ISSN 2320 - 8244

University with Potential for Excellence of University Grants Commission was awarded to the University of Mysore in the disciplines of Science and Social Science. In social science, the focus area of study is 'Media and Social Development: A Case Study of Karnataka'. The project aims to study the different paradigms of media and social development; Analyze the nature, forms, levels, phases and consequences of media intervention in the process of social development; Study the development "deficit" and its implications on social categories; Assess how media intervention can transform the State: Develop new social development indices to greatly disadvantaged groups; Based on the findings of this study, design an alternative Model of Development for Karnataka.

The Journal of Media and Social Development is an initiative to create scholarship in the area of media and social development by encouraging scholarly work by the academicians in interdisciplinary areas of social sciences. The Journal is a platform for publishing high quality original research and experiments in the significant areas of economic, political, social, cultural and media perspectives of development.

Journal of Media and Social Development is a quarterly research journal of the UPE -University with Potential for Excellence - Focus Area-II Project of the University of Mysore, Mysore, India. The project is assisted by the University Grants Commission. Journal is published by Prof. N.Usha Rani, Coordinator, UGC UPE Focus Area-II, *Vijnana Bhavan, Manasagangotri, University of Mysore*, Mysore - 570 006, India. Printed by Rajendra Printers and Publishers, Mysore - 570 001.

Email: journal.msd@gmail.com Website: mysore.uni.ac.in

Journal of Media and Social Development

Volume 1,

, Issue

N

October - December 2013

Journal of Media and Social Development

An Analysis of Public Expenditure on Employment Generation and Outcome in India: An Interstate Analysis of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (MGNREGP) ANAND C. and INDIRA M.

Multidimensional Proverty Measurement in India and Karnataka <u>NAVITHA THIMMAIAH and SA</u>THYANARAYANA

Dislocated Community, Reconstructing Identity and language Media : *Sindhis* in India MUZAFFAR H. ASSADI

Rebuilding Democracy from the Bottom Up: An NGO Experiment in Karnataka JAGADISH B. and SIDDEGOWDA Y.S.

Protecting Historical and Cultural Structures in Urban Planning: A study of Mysore City BATHOOL, ZAHRA, GOWDA, KRISHNE and SRIDHARA M.V.

Narmada Bachao Andolan Online : Exploring Discourses of Representation and Resistance MIRA K. DESAI and PUTUL SATHE

Cracking the Glass Ceiling in the Media: Rural Women in Community Radio KIRAN PRASAD

'Not just the cinema viewing, it's beyond...'-A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood Cinema Spectatorship in Milieu of 'Media Convergence Culture' ARCHANA CHANUVAI NARAHARI

Children and Television : The Family Context of Media Use B.N. NEELIMA

Internet, Political Communication and Media Inclusion in India -A Conceptual Perspective USHARANI N.

EDITOR

Prof. Usha rani N.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Prof. Y.S. Siddegowda Prof. Muzaffar H.Assadi

Editorial Advisory Committee

Prof. M. Zulfiquar Ali Islam, BANGLADESH Prof. Golam Rahman, BANGLADESH Prof. Syed Abdul Siraj, PAKISTAN Prof. Samir Kumar Das, INDIA Prof. H.S. Eswara, INDIA Prof. Leela Rao, INDIA Prof. B.K. Kuthiala, INDIA

EDITORIAL TEAM

Prof. R. Indira Prof. Krishne Gowda Prof. M. Indira Prof. Chandrashekar Dr. Devraj Dr. Ramesh Dr. Nanjunda Dr. Navitha Thimmaiah

For Correspondence:

Coordinator UGC UPE Focus Area-II *Vijnana Bhavan Manasagangotri* Mysore- 570 006 India Tel: 91- 821- 2419490 Submissions; Email; journal.msd@gmail.com Website: mysore.uni.ac.in

Guidelines for Contributors

- 1. Journal of Media and Social Development publishes contributions of original work on any aspect of Development and Media in India and South East Asia. It covers interdisciplinary research in social science encompassing Media, Communication, Political Science, Economics, Sociology, Social Work and Development Studies. Minimum word length is 3000 and maximum is 7,000. Submit original unpublished works only.
- 2. All submissions should include title, abstract, key words and references.
- 3. All contributions will be peer reviewed.
- 4. Journal is published quarterly: January-March, April-June, July-September and October -December.
- 5. Specify the name, designation of the authors and co-authors. Include contact details.
- 6. Type in MS Word, Time New Roman Font of 12 point, format in 1.5 space. Number the pages in the bottom right corner.
- 7. Number the Tables, Photographs and Plates. Submit high resolution photographs separately.
- 8. Follow international standard for bibliographical references.
- 9. The editor has the right to reject submissions on grounds of already published work, substandard writing and poor quality research work.
- 10. Submit writings in softcopy as email attachments to *Email* : *journal.msd@gmail.com*

Activities of the Project

The Project has established Centre for Area Studies. The Centre has started M.Phil in 'Area Studies - Karnataka Studies' for the first time in the state of Karnataka. The Project has established state of art infrastructure in the Department of Studies in Communication and Journalism, University of Mysore to make media education more relevant and meaningful. The Project has ventured into publishing a monthly Newsletter, *ABHYUDAYA* (meaning Development) to create awareness about human development and its indicators among Research scholars and students.



JOURNAL OF MEDIA AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Volume 1, Issue 2, October- December 2013

| An Analysis of Public Expenditure on Employment Generation and Outcome in India: An Interstate Analysis of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (MGNREGP) | ANAND C INDIRA M |
|--|---|
| Multidimensional Poverty Measurement in India and Karnataka | NAVITHA THIMMAIAH SATHYANARAYANA |
| Dislocated Community, Reconstructing Identity andLanguage Media : Sindhis in India | MUZAFFAR H. ASSADI |
| Rebuilding Democracy from the Bottom Up: An NGO Experiment in Karnataka | JAGADISH B. SIDDEGOWDA Y.S. |
| Protecting Historical Cultural Structures in Urban Planning: A Study of Mysore City | BATHOOL, ZAHRA GOWDA, KRISHNE SRIDHARA M. V |
| Narmada Bachao Andolan Online: Exploring Discourses of Representation and Resistance | MIRA K. DESAI PUTUL SATHE |
| Cracking the Glass Ceiling in the Media: Rural Women in Community Radio | KIRAN PRASAD |
| 'Not just the cinema viewing, it's beyond' - A Studyon Emerging Trends in Hollywood Cinema Spectatorshipin Milieu of 'Media Convergence Culture' | ARCHANA CHANUVAI NARAHAR |
| Children and Television: The Family Context of Media Use | B.N.NEELIMA |
| Internet, Political Communication and Media Inclusion in India - A Conceptual Perspective | USHARANI N. |

An Analysis of Public Expenditure on Employment Generation and Outcome in India: An Interstate Analysis of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (MGNREGP)

> ANAND C INDIRA M

Abstract : The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) which was later renamed as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) was introduced in 2005. The Act recognizes employment as an entitlement and defines an obligation for the government - the obligation to provide, in each year, 100 days of wage employment at a stipulated minimum wage to all rural households whose members are seeking or willing to do unskilled manual work. National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme was introduced with the twin objectives of generating employment and creating rural infrastructure. An attempt is made in this paper to analyze trends in allocation of funds under this programme and relate the expenditure to the outcomes measured in terms of employment generated across different states since the introduction of this programme. State wise average spending deflated by population shows that North Eastern states are ranked high in average spending. Among the factors which have influenced the employment generation, the average allocations, the percentage of rural population and the literacy level appear to be influencing the outcomes. While the amount of allocations and the percentage of rural population have positive influence, the literacy levels have negative influence.

Key Words: MGNREGP, Employment, Poverty Reduction, Rural Development.

Authors: Anand C., Senior Research Scholar, Department of Studies in Economics and Cooperation, University of Mysore, Mysore. Email: anandc.anu6@gmail.com

Indira M., Professor, Department of Studies in Economics and Cooperation, University of Mysore, Mysore, Email: mahindira@yahoo.com

INTRODUCTION

The great depression of 1930s had a considerable influence on the public policy options. The policy options proposed by Keynes resulted in a paradigm shift and in this new paradigm fiscal instruments are given greater importance and public spending was considered as a tool to lift the economies from the depression by creating employment and effective demand. Keynesian options of public investment to create employment which in turn creates effective demand brought in the importance of fiscal measures. The publication of "General theory of Employment Interest and Money" by J.M. Keynes in 1936 influenced the government's fiscal operation. Since then the economic responsibilities and functions of the state are increasing day by day. Wagner observed that in the course of development, state activities increase both intensively and extensively. It means that while government undertakes new functions the old functions also are to be performed more efficiently.

Public expenditure policy is used as key instruments in pursuit of policy goals of growth, equity and stability across different phases of economic development in India. When the country adopted the mixed economy model after Independence the government assumed the primary responsibility of building the capital and infrastructure base to promote economic growth. The concerns regarding equity and poverty alleviation added important dimensions to public expenditure in terms of redistribution of resources.

There have been some prior studies that analyzed the impact of

public spending - especially that on poverty reduction. One such study by Ritva Reinikka and Paul Collier (2001) used data from a series of household surveys in Uganda from 1992 - 99, found that education, access to roads, and access to extension services have a major positive impact on agricultural production, which has a connection with reducing rural poverty. Similar study, but using a different method by Fan, Zhang and Rao (2003) estimated the effects of different types of government expenditure on agricultural growth and rural poverty in Uganda. They found that government expenditures on agricultural research and extension services and that on rural roads have impact on poverty reduction. These studies along with some others suggest that public investment play greater role in fostering future economic growth and poverty reduction. However, different types of expenditure have differential effects on growth and poverty reduction in different countries. At the International Food Policy Research Institute some more studies have been conducted on this theme for different countries but using secondary data at the national or local government level. These studies are Fan, Hazell, and Thorat (2000) on India; Hao and Fan (2001) on Vietnam; Fan, Zhang, and Zhang (2002) on China; and Jitsuchon, and Methakunnavut (2003) on Thailand. All these countries achieved remarkable results on growth and poverty reduction in the last two decades in Asia.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) of 2005 is perhaps the most significant social policy initiative in India in the last decade. The main objective of NREGA is to provide enhancement of livelihood security of the households in rural areas of the country by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment to every household in unskilled manual work (Ministry of Law & Justice, 2005).

This commitment is clearly a landmark event in the history of rural development policies in India. During 2006-07, NREGP involved

an expenditure of Rs. 88 billion and generated a little less than one billion person days of employment (Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India). The NREGP performance is also crucial to the success of the Millennium Development Goal of halving global poverty by 2015 (compared to 1990 levels) as rapid reduction in poverty in India will have an important bearing on the global poverty numbers.

Funding

MGNREGP is implemented with the financial support from both the Central and State Governments. As per the Act the central Government bears the costs of the following items:

- a) The entire cost of wages of unskilled manual workers.
- b) 75% of the cost of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers.
- c) Administrative expenses as may be determined by the Central Government, which will include, inter alia, the salary and the allowances of the Programme Officer and his supporting staff, work site facilities.
- d) Expenses of the Central Employment Guarantee Council.

The State Government bears the costs of the following items:

- a) 25% of the cost of material, wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers.
- b) Unemployment allowance payable in case State Government cannot provide wage employment on time.
- c) Administrative expenses of the State Employment Guarantee Council.

The total employment generated under the NREGP is clearly much larger than earlier employment programs, for example, Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and National Food for Work Program (NFFWP). These programs together generated 748 million person days in 2002-03 and 856 million in 2003-04 (Mehrotra, 2008). Under the NREGP, the figure was 905 million in 2006-07 for only 200 districts and 1437 million in 2007-08, in part reflecting the expansion of scheme to 330 more districts and creation of better awareness. In fact, the total number of beneficiaries who completed 100 days of work rose from 2.1 million (10% of all participating households) in 2006-07 to 3.5 million (11% of all households) in 2007-08. Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Rajasthan - all poor states - have the highest number of households completing 100 days of work (Mehrotra, 2008).

Progress of MGNREGP

Since the introduction of the programme during 2006-07 there is a continuous increase in the allocation of funds under the program benefiting several lakhs of households in rural areas.

Table 1

| Progress | of MGNREGP in | India (2006-2011) |
|----------|---------------|-------------------|
|----------|---------------|-------------------|

| Year | Allocation of Funds (in lakhs) | Utilization (in lakhs) | Percentage of amount Utilized | Number of Households provided with employment (in lakhs) |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 2006-07 | 12.07 | 8.82 | 73.07 | 210.16 |
| 2007-08 | 19.27 | 15.85 | 82.38 | 339.09 |
| 2008-09 | 36.30 | 27.25 | 75.068 | 451.15 |
| 2009-10 | 45.68 | 37.90 | 82.96 | 525.30 |
| 2010-11 | 52.64 | 39.37 | 74.73 | 549.54 |
| Percentage change in 2010-11 from | | | | |
| 2006-07 | 336.12 | | | 161.49 |

Source: Ministry of Rural Development, Govt. of India.

Data in table 1 shows that the allocation has increased from mere Rs 12 lakhs in 2006-07 to Rs 52.64 lakhs by 2010-11. The number of households benefitted also increased from 210.16 lakhs to 549.54

Anand C, Indira M

lakhs. However, the rate of growth in allocation and the number of households benefitted shows that while allocations increased by 336 percent during the five years period, number of households increased only by 161 percent. This shows that the growth in the number of households benefitted is not in commensurate with the increase in allocation of resources. Out of the total allocations, nearly 75-80 percent is actually spent. The percentage of actual spending to the allocations also shows fluctuations. In the first year of the introduction of the program only 73 percent was spent. But it increased to 82 percent during the next year, i.e. 2007-08. However again it came down to 75 percent during the next year though it increased to 83percent in 2009-10. Only around 75percent of the funds was spent during the year 2010-11.

State wise average spending on MGNREGP

State wise average spending on MGNREGP since its introduction according to different states in India is presented in Table 2. In order to account for the size of the state the average expenditure in millions is deflated by the rural population in respective states.

