common in all the above examinations that the basic element of 'change' is missing in naxalism. It is successful in mobilizing poor people, but it has been unsuccessful in bringing any positive change in their lives. They are struggling with state violently but unable to resist the suppression of the state. It is teaching people to fight for them against the authority which is considered illegal till the time they overtake the power. It is not self sustaining and sporadic in nature. This mobilization of people is not homogeneous, rather concentrated in some remote parts of country. It is programmed and planned by organisations involved. Thus we see that it has some characteristics of movement and some characteristics of revolution. Since movement is also an ongoing process, we can consider naxalism as a movement in process till the time it brings about some social change.

Conclusion

From the above discussion and analysis of the definitions of movement, revolutions, revolutionary change, social change and social transformation, we can say that naxalism is in the nascent stage. It contains some characteristics of movement and some characteristics of revolution, but it is moving towards a revolutionary movement. It can be converted into a revolutionary movement if it becomes able to more organise itself, mobilize a large number of people to transform the existing structure. We have Nazi and Bolshevik movements as good examples of revolutionary movements, since they transformed the structures of their systems. So naxalism has the potential to be converted into revolutionary movement

considering its large scale violent agitations. In spite of strong and brutal suppression of government, it is successful in surviving and thriving in many other parts of the country. It is said sometimes that even if naxalism declines and suppressed, its ideology will continue to threaten the Indian ruling powers as long as they fail to put an end to the grinding poverty and social oppression that crush the Indian poor. Though seeing the continuing violent activities of naxalism, it does not seem to be suppressed easily in near future.

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Linguistic analysis of translated names in the holy scriptures of Christianity: A philosophical approach

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Abstract

In the Holy Scriptures, a person's name is of great significance. The particular name of the God of Israel in the Hebrew Bible has been a topic of much discussion among scholars. This paper highlights the mistaken use of the names of even the Creator and Savior in the Bible that were not in the original Hebrew Scriptures. Charlton Laird (1973) in his 'The Miracle of Language' explained that 'the Church furthered Greek as well as Latin, the early fathers of the church wrote Greek and even as early as the seventh century Greek was being studied in England. Thus Greek words entered the English directly, as well as Latin words which were borrowed directly, and they became Latin words which mixed with French words which were borrowed directly'. This custom of admitting Greek and Latin names wholesale into English Bible resulted in replacing and disguising Hebrew names. These new names supplanted the true, original names, making the surrogate hybrids with a Grecianized flavor. Majority of world Christians has their faith on these translated names of their Creator and Savior, but not on the true name of their Creator and Savior. This paper attempts to show that man is longing for belief, but many times his belief is not the truth.

Key words: Tetragrammation YHWH, kyrios, Adonai, Yahshua, Yahweh, Greek Christianity, Jewish Christianity

Introduction

The question of truth is closely associated with the general philosophical stand a scientist takes, with the way in which he answers philosophy's fundamental question. But according to Friedrich Nietzsche (1959), man is always longed for belief, not the truth. 'In the issue of truth, the opposing nature of science and religion is manifested very clearly, for science the search for truth is one of the most important tasks, while religion turns to belief, sometimes quite openly counterpoising it to truth' (Galina and Lydia, 1985). Today Christianity is the most widespread

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religion in the world. 'It contains both Jewish elements and a number of other elements borrowed from ancient Eastern religions' (Sergei Tokarev, 1989). The Jewish religious tradition adopted in the Christian tradition was regarded for a long time as the absolute almighty truth beyond any criticism. Many freethinking scholars paid with their lives for daring to question this truth. Even today devote Jews and Christians especially Catholic and Orthodox clergy required the Bible, the main sacred book for the Jews and Christians, not as a historical source but as an object of belief and worship of unquestionable authority, a book inspired by the Holy Spirit. Biblical criticism has been traditionally divided into two: 'textual criticism that seeks to establish the original text out of the variant readings of ancient manuscripts and another criticism that focuses on identifying the author date and place of writing for each book of the Bible' (Knight, 2007).

The particular name of the God of Israel in the Hebrew Bible has been a topic of much discussion among the scholars. YHWH the Creator's Name is found in the ancient original Hebrew manuscripts, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, a collection of Hebrew manuscripts that date back 2000 years, the Name of YHWH is clearly seen. Names don't change – a fact that makes our existence in society possible. If each person we met called us by a different name, we would soon lose our identity. In the same way, the men who call Him by another name have changed God's identity. The distinctive name of the God YHWH was discontinued long before the Christian era. In the original texts, the Father and the Son were referred to as Yahweh and Yahshua.

Frederick Engels (1974), the first person to make a strictly scientific study of the historical conditions of the origin of Greek Christianity pointed out that the 'father of Christianity' was the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria who was deeply influenced by late Greek philosophy. He has a combination of Jewish national spirit and purely Greek classical education. Philo adhered to the Judean, strictly monotheistic teaching about God, but he also believed there was a holy mediator between the God and the material world – the divine Logos (Word). Divine Logos, son of God, became the central figure in Christianity – Jesus Christ (p. 483).

'Greek Christianity' can refer to the earliest development of Christianity as it moved from its Jewish matrix into the Greek cultural world of the Roman Empire. In this sense it as contrasted to Jewish or Hebrew Christianity, cultural life at the time was imbued with the Greek heritage: language, philosophy, religion, literature and political values. In the early Christian tradition 'Greek' often meant 'pagan' or 'gentile' but it refers, as well, to Christian who came to the faith from a polytheistic background as distinguished from Jewish Christianity who accepted the Messiahship of Jesus (Yahshua). Much of the New Testament and the earliest Christian patristic documents were written in the Greek language and address the Greek mind. Thus, insofar as early Christianity was a religion of conversion, it reflected its immersion in Greek language and thought (Harakas, 2007, p. 101).