Table 2State wise average spending on MGNREGP during2006-07 to 2011-12 and the variations (Rs. In Millions)

| State | Average | Expenditure | Coefficient |
|----------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Expenditure* | | Rank | of Variation |
| Andaman and Nicobar | 417.29 | 13 | 52.00 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 585.16 | 10 | 52.78 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | 168.13 | 21 | 113.53 |
| Assam | 267.89 | 16 | 50.37 |
| Bihar | 163.61 | 22 | 45.12 |
| Chhattisgarh | 723.52 | 6 | 31.74 |
| Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 35.83 | 28 | 114.76 |
| Gujarat | 122.14 | 23 | 79.48 |

An Analysis of Public Expenditure on Employment Generation and Outcome in India:

| State | Average | Expenditure | Coefficient |
|------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Expenditure* | | Rank | of Variation |
| Haryana | 88.03 | 25 | 72.74 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 556.43 | 11 | 63.3 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 203.03 | 19 | 87.58 |
| Jharkhand | 1088.15 | 4 | 50.15 |
| Karnataka | 553.06 | 12 | 88.29 |
| Kerala | 111.70 | 24 | 91.16 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 604.85 | 9 | 22.29 |
| Maharashtra | 81.17 | 26 | 108.04 |
| Manipur | 1357.65 | 3 | 68.31 |
| Meghalaya | 667.46 | 7 | 78.59 |
| Nagaland | 2227.02 | 1 | 80.29 |
| Odisha | 262.18 | 18 | 37.69 |
| Punjab | 57.97 | 27 | 65.50 |
| Rajasthan | 662.13 | 8 | 64.03 |
| Sikkim | 1027.84 | 5 | 72.02 |
| Tamil Nadu | 387.34 | 14 | 73.98 |
| Tripura | 1876.59 | 2 | 65.81 |
| Uttarakhand | 318.37 | 15 | 67.29 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 188.36 | 20 | 74.07 |

*Expenditure deflated by rural population of the state

The Table shows that more money was spent on North Eastern states. First three ranks in the average spending are occupied by the three north eastern states viz. Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur. Large amounts were spent on Jharkhand, Sikkim and Chhattisgarh. Nagaland ranks number one in terms of expenditure on MGNREP during the last six years. The least spent States/Union Territories are Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Punjab, Maharashtra and Haryana. Although Nagaland is spending more when compared with other states, there is a greater variation in its spending over the six years period indicated by 80.29

Anand C, Indira M

percent Coefficient of Variation. On the other hand Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand are showing greater consistency. Dadra and Nagar Haveli rank 28th in expenditure on the programme with highest variation whereas Madhya Pradesh which ranks nine shows least variation in spending.

Interstate Variation in Outcome

The primary objective of MGNREGP is provision of hundred days of assured employment to rural population, though the programme also aims at the building of rural infrastructure. Therefore the number of men and women who are provided employment is an appropriate indicator to measure the outcome of this programme. Average employment provided according to different states in presented in Table 3. Uttar Pradesh ranks number one in provision of employment. Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh are the other three states with higher employment provision. Madhya Pradesh shows consistency in the provision of employment with a 19 percent variation during the six years of implementation. Variation is high in Arunachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Kerala. Dadra and Nagar Haveli ranks low in provision of employment with a higher variation of 77.52 percent. Same is the case with Arunachal Pradesh that is ranked low in employment with highest variation of 102.21 percent.

Table 3State wise Average Employment Provided During2006-07 to 2011-12 & the Variation (In Lakhs)

| States/Union Territories | Average Employment | Employment deflated by rural population | Rank in provision of employment | Coefficient of Variation |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Andaman and Nicobar | 15662.25 | 6525.94 | 11 | 41.84 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 4987185 | 8856.66 | 8 | 30.25 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | 51331.83 | 4842.63 | 17 | 102.21 |
| Assam | 1559308 | 5822.66 | 14 | 30.76 |
| Bihar | 3316231 | 3601.86 | 19 | 39.60 |

| | - | | | |
|----------------------|----------|----------|----|-------|
| Chhattisgarh | 2175152 | 11097.71 | 4 | 23.34 |
| Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 1987.5 | 1104.17 | 26 | 77.52 |
| Gujarat | 813475.5 | 2346.34 | 24 | 62.98 |
| Haryana | 158923.2 | 961.42 | 28 | 55.80 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 370025 | 5997.16 | 13 | 46.44 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 275980.7 | 3019.48 | 22 | 53.66 |
| Jharkhand | 1408647 | 5625.59 | 15 | 31.12 |
| Karnataka | 1567203 | 4173.64 | 18 | 74.64 |
| Kerala | 739115.3 | 2744.58 | 23 | 75.04 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 4211723 | 8016.22 | 10 | 19.42 |
| Maharashtra | 688938 | 1119.50 | 25 | 55.98 |
| Manipur | 226269 | 11908.89 | 3 | 84.68 |
| Meghalaya | 234091 | 9919.11 | 5 | 47.47 |
| Nagaland | 241010 | 17215.00 | 1 | 56.81 |
| Odisha | 1245897 | 3564.80 | 20 | 41.95 |
| Punjab | 171081.8 | 987.77 | 27 | 64.96 |
| Rajasthan | 4270653 | 8286.09 | 9 | 60.39 |
| Sikkim | 40133 | 8918.44 | 7 | 55.99 |
| Tamil Nadu | 3491802 | 9389.09 | 6 | 62.87 |
| Tripura | 457902.7 | 16896.78 | 2 | 42.83 |
| Uttarakhand | 5036578 | 3247.10 | 21 | 48.94 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 357555.3 | 5093.38 | 16 | 34.05 |
| West Bengal | 3974597 | 6389.00 | 12 | 25.37 |

Performance of NREGP and Contributing Factors

In order to understand the linkages between the expenditure on MGNREGP and the outcomes in terms of number of days of employment provided to rural population and to understand the contributing factors, ranks were assigned to each state and the results are presented in the Table 4. This shows that if the states which are spending more are able to provide more employment then the performance of the programme is associated with the expenditure or other factors like the existing rural unemployment, poverty or rural literacy.

Table 4

Ranking of States according to Expenditure, Employment Generated, Rural Unemployment, Rural Literacy and Rural Poverty

| States/UTs | Rank based on Average Expenditure | Rank based on Employ- ment provided | Rank based on rural un- employ- ment rate | Rank based on population below pove- rty line | Rank based on lite- racy rate |
|----------------------|--|---|--|---|---|
| Andaman and Nicobar | 13 | 27 | 1 | 28 | 3 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 10 | 2 | 21 | 23 | 24 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | 21 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 27 |
| Assam | 16 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 19 |
| Bihar | 22 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 28 |
| Chhattisgarh | 6 | 8 | 27 | 2 | 20 |
| Dadra & Nagar Haveli | 28 | 28 | 13 | 1 | 12 |
| Gujarat | 23 | 13 | 28 | 14 | 11 |
| Haryana | 25 | 24 | 15 | 20 | 15 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 11 | 17 | 16 | 26 | 4 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 19 | 19 | 11 | 22 | 23 |
| Jharkhand | 4 | 11 | 12 | 3 | 25 |
| Karnataka | 12 | 9 | 19 | 11 | 16 |
| Kerala | 24 | 14 | 5 | 25 | 1 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 9 | 4 | 24 | 6 | 21 |
| Maharashtra | 26 | 15 | 22 | 12 | 5 |
| Manipur | 3 | 22 | 18 | 5 | 9 |
| Meghalaya | 7 | 21 | 14 | 19 | 17 |
| Nagaland | 1 | 20 | 8 | 15 | 8 |
| Odisha | 18 | 12 | 17 | 7 | 18 |

| Punjab | 27 | 23 | 25 | 27 | 14 |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| Rajasthan | 8 | 3 | 26 | 17 | 26 |
| Sikkim | 5 | 26 | 3 | 24 | 6 |
| Tamil Nadu | 14 | 6 | 23 | 18 | 7 |
| Tripura | 2 | 16 | 2 | 16 | 2 |
| Uttarakhand | 15 | 18 | 10 | 21 | 10 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 20 | 1 | 20 | 10 | 22 |
| West Bengal | 17 | 5 | 7 | 13 | 13 |

All ranks are assigned from highest to lowest. Average Expenditure was deflated with the rural population in respective states for assigning ranks

The results show that Nagaland which ranks high is not the state with highest employment. In terms of provision of employment it ranks 20. Though it ranks high in literacy it also ranks high in the incidence of poverty.

Regression Model

Assuming that employment provided is a function of total amount spent, the existing rural poverty levels in the state, existing rural unemployment status, the predominance of rural population and literacy levels of the state the following basic model to explain the variation in the generation of employment is proposed;

EMPT = f(EXP, RPOV, RUE, PRP, RL)

EMPT = Employment Provided

EXP = Expenditure on MGNREGP

RPOV = Rural Poverty

RUP = Rural Unemployment

PRP = Percentage of Rural Population

RL = Rural Literacy

Assuming linear relationship among the explanatory variables, the following log linear function is estimated.

 $empt = b_0 + b_1 exp + b_2 rpov + b_3 rue + b_4 prp + b_5 rl$ (The variables expressed in lower case letters are in logarithm form)

| Table 5 |
|---|
| Regression Result of Logarithm of the Variables |

| Constant, Variables | Coefficients | t-Statistics | Sig. |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|------|
| (Constant) | 16.953 | 3.246 | .004 |
| In EXP | .957** | 26.427 | .000 |
| In RPOV | .061 | .650 | .523 |
| In RUE | .078 | .771 | .449 |
| In PRP | 1.137* | 2.257 | .034 |
| In RL | -2.199* | -2.471 | .022 |
| R Square | 0.977 | | |
| Adjusted R Square | 0.972 | | |
| F Value | 186.124** | | |

The results of the regression analysis to understand the factors influencing the outcomes of MGNREGP in terms of generation of employment across different states show that the amount of expenditure spent on the programme has significant influence on the employment generated. The coefficient of average expenditure is significant at 99 percent confidence level. The other contributing factor is percentage of rural population to total population in respective states. The variable is significant at 95 percent confidence level and it shows that the states with higher percentage of rural population have generated more employment. Rural literacy levels have a significant influence, but the relationship is negative showing that the states with lower levels of rural literacy rates have generated more employment. The significant F value shows the appropriateness of the model specified and the model explained 97 percent of the variation in the dependent variable i.e employment generated.

CONCLUSION

National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme was introduced with the twin objective of generating employment and creating rural infrastructure. An attempt is made in this paper to analyze trends in allocation of funds under this programme and relate the expenditure to the outcomes measured in terms of employment generated across different states since the introduction of this programme.

The analysis shows that allocations increased continuously. But the employment generated is not in commensurate with the allocation of funds. While allocations increased by 336.12 percent in 2011-12 compared to 2006-07, employment generated increased by 161.49 percent. The utilization is in the rage of 73 to 83 with variation in different years.

State wise average spending deflated by population shows that North Eastern states are ranked high in average spending. But greater variation could be observed. For example Nagaland is ranking number one in average spending during 2006-07 and 2011-12, but with a variation of 80 percent. Expenditure in Madhya Pradesh has shown greater consistency. Karnataka ranks in the middle in terms of expenditure with 88 percent variation. Odisha is another state with greater consistency in spending.

In case of employment generated, North Eastern states have performed better. Haryana and Punjab are the states with least generation of employment. Madhya Pradesh shows highest consistency in the provision of employment since the introduction of MGNREGP.

Among the factors which have influenced employment generation, the average allocation, the percentage of rural population and the literacy level appear to be influencing the outcomes. While the amount of allocation and the percentage of rural population have influenced positively, the literacy levels seem to have influenced negatively.

REFERENCES

- 1. Aschauer, D.A. (1989), "Is Public Expenditure Productive", Journal of Monetary Economics, Vol. 23.
- 2. Devarajan, S., V. Swaroop and Heng-fu Zou (1996), "The Composition of Public Expenditure and Economic Growth", Journal of Monetary Economics, Vol. 47.
- 3. Diamond, J. (1989), "Government Expenditure and Economic Growth", International Monetary Fund, Working Paper, WP 89/45.
- 4. Dreze. J, R Khera. & Siddhartha (2008), "Corruption in NREGA: Myths and Reality", The Hindu, 16th January 2008.
- 5. Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) (2001), "India Fiscal Reforms and Public Expenditure Management", Research Paper No.11, JBIC.
- 6. Mainul Hassan (2008), "Public Expenditure, Employment and Poverty in Bangladesh: An Empirical Analysis", working Paper #72, Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD). Dhaka.
- 7. Ministry of Rural Development (2008): The national Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA)-Operational Guidelines, New Delhi.
- 8. Mohapatra, R et, al., (2008). The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) Opportunities and Challenges Natural Resource Management and Livelihood unit, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi
- 9. Murthy,S.P.S & Indumati, S (2011) .Economic Analysis of MGNREGP in the Drought - prone States of Karnataka, Rajasthan and Irrigation - dominated State of Andhra Pradesh. Agricultural Economics Research review, 24: 531-536.
- 10. Musgrave, R. (1959). The Theory of Public Finance, New York
- 11. Pattnaik, R.K. (1996), "Budget Deficit in India: Measurement, Analysis and Management", Ph.D. Thesis, Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai., Mc Graw-Hill.
- 12. Reddy,N.D & Upendranadh,C (2010).National Rural Employment Guarantee: Issues, Concerns and Prospects. Oxfam India papers series 5, September.
- 13. Ranjit Kumar Pattnaik, Dhritidyuti Bose, Indranil Bhattacharyya and Jai Chander (1990), "Public Expenditure and Emerging Fiscal Policy Scenario in India" http://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/bs_viewcontent.aspx?Id=1990
- Sodipe and Ayoyinka (2011). "Employment and Economic Growth Nexus in Nigeria", International Journal of Business and Social Science, Vol. 2 No. 11 [Special Issue - June 2011].

Multidimensional Poverty Measurement in India and Karnataka

NAVITHA THIMMAIAH SATHYANARAYANA

Abstract: Using District Health Survey (DHS)-2005 data, this paper provides Multidimensional Poverty lindex (MPI) for India and Karnataka. It tries to identify multidimensional deprived households by using nine indicators from National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-3 (2005-06) data for India and Karnataka. It was found that, about 55.4% of the total population of India (2007) are multidimensional poor and are deprived in 53.5% of weighted indicators. It showed that, there is high positive correlation between incidence of MPI Poor and average intensity of their deprivations. Decomposition of MPI by dimensions, indicators, regions and caste wise in India are also discussed in this paper. In Karnataka, about 46.1% of the households are multidimensional poor and they are deprived in 48.3% % of the weighted indicators on average. Karnataka was the most deprived state in MPI among South Indian states and was more deprived in standard of living indicators, followed by health and education. Except the ownership of agricultural land, the rural households in Karnataka are more deprived in all the selected NFHS-3 indicators than urban households.

Keywords: Multidimensional Poverty, NFHS, Poverty, Deprivation, JEL Classification: 13, 132, D63, O1

Authors: Dr. Navitha Thimmaiah, Assistant Professor of Economics, Department of Studies in Economics, Manasagangothri, University of Mysore, Mysore-570006 Email: navitha_t@yahoo.com

Sathyanarayana, Research Scholar, Department of Studies in Economics, Manasagangothri, University of Mysore, Mysore-570006 Email: sathya956@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Poverty is widespread in India despite recording impressive growth rates in the last two decades. There are large number of studies on poverty in India. Using varying concepts, criteria and data sources, different authors have come up with widely differing estimates of levels of poverty in India at national and also at the state level. Most of the poverty studies and measurement in India at national and state level - Ojha (1960-61, 1967-68), Dandekar & Rath (1960-61, 1969-70), Minhas (1956-57, 1963-64, 1967-68 & 1969-70), Montek Ahluwalia (1956-57, 1963-64, 1967-68 & 1973-74), Burdhan (1960-61, 1968-69), Datt & Ravallion (1989), Dev and Ravi (2007) have used uni-dimensional measure (income/consumption/expenditure) for identifying the poor, thus failing to throw light on the multidimensional nature of poverty. Moreover, the Planning Commission's Expert Groups and NSSO on estimating poverty in India also considered income/consumption/expenditure as criteria for identifying the poor.