Significance of the name of God in Hebrew language

Anson Rainey, (1985) a semitic linguist said that 'it should be noted that there are

many strong linguistic and epigraphic arguments in favor of Yahweh as the correct form. The anglicized form, Jehovah is a 'ghost word' based in the four consonants, YHWH with the vowels of another word, 'Adonai' meaning my lord. The Hebrew scribes of the middle ages put those vowels in to remind the reader to say Adonai rather than pronounce the sacred name'. Bruce Metzger, says that 'The word Jehovah does not accurately represent any form of the name ever used in Hebrew …In 1518 a monk by name Petrus Galatinus combined the consonants of YHWH with the vowels of adonay, which the Massoretes intended to be read by their vocalization Adonay. Adonay was the long established practice of reading the Tetragrammation in the Hebrew Scriptures and the Synagogues.

The Jewish Encyclopedia, (1901) states that "I will be that I will be or I am that I am…" (Ex 3:14), is regarded as an imperfect. This passage is decisive for the pronunciation "Yahweh", for the etymology was undoubtedly based on the known word". The Encyclopedia Judaica (2006), further states the fact that "The true pronunciation of the name YHWH was never lost, several early Greek manuscripts of the Christian Church testify that the name was pronounced "Yahweh". Many early Greek Manuscripts wrote the Tetragrammation as IAUE, a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew YHWH. "The personal name of the God of Israel is written in the Hebrew Bible with the four consonants YHWH and is referred to as the 'Tetragrammation'. At least until 586 BCE… this name was regularly pronounced with its proper vowels. But at least by the 3rd century BCE the pronunciation of the name YHWH was

avoided as can be seen by the use of the Greek word kyrios, "Lord" for YHWH in the Septuagint, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures that was begun by Greek-speaking Jews in that century.

The Encyclopedia Britanica, confirms this fact that 'Yahweh is the proper name of the God of Israel. It is composed of four consonants YHWH in Hebrew and is therefore called the Tetragrammation'.

Dictionary and Concordance of the New King James Version Bible says that Yahweh is the Covenant God of Israel. Yahweh is the original Hebrew. According to Jewish custom, because of reverence, the divine name was not to be spoken. So the Hebrew words for LORD and GOD were substituted. Where ever the words LORD and GOD appear in large letters, the original Hebrew reads YHWH. The Telugu Bible (1904) used the word *sarveswarudu* (Omnipresent) for the Tetragrammation. As people were not happy with the name commonly used for a Hindu deity, the Bible Society of India (BSI) changed it to *Yehova* in 1911, (Kishore Babu, 1995). 3.

True name of the Savior in the scripture

Why would a Jewish Savior, speaking Hebrew, be given the name Jesus Christ, which is a Greek-Latin origin English name? Sergie Tokarey, (1989) observes that 'Christianity grew out of Judean sectarianism'. The names people call the Father and Son are far different from those originally given to mankind. Furthermore, what we have now is a three-times-removed, man-made translation of the originally inspired Old and New Testaments, none of which could have contained the name "Jesus Christ". The

true name Yahshua the Hebrew-born Savior, was lost and present translated Bibles have given substitutes.

The New Catholic Encyclopedia tells of the name Jesus: In English the name Jesus is a transliteration of the Latin form "Iesus", which represents the Greek form "Iesous", of the Hebrew name "Yeshua" (Yahshua). The Septuagint generally uses the Greek form Iesous where the Hebrew text has the form Yahshua. So also the New Testament, in referring to Joshua son of Nun, calls him Jesus (Acts 7:45; Heb 4:8)". The form Jesus and Yeshua was a deliberately change from the original Name Yahshua. Rather than this name being correctly written and spoken Yahshua, containing Yahweh's powerful Name, its new form was Yeshua, meaning He will save. This new name was being used as the replacement for Yahshua's true Name by the time 3rd century, the Greek Septuagint (LXX) was beginning to be translated. The next translation of the Bible, after the LXX was the Vulgate - attributed to Jerome. In the year 383 CE, Jerome began to work on this Latin Version. He undertook the revision of the Old Testament directly from the Septuagint Version. 'In the Septuagint, the Name of Yahweh was replaced with the Greek word, Kyrios-Lord. In the Latin Vulgate, Jerome directly translated the Greek word Kyrios-Lord to the Latin word for Lord-Dominus. In the Latin Vulgate, Jerome transliterated the Greek word Iesous to the Latin, Iesus'. (Yisrayl Hawkins 2004).

Richness of Hebrew language in scriptures

Isaac Mozeson (2001), says Hebrew is the original language of mankind. Quite comprehensive, he has many examples of word origins traced back to Hebrew. Some literary critics rave at Mozeson's bold assertions showing Hebrew to be the mother of all languages. More scholars are coming to agree that Hebrew is the original language of both the Old and some books of the New Testament. Hebrew was the language spoken by Yahweh to Adam, and the language used by the heavenly messengers conversing with mankind. Whenever the celestial beings spoke to mankind, it was to those who understood Hebrew. Nowhere do we find the angelic beings speaking in Greek, Latin, or English, but to those who knew Hebrew. In the original texts, the Father and the Son were referred to as Yahweh and Yahshua. 5.

Weakness of English language of scriptures in translation

Girdlestone, (1996) says, "The Hebrew language, though poor in some respects, e.g. in tenses, is rich in others, and probably no better language could have been selected for the purpose of preparing the way of Messiah." He points out the variety and richness of the Hebrew language and gives examples, such as seven Hebrew words rendered black in the King James Version: there are eight words translated axe, 12 words for beauty, 12 for body, 14 for dark, 18 are rendered fear, 22 for branch, 26 for cover, 42 for cut, 60 for break, 66 for bring, 74 are rendered take. It is deplorably obvious that in reading our English translation of the Bible that we are missing much of the richness and flavor of the original language. The exact shade of meaning is lost when 74 different words in Hebrew appear in English as the single word "take"!