There are few studies that are carried out to measure multidimensional poverty in India at national and state level. The BPL censuses (1992, 1997, and 2002) in India partially touched upon the multidimensional nature of deprivation of the people. Thirteen socioeconomic parameters including size of land, type of house, food security, clothing, sanitation, literacy, means of livelihood and indebtedness were used to identify whether a household is qualified for the BPL status. Alkire and Seth (2008) developed an Index of Multiple Deprivation for India using the National Family and Health Survey (NFHS-3) data. They contend that identifying the poor using Multi-dimensional Index of Deprivation, are both efficient and provide greater insight into dimensions of poverty across the various states. Radhakrishna et al. (2010) argued that the multi-dimensional approach incorporating both quantitative and qualitative indicators is suitable for identification of the poor. They used three types of deprivations of a household for identifying the multidimensional deprivations among the poor like income poverty, child malnutrition and female chronic energy deficiency. They found that more people were identified as poor by using the multi-dimensional nature of poverty than income/ expenditure alone. Mehta (2003) tried to identify chronic poverty at the district level by using multidimensional indicators that reflect persistent deprivation, such as illiteracy, infant mortality, low levels of agricultural productivity and poor infrastructure.

The dissatisfaction with purely monetary approaches to poverty measurement are by now well established. These led to the development of alternative measures which acknowledge that the experience of poverty is more complex and nuanced than merely a shortfall in income and consumption. Both income and expenditures based measures have faced much criticism and controversy for being an arbitrary set of numbers that do not give a real sense of the deprivations facing the poor (Pogge and Reddy, 2010). To target services to the most needy, the multi-dimensional approach is more appropriate. Since the seminal works of Sen (1976, 1985, 1992, 1995), poverty is recognized as multidimensional phenomenon. The wellbeing of an individual depends not only on income, but also on several other dimensions or capabilities such as health, education, empowerment etc. The concept of multidimensional poverty has of late drawn the increasing attention of researchers and policy makers. The compelling writings of Amartya Sen, participatory poverty exercises in many countries, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) all draw attention to the multiple deprivations suffered by the poor and the interconnections among these deprivations.

Untill now, there is no consensus about the best multidimensional poverty measure. For example, as to which measure could allow better targeting of the poor and suggest more effective poverty-reduction policies. Alkire and Foster (2007) proposed a counting approach for measuring the multidimensional poverty. Further, Alkire & Santos (2010) developed a new Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) for 104 developing countries based on Alkire and Foster (2007) methodology. Moreover, the UNDP published Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) in its 2010 Human Development Report. The analysis undertaken in this study tries to capture multidimensional poverty more accurately and thereby provide tools for better poverty-reducing policies.

OBJECTIVES

- 1. To examine MPI for India and Indian states using DHS and NFHS data.
- 2. To focus on association between Incidence of MPI Poor and Average Intensity of Deprivations.
- 3. To compare the intensity of deprivations across Education, Health and Standard of Living indicators for India and Indian states, with special reference to Karnataka.
- 4. To compare MPI values for different castes of India.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

This paper is based on mainly two data sources, Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) -2005 and National Family Health Survey (NFHS) -2005-06 data. DHS data which includes a total sample of 5,16,251 (urban sample 2,29,391, rural sample 2,86,860) is used to compute MPI for India. Household is considered as the unit of analysis. MPI is calculated by multiplying the Incidence of poverty (H) by the Average intensity deprivation (A) of MPI poor. A household is identified as MPI poor if the household deprived in at least 30 percent of the weighted indicators. The indicators and cutoff used by Alkire & Santos (2010) to estimate MPI for India and Karnataka by using DHS data are summarized in the table 1.

Table 1Dimensions, Indicators, Cutoff and Weights to Estimate MPI

| Dimension | Indicator | Household Deprived if | Relative Weight |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---|--------------------|
| Education | Years of Schooling | No household member has completed five years of schooling. | 16.7% |
| | Child Enrolment | Any school-aged child not attending school in year 1 to 8. | 16.7% |
| Health | Nutrition | Any adult or child, for whom there is nutritional information, is malnourished* | 16.7% |
| | Child Mortality | Any child has died in the family | 16.7% |
| Living Standard | Electricity | The household has no electricity | 5.6% |
| | Sanitation | The household's sanitation facility is not improved (according to the MDG guidelines) or it is improved but shared with other households. | 5.6% |
| | Water | The household does not have access to clean drinking water (according to the MDG guidelines) or clean water access is more than 30 minutes walk from home. | 5.6% |
| | Floor | The household has dirt, sand or dung floor | 5.6% |
| | Cooking Fuel | The household cooks with dung, wood or charcoal | 5.6% |
| | Assets | The household does not own more than one of : radio, television, telephone (mobile), bike (motorbike), and do not own a car or tractor. | 5.6% |

Note: * Adult is considered malnourished if their BMI is below 18.5. Children are considered malnourished if their z-score of weight-forage is below minus two standard deviations from the median of the reference population

Poverty cutoff (k): Alkire & Santos (2010) fix the poverty cutoff 'k' as 3. So, a household has to be deprived in at least the equivalent of 30 per cent of the weighted indicators in order to be considered multidimensional poor. This amounts to six asset indicators or two health or two education indicators. Source: Alkire & Foster (2010)

The present study used NFHS -3 data to measure the poverty in multidimensional way in India and Karnataka. In India, NFHS-3 interviewed 1, 24,385 women aged 15-49 and 74,369 men aged 15-54 from 29 states. A total of 1, 09,041 households were interviewed. In Karnataka, NFHS-3 interviewed 6,008 women aged 15-49 years and 5,528 men aged 15-54 years. It is based on a sample of 5,342 households that is representative at the state level, and within the state at the urban and rural levels. The NFHS-3 collected huge data on various issues of population, health, education, nutrition, women and children and socio economic conditions of the households, etc. But, the present study selected 9 indicators from NFHS-3, which reflect the socioeconomic conditions of the people. The lack of these basic indicators force people to live in multidimensional characteristics of poverty. On the basis of these deprivations, the present study tries to identify the multidimensional nature of poverty at the household level in India and Karnataka. The indicators and their cutoff are given in table 2.

| Indicators | Household deprived if |
|-------------------|--|
| Education | No household member has any education. |
| Electricity | Household has no electricity. |
| Drinking Water | Household has no access to clean drinking water or have access to drinking water through non-improved sources (as mentioned in NFHS-3. |
| Sanitation | The household has non-improved sources of sanitation facilities (as mentioned in NFHS-3). |
| Housing | Household member living in the not improved Kachha house - house made of mud, grass, or other fragile materials. |
| Cooking Fuel | Household cooks with, coal/lignite, charcoal, wood, straw/shrubs/grass, agricultural crop waste and dung cakes. |

Table 2Indicators and Cutoff

| Possession | The household does not own the listed 19 |
|---------------|--|
| of household | assets (mattress, pressure cooker, chair, cot or |
| goods | bed, table, electric fan, radio or transistor, televi- |
| | sion (black and white), television (colour), sewing |
| | machine, mobile telephone, any other type of |
| | telephone, computer, refrigerator, watch or clock, |
| | water pump, thresher, tractor). |
| Possession of | The household does not own the listed 4 means |
| Means of | of transport facility (bicycle, motorcycle or scooter, |
| transport | animal-drawn cart and car). |
| Agricultural | The household does not own any type of |
| Land | agricultural land (irrigated or non-irrigated). |

Note: cutoff is drawn by authors' calculation

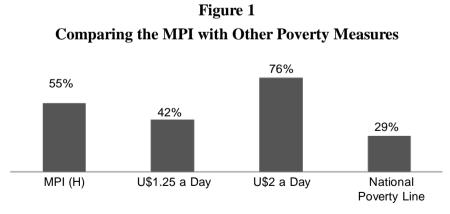
RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The most widely used measure of poverty at present is income poverty, measured either according to a national poverty line or by an international standard (\$2/day or \$1.25/day). The MPI comparison with income poverty is given in Table 3 & Figure 1. According to the MPI, about 55.4% of the total population of India (2007) are multidimensional poor and they are deprived in 53.5% of the weighted indicators. This figure lies between the total number (percentage) of people living on less than \$1.25/day (42%) and \$2/day (76%). Although the MPI headcount is between \$1.25/day and \$2/day headcounts, the MPI is not a \$1.50/day poverty line, because MPI captures different dimensions of deprivations among poor people than Income/Consumption poverty measures. Moreover, the MPI headcount is very high when it is compared to National Poverty line (28%).

Table 3Comparing the MPI with Other Poverty Measures

| | Multidimensional Poverty Measure (MPI) | Income Poverty Measures* | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | US \$1.25 a day | US \$2 a day | National Poverty Line | | | | |
| Value | 0.296 | 0.416 | 0.756 | 0.286 | | | | |
| Rank | 74 | 64 | 70 | 23 | | | | |
| Percentage of Poor | 55.4% | 42% | 76% | 29% | | | | |
| Average Intensity of Deprivation | 53.5% | | | | | | | |
| Number of poor (millions) | 645.0 | | | | | | | |

Source: OPHI Country Briefing 2010: India, www.ophi.org.uk, Alkire & Santos (2010)



* Source: World Bank (2009), 'World Development Indicators', Washington D.C., World Bank

| Table 4 |
|--|
| Decomposition of MPI by Indian States |

| State | MPI Value | MPI Rank | Н (%) | A (%) | Population (Millions- 2007) | Sample Population Share (%) | Contri- bution to Aggre- gate MPI (%) |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Delhi | 0.062 | 1 | 14.2 | 43.7 | 16.9 | 1.1 | 0.2 |
| Kerala | 0.065 | 2 | 15.9 | 40.9 | 35.0 | 2.6 | 0.6 |
| Goa | 0.094 | 3 | 21.7 | 43.4 | 1.6 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Punjab | 0.120 | 4 | 26.2 | 46.0 | 27.1 | 2.5 | 1.0 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 0.131 | 5 | 31.0 | 42.3 | 6.7 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Tamil Nadu | 0.141 | 6 | 32.4 | 43.6 | 68.0 | 5.5 | 2.6 |
| Uttaranchal | 0.189 | 7 | 40.3 | 46.9 | 9.6 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Maharashtra | 0.193 | 8 | 40.1 | 48.1 | 108.7 9.3 | | 6.0 |
| Haryana | 0.199 | 9 | 41.6 | 47.9 | 24.1 | 2.0 | 1.3 |
| Gujarat | 0.205 | 10 | 41.5 | 49.2 | 57.3 | 4.9 | 3.4 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 0.209 | 11 | 43.8 | 47.7 | 12.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 0.211 | 12 | 44.7 | 47.1 | 83.9 | 7.1 | 5.1 |
| Karnataka | 0.223 | 13 | 46.1 | 48.3 | 58.6 | 5.5 | 4.2 |
| Eastern States* | 0.303 | 14 | 57.6 | 52.5 | 44.2 | 3.9 | 4.0 |
| West Bengal | 0.317 | 15 | 58.3 | 54.3 | 89.5 | 8.0 | 8.5 |
| Orissa | 0.345 | 16 | 64.0 | 54.0 | 40.7 | 3.7 | 4.3 |
| Rajasthan | 0.351 | 17 | 64.2 | 54.7 | 65.4 | 5.9 | 7.0 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 0.386 | 18 | 69.9 | 55.2 | 192.6 | 16.3 | 21.3 |
| Chhattisgarh | 0.387 | 19 | 71.9 | 53.9 | 23.9 | 2.3 | 2.9 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 0.389 | 20 | 69.5 | 56.0 | 70.0 | 6.5 | 8.5 |
| Jharkhand | 0.463 | 21 | 77.0 | 60.2 | 30.5 | 2.7 | 4.2 |
| Bihar. | 0.499 | 22 | 81.4 | 61.3 | 95.0 | 8.0 | 13.5 |
| India | 0.296 | 74 ¹ | 55.4 | 53.5 | 1,164.7 | 100.0 | 100 |

(2010).

Navitha Thimmaiah, Sathyanarayana

Note: H = *Percentage of MPI poor (they are deprived in at least 30% of weighted indicators),*

A= Average Intensity of Deprivations of MPI poor

* Eastern Indian states include Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura.

Megnalaya, Mizoram, Nagalana, Sikkim ana Tripur

1 India's Rank in MPI out of 104 Countries

The above table decomposes multidimensional poverty across 28 Indian states and one union territory (Delhi). It shows that, there is high positive correlation (0.958) between proportions of MPI poor (H) and average intensity of their deprivations (A). It means that, an increase in headcount of poverty is correlated with increases in average intensity of deprivation. Moreover, the combination of the both H and A is key to determine the states ranking in MPI. It observed that 81 per cent of people are multidimensional poor in Bihar - more than any other state. Also, poverty in Bihar and Jharkhand is most intense - poor people are deprived in 60 percent of the MPI's weighted indicators. Uttar Pradesh is home to the largest number of poor people - 21 percent of India's poor people live there. West Bengal is home to the third largest number of poor people. On the other hand, the multidimensional poverty is lowest in Kerala. The top five states are home for only 4.5 per cent of the poor, whereas the five poorest states are home for more than 50 per cent of the poor people. The size of the population is not a matter contributing to MPI, rather it depends on how a particular state is implementing the poverty eradication programs.

| Table 5 | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Multidimensional Poverty Index for Karnataka | | | | | | | |

| State | MPI Value | MPI Rank | H (%) | A (%) |
|-----------|-----------|----------|-------|-------|
| Karnataka | 0.223 | 13 | 46.1 | 48.3 |

Table 5 highlights that about 46.1% of the households are multidimensional poor (they are deprived in at least 30% of the weighted indicators) in Karnataka and they are deprived in 48.3% of the weighted indicators, on an average.

| Table 6 |
|---|
| Comparing the MPI of Karnataka with Southern States |

| State | MPI Value | MPI Rank | H (%) | A (%) |
|----------------|-----------|----------|-------|-------|
| Kerala | 0.065 | 1 | 15.9 | 40.9 |
| Tamil Nadu | 0.141 | 2 | 32.4 | 43.6 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 0.211 | 3 | 44.7 | 47.1 |
| Karnataka | 0.223 | 4 | 46.1 | 48.3 |
| India | 0.296 | 74 | 55.4 | 53.5 |

Source: Alkire & Foster (2010) & OPHI Country Briefing-2010 (India)

Table 6 clearly shows that Karnataka is the most deprived state among south Indian states. About 46.1 percent of people in Karnataka are multidimensional poor compared to 44.7% in Andhra Pradesh, 32.4% in Tamil Nadu and 15.9% in Kerala. The 46.1 percent of MPI poor are deprived in 48.3% of weighted indicators compared to Andhra Pradesh (47.1%), Tamil Nadu (43.1%) and Kerala (40.9%). On the other hand, the MPI value and ranking in MPI is also very high for Karnataka than other South Indian States. It means that Karnataka is most deprived in the MPI value, MPI rank, the incidence of MPI poor and average intensity of deprivations than other South Indian states.

Table 7

Proportion of People who are MPI Poor and Deprived in the MPI Indicators.

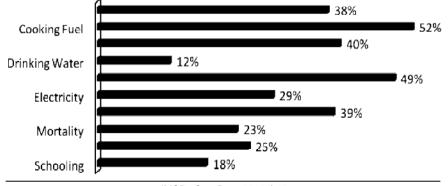
| State | Educ | cation | Health | | Standard of Living | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| | Schoo ling | Child Enrol- ment | Mort- aliy | Nutri- tion | Electri- city | Sani- tation | Drin- king Water | Floor | Cook- ing Fuel | Assets |
| Delhi | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0 | 0.1 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
| Kerala | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.03 | 0.15 | 0.11 |
| Goa | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.16 | 0.02 | 0.16 | 0.1 | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.12 |
| Punjab | 0.08 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.17 | 0.02 | 0.2 | 0.01 | 0.16 | 0.23 | 0.11 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.25 | 0.01 | 0.28 | 0.08 | 0.15 | 0.29 | 0.2 |
| Tamil Nadu | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.21 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.3 | 0.24 |

| | | - | 1 | | | | | - | - | |
|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Uttaranchal | 0.08 | 0.1 | 0.15 | 0.3 | 0.15 | 0.33 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.37 | 0.27 |
| Maharashtra | 0.08 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.3 | 0.13 | 0.36 | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0.34 | 0.28 |
| Haryana | 0.08 | 0.2 | 0.15 | 0.3 | 0.08 | 0.34 | 0.08 | 0.24 | 0.39 | 0.25 |
| Gujarat | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.33 | 0.09 | 0.36 | 0.1 | 0.24 | 0.36 | 0.29 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 0.08 | 0.22 | 0.16 | 0.27 | 0.05 | 0.4 | 0.17 | 0.28 | 0.39 | 0.27 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 0.19 | 0.13 | 0.16 | 0.29 | 0.08 | 0.41 | 0.06 | 0.19 | 0.42 | 0.35 |
| Karnataka | 0.12 | 0.21 | 0.17 | 0.33 | 0.08 | 0.41 | 0.12 | 0.19 | 0.42 | 0.32 |
| Eastern States | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.37 | 0.41 | 0.45 | 0.23 | 0.5 | 0.55 | 0.42 |
| West Bengal | 0.25 | 0.23 | 0.19 | 0.42 | 0.41 | 0.47 | 0.07 | 0.48 | 0.57 | 0.43 |
| Orissa | 0.23 | 0.19 | 0.24 | 0.45 | 0.43 | 0.62 | 0.2 | 0.51 | 0.63 | 0.49 |
| Rajasthan | 0.21 | 0.32 | 0.28 | 0.44 | 0.31 | 0.6 | 0.24 | 0.36 | 0.61 | 0.47 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 0.18 | 0.36 | 0.37 | 0.46 | 0.48 | 0.62 | 0.07 | 0.58 | 0.66 | 0.41 |
| Chhattisgarh | 0.21 | 0.29 | 0.31 | 0.52 | 0.24 | 0.69 | 0.22 | 0.64 | 0.7 | 0.48 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 0.22 | 0.32 | 0.31 | 0.5 | 0.25 | 0.65 | 0.31 | 0.57 | 0.67 | 0.52 |
| Jharkhand | 0.26 | 0.45 | 0.3 | 0.56 | 0.55 | 0.73 | 0.42 | 0.63 | 0.76 | 0.55 |
| Bihar | 0.35 | 0.52 | 0.35 | 0.61 | 0.65 | 0.74 | 0.04 | 0.7 | 0.79 | 0.57 |
| India | 0.18 | 0.25 | 0.23 | 0.39 | 0.29 | 0.49 | 0.12 | 0.40 | 0.52 | 0.38 |

Source: OPHI Country Briefing 2010: India, www.ophi.org.uk, Alkire & Santos (2010)

Figure 2

Incidence of Deprivation in Each of the MPI Indicators



JMSD, Oct.-Dec. 2013 / 28

Table-7 and Figure 2 shows that there is wide variation in the incidence of deprivation in each of the MPI indicators across the Indian states. Figure 2 depicts the percentage of people deprived in each indicator. There are more number of people deprived in cooking fuel (52%), followed by sanitation (49%), floor (40%), nutrition (39%), assets (38%), electricity (29%), child enrolment (25%), mortality (23%), schooling (18%) and drinking water facility (12%). Overall it can be concluded that, more number of people in India are deprived of living standard dimension indicators like cooking fuel, sanitation, floor and assets than education and health dimension indicators. It was also found that there are more number of deprived people in nutrition (39%) of Health dimension.

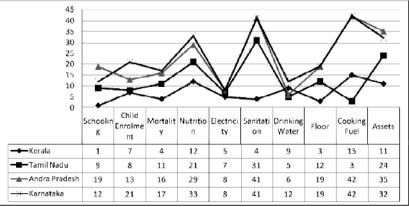
Table 8

Incidence of Deprivation in Each of the MPI Indicators in Karnataka

| Indiatos | Stroo | Critt | Marta- | Ntri- | Eletri- | Sanita | Drinking | Flor | Cooking | Assets |
|----------|-------|---------|------------|-------|---------|--------|----------|------|---------|--------|
| | lig | Enohert | ŀ ∕ | tion | ф | tion | Weter | | Rel | |
| Kamataka | 12% | 21% | 17% | 33% | 8% | 41% | 12% | 19% | 42% | 32% |

Table 8 shows the percentage of people deprived in various MPI indicators in Karnataka. There are more number of people deprived in cooking fuel (42%) indicator and followed by sanitation (41%), nutrition (33%), assets (32%), child enrolment (21%), flooring (19%), mortality (17%), schooling (12%), drinking water (12%) and electricity (8%).

Figure 3 Comparing the Incidence of Deprivation in each of the MPI Indicators of Karnataka with Southern States (percentage)



JMSD, Oct.-Dec. 2013 / 29

Figure 3 shows that there are more number of deprived people in, mortality, nutrition, drinking water and assets indicators in Karnataka when compared to other southern states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. On the other hand, it is almost equal in the case of electricity, sanitation, floor and cooking fuel indicators with Andhra Pradesh. But in the drinking water indicator, it is similar at all India level. Overall, it can be seen that the incidence of indicator deprivation is higher in Karnataka when compared with south Indian states.

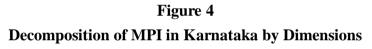
Table 9Decomposition of MPI in India by Dimensions

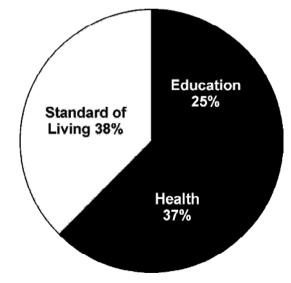
| State | Education | Health (%) | Standard of |
|------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| | (%) | | Living (%) |
| Delhi | 34.6 | 41.4 | 24.0 |
| Kerala | 20.3 | 40.4 | 39.3 |
| Goa | 22.8 | 36.8 | 40.4 |
| Punjab | 30.0 | 36.1 | 33.9 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 13.6 | 43.3 | 43.1 |
| Tamil Nadu | 19.4 | 37.5 | 43.2 |
| Uttaranchal | 15.9 | 39.7 | 44.5 |
| Maharashtra | 20.0 | 37.8 | 42.2 |
| Haryana | 23.8 | 37.6 | 38.6 |
| Gujarat | 20.3 | 40.6 | 39.2 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 24.5 | 34.0 | 41.4 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 25.1 | 35.0 | 39.9 |
| Karnataka | 24.9 | 36.9 | 38.2 |
| Eastern States | 22.0 | 31.0 | 47.0 |
| West Bengal | 25.4 | 32.0 | 42.7 |
| Orissa | 20.3 | 33.3 | 46.4 |
| Rajasthan | 25.0 | 34.2 | 40.8 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 23.4 | 35.8 | 42.5 |
| Chhattisgarh | 21.6 | 35.8 | 42.4 |

| Madhya Pradesh | 22.9 | 34.7 | 43.7 |
|----------------|------|------|------|
| Jharkhand | 25.3 | 31.0 | 43.7 |
| Bihar. | 29.0 | 32.0 | 39.0 |
| India | 24.0 | 34.7 | 41.3 |

Source: OPHI Country Briefing 2010: India, www.ophi.org.uk, Alkire & Santos (2010).

There is wide variation in the percentage deprivation contribution by dimensions across Indian States (Table 9). In all the states except for Delhi and Kerala, the living standard dimension is more deprived than health or education. The standard of living dimension (41.3%) contributes more percentage of deprivation, followed by health (34.7%) and education (24.0%).





Even in Karnataka state there is more deprivation in standard of living indicators followed by health and education as seen at national level.

Table 10

Comparing the Percentage Contribution of Deprivation in Each of the MPI Dimensions of Karnataka with Southern States

| State | Education (%) | Health (%) | Standard of Living (%) |
|----------------|---------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Kerala | 20.3 | 40.4 | 39.3 |
| Tamil Nadu | 19.4 | 37.5 | 43.2 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 25.1 | 35 | 39.9 |
| Karnataka | 24.9 | 36.9 | 38.2 |
| India | 24 | 34.7 | 41.3 |

The above table (10) denotes that education and health contributed more percentage of deprivation in Karnataka than at national level. Compared to south Indian states, education is worse in Andhra Pradesh, followed by Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. In the case of health, Kerala is worse, followed by Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. In the living standard dimension, Tamil Nadu is the most deprived, followed by Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. Across south Indian states, it can be said that Karnataka is less deprived in Standard of Living dimension than health or education.

Table 11Decomposition of MPI in India by Caste

| Caste | MPI Value | MPI Rank | H (%) | A (%) | Population | Contribution to Aggre- gate MPI (%) |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------|-------|------------|---|
| | | | | | | |
| Scheduled Tribe | 0.482 | 4 | 81.4 | 59.2 | 9.2 | 15.1 |
| Scheduled Caste | 0.361 | 3 | 65.8 | 54.8 | 21.6 | 26.5 |
| Other Backward | | | | | | |
| Class | 0.305 | 2 | 58.3 | 52.3 | 43.0 | 44.5 |
| None of the Above | 0.157 | 1 | 33.3 | 47.2 | 26.1 | 13.9 |
| India | 0.295 | | 55.5 | 53.1 | 100 | 100 |

The above table (11) shows that, even though their representation in overall population is less, the Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes (SC) in the country have higher number of multidimensional poor households. On the other hand, Other Backward Classes (OBC) and others (none of the above) covering larger population have smaller number of multidimensional poor households. It was found that, ST population is the most deprived class in India both in incidences of MPI poor households and average intensity of deprivations, followed by SC, OBC and other castes.

Table 12 Decomposition of MPI in India by Castes (proportion of people)

| Caste | Education | | Health | | Standard of Living | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| | Schooling | Child Enrol ment | Mortality | Nutriti on | Electricity | Sanitati on | Drinking Water | Floor | Cooking Fuel | Asset |
| ST | 0.35 | 0.37 | 0.32 | 0.58 | 0.47 | 0.79 | 0.32 | 0.71 | 0.80 | 0.67 |
| SC | 0.23 | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.47 | 0.37 | 0.60 | 0.13 | 0.50 | 0.63 | 0.49 |
| OBC | 0.16 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.4 | 0.29 | 0.54 | 0.13 | 0.41 | 0.55 | 0.39 |
| None of Above (othes) | 0.06 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.24 | 0.14 | 0.27 | 0.07 | 0.21 | 0.30 | 0.19 |
| India | 0.17 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.39 | 0.28 | 0.5 | 0.13 | 0.4 | 0.53 | 0.38 |

Source: OPHI Country Briefing 2010: India, www.ophi.org.uk, Alkire & Santos (2010).

Table (12) shows the proportion of people who are MPI poor and deprived in each of ten indicators by castes. It was found that, ST and SC are most deprived, followed by OBC and others. There are more number of households deprived in all the ten indicators in ST and SC. Nearly 80 and 79 percent of ST households are deprived of cooking fuel and sanitation respectively. An important observation is that more number of households are deprived in living standard dimension indicators like cooking fuel, floor, sanitation, assets, electricity and drinking water facilities than health or education dimensions indicators.

| Table 13 |
|--|
| Percentage Deprivation Contribution in Three Dimensions by |
| Caste wise in India |

| Caste wise in Inula | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| State | Education (%) | Health (%) | Standard of Living (%) | | |
| ST | 25.2 | 31.4 | 43.4 | | |
| SC | 23.5 | 34.5 | 42 | | |
| OBC | 22.5 | 35.6 | 43.4 | | |
| None of the above | 19.1 | 39.6 | 43.4 | | |
| India | 22.7 | 35.2 | 42 | | |

There is wide variation in the deprivation contribution from each dimension across castes in India. In all the castes, standard of living dimension contributed more percentage of deprivation followed by health or education (Table 13).

NFHS-3 provides information on several household characteristics that affect living conditions of the household, but the present study considered some of them which are linked to the multidimensional nature of poverty. Education is not only one of the most important socioeconomic factors that are known to significantly influence individual behaviour and attitudes, but also a fundamental indicator for human capital development of a country. Access to electricity is one of the basic necessities for reading, working, etc. which directly contribute to the human and economic development. Access to basic amenities such as clean drinking water, sanitation, comfortable living house and clean fuel is not only an important measure of social economic status of the household but also fundamental to maintain good health. Smoke from solid cooking fuel is a serious health hazard. Solid cooking fuel includes coal/lignite, charcoal, wood, straw, shrubs, grass, and agricultural crop waste and dung cakes. The possession of household goods, possession of the means of transport and ownerships of agricultural land clearly indicate the economic condition of the household. Moreover, the deprivation in the selected above 9 indicators, clearly represent the multidimensional nature of poverty of the household.