In Christianity, *Yah* is the basic or short form of the sacred name. *Yah* is the personal name of God. The word *Hallelu Yah* Rev.19: 1-6. is the most ancient of all words of praise. It is used both on earth and in heaven to worship the Almighty. The first part of the word *hallelu* means praise or praise ye. The last part *Yah* is the name of the One being praised. *YAH* appear in other religions:

The Vedas of Hindu taught that:

Asathonama Sargama Yah
Thanasoma Jyothirma Yah
Mruthyonma Amruthangama Yah

Causes for miss-using the name of God

The name of the God Yahweh and His Son Yahshua in the Bible were profaned in three ways.

1. Translation of the Scriptures: The Bible when first given to making was inspired by Yahweh's Spirit. It was pure, holy and undefiled. Problems began when translations were made from one language to another. English Bible for example, is taken primarily from the Latin. Which was translated from the Greek and it was translated from the Hebrew, with much being lost along the way. It is like taking change from one pocket to place in another and losing some in the process. There are two methods being followed as far as the translation of the Bible is concerned.

    i. 'The traditional way of translating the Scripture' is called Literal Translation. In this method the forms are preserved irrespective of whether they convey the meaning or not.
    ii. The second method is called the 'Dynamic Equivalent Translation'. In this approach, the meaning of the text is maintained more than its forms. Most of the translations of the Bible maintained the first method even for the proper Names of the Creator and the Savior. We can translate the Bible but we can't translate the Names. Names are personal and have meaning in their own language. Personal or proper names should not be translated but we can transliterate.

2. Disobedience: Instead of bring glory and honor, Israel soon began to bring shame upon His Name through their disobedience. Under the old covenant, Israel was accused of profaning the name of Yahweh by mixing the holy with the pagan in their worship. Notice how Yahweh said to Israel. My name is profaned among the nations because of you (Romans. 2:24; Isa. 52:5)

3. Superstition: The Century Bible (1910) tells "Jews came to believe that the holy name 'Yahweh' was too scared to be used on ordinary occasions. At other times, when any one read or quoted aloud from what is called the Old Testament, the word 'Adonay' (Lord) was usually substituted for Yahweh. And similarly the LXX (Greek Septuagint Version) has "kurios", the Latin Vulgate "dominus", and the English Version "Lord" where the Hebrew has Yahweh".

Conclusion

Before God delivered the children of Israel out of Egypt, He chose first to reveal His Hebrew holy name "Yahweh" to them (Ex 3:13-15). The original Hebrew meaning of a name is often an indication of the

person's personality. Yahweh means self-existent and transcendent one. He had done a series of miraculous signs and wonders to make known the glory of his own name and to win the hearts of his chosen people (Ex: 6:7). Throughout the Holy Scriptures one can read of the importance placed on the name of Yahweh, the original Hebrew name. Yahweh gave the Ten Commandments to his people to lead their spiritual and moral life. The third commandment tells:

> You do not bring the name of Yahweh your God to naught, for Yahweh does not leave the one unpunished who brings his name to naught. (Scriptures Bible Ex. 20:7.)

The Almighty God of Bible says in Isaiah 42:8 that:

> I am Yahweh, that is My Name; and my glory I will not give to another, nor my praise to graven images. (Isaiah, 42:8.)

How much more then, are missing when we deliberately remove the Heavenly Father's inspired Hebrew Name Yahweh, and call Him by some title derived from paganism? There is no reason to substitute any titles for Yahweh's Name as found in the Hebrew. Yahweh is the Mighty One of Israel in the Old Testament. In the New Testament, the saints or believers are known as the "Israel of Yahweh," Galatians 6:16. Yahshua said, "I have come in my Father's Name" John 5:43.

The Name of the Father is 'Yahweh' and the Name of the Son is 'Yahshua'. 'Yah' means short form of Yahweh and 'Shua' means in Hebrew, 'Salvation'. An allusion is made in Matt.1:21 to the meaning of the name 'Yahweh is Salvation'. According to the Bible Scriptures Salvation, the ultimate goal of Jews and Christians depends upon one's repentance by calling on the correct Name. (Joel 2:28-32, Romans 10:13, Acts 2:21). Majority of world Christians has their faith on translated names of their Creator and Savior but not on the true Hebrew names of their Creator and Savior. It is shown that man is always longing for belief, but not the truth. As some idealists see truth as a result of an agreement concluded by people, Hebrew Christianity sees truth as the Words spoken and recorded in the ancient Hebrew manuscripts.

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Television programmes on girl child: An analysis of Telugu news channels

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Abstract

Irrespective of the tough legislations and laws, denigration of girl child even violence against girl child are growing in exponential manner in India. Entertainment and Education or Edutainment is a particularly useful strategy that entails the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message. To both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members, television can provide knowledge about such an issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior. In this context, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) instituted the Awards for Gender Sensitive Programmes in Telugu Television in 2010 to promote and encourage discourse on girl-child issues such as early marriage, female foeticide and infanticide, etc. The present study has used the secondary data of content analysis of the television programs by Center for Media Studies (CMS) entrusted for close, critical and fair monitoring, recording the prime time programs between 6:30 pm and 10:30 pm of all the 19 Telugu channels in focus for the UNICEF Awards. There were eight categories identified for TV programming on girl child issues. The paper showcases the sincere efforts of TV channels by creating various programmes in different formats during the 100-day campaign and concludes with suggestions.