Table 14 Incidences of Deprived Households by Indicators in India (%)

| Sl.No. | Indicators | Urban | Rural | Total |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 | Education | 18.9 | 37.55 | 31.7 |
| 2 | Electricity | 6.9 | 44.3 | 32.1 |
| 3 | Drinking Water | 4.8 | 15.4 | 11.9 |
| 3.1 | Unprotected dug well | 2.9 | 12.4 | 9.3 |
| 3.2 | Unprotected spring | 0.1 | 0.8 | 0.6 |
| 3.3 | Tanker truck/car with small tank | 0.9 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| 3.4 | Surface water | 0.8 | 1.8 | 1.5 |
| 3.5 | Bottled water, non-improved | | | |
| | source for cooking, hand washing* | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 4 | Sanitation | 46.7 | 82.2 | 70.6 |
| 4.1 | Any facility shared with other | | | |
| | households | 24.2 | 5.3 | 11.5 |
| 4.2 | Flush/pour flush not to | | | |
| | sewer/septic tank/pit latrine | 4.4 | 0.2 | 1.6 |
| 4.3 | Pit latrine without slab/open pit | 0.7 | 2.2 | 1.7 |
| 4.4 | Dry toilet | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| 4.5 | No facility/open space/field | 16.8 | 74.0 | 55.3 |
| 5 | Housing | 2.5 | 19.1 | 13.7 |
| 6 | Cooking Fuel | 30.9 | 90.2 | 70.8 |
| 6.1 | Coal/lignite | 4.3 | 0.8 | 1.9 |
| 6.2 | Charcoal | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| 6.3 | Wood | 22.0 | 61.7 | 48.7 |
| 6.4 | Straw/Shrubs/Grass | 0.5 | 7.6 | 5.3 |
| 6.5 | Agricultural Crop waste | 0.8 | 5.4 | 3.9 |
| 6.6 | Dung Cakes | 2.8 | 14.4 | 10.6 |
| 7 | Possessions of household goods | 1.2 | 4.4 | 3.4 |
| 8 | Possessions of Means of transport | 36.4 | 43.0 | 40.9 |
| 9 | Agricultural Land | 81.0 | 41.5 | 54.4 |

Source: NFHS - 3 (2005-06): India

* Because the quality of bottled water is not known, household using bottled water are classified according to the source of water used for cooking and hand washing.

Navitha Thimmaiah, Sathyanarayana

Table 14 gives the incidences of deprived households by NFHS-3 selected indicators. Except the ownership of agricultural land, the rural households are more deprived in all the indicators than urban and aggregate level. About 90.2% of rural households are deprived in cooking fuel, where majority of the households cook with wood (61.7%). Nearly, 82.2% of the rural households are deprived in sanitation facility (in that 74% of households have no toilet facility). followed by electricity (44.3%), possession of the means of transport (43%), agricultural land (41.5%), education (37.55%), housing (19.1%), drinking water (15.4%) and possession of household goods (4.4%). On the other hand, more number of the urban households are deprived of agricultural land (81%), followed by sanitation (46.7%), possession of the means of transport (36.4%), cooking fuel (30.9%), education (18.9%), electricity (6.9%), drinking water (4.8%), housing (2.5%) and possession of household goods (1.2%). Overall, about 71 percent of households in India are deprived of cooking fuel and sanitation indicators respectively, followed by agricultural land (54.4%), possession of the means of transport (40.9%), electricity (32.1%), education (31.7%), housing (13.7%), drinking water (11.9%) and possession of household goods (3.4%).

| Sl.No. | Indicators | Urban | Rural | Total |
|--------|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 | Education | 18.2 | 37.1 | 29.7 |
| 2 | Electricity | 3.5 | 15.6 | 10.7 |
| 3 | Drinking Water | 11.8 | 15.0 | 13.7 |
| 4 | Sanitation | 42.3 | 82.5 | 66.2 |
| 4.1 | Any facility shared with other | | | |
| | households | 19.9 | 3.2 | 10.0 |
| 4.2 | Flush/pour flush not to | | | |
| | sewer/septic tank/pit latrine | 3.2 | 0.4 | 1.6 |
| 4.3 | Pit latrine without slab/open pit | 2.0 | 0.8 | 1.3 |
| 4.4 | Dry toilet (other unimproved facility) | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 |

| 4.5 | No facility/open space/field | 17.0 | 78.0 | 53.3 |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|
| 5 | Housing | 1.8 | 7.0 | 4.9 |
| 6 | Clean Cooking Fuel Deprivation | 26.1 | 89.1 | 63.9 |
| 6.1 | Coal/lignite | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 6.2 | Charcoal | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| 6.3 | Wood | 26.6 | 87.8 | 63.0 |
| 6.4 | Straw/Shrubs/Grass | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| 6.5 | Agricultural Crop waste | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.4 |
| 6.6 | Dung Cakes | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 7 | Possessions of Household goods | 1.9 | 11.6 | 7.7 |
| 8 | Possessions of Means of transport | 46.4 | 57.8 | 53.2 |
| 9 | Agricultural Land | 82.6 | 38.5 | 56.3 |

Source: NFHS - 3 (2005-06): Karnataka

The table 15 gives the incidences of deprived households by NFHS-3 selected indicators in Karnataka. Except the ownership of agricultural land, the rural households are more deprived in all the indicators than urban and aggregate level. About 89.1% of the rural households are deprived of cooking fuel and majority of the households cook with wood (87.8%). Nearly, 82.5% of the rural households are deprived of sanitation facility (78% of households have no toilet facility), followed by possession of the means of transport (57.8%), holdings of agricultural land (38.5%), education (37.1%), electricity (15.6%), drinking water (15%), possession of household goods (11.6%) and housing (7%). On the other hand, there are more number of the urban households deprived of holding agricultural land (82.6%), followed by possession of the means of transport (46.4%), sanitation (42.3%), cooking fuel (26.1%), education (18.2%), drinking water (11.8%), electricity (3.5%), possession of household goods (1.9%) and housing (1.8%). Overall, about 66.2 percent of households in Karnataka are deprived of sanitation indicators, followed by cooking fuel (63.9%), holdings of agricultural land (56.3%), possession of the means of transport (53.2%), education (29.7%), drinking water (13.7%), electricity (10.7%) and possession of household goods (7.7%)and housing (4.9%).

CONCLUSION

Using DHS (2005) data, this paper provided multidimensional poverty index (MPI) for India and Karnataka (Alkire & Foster, 2010). Further, it tried to identify multidimensional deprived households by using 9 indicators from NFHS-3 data for India and Karnataka. It found that about 55.4% of the total population in India (2007) are multidimensional poor and are deprived in 53.5% of the weighted indicators. This figure is higher than \$1.25/day (42%) and national poverty line (28%). It showed that, there is high positive correlation (0.958) between the proportion of MPI poor (H) and average intensity of their deprivations (A). It was found that MPI is very high in Bihar while low in Kerala. The size of the population is not a matter of contribution to MPI, but rather it depends upon how the particular state is implementing the poverty eradication programs. It found that, living standard dimension contributed more percentage of deprivation in India and by education and health dimensions. Further, ST caste is the most deprived of all classes in India in both incidences of MPI poor households and average intensity of their deprivation, followed by SC, OBC and other castes. From NFHS-3 it was found that about 71 percent of households in India are deprived of cooking fuel and sanitation indicators. In region wise, except the ownership of agricultural land, the rural households are more deprived in all the indicators than urban and aggregate level. About 90.2% of rural households are deprived in cooking fuel, where majority of the households cook with wood (61.7%). Nearly, 82.2% of the rural households are deprived in sanitation facility with 74% having no access to toilet facility.

In Karnataka about 46.1% of the households are multidimensional poor and they are deprived in 48.3% % of the weighted indicators, on an average. Karnataka is most deprived state in MPI among South Indian states. This means that the poverty eradication programs are very weak in Karnataka. They need strong implementation. It was found that Karnataka state is more deprived in standard of living indicators, followed by health and education.

From the NFHS-3, it was found that about 66.2 percent of households in Karnataka are deprived in sanitation indicators. Except the ownership of agricultural land, the rural households are more deprived in all the indicators than urban households.

Since there are more number of people identified as multidimensional poor, there is need to adopt multidimensional poverty measurement at national and state level to target the most deprived people. It also calls for better implementation of poverty eradication and employment generation programs. Moreover, there is need for greater resource allocation and suitable policies regarding reduction of deprivation in living standard dimension indicators. Backward classes need to be targeted through inclusive policies, as deprivation is higher among these households. Poverty and employment eradication programmes need to be specially focused on schedule castes and schedule tribes. Focus on Standard of Living indicators like Housing, Cooking fuel and Sanitation facilities is the need of the hour along with Education and Health Indicators.

REFERENCES

- 1. Ahluwalia, M.S. (1978). 'Rural Poverty and Agricultural Performance in India'. Journal of Development Studies, 14 (3): 298-323.
- 2. Alkire, S. & Foster, J. (2007). 'Counting and Multidimensional Poverty Measurement'. Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) Working Paper 7.
- 3. Alkire, S. & Seth, S. (2009). 'Measuring Multidimensional Poverty in India: A New Proposal'. Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) Working Paper 15.
- 4. Alkire, S., & Santos, M.E. (2010). 'Acute Multidimensional Poverty: A New Index for Developing Countries'. UNDP - Human Development Research Paper - 2010/11.
- 5. Bardhan, P.K. (1974). 'On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India in the Sixties' in T.N. Srinivasan and P.K. Bardhan (Eds.), Poverty and Income Distribution in India, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.
- Basu, K., & Foster, J. (1998). 'On Measuring Literacy'. Economic Journal, 108 (451), 1733-49.

- 7. Batana, Y.M. (2008). 'Multidimensional Measurement of Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa'. OPHI Working Paper - 13.
- 8. Becker, G.S. (1964). Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- 9. Dandekar, V.M. & Rath, N. (1971). 'Poverty in India, Dimensions and Trends', Economic and Political Weekly, January 2-9.
- 10. Foster & Handy (2008). 'External Capabilities'. OPHI Working Paper Series, available at: http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/OPHI-wp08.pdf
- 11. Foster, J., Greer, J. & Thorbecke, E. (1984) 'A Class of Decomposable Poverty Measures', Econometrica, 52, 761-65.
- 12. Foster, J.E. (2007). 'A Report on Mexican Multidimensional Poverty Measurement'. OPHI Working Paper No. 40.
- 13. Gangopadyay, K. & Singh, K. (2013). 'Extent of Poverty in India: A Different Dimension', Economic & Political Weekly, XLVIII (6), 75-83.
- 14. Gaurav, D. & Ravallion, M. (1989). 'Regional Disparities, Targeting and Poverty in India', World Bank Paper, W.P.S. 375.
- 15. Guruswamy, M. & Abraham, R. J. (2006). 'Redefining Poverty: A New Poverty line for a new India'. Economic and Political Weekly, 41 (25), 2534-2541.
- 16. Government of India. Economic Surveys of India. New Delhi.
- 17. Government of Karnataka. Economic Surveys of Karnataka. Bangalore, India
- 18. Government of Karnataka (2005). Karnataka Human Development Report. Planning & Statistic Department, Bangalore, India.
- 19. Government of Karnataka (2008). Mysore Human Development Report. Bangalore, Karnataka.
- 20. Government of India. Planning Commission and NSSO Documents, New Delhi.
- 21. Kannan, K.P. (2010). 'Estimating and Identifying the Poor in India'. Indian Journal of Human Development, 4, (1), 91-98.
- 22. Lohumi, M.S. (2011). 'Problem of poverty in India'. Third Concept, January, 39-41.
- 23. Lusting, N. (2011). 'Multidimensional Indices of Achievements and Poverty: What Do We Gain and What Do We Lose?" CGD Working Paper 262. Available at: http://www.cgdev.org/content/pubications/detail/1425364
- 24. Mahendra, D. S. & Ravi. (2007). 'Poverty and Inequality: All-India and States, 1983-2005'. Economic and Political Weekly, 41 (6), 509-21.
- 25. Mehta, A.K. (2003b). 'Multidimensional Poverty in India: District Level Estimates', in A.K. Mehta, et al. (eds), Chronic Poverty in India, New Delhi: CPRC-IIPA, PP: 340-359.

- 26. Minhas, B.S. (1971). 'Rural Poverty, Numbers Games and Polemies', Indian Economic Review, April, New Series,
- 27. Murgai, R., Suryanarayana, M.H. & Zaidi, S. (2003). 'Measuring Poverty in Karnataka: The Regional Dimension'. Economic & Political Weekly, 25, 404-408.
- 28. Nanjundappa, D,M., (2002). Report of the High Power Committee for Redressal of Regional Imbalances in Karnataka, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore, India.
- 29. National Family Health Surveys (1992-93, 1998-99, 2005-06). Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW), Government of India, New Delhi.
- Nayyar, G. (2005). 'Growth and Poverty in Rural India An Analysis of Inter-State Differences'. Economics and Political Weekly', 40(16), 1631-1639.
- 31. Ojha, P.D. (1970). 'A Configuration of Indian Poverty: Inequality and Levels of Living'. Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, (January).
- Popli.G., Parik, A., Jones, P.R. (2005). 'Are the 2000 Poverty Estimates for India a myth, artifact or real?' Econonomic and Political Weekly, 15, 4619-4623.
- Pogge, T., & Reddy, S. (2010). How Not to Count the Poor. In S. Anand, P. Segal, and J. Stiglitz (Eds.), Debates on the Measurement of Global Poverty (pp. 42-85). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 34. Radhakrishna, R., Ravi, C., & Reddy, B.S. (2010). 'Can We Really Measure Poverty and identify the poor. When Poverty Encompasses Multiple Deprivations?' Indian Journal of Human Development, 4(2), 281-300.
- 35. Raveendran, G. (2010). 'New Estimates of Poverty in India: A Critique of the Tendulkar Committee Report', Indian Journal of Human Development, 4 (1), 75-89.
- 36. Sen, A. (1976). 'Poverty: An Ordinal Approach to Measurement', Econometrica, 44, 219-231.
- 37. Sen, A. (1985). 'Commodities and Capabilities'. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- 38. Sen, A. (1992). 'Inequality Reexamined. Cambridge': Harvard University Press.
- 39. Sen, A. (1995). 'The Political Economy of Targeting in Public Spending and the Poor: Theory and Evidence', Ed. By D. van der Walle and K. Nead, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 40. Shukla, R. (2010). 'The Official Poor in India Summed Up'. Indian Journal of Human Development, 4(2) 301-328.
- 41. UNDP. Human Development Reports. Available online at: http:// hdr.undp.org/en
- 42. UNICEF (2012). Child Mortality Estimates Report. New York.

Dislocated Community, Reconstructing Identity and Language Media : *Sindhis* in India MUZAFFAR H. ASSADI

Abstract: This article is basically to look at the way a community, which had the history of dislocation on the eve of partition of Indian subcontinent came to terms with the post-colonial conditions. In the process of becoming "new citizens" how this community, particularly Sindhi's of India underwent "selective amnesia" rather than complete amnesia. This selective amnesia of history is visible in their everyday life practices as well as in language media. The initial literature of the community reflects the "nostalgic" memories of partition, however other media such as print media has seldom focussed on the memories, as it has to engage with the contemporary conditions. This has helped them to become "Market Linked Community" on the one hand and at the same time it has helped them to construct the discourse of "marginality" on the other. Nonetheless, Sindhi language, despite being declared as a scheduled language, neither has become a language of "Bazaar "nor the language of "Business" - it is in wilderness.

Key words: Partition, Dislocation, Amnesia, Selective Amnesia, Discourse of Marginality, Power, Language Media.