Introduction

India's culture consists various languages, religions, dance, music, architecture, food, and customs differ from place to place within the country. Amartya Sen (2005) observed that the culture of modern India is a complex blend of its historical traditions, influences from the effects of colonialism over centuries and current Western culture. India is the second largest populated country in the world with more than 121 crore people after China. To reach the huge people, television in India became a huge industry which has thousands of programmes in many languages.

With tests for educational telecasts, Indian television started off on 15 September 1959, in New Delhi, but the real small screen programming commenced in the mid-1970s. At that time there was only one national channel Doordarshan, which was government owned. 1982 saw revolution in TV programming in India, with the New Delhi Asian games, India saw the color

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version of TV, that year. In 1991, the government liberated its markets, opening them up to cable television. Since then, there has been a spurt in the number of channels available. The small screen has produced numerous celebrities, some even attaining national fame. Vikas, (2007) observed that more than half of all Indian households own a television. According to Menon, (2012) as of 2012, the country has a collection of free and subscription services over a variety of distribution media, through which there are over 823 channels.

Television impact studies: In explaining cultivation theory, Gerbner, et al. (1980), has conducted massive and ongoing research project on the impact of television on cultural attitudes and attitude formation. A process is identified which he calls 'mainstreaming', whereby television creates a coming together a convergence of attitude among viewers. TV's images cultivate the dominant tendencies of people's cultures, beliefs, ideologies, and world views and that size of an effect is far less critical than the direction of its steady contribution. The most difference between light and heavy viewers in most groups is the collapse of the liberal position.

In India, Satellite Instruction Television Experiment (SITE) and Kheda Communication Project (KCP), the two television experiments were conducted in 1975 in rural India, with the prime objective of bringing about social change and development. SITE Report (1977) believed that SITE gave rise to 'modest gains'. The Evaluation Studies of Kheda carried out over a decade indicate that more women than men gained knowledge from TV viewing though their number was small, particularly in the areas of health, nutrition and family planning.

Girl child issue in India

The major girl child issues can be traced under different forms such as: Girl child survival foeticide and infanticide, girl child health and nutrition, crime against girl child, child labor, child marriage and child education etc. The infant mortality rate, gender discrimination and the subsequent inequality are the causes in society along with the other ills that contribute to gender crimes. Alarming reports in national and International journals claim that over the last 30 years India has eliminated 30 million girls before their birth. These figures find their basis in the country's decadal census reports. As Bijayalaxmi (2013) concluded, "Approximately one million girls, who should have been born as per demographic calculations, are eliminated every year. In thirty years this figure stands at 30 million". In a report in 2007, the United Nations estimated that 2,000 unborn girls are illegally aborted every day in India.

According to the Census of India (2011), at the National level, 14.5 per cent of the deaths are those of infants (0-1 year) and nearly 10.1 per cent of these deaths occur in Andhra Pradesh. Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is defined as the infant deaths (less than one year) per thousand live births. At the national level, IMR is reported to be 47 and varies from 51 in rural areas to 31 in urban areas. In Andhra Pradesh, IMR is 46 varying from 51 in rural areas to 33 in urban areas while the male-female IMR ratio is 50:51 and 29:36 in rural and urban areas respectively. At the national level, under-five mortality rate is estimated at 59.

In Andhra Pradesh, it is estimated at 48 with the male-female ratio being 46:51 respectively.

The India Human Development Report (2011) reveals that India's human development index has risen by 21 per cent. But the child sex ratio in Andhra Pradesh still remains a major cause for concern. Much of this could be attributed to the ignorance the Pre-Conception, Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) Act. Rashmi (2012), a member of State Appropriate Authority formed for effective implementation of the PCPNDT Act has reportedly said that "mere confiscation of scanning machines is not the answer to this sensitive issue raising the scale of awareness at the grass root level is the need of the hour".

According to a report of Government of India, Children in India-A Statistical Appraisal (2012), "crimes against girl children increased substantially in 2011. Among the crimes under the Indian Penal Code (IPC), an increase of 43 per cent was registered in kidnapping and abduction, while rape cases were increased by 30 per cent, trafficking of minor girls recorded an increase of 27 per cent and foeticide reported an increase of 19 per cent over 2010. Altogether, 7,112 cases of child rape were reported in the country last year as compared to 5,484 in 2010. The 27 per cent increase in the crime of trafficking of minor girls (862 cases in 2011 compared to 679 cases in 2010) is also very disturbing". Literature reviewed

Byerly and Rose (2006) identified four paths of women's media activism. First path is politics to media. It is represented by NGOs and focus on different forms of violence against women. They are more active in getting media coverage on issues. Second path is media to politics. It is represented by pro-feminist journalists. Third path is feminist change agent. It is represented by all women NGOs with an aim to make media more gender sensitive. Its activities are: Media monitoring, Education and awards for gender sensitive journalists, Law suites and complaints against sexist in media and attempt to act through independent and Governments in order to put presser to make more gender sensitive. and Fourth path is women's alternative media. It's main focus is to produce documentaries and radio programmes on gender sensitive issues.

Danica Minic, (2010) studied on Gender Sensitive Journalism and Television media in Serbia and Croatia. The study says that feminist media advocacy was more intense in Croatia and Serbia. Members of NGOs appeared in the popular programs such as talk shows. The legislative, political and institutional activities with regard to problems such as violence against women or sex trafficking did result in them greater media coverage.

The United Nations Information Centre (UNIC, 2013) co-organised with the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) conducted a two-day training workshop on gender sensitive reporting in Yaounde. The workshop was held on 23–24 July 2009 in UNIC Yaounde's press room and was attended by 25 journalists. The main objective of the workshop was to impart knowledge on the subject and share information about the United Nations' activities related to gender through its specialised agency, UNIFEM, so as to enable better quality and sensitivity in

reporting gender issues and UNIFEM's activities. The group included Editors-in-chief and reporters of electronic and print media from key media organizations in Yaounde. Most of the participants have special newspaper columns and Radio/TV news programme slots which address gender sensitive issues, but had very little or no knowledge of the concepts and notions of gender.

Krishnan, Dighe and Rao (1990), studied over a period of 15 days in 1986 with a sample of 363 telecasting items were scrutinized for women related references. Quantitative analysis indicated that "news related to women did not exceed 2.5 minutes out of the total 20 minutes. Women were news makers in less than ten per cent of the 30 news programmes telecast. They appeared frequently as members of audiences and as victims of some calamity or accident. Women feature in all categories of commercials, but they were dominated in ads for foods, grooming and household items".

Nandini Prasad, (1994) conducted content analysis of Doordarshan television programmes which was carried out in two and a half months (Oct 1 to Dec 15, 1992) using sample of total of 38 national news bulletins. Nandini found that a mere 20 news items during the entire period related to women. Of the 20 news items, 5 related to social issues. 3 to mobilizing public opinion on women's issues, and 11 to other women related issues.

India's Eleventh Five Year Plan (Eleventh Five Year Plan 2007 - 2012) stressed an "urgent need to embark on a massive nationwide sensitization and advocacy campaign with specific focus on the importance of the girl child to reinforce the view that she is an asset and not a burden." The campaign spelt out the need to be a "multi-pronged involving the services of multimedia". In India, a fruitful and complementary relationship between UNICEF, CMS and the television industry has been producing impactful changes in girl child-related programming in favor of the girl child.

UNICEF awards initiative

UNICEF instituted the awards for gender sensitive programmes in Telugu television in 2010 to promote gender-sensitive programming and encourage discourse on girl-child issues such as early marriage, female feticide and infanticide etc. The first initiative was research-based involving tracking and content analysis of 19 Telugu channels during prime time (7:00 pm to 10:00 pm) for two months. Buoyed with the success of the first intervention in triggering programmes and coverage of girl child issues, UNICEF returned with the second, third and fourth Awards more intensively.

The 4th UNICEF Awards is a continuation of this successful initiative. This was intended to make the awards more representative of the channels' contribution round the year, beyond the usual 100 days monitoring period of prime time. The category in 2012 titled "Acts and Enactments" is intended to raise awareness on focusing on the largely ignored and little understood laws and legislations concerning the rights of the girl child. A new feature of the UNICEF Awards2012 was the opportunity for channels to self-nominate programmes on girl child issues for consideration by the jury. (4th UNICEF

Table 1: TV Programmes on Gender sensitive issues in Telugu News Channels

Particulars	2009	2010	2011	2012
News channels	675.19 (in minutes)	2428.55 (in minutes)	2502.12 (in minutes)	4020.18 (in minutes)
Entertainment channels & Vanitha	171.26 (in minutes)	2815.25 (in minutes)	3093.11 (in minutes)	1579.03 (in minutes)
Total duration of content analysis)	846.43 (in minutes)	5244.20 (in minutes)	5595.23 (time in minutes	5599.21 (in minutes)
Total hours of recording	3519 (time in hours)	6000 (time in hours	6000 (time in hours)	6800 (time in hours)
Percentage of air time dedicated to girl child issues	0.40%	1.46%	1.55%	1.37%

Source: Center for Media Studies Lab

Awards report, 2012).

The 4th UNICEF awards have shown a steep rise in the coverage of girl child issues by news channels while the contribution of non-news channels was not encouraging. Coverage by news channels went up from 2500.12 minutes in 2011 to 4020.18 minutes in 2012. On the other hand, the total coverage on the girl child by the four entertainment channels showed a decline from 3093.11 minutes in 2011 to 1579.03 in 2012.

Regional television channels in Telugu language

In addition to numerous regional channels available in throughout India, the more number of Telugu language television channels have emerged and have the highest market share in regional channels. Table 2 shows that by March 2013 out of 73 channels in Telugu language, 30 are news channels.

Table2: Television Channels in Telugu language

| S. No.	Television Channels	No.
1	Entertainment Channels	14
2	Comedy Channels	01
3	Women's channels	01
4	Movie channels	02
5	Music channels	04
6	Kids and infotainment channels	02
7	Film news channels	02
8	Health channels	03
9	Shopping channels	01
10	Religious channels (Hindu)	04
11	Channels aired partially	09
12	News channels	30
	Total	73

Source: www.wikipedia.org 27, March 2013
(5 Christian Telugu channels need to be added)

Method

Content analysis of the programmes has taken by Center for media studies (CMS) researchers. They began their task of tracking and recording the prime time programmes between 6:30 pm and 10:30 pm of all the 19 Telugu channels in focus