Author: Muzaffar H. Assadi, Professor, Department of Studies in Political Science, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore, 570006. Email: Muzaffar.assadi@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Every society or community, whether dislocated, traumatized, has its own narrative to tell about itself, its past history, its agony and its past memories. This is done by multiple forms. Language media becomes one of the forms of explaining its narrative. In fact over the past couple of years language media has become centre of identity formation, symbolism of community life, idiom of power and icon of hegemony. Preserving the identity becomes a difficult task when a community is uprooted or dislocated from its origin and settles down in different locality. Preserving the identity of the community in a new country wherein it enjoys no more "dominant position" or highly "privileged" position depends upon multiple factors: one, factor of spaces provided by the political agency in a new set up two, freedom that the community enjoys to protect and preserve its culture, and three, the number of choices available to the community vis-a-vis the others and four, freedom to articulate its opinions through different media.

In fact there are couple of theories that can be applied to under the language media. One theory is Discourse theory which believed that all the social phenomenon and objects receive their meaning through discourses. It is also defined as "structures where meanings are constantly negotiated and constructed" and looks at the way the discourse is used in the signification, power relations and development and production of knowledge. Discourse theory also tries to understand structures and functions of texts and also the sources of power, dominance, abuse, bias etc. When related to the language media, one is confronted with the issue of how news/issues are structured around the communities and transmitted to understand the audience. At the same time one needs to understand how discourse become powerful instrument of media for a community in a political and social set up.

Second theory looks at the media as what Noam Chomsky calls, "Manufacturing consent". The state uses the media to enable its politics to adopt its language by lager number of citizens. Media is used and abused in the process for the construction of and agreed "statist" language. This is done when the media largely serve the interest of the dominant elite and serving the larger interest of the political agency.

Muzaffar H. Assadi

This is apparent in the following,"In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite."

Thirdly, the language media is also assumed to create power relations. They believe that language of the dominant community construct binary opposition: "domination" and "dominated". Political institutions such as government use language media as a method to control people, such as the case of imposition of Russian language over the rest of the then Soviet Union. Further it is argued that interactive language also has been used as a means to retain the power relations (Fowler (1985). This is because language has been used as a manipulative method to construct the power relations. It is further argued that, the "discursive construction of power by institutions and individuals can also lead to changing social practices and realities (Mayr 2008).

Further it is argued that the language media is used to control large chunk of population. The case of post-colonial control through English is a classic case of how language has been used to control the everyday life practices of post-colonial countries. In India how Hindi which has become language media continues to control everyday life practice of India.

It is in this context how to understand the language media of the minority community becomes all the more important: can they adopt Discourse method to air their experiences, or do they use language media to control others? or do they try to create a power relation through the language media? In this perspective understanding the *Sindhis* in the context of "refugee" and "Post -refugee" situation and the engagement of the community through the media to construct their identity becomes all the more important.

Refugees to Market Linked Community in India

Partition of Indian sub continent had traumatic effect on *Sindhis*. Not only do these events continue to dictate Indo-Pakistani relations even after six decades, they have also been feeding into a rather turbulent and complex interface among the plural communities in one of the most populous regions of the world . Its repercussions resound even now also expresses in different forms.

Interestingly here is a social group which has come to terms with the changing condition. *Sindhis* who came as "refugees" to India are largely Hindus. It is said that after partition two million Hindus came to India to settle down. There were many thousands of *Sikh Sindhis* too who lived in the border areas of India.

In fact *Sindhis* are known as "scattered community ". Initially they were housed in 96 refugee colonies, which over the years have become townships. Today, they constitute two percent of the total population .This dislocated community faced the immediate problem of rooting themselves in a locality unknown to them. They were rehabilitated in such states as Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh. Now they are scattered around such cities as Bangalore, Mysore, Pune and Dharwar. Their problem is acute given the fact that they had to confront the issues of loss of identity, loss of culture, and loss of livelihood.

Nonetheless, the community completely transformed itself into an advanced community within 60 years. From the refugee status the community had moved away to Market Linked Community. Its linkage, from smaller market to larger market had made the community to adopt modernity both from within and without. This does not mean the community did not face the problem. On one side, political agency came to the rescue, however at the same time, it also made the community to struggle to create its own space vis-a-vis the others. In the process community created and constructed its own discourse visa-vis the others and political agency. This is apparent in such discourses as, "marginalized," "unrepresented" "pushed to the corner", and "unheard community". Further, it is argued that,: "Since we are scattered all over India, our representatives cannot reach Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, State Assemblies and Municipalities by winning elections. No Vikas Board, University or TV channels have been established for Sindhis. No Sindhi is appointed as governor or Ambassador / High Commissioner etc. Sindhi language is not printed on currency notes. No bank holiday is declared on ChetiChand Day.

Leave aside other things, even trifle *'Sindhi Jhanki'* is not permitted on the Republic Day. As a result, our community is drifting away from our rich culture "

All these make one to ask the question as to whether community carried the memories or underwent complete amnesia. This dislocated community incidentally carried the memories in the textual forms, but not in the everyday interaction with others. This has helped them to go beyond their locality and also interact with larger market and social set up. This does not mean they have undergone complete amnesia about dislocation, history, locality, culture in everyday life practice. The memories of partition come back on some occasion too. The communal riot in Gujarat in 1980 and recent Godhra incident is a case in point. In the latter case, it is said that, "it was the result of class rivalry-between the *Bhaiband caste- Sindhi* Hindus and *Ganchi* Muslims". In this riot they carried the memories of "occupying evacuee property" and that both the communities were also competing for economic spaces. This is more an exception or aberration than a rule about the community.

Nonetheless in everyday life practices their memories were produced in a very subtle and cautious manner. They would not dispense their memories to confront the "other" rather they would prefer to engage in "selective amnesia"- a deliberate attempt to forget for the contemporary context, particularly to emerge as "Market Linked *Sindhis"* and as "Modernist *Sindhis"*. At the same time they carry the baggage of the "fear"- fear of losing their identity and culture. Hence, they would prefer to reproduce and protect their cultural practice including the language as a part of identity. The fear of losing their identity is very much sharp given the fact that they are spread across different parts of country.

The fear is accentuated by another factor. During all these years their identities also have undergone changes. They have become "Bengali Sindhis", "Kannadiga Sindhis", Assamese Sindhis and "Tamil Sindhis" including the fact that they are also "Hindu Sindhis', Vaishya Sindhis, "Brahmin Sindhis" "Christian Sindhis". Incidentally multiple identities have silenced them becoming a strong homogenous group demanding a separate state. In the midst of multiple identities *Sindhi* language is slowly pushed to the corner. It all began with policy matters, effect of globalization and the effect of modernity.

Policy matter and the Sindhis

On the contrary some of the policy decisions went against them. One such policy is the policy on Reorganization of states on linguistic basis. In fact Linguistic Reorganization of the States did not help the community, as they were a "scattered community". New states like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay (later Maharashtra), Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madras (later Tamil Nadu), Mysore (later Karnataka), Kerala, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal were carved out in 1956. The other states that came into being were Gujarat(1960), Haryana (1966), Himachal Pradesh (1971), Meghalaya(1972), Nagaland (1972) Manipur (1972),), Tripura (1972), Sikkim (1975), Mizoram (1987), Arunachal Pradesh (1987), Goa (1987), Uttaranchal (2000), Jharkhand (2000) and Chhattisgarh (2000). On December 5, 2013 the Union Cabinet formally ratified the proposal for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh by granting statehood for Telangana with 10 districts. The criteria for state reorganization initially which was done on the basis of language has been widened to include factors like economic backwardness in recent days.

In all these politics, *Sindhis* could not realise their dream to carve out a state for themselves as they are not a linguistic majority group confined neither to any one particular state nor to one region. Given the fact that *Sindhis* are a scattered category, is it possible to treat their language as a scattered language? They are scattered in different metropolitan cities, however they never claimed the status of regional language rather they demanded the status of "linguistic minority" and also inclusion of *Sindhi* in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution. Even the Commission for Linguistic Minorities supported their claim. However in 1966, *Sindhi* language was brought under Eighth Schedule of Indian constitution. However, Gandhidham is slowly emerging as place for *Sindhi* concentration, nonetheless, here the demand has translated into declaring this place as "pilgrimage centre on par with Rome and *Kashi*" than declaring the place as state.

It is a paradox that only two languages in India are treated as "non-regional" languages. One is Sanskrit and another is *Sindhi* although latter is very much present in Rajasthan, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab. The Eighth Schedule of Indian constitution has identified *Sindhi* as "Indo-Aryan" language of western India. In fact there are many languages belonging to the same family: *Bengali*, *Assamese, Dogri, Hindi, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi and Sanskrit*.

As per the 2001 census the population of *Sindhis* is 2,571,526. Interestingly 2001 census reported that there are 29 individual languages having more than 10 lakh native speakers. Sindhi native speakers are numbered around 25,35,484 which comes to around 0.25 per cent of the total population. During 1991 census time their number was 21,22,848 with *Sindhi* language ranked 19th place whereas Hindi was ranked first in the list followed by *Bengali, Telugu* and *Marathi*. Interestingly, Urdu is placed sixth in the rank. As argued by Menka Sivadasini, "Few people in India seem to speak the language, leave alone write it, and the number seems to be declining with every passing year".

Political agency has officially recognized the *Sindhi* as national language under 8th schedule of the constitution, which does not mean that the language has received total support from the political agency. However even in media too the political agency has shown its indifference.

Today *Sindhi* is not sought after in schools and colleges and it has not emerged as an academic interest too. It has become a speaking language. This is apparent in the way *Sindhi* has become "not sought after subject" at the university level.

Sindhi and Higher Education

Incidentally, not all the Universities in India are offering Studies on *Sindhi* language. Old Universities which has *Sindhi* population in its catchment area are offering programs in *Sindhi* Language. Bombay is one such University which has Department of *Sindhi* Studies. It offers Post-Graduate Degree MA in *Sindhi* followed by M.Phil and Phd including certificate courses in *Sindhi*, Diploma in *Sindhi* and Advanced Diploma in *Sindhi*. However the student strength is quite disappointing as it never went beyond 10 for the past three years. This shows the decline in the interest of the *Sindhi* language.

Delhi University also has a foundation course programme on *Sindhi* Studies. The aim of the course is three fold: enhance the language proficiency, two, enhance the ability to analyze literary texts of creative writers. And finally collect information about writers, literature and culture. Interestingly Delhi University also offers four year undergraduate programme in Modern Indian Language and Literature in which *Sindhi* studies also forms one of the major courses. The course cover such issues as *Sindhi* Language and Linguistics, *Sindhi* Literature, Culture and Folklore, *Sindhi* Literature and History, *Sindhi* Literature and Translation.

The details of students, studying at the Department of *Sindhi*, in various courses for the last three years are mentioned in Table 1:

| Course | 2005-2006 | 2006-2007 | 2007-2008 |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| M.A. Part-I | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| M.A. Part-II | 04 | 09 | 08 |
| M.Phil | 06 | 03 | 03 |
| Ph.D | 03 | 02 | 02 |
| Certificate Course in Sindhi | 05 | 04 | 01 |

Table - 1

On the contrary, Department of Higher education of Government of India in 1994 established an autonomous council called National Council for Promotion of *Sindhi* Language whose main aim is to promote, develop the *Sindhi* Language. It said, "To take action for making available in *Sindhi* Language, the knowledge of Scientific and Technical Terminological development as well as the knowledge of ideas evolved in the modern context. To advise the Government of India on issues connected with *Sindhi* Language and advising on education as may be referred to it. To undertake any other activity for the promotion of *Sindhi* Language as may be deemed fit by the Council." This council is providing financial assistance for the publication of books, magazines including *Sindhi* language learning course. This is a grand design, but realised very little.

Reasserting Identity

Post partition saw reasserting their identity through different means: one, through the engagement with civil society two, through the mediation of literature, finally, mediation of media.

In the first case, other than the government initiatives, there are independent, autonomous civil society engagements to protect the *Sindhi* identity. In 1989 an institution called Indian institute of *Sindhology* was established in Adipur-Gandhidham. Its main aim is to translate the Institute into a cultural university. It's vision is to promote *Sindhi* Language, and preserve oral culture .

Secondly, post- partition saw three trends emerging with regard to literature: one, situation of "coma" (Dr Moti Prakash, well known poet argues on this line); two, situation of decline, as the readership declined- the globalization added fuel to the decline . It is also because the language had no "backyard to fallback upon" for its sustenance when it is being attacked both from within and from without.

In fact the reason for the decline in the literary work needs to be seen in the very process of partition. Aftermath of partition brought a section of educated middle class, "industrialist, a businessman, a petty shopkeeper or one belonging to the white-collar professions", petty traders sprinkling landlord category to India rather than creative peasantry ,working class to India as the latter stayed back in their homeland. This made the growth of massive literature a difficult one immediately after the partition -it literally postponed to the decade of 1980s and 1990s. However, some of the early writers carried the baggage of partition, memories of dislocation and nostalgia of their homeland. They include such writers as Krishna Rahi (poet), Lakhmi Khilani (Short story writer), Popat Hiranandarni (poet) and others. Interestingly Popat Hiranandani one of finest *Sindhi* women writers belongs to both the period: pre-partition as well as post-partition. She is an acclaimed writer and a winner of *Sahitya Akademy* award. Finally, resurgence of literary work. The third phase saw the increasing number of creative writing, which brought the problem of either using Devanagiri script or Persian-Arabic as medium of articulation. During 1980s there was an attempt to return to Devanagiri script. However it has not become a total success. A curious mixture of "Zaban" remained with the *Sindhis* in which one can find the engagement with Portuguese, English, Persia, Arabic, Hindi languages.

Nonetheless the period between 1980 and 1990 is known as "robust years" for *Sindhi* language as during this period many new writers came to articulate the identity of Sindhi culture, They include writers and poets like Prabhu Wafa, Ram Panjwani, Daya Asha, Sadarangani Mukesh Tilokan, Dholan Rahi Kaladhar Mutwa, Kamla Gokhlani, Bhagwan Atlani, Mahesh Nenwani, Mohan Himthani, Rashmi Ramani, Shrikant Sadaf, Jairam Chimnani, "Deep" and they are the products of post- partition.

It is in these literary works that the memories of partition, homeland, culture are recreated and also a post-modern idealism are recreated. This is where the discourse of knowledge is being created: that the community should be heard, community should be understood in terms of its bygone knowledge production, and should be known as syncretism of various streams of knowledge system etc. This is also attempted through usage of different media. There are two language media that the community used so as to create its identity: print media and visual media.