Figure 1: Total time dedicate by channels on Girl child related Issues.
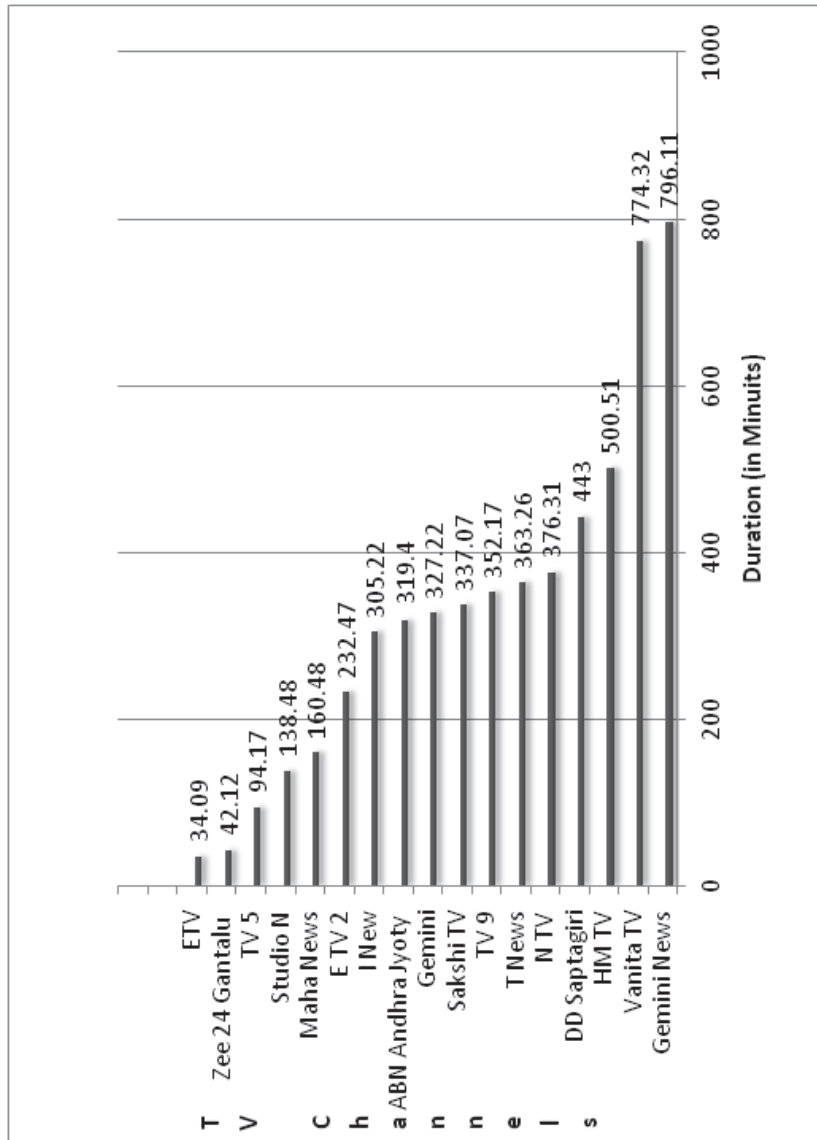
Source: Center for Media Studies Lab

for the UNICEF Awards. The Jury endorsed CMS's proposal to track, record and monitor and analyze 100 days prime time television programmes aired from July 30 to November 6, 2012. The digitally-recorded programmes of 7600 hours were scanned the girl child-related items were captured and segregated for further analysis by award categories and theme.

Analysis

There are 19 Telugu Television news channels contributed 1,009 programmes of 5599.21 minutes, dedicated to the girl child issues. This is approximately 1.37 per cent of their prime time programmes. In a duration of hundred days by seventeen Telugu TV Channels, Gemini News

Total 3: Television Channels on Girl child issues: Programme and Duration wise

S. No.	Channel	Total Programme	Duration (Minuets)
1	ABN Andhra Jyothi	71	319:40
2	DD Saptagiri	47	443:00
3	ETV	24	34:09
4	ETV 2	86	232:47
5	Gemini	1 (27 Episodes)	327:22
6	**Gemini News**	74	**796:11**
7	HM TV	71	500:51
8	**i News**	**110**	305:22
9	Maha News	62	160:48
10	NTV	105	376:31
11	Sakshi TV	31	337:07
12	Studio N	40	138:48
13	T News	43	363:26
14	TV 5	43	94:17
15	TV 9	63	352:17
16	Vanithi TV	91	774:32
17	Zee 24 Gantalu	47	42:12
	Grand Total	1009	5599:21

Prime time (6.30 to 10.30 PM) television programmes aired by the 17 television channels from July 30 to November 6, 2012.
Source: Center for Media Studies Lab

channel has spent more air time (796.11 Minutes) on gender sensitive issues (see Figure 1). Whereas i News channel produced more number (110) of gender sensitive programmes (see Table 3).

Television programmes: Format wise

The formats of television programmes were divided by CMS under documentary, fictional programme, interactive programme, news stories, public service message and other programmes. Among all categories, 'new stories' have given more number on girl child issues (see Table 4). Television programmes on girl child issues: Category wise There are eight categories identified by the UNICEF award committee for TV programming on girl child issues as: documentary, Fictional programme, news story, script, public service message, child related acts and enactments, topical issues.

Documentary: Documentary films presenting girl child issues in the most impactful manner constitute a broad category of non-fictional motion pictures intended to document some aspect of reality, primarily for the purposes of instruction or maintaining a historical record. It encapsulates the real world and real people to convey its message as opposed to fiction.

Interactive: The interactive and participatory programme format continued to draw the favor of Telugu television channels highlight girl child issues. With a good moderator and informative experts, interactive programmes have the capability to provide in-depth understanding of girl child problems and make the public ponder such issues. There

Table 4: Television programmes: Format wise

TV Channels (Telugu)	Documentary	Fictional Programme	Interactive Programme	News Story	Public Service Message	Other	Grand Total
ABN Andhra Jyothi	1	-	2	65	3	-	71
DD Saptagiri (Telugu DD)	-	2	9	33	1	2	47
ETV	-	1 (2 Episodes)	-	23	-	-	24
ETV 2	5	-	2	78	-	1	86
Gemini	-	1 (27 Episodes)	-	-	-	-	1
Gemini News	9	-	9	55	-	1	74
HM TV	6	-	3	60	1	1	71
I News	2	-	-	108	-	-	110
Maha News	1	-	1	55	5	-	62
NTV	-	-	-	105	-	-	105
Sakshi TV	1	-	5	23	1	1	31
Studio N	2	-	-	38	-	-	40
T News	5	-	1	28	5	4	43
TV 5	1	-	-	41	-	1	43
TV 9	6	-	-	56	1	-	63
Vanithi TV	-	1	6	53	21	10	91
Zee 24 Gantalu	-	-	-	46	-	-	47
Grand Total	39	5	38	**867**	39	21	**1009**

Source: Center for Media Studies Lab

were 38 interactive programmes of 1449 minutes during the 100-days campaign.