Community and Language Media:

If this is the case of the community that is not large but dispersed, heterogeneous, recently arrived at to a new land, then how such a community is able to create its own language media? There are three issues involved at this moment: one, what kind of media that the community could create to assert its identity vis-à-vis the others; two, how powerful are the media that the Sindhi community boasted of; three, how could community create its autonomous space in the media?

a. Television and Language

Television age has brought a paradigm shift in the perception of the global incidents. It has emerged as one of the most powerful instruments of changing the world politics including the domestic one. In fact, this media is known as "cultural industry" as it produces and reproduces the image for capitalism. Incidentally, Noam Chomskey states that this media has been used for "manufacturing consent". Even though Sindhi has been declared as one of the official languages of India under 8th schedule of the constitution however it has not received adequate support from the State. This is apparent in the matters of Television media as well. The Government or the political agency has been supporting all the regional languages through its TV channels including Urdu, which has no specific region but the same treatment has not been given to Sindhi language. Doordarshan, India's official TV channel has created language based regional channels. There are DD Oriya, DD Marathi, DD Kannada, DD Telugu but not DD Sindhi. Rather Sindhi is linked to other programmes of DD India, DD Bharathi, DD Gujarati and DD Sahyadri. In the latter case only recently particularly 2007 onwards the DD Sahyadri started relaying 30 minute programme "Sindhi Surhan". The bias against Sindhis language, despite many representations, has made the language to suffer. This also shows that the Sindhis are not a powerful community to make the political agency to agree to its demand. Even it has not been able to use the state run media to create or construct its identity vis-a-vis others. The space is largely "closed" to the community. Nonetheless there are attempts by the private sector to start private channels. This is visible in the attempt of Adipur based Sindhi Kacchi TV- this is a first TV channel relaying throughout Asia. However it is short lived. There is one more channel, Sindhi Sajan. All these shows that visual media has not been able to help the community to construct its larger identity vis-a-vis the others. Hence one don't find strong Sindhi discourse in the visual media.

b. Language Print media and the Community

The community was able to bring out two or three dailies particularly in those areas where the population is much larger. They

are the recent arrival in the identity formation of Sindhis in India. The dailies such as *Hindu- Sindhi Daily* and *Zindagi Samachar* are published from Ahmedabad. *Zindagi Samachar* is considered as largest circulated and published *Sindhi daily*. *Hindu* is a multi edition newspaper which is being published from the date of pre-partition period. It is one the newspapers survived during the period of 21st century. *Dainik Farz* is being published from Bhopal. This is a Hindi daily but this newspaper stands nowhere near the first 30 high readership rankings of India. Besides these three national dailies, there are 10-12 local dailies.

Apart from dailies there are weekly magazines and the number varies between 15-20. This include *Sindhi Ahiwal, Rashtriya Prem, Zindagi, Sachai* and *Chingoon* with most of them published from Ahmadabad. Ullasnagra has couple of weeklies namely - *Sindhi Times, Rozani Hindu* (Ulhasnagar), *Rozani Leader Express* (Ulhasnagar), *Ganga Ashram, Sindhi Rozani Nagarwasi Sindhi Mahraan,* is another Sindhi weekly published from Sindhunagar. *Hindwasi* is another weekly published from Bombay. Damoh of MP also publishes weekly such as *Sindh Halchal.*

There are 15 t0 20 monthly magazines such as *Akhand Sindh Sansar* and *Aman Hind*. These are being published from Bhopal. *Sindh Parag* is another monthly published from Rewa in Madhya Pradesh including *Sabjo Bhalo* from Katni in Madhya Pradesh. *Sindhudee* is another monthly magazine published from Nagpur in Maharastra. *Sindhu Sadabahar* is published from Rajkot in Gujarat.

Fortnightly magazines like *Dile Sindhu* is published from Delhi. *Sindhu Panchat Samachar* from Nemachi in Madhya Pradesh.

Sindhi has not become dominant online media, except *Rachna*. Perhaps the *Arabic-Sindhi* script format is one of the reasons that restricted its language access to common man including younger members of the community.

All these language media have now concentrated more on constructing *Sindhi* identity as modern and "post-modern" than trying to revoke the memories of partition of bygone history. This has helped them link themselves to larger market. This does not mean that they

Muzaffar H. Assadi

could able to bring in a paradigm shift, as the popular readership has drastically come down over the years.

It is estimated that less than 31 lakh population have declared *Sindhi* as their mother tongue. The census of 2001 makes this estimate clear. However the unofficial estimate is much higher, it might be double the official number. One of the reasons why there is an ambiguity in the number is the fact that the ethnic *Sindhis* living in India are refusing to declare *Sindhi* as their mother tongue. This is mainly because of the fact that many of them have become part of local culture and set up- that is why we have *Bengali Sindhis, Oriya Sindhis, Kannadiga Sindhis* and so on. At the same time there is nothing called "Dominant *Sindhi* areas" wherein they could have become a privileged community.

Secondly one can ask the question as to whether *Sindhi* language print media in India is powerful enough to bring in paradigm shift vis-a-vis the political system. This question is raised because of the fact that there are many national or language dailies including Urdu which is identified with minorities in India which have brought paradigm shift. National dailies such as Indian Express did play critical role in India in upholding democracy and freedom. A language daily such as *Prajavani* in Kannada has done such work as changing the political space in a region called Karnataka. In this case the role played by the *Sindhi* language print media is disappointing .There are other reasons too, other than declining readership.

SCHEDULED LANGUAGES IN DESCENDING ORDER OF SPEAKERS' STRENGTH - 2001

| SI. No. | Language | Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue | Percentage to total population |
|------------|----------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Hindi | 422,048,642 | 41.03 |
| 2 | Bengali | 83,369,769 | 8.11 |
| 3 | Telugu | 74,002,856 | 7.19 |
| 4 | Marathi | 71,936,894 | 6.99 |

| 5 | Tamil | 60,793,814 | 5.91 |
|----|------------|------------|------|
| 6 | Urdu | 51,536,111 | 5.01 |
| 7 | Gujarati | 46,091,617 | 4.48 |
| 8 | Kannada | 37,924,011 | 3.69 |
| 9 | Malayalam | 33,066,392 | 3.21 |
| 10 | Oriya | 33,017,446 | 3.21 |
| 11 | Punjabi | 29,102,477 | 2.83 |
| 12 | Assamese | 13,168,484 | 1.28 |
| 13 | Maithili | 12,179,122 | 1.18 |
| 14 | Santali | 6,469,600 | 0.63 |
| 15 | Kashmiri | 5,527,698 | 0.54 |
| 16 | Nepali | 2,871,749 | 0.28 |
| 17 | Sindhi | 2,535,485 | 0.25 |
| 18 | Konkani | 2,489,015 | 0.24 |
| 19 | Dogri | 2,282,589 | 0.22 |
| 20 | Manipuri * | 1,466,705 | 0.14 |
| 21 | Bodo | 1,350,478 | 0.13 |
| 22 | Sanskrit | 14,135 | N |

Most of the dailies including the *Sindhi* language magazines are facing the crisis of extinction as the readership has gone down. This is not backed by the creation of "literate group" in India. This is apparent in the way *Sindhi* language is not receiving required support at higher education. In the higher educational level too *Sindhi* language has not been preferred and even in the universities *Sindhi* has not been a major attraction except the fact that it is being taught in two universities in India namely Bombay and Delhi but even here the students' number has declined over the years. Further, the language has not been taught as third language in all the states in India except some cities of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. However, *Sindhi* language media is facing the problem from new technology, growing influence of globalization, "new culture of mall" and the fact that they are "stateless community". This is the reason why *Sindhi* language

Muzaffar H. Assadi

has not been able to bring in paradigm shift in the political space, except that they could able to create their own discourse of marginality. In fact in this politics it is said, "*Sindhi* is neither a language of Bazar nor Business"- it is in wilderness.

Note: This is a paper prepared for the upcoming international conference "Language Media" in the Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science and Technology. Karachi, Pakistan in collaboration with US Conuslate General, January 30th 2014.

REFERENCES:

- 1. Asgharali Engineer, Communal Riots in Post-independence India, Murcia Susana and O'Donnell. N.d. Web: 1.
- 2. Dijk, Teun A. "Discourse, Power and Access." Discourse and Power. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Web: 84
- 3. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent, A Propaganda Model. Pantheon Books, 1988
- 4. Fairclough, Norman. Language and Power. London: Longman, 1989. Print: 34-35.
- 5. Fowler, Roger. Language and control. Routledge, 1975. Print: 61-62,
- 6. Kramarae, Cheris, Muriel Schulz, and William M. O'Barr. Language and Power. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications, 1985. Print: 12.
- 7. Life after Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh, 1947-1962
- 8. Mayr, Andrea. Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse. London: Continuum, 2008. Web: 4-8.
- 9. Teun A. van Dijk Power and the NewsMedia http://www.discourses.org/ OldArticles/Power%20and%20the%20news%20media.pdf
- 10. Yasmin Khan, The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan, Yale University Press, 2007, p.5
- 11. Youssef Sourgo Power, language and social relations: doing things with words Morocco World News Casablanca, July 31, 2013
- 12. http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/1st/1planch38.html
- 13. http://web4.du.ac.in/FYUP/foundationcourses/FC-Sindhi.pdfa(otherhttp://web4.du.ac.in/FYUP/foundationcourses/FC-Sindhi.pdf)
- 14. http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/ Language/Statement.

Rebuilding Democracy from the Bottom Up: An NGO Experiment in Karnataka

JAGADISH B. SIDDEGOWDA Y.S.

Abstract: India is the world's largest democracy governed by world's longest written constitution. One of the most important features of India's democratic structure is elections held once in every five years. *Free and fair elections are indispensable for a healthy democracy.* Elections form the mainstay of Indian Democracy too. However, democracy is hampered by four C's - Corruption, Criminalization, Casteism and Communalism. In the context of the Assembly elections in Karnataka State during 2013, Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development (V-LEAD) along with civil organizations initiated "Making Democracy Work" Campaign with the objectives of spreading awareness about the role of citizens in democracy, registering their names for election, motivating young and first-time voters to participate, providing background information of all contesting candidates, minimizing buying of votes and ensuring free and fair elections. Public programs and media engagement activities were conducted in all 11 Assembly constituencies of Mysore District in Karnataka covering 704 villages and 41 urban wards. It is observed that there was an increase by 4.81 per cent voting in 2013 compared to 2008. Voting percentages of all the 11 Assembly constituencies of Mysore District also increased. Role of civic society and media in creating awareness among the citizens and innovative pedagogy adopted during the campaign are discussed in this paper.

Key Words: Democracy, Non-Governmental Organization, Corruption, Criminalization, Stakeholders. Authors: Dr. Jagadish B. Deputy Manager, Learning and Development Department, Human Resources Division, Toyota Kirloskar Motor, Bidadi, Bangalore, India. Email: jagadishtkm@gmail.com

Dr. Siddegowda Y.S. Professor, Department of Studies in Social Work, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore, India. E-mail: yssgowda@yahoo.com

INTRODUCTION

India a democratic country, nurtures the ideals of liberty of thought and expression. Article 326 of the Constitution of India empowers every citizen of India to participate in electing their representatives to Parliament and State Legislatures. The elections to the House of the People and to the Legislative Assembly of every State shall be on the basis of adult suffrage; that is to say, every person who is a citizen of India and who is 18 years of age under any law made by the appropriate legislation and is not otherwise disqualified under this Constitution or any law made on the ground of nonresidence, unsoundness of mind, or conviction by courts of law, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter at any such election. Election to the Indian Parliament is held once every five years. As Butler, Lahiri and Roy (1995) put it, 'every election is a potential turning point in history and deserves a full study as a contemporary event, an opportunity to observe politicians and party organizations at full stretch, to examine the influence of press and broadcasting, to assess the involvement of ordinary citizens'.

Challenges of Democracy

As George Bernard Shaw said, "An election is a moral horror, as bad as a battle except for the blood; a mud bath for every soul concerned in it". One of the most important features of India's democratic structure is elections which are held once in five years. Free and fair elections are indispensable for a healthy democracy. Elections form the mainstay of Indian Democracy. However, democracy is hampered by four C's - Corruption, Criminalization, Casteism and Communalism.

Corruption: A large expense of money is spent when elections

are held. The candidates who contest for the election are ready to spend crores of rupees at a drop of a hat. But, once they get elected, they are ready to get back their money by corrupt means. If one party spends more money, then the other party ends spending more in order to be in the race.

Criminalization: Criminalization of politics has contributed towards a feeble electoral system. The representatives who stand for elections are indicted with various criminal charges against them. The Law Commission of India Reports contains the bio-data of the politicians which describes their social background, charges against them, if any, etc. It is the fundamental right of every citizen to know the antecedents of every person to whom they vote. But very few citizens make use of such benefit. Section 8 of the People Representation Act, 1951 provides for disqualification of any candidate on being convicted by a Court of Law. It also includes that such candidate shall be barred from contesting any election further for six additional years since the date of conviction.

The Election Commission of India issued an order on March 27, 2003 in pursuance of the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Peoples Union for Civil Liberties and another Vs. Union of India case, that candidates for electoral office must submit an affidavit disclosing his assets and liabilities. It has been noted by the Election Commission of India that there have been many cases where the candidates are alleged to have given grossly undervalued information, mainly about their assets.

Karnataka Election Watch (KEW) and Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) analyzed 179 outgoing Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) who were contesting again in the 2013 Karnataka Assembly elections. Key highlights of the analysis are (Karnataka Poll Report, 2013) as following:

- Average assets in 2008 elections: The average asset of 179 MLAs fielded by various political parties contesting the Karnataka Assembly elections in 2008 is Rs. 10.59 crore.
- Average assets in 2013 elections: The average asset of these 179 recontesting MLAs now in 2013 is Rs 19.87crore.

- Average asset growth in 5 years (2008-2013): The average asset growth for these 179 re-contesting MLAs, between the Karnataka Assembly elections of 2008 and 2013, is Rs 9.27 crore.
- Percentage growth in 5 years (2008-2013): Average percentage growth in assets for these 179 re-contesting MLAs is 88 per cent.

Casteism and Communalism: Further, tickets are allocated to the candidates by the political parties on the consideration whether the candidate can muster the support of numerically larger castes and communities. Political parties also bank upon particular castes and communities as part of their 'Vote Bank' politics. Even the electorates vote on the caste and communal lines.

"MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK" CAMPAIGN

Though various challenges exist in a democratic country like India, it is also the responsibility of the voters to vote and utilize the potential opportunities to make democracy work. Elections play a pivotal role in keeping democracy alive and citizens have the power to bring in good governance instead of simply cursing the government. Meanwhile, the election system is struck with various challenges such as lackadaisical attitude of educated voters, voters being lured with freebies and money, low voter turnout, corruption at various levels and candidates contesting with criminal records. So, how do citizens overcome these challenges and select the right candidate?

What is "Making Democracy Work" Campaign?

In the context of the Assembly elections of Karnataka, Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development (V-LEAD) had initiated a series of actions towards strengthening the process of democracy and focusing on citizen's demand for good governance with the support of Association for Democratic Reforms. These interventions include:

- 1. Campaign across all the assembly constituencies of Mysore District, Karnataka focusing on voter awareness, prevention of bribing voters, encouraging voters to be aware of the contesting candidates' profile and background and providing relevant information to voters through different programs including Jathas, voter clinics, contests, etc.
- 2. Engaging with political parties for inclusion of points in their election manifestos that lead to greater accountability, transparency and democratization in governance with special emphasis on implementation of the 73rd and 74th amendment to the Constitution of India.
- 3. Public talks and discussions especially, with the youth by Dr. R Balasubramaniam in colleges across Mysore district. The media coverage resulting from these talks and events are also instrumental in furthering the cause.
- 4. Engaging with the media: Sensitizing the people at large and the political class in particular about governance through regular articles in the print media, using the channel of community newsletter, community radio and blogs.