Fictional programme: This category will constitute programmes highlighting girl child issues but with invented characters and storylines. Programmes such as serials, tele-films, fictional short stories in this category must ensure that the material provided is not defamatory, likely to cause unfairness or constitutes an unwarranted infringement of the privacy of identifiable individuals or organizations.

News story: Programmes by News Channels in this category on girl child issues must talk about people, have an angle, maintain objectivity, comprise quotes, be crisp, powerful and shun decorative, flowery treatment with at least one of the following important characteristics relative to the intended audience: proximity, prominence, timeliness, human interest, with good visuals and powerful script, apt narration, and reportage. A good news story must provide answers to the five W's and one H: Who? What? Where? When? Why? How?

Script: A script is a written work by writers for audiovisual media. A script could be an original work or an adaptation of an

Table 5: TV channels awarded for the programmes – Category wise

S. No.	Category	Nomination	Awarded	Theme
1	Documentary	• *Aapadalo Aadapilla* (Girl child in danger) – ETV2 • *Jalataaru Depaalu* (Floating Lamps) – Gemini News • *Sultana – Mana Malala* (Sultana is our Malala) – HMTV	ETV 2 *Aapadalo Aadapilla* (Girl child in danger)	A well-researched documentary, depicting the constant fight of the girl child for survival, growth and development. A brisk script, powerful narration, apt visuals and authentic data, makes this a compelling documentary, evoking a positive outlook towards the girl child.
2	Interactive Programme	• *Cheppalem* (We Cont' say)– Gemini News • *Save Girl Child* – Vanitha TV • *Trafficking* – ETV2	Gemini News *Cheppalem* (We Cont' say)	The programme discussed in-depth and detail the issue of supply of sanitary napkins for adolescent girls in schools. The Government intention, the shortcomings and the need for a fool-proof implementation of the scheme was thoroughly debated with field-level inputs. The channel's lone attempt to highlight this important problem makes it so deserving of the award.
3	Public Service Message	• *Aadapillanu Kapadukundam* – (Let us save Girl child) HMTV •*Kattirinchalsindi Manaloni Vivakshani* (Discrimination in us need to cut)– ABN Andhra Jyothy • *Ammaye Kavali*(Girl only need) – DD Sapthagiri	HMTV *Aadapillanu Kapadukundam* (Let us save Girl child)	An artistic shadow puppetry presentation, this 46-seconds short promo pertinently questions why mankind discriminates against the girl child when no such discrimination can be seen in nature, among animals or birds. This wonderful attempt is sure to create a lasting impact on viewers.

4	Topical Issue	• *Malala O Spurthi* (Malala an inspiration): TV9 • *Malala* –TNews • *Swechha Geetika* (Freedom Song)– ETV2	TV9 *Malala O Spurthi* (Malala is an inspiration)	The fearless voice of the Swat Valley advocating girls' education and speaking against Taliban atrocities was effectively presented with factual information and native bites. Extending its support to Malala's mission, TV9 urges for the spirit of Malala to be imbibed for girls education in India also.
5	Script	• *BaalalaGramam* DD Sapthagiri • *Aadapilla*: Sakshi TV • *Ammayilu Bhadram* – TV9	DD Saptagiri *(Baalala Gramam)* Children village	With a beautiful script, ideal for a documentary, this programme showcases a home for orphan girls. It skillfully takes the viewers on a journey into the heart of the home.
6	News Story	• *Pelli Kaani Prasadulu*: HMTV • *Athive Jagadraksha* - Vanitha TV • *Singanamala Girls School* – ETV2	HMTV *(Pelli Kaani Prasadulu)* Prasad an unmarried	This news story intelligently presents the dangerous consequences of a skewed sex ratio. The plight of bride grooms for want of girls to marry was dealt with a wake-up call, urging immediate end to the preference for a male child. The story underlined strongly how the future of mankind is at stake if this trend is not checked.
7	Acts and Enactments	• *Mahi 'law' Telusukundam, PNDT Act* – Vanitha TV • Child Labor Act – ABN Andhra Jyothy • *Mahi 'law' Telusukundam, Child Marriage Act* – Vanitha TV	Vanitha TV *Mahi'law' Telusukundam* (Women! Know the Act)	The show is a commendable attempt at enlightening the common man on various laws concerning the girl child in Women Alert programmes. Provisions of the Acts, including how the Act should be implemented and the punishment for the violators were presented lucidly.
8	Fictional Programme	• High School (telecast during July 30 – Nov 6) – Gemini • O Lachhi Gummadi – DD Sapthagiri • Dakshatha – DD	Gemini TV High School (telecast during July 30 and November 6, 2012)	A unique attempt by an entertainment channel, this daily soap is based entirely on children and their school life. It deals with the sensitive issues that students, parents and teachers deal with as a part of their daily life. Besides issues such as discrimination and trafficking, the serial is an informative and inspiring presentation on girl child education.

Source: *4th UNICEF Awards Report 2012*

existing work, with the movement, dialogues, expressions, actions of actors narrated in it. A good script is the soul of any programme, hugely determining its success or failure with the audiences and the impact of its subject on their minds. Precisely the requirement for programmes on girl child issues in this category.

Public Service Message: A Public Service Message (PSM), is 90 seconds video. It seeks to persuade an audience to take a specific action or adopt a particular viewpoint on a cause or social issue. It is disseminated by the media, without charge, to raise social awareness on an issue. Programmes in this category must highlight girl child issues based on facts, have a clear and realistic message, be persuasive, engage the audience and get to the point in up to seconds.

Child-related acts and enactments: Television channels need to be more sensitized towards child related acts and programmes/schemes/entitlements as this would go a long way in changing perceptions for the better towards the girl child. Such Acts need awareness and familiarity among common man. Hence, under this category, programmes (fictional and non-fictional) which highlight Acts programmes/ schemes/ entitlements benefitting the girl child in the most effective manner would be presented.

Topical Issue: A topical issue is one that is contemporary and currently of interest, one about which many people are talking of at the same time, an issue which belongs to a particular location or a place or current affairs. Programmes in this category will comprise fictional and non-fictional presentations shored by facts on such issues which have captured the popular

imagination and are of particular interest in the present time.

Selection process for the award

The selection process for the 4th UNICEF awards began a month after the commencement of monitoring on July 30, 2012. Each member of the jury has gauged the programme on the basis of five-point criteria and grade those with weightage points like: theme and content - 40 points, sensitivity in handling the issue - 15 points, inspirational value - 15 points, innovation in programme - 20 points, potential impact on audience- 10 points, together hundred points. Channels which have constantly maintained uniformity in content and quality in covering girl child issue will be considered eligible to compete for this award. A channel that has had the highest number of programmes, both at the short-listing and nomination levels will be selected and awarded for the most Gender Sensitive Attitude Channel.

Channels awarded

In Documentary category, 'ETV 2' was awarded for its well-researched documentary titled, Aapadalo Aadapilla (Girl child in danger). 'Gemini News' channel was selected for its Interactive Programme Cheppalem (We can't say). In a Public Service Message (PSM) category, 'HM TV's Aadapillanu Kapadukundam (Let us save Girl child) was awarded. In Topical Issues category, 'TV9'channel won the award for its programme Malala O Spurthi (Malala is an inspiration). In Script category, the only Indian Government run Doordharsan's Telugu channel 'DD Saptagiri' won the award for its prgramme Baalala Gramam (Children's village). In

news story category, 'HM TV' was picked up for the award for its programme Pelli Kaani Prasadulu (Unmarried Prasad). Vanitha TV, the only woman channel selected for its programme Mahi'law' Telusukundam (Women! Know the Act) in the category of Acts and Enactments. In Fictional programmes category, entertainment channel 'Gemini TV' selected for its daily soap 'High School' telecasted during July 30 and November 6, 2012 (see Table 5).

Vanitha TV (Women TV channel in Telugu) and T News (First Telangana Television) telecasted "Save Girl Child" messages through celebrities including film personalities, sports persons, political stalwarts and television anchors. Vanitha TV has untiringly and consistently lent its support to the cause of girl child with the highest number of programmes. Maintaining uniformity in content and quality, Vanitha did well in dealing with all the aspects of gender sensitivity with innovative concepts and the Jury unanimously chose Vanitha as the Most Gender Sensitive Channel for the 4th UNICEF Awards.

Conclusion

Telugu television Channel programmes were heavily skewed towards news story which accounted for 45 per cent of the total time running into 5599.21 minutes dedicated for girl child related issues. The next format in terms of time dedicated was interactive programmes which accounted for 26 per cent of the total time invested on girl child issues. The fearless Swat Valley campaign for girl's education in Pakistan was widely covered by Telugu television channels.

Of the 1009 programmes, news stories dominated with 867 programmes (85.92 per cent). In the remaining formats of the coverage, there were 39 documentaries, 38 interactive programmes and 39 Public Service Messages or short promos including messages by celebrities. Besides, channels campaigned for the girl child in game shows, weekly special programmes such as Saptagiri Diary.

Gerbner, coined a word 'mainstreaming', whereby television programmes create a coming together, a convergence of attitude among viewers. Studies said that television has tremendous impact on cultural attitudes and attitude formation of the people. Apart from National Hindi-language television channels, numerous regional channels available through ought India, often distributed according to languages. Except Doordharsan, all television channels are under private media ownership. When it is proved that television communication could play a major role in accelerating development, all television channels need to focus on social problems profusely gender sensitive issues in developing countries like India.

Regional language Telugu Television Channels made sincere efforts to champion the cause of the girl child by creating various programmes in different formats during the 100-day campaign. Besides documentaries, live discussions, short promos, news coverage, tele-films and serials were the popular formats amongst the channels.

Suggestions for the channels: (1).Training should be given to the Journalists on gender sensitive reporting with the help of agencies such as press

academy, the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) etc. (2). Messaging should be carefully crafted so that over-dramatization can be avoided. Victim's identity in issues such as molestation and rape needed to be protected. (3). Language news channels should initiate to generate programmes on gender sensitive issues what Amir Khan's programme Satyameva Jayate in Star TV, for which the help of cine celebrities and sponsors can be taken. (4). Reporters and Technical experts working on gender sensitive programmes in television should also be acknowledged, awarded and rewarded.

Endnotes

1. In this article, I focus more on the social issue girl child and gender discrimination in Andhra Pradesh India that was recognized by UNICEF and encouraged mass media television channels in awarding most gender sensitive Telugu channels focused on girl child issues (see also www.unicef.org and 4th UNICEF awards for gender sensitive programmes in Telugu Television Channels).

2. Content analysis for television programmes conducted by Center for Media Studies (CMS) Hyderabad was used in this article (see also www.cmsindia.org).

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Paraphrase: Rubin and McHugh (1987) argued that interpersonal and media relationships follow a similar developmental pattern.

Idea: The way people develop relationships with others is very much like the way they develop relationships with television characters (Rubin & McHugh, 1987).

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