Key Focus Areas of the Campaign

The Preamble to the Constitution of India envisages the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality among all the citizens. However, present day electoral corruption is leading to the violation of the very essence of our Constitution and Democracy. Among the gamut of issues surrounding elections in India, the campaign focused on voter integrity and prevention of corruption at the voter level, the key issues, its impact and the focus are as follows:

Table 1

Focus Areas of "Making Democracy Work" Campaign

| SN. | Key Issue | Impact | Focus Area |
|-----|---|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Increasing role of money | Denies opportunity | Whole civil society need to |
| | power in elections | for good candidates | work together to curb the |
| | | to contest elections | influence of money in elections |
| 2 | Voter bribing increasing drastically as candidates and parties are offering | Corruption in the electoral system | Sensitize voters to refrain from illegal and unethical practice to reduce corruption |
| | freebies to the voters | | |
| 3 | Increasing young and | Elect undeserving | Emphasize the importance of |
| | first time voters | and corrupt candidates | voting and electing the 'right' candidate |

Key Driving Institutions

SVYM: Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement (SVYM) is a development organization, engaged in building an informed and empowered civil society in India. Its presence from the grassroots to the level of policy making bodies is distinctive. It mainly focuses on Health, Education and Community Development sectors. Acting as a key promoter-facilitator in the community's efforts towards self-reliance and empowerment, SVYM is developing local, innovative and cost-effective solutions to sustain community-driven progress. SVYM is rooted to its values of S*atya*, *Ahimsa*, *Seva* and *Tyaga*, which is reflected in its program design and delivery, stakeholder inclusiveness and resource utilization. Involving the community, healthy partnership with the Government, corporate sectors and like-minded organizations is the hallmark of SVYM.

V-LEAD: Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development (V-LEAD) is dedicated to the training and capacity building of people and organizations working in the development sector. V-LEAD has been offering customized training programs to various communities, youth, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Government and the Corporate Sector on areas of Management, Community Development and Leadership. Its goal is to "Build Leaders for Resurgent India and the potential of Institutions for the Development Sector".

GRAAM: Grassroots Research and Advocacy Movement (GRAAM), is a public policy research and advocacy initiative of SVYM that focuses on research incorporating grassroots perspectives and advocacy based on empirical evidence. GRAAM aims to enrich the interaction between primary players - the community, the state, the NGO sector, and the private sector - to ensure sustained development at the grassroots level.

ADR: The Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) has been playing a pivotal role in increasing transparency and accountability in the political and electoral system of India. ADR was established in 1999 by a group of professors from the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) Ahmedabad. In 1999, Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed by them with Delhi High Court asking for [or requesting] the disclosure of the criminal, financial and educational background of the candidates contesting elections. Based on this, the Supreme Court in 2002, and subsequently in 2003, made it mandatory for all candidates contesting elections to disclose criminal, financial and educational background prior to the polls by filing an affidavit with the Election Commission. Subsequently, ADR has been coordinating State Election Watch and National Election Watch programs with various civil society partners. Over the years, ADR has sent shivers into the spine of every contestant and political party in the country.

Campaign Objectives

"Making Democracy Work" campaign's key objectives are to reach out to the people at large across Mysore district in Karnataka to:

- a. Spread the awareness about the Karnataka Assembly Elections and role of citizens in a democracy.
- b. Registration of names for election
- c. Increased number of voters participating in the democracy
- d. Dissemination of adequate information about all the candidates contesting from various constituencies in Mysore district.
- e. To ensure free and fair elections

- f. To minimize 'buying' of votes.
- g. To ensure a healthy sustained relationship with the elected candidates even after the elections.

Campaign Timeline

Campaign Timeline and Activities

Table 2

| SLNo. | SLNo. Activity | Jan-13 | Feb-13 | Feb-13 Mar-13 Apr-13 May-13 Jun-13 | Apr-13 | May-13 | Jun-13 |
|-------|---|--------|------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|--------------|--------|
| | Assembly Election | | | | | ¥ | |
| 1 | Advocacy and Election Manifesto | | | | | | |
| 2 | Capacity building and orientation to field team | _ | $\left \right\rangle$ | | | | |
| 3 | Engagement with media | | | | | | |
| 4 | Open meetings with communities | | | | \uparrow | | |
| 5 | College programmes and youth engagement | | | | • | | |
| 9 | Jathas, street plays, door-to-door campagn | | | | | 1 | |
| 7 | Voters' clinics and signature campaign | | | | | | |
| 8 | Jara Jagruthi Ratha | | | | | 1 | |
| 6 | Public competitions | | | | \uparrow | | |
| 10 | Data entry of candidates affidavits | | | | \uparrow | | |
| 11 | Documentation and reporting | | | | | \checkmark | |

Campaign Message

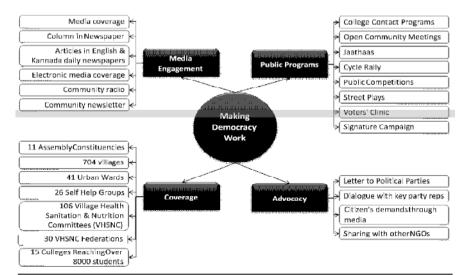
Several public programs were held in Mysore district as part of the campaign. The common message and information that were disseminated in the programs are as following:

- a. Voter registration: Asking voters to ensure that their names are enrolled in the voter's list and giving information about the voter registration process.
- b. Candidates' profile and background: Asking voters to be aware of the candidates' background, and ask them questions about the local issues, their development agenda, etc.
- c. Resist all forms of voter bribing: Asking voters not to allow the candidates to corrupt them and influence their voting by offering money, liquor, clothes and other gifts or allure them on the lines of caste, religion, etc.
- d. Follow-up with the winning candidates: Requesting the people to follow-up with the winning candidates and see that he maintains a relationship with the community and facilitates development of the constituency.

Campaign Overview

Figure 1: "Making Democracy Work" Campaign Overview

Making Democracy Work: Campaign Overview



"Making Democracy Work" campaign broadly focused on four dimensions - Public programs, Advocacy Initiatives, Coverage of Different Stakeholders and Media Engagement.

Public Programs

College Contact Programs: One of the key objectives of the campaign was to reach the first time and young voters. In this perspective, awareness programs were conducted in 15 different colleges across Mysore district. Key contents during the sessions included Universal Adult Suffrage, their responsibility as citizens, importance of participating in the voting process, its pros and cons and selecting the best candidate for their constituency during the elections. Since the target group was young generation, Dr. R. Balasubramaniam and team adopted participative pedagogy like interaction, video-shows, distribution of handbills etc. In total, the team was able to reach more than 8000 prospective voting students.

Open Community Meetings

During elections, political parties attempt to lure families and communities by promising or providing freebies. Based on the voters list, parties develop novel ideas to influence the families which have more number of voters. Further, carefully planned interventions are taken up for particular communities by the parties. In this backdrop, open community meetings were organized with the objective of sensitizing the importance of voting with integrity and current practices in elections. Community members were encouraged to ask questions about the candidates and developmental issues in their constituency. Key highlight during community meetings were encouraging participants to discuss in groups and take a pledge to actively participate in 'Making Democracy Work'.

Jaathaas and Cycle Rallies

Jaathaas (processions) are an effective tool adopted for creating mass awareness and disseminate information among the general

public. With active support from both Government as well as private organizations, 19 *Jaathaas* were organized in all the seven taluks of Mysore district. Government officials from the Department of Health, Women and Child Development, taluk *panchayat* members, college students, self-help group (SHG) members, volunteers, Anganwadi workers and community members were a part of these *Jathas*. The team also conducted novel programs such as Bicycle *Jaatha* and *Tonga* (horse cart) *Jaatha*, a first-of-its-kind for this purpose.

Jana Jaagruti Ratha

Jana Jaagruthi Ratha refers to a mobile van decked up with information on the importance of voting containing posters, banners, awareness message and a Public Address System to reach maximum number of people within a short span of time. Jana Jaagruti Ratha toured all the 11 Assembly Constituencies in Mysore district and covered 704 villages and 41 wards of Mysore Urban constituency. It covered 3123 Km in 32 days. Through this medium, special programs were also organized in conspicuous places like circles, fairs, markets and in front of *Gram Panchayat* offices.

Public Competitions

Open Drawing competitions were held on "Elections and Me" in three age group categories of 5-10 years, 11-15 years and 16-25 years. Mysore city is also known for writers. In this perspective, Limerick competition on "Election Corruption and Us" was also organized.

Street Plays

To reach the illiterate and village population, street plays are an effective medium of communication. In this perspective, 31 street plays were conducted in strategic locations by professional cultural troupes. Through street plays, the campaign reached the mass audience through drama, humor and songs scripted with local flavor.

Voters' Clinic

Voters' clinics were set up at prominent places in Mysore city wherein, kiosks were set up sharing information to the general public about the campaign, voter registration and election process. When people visited the clinics (information kiosks), they were free to ask any question related to election. Trained volunteers answered the questions asked by the people and helped clear their doubts and fears throughout the day. Pamphlets, stickers and posters were also distributed at these clinics.

Signature, Poster and SMS Campaign

Signature campaigns were organized in and around heritage and tourist destinations in Mysore city. Since Mysore is a favorite tourist destination, people from all walks of life and different age groups participated in this campaign. Nearly 2000 people signed and committed themselves to take part in the election. Further, poster campaigns were conducted in government departments, hospitals, colleges, buses, cinema theatres, apartments, corporate offices, nursing homes, industries, shops and autos.

The Karnataka Assembly elections were held on 5th May 2013. With the objective of providing the final push, mass SMSs were sent out on the penultimate day and on the day of election. Mass SMS (Short Message Service) campaigns also helped to reach more than 5000 people.

Advocacy

Engaging the political parties in "Making Democracy Work" campaign was also initiated. A letter was drafted and sent to all major political parties in Karnataka which stressed the importance of 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Constitution of India. Workshop was also conducted on the concept of democratization. The demand for inclusion of points related to good governance was also projected as a citizen's demand in Dr. R. Balasubramaniam's widely read blog,

'Balu's Musings' (rbalu.wordpress.com) and regular column in popular newspaper *Prajavani*.

To everyone's surprise, national level leadership of one national party acknowledged and gave positive response to this initiative. Further, State leadership of another party responded well. Reflections from this response indicate that advocacy work needs to be scaled up appropriately in the context of General elections of 2014.

Campaign Coverage

In all, the program covered the following areas:

| Table 3 | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| "Making Democracy Work" | Campaign Coverage |

| SN. | Particulars | Reach |
|-----|---|----------|
| 1 | Assembly Constituencies in Mysore District | 11 |
| 2 | Villages covered | 704 |
| 3 | Urban Wards | 41 |
| 4 | Street Vendors' Self Help Groups | 26 |
| 5 | Village Health and Sanitation Committee | |
| | Federation and Committees | 30 |
| 6 | Voters' Clinic established in Mysore city | 9 |
| 7 | Door-to-door campaigns in Mysore District | 7 taluks |
| 8 | Cycle Jathas and Tonga Jathas | 19 |
| 9 | Street Plays | 31 |
| 10 | People reached through street plays | 2000 |
| 11 | College programs | 15 |
| 12 | Young voters reached through college programs | 8000 |

Media Engagement

Role of mass media needs a special mention in "Making Democracy Work" campaign reach the wider public. Rather than

Jagadish B., Siddegowda Y.S.

publishing the issues just as a mere news item, mass media helped in penetrating the message on the importance of voting to every eligible voter. Dr. R. Balasubramaniam's regular column *"Hosa Kanasu"* (New Dream) in the leading Kannada newspaper *Prajavani* created a new wave in Kannada Journalism and awakened the voters. Further, both print and electronic media gave wide publicity for the public programs organized.

'Jana Dhwani' (People's Voice), a community radio which is operated from Sargur in Heggada Devana Kote, Mysore District by SVYM also aired regular programs covering a radius of 20 km.

'Grama Vaani' (Voice of the Village), a monthly community newsletter published by SVYM also covered regular articles and an exclusive "Election Special Edition". In this edition, the newsletter threw light on the salient features of the campaign, procedure to procure a voter's identity card, questions that need to be posed to candidates approaching for votes and toll free telephone number of the Election Commission of India.

Throughout the campaign, media representatives also supported by covering the content which were shared during "Press Meets" and "Press Releases" before and after all the programs.

Impact of the Campaign:

As a result of an array of interventions, following are the key results of the campaign:

- H There was an increase by 4.81 per cent voting in 2013 compared to 2008.
- H Voting percentages in all the 11 Assembly constituencies of Mysore District increased in 2013 compared to 2008.
- H Voter percentage in rural constituencies increased from 74.37 per cent to 79.51 per cent, an increase by 5.14 per cent.
- H Voter percentage in urban constituencies increased from 56.25 per cent to 60.48 per cent, an increase by 4.23 per cent.

Table 4

Assemblywise Voting Percentage 2008 VS 2013

| SI. No. | Name of Assembly Constituency | Voting Percentage in 2008 | Voting Percentage in 2013 | Increase in Voting Percentage 2008 Vs.2013 |
|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Krishnaraja | 56.1 | 58.49 | 2.39 |
| 2 | Chamaraja | 51.11 | 55.11 | 4.00 |
| 3 | Narasimharaja | 50.1 | 54.44 | 4.34 |
| 4 | Chamundeshwari | 67.7 | 73.88 | 6.18 |
| 5 | Varuna | 75.7 | 82.24 | 6.54 |
| 6 | Nanjangud | 71.9 | 76.04 | 4.14 |
| 7 | T. Narasipura | 67.8 | 75.28 | 7.48 |
| 8 | H.D. Kote | 68.2 | 77.35 | 9.15 |
| 9 | Hunsur | 77.3 | 79.15 | 1.85 |
| 10 | K.R. Nagara | 80.4 | 82.7 | 2.30 |
| 11 | Periyapatna | 79.3 | 83.84 | 4.54 |
| | Average of 11 Taluks | 67.78 | 72.59 | 4.81 |

Though, the Karnataka Assembly election voter percentage in Mysore District has increased, the resultant change cannot be solely attributed to the above campaign. However, visible changes have been made by a gamut of activities to increase the awareness of voting among the voters of Mysore District.

CONCLUSION

India has witnessed the conduct of successful elections, peaceful changes of government at the Centre and in the States, people exercising freedom of expression, movement and religion in the last

Jagadish B., Siddegowda Y.S.

six decades. India has also been developing and transforming economically and socially. After more than six decades of periodic elections, in which all political parties contested, and in which all adults are qualified to vote, there is still scope to improve the levels of participation.

As Abraham Lincoln said, Democracy means 'government of the people, for the people, and by the people'. The key role of citizens in a democracy is to participate in public life. For a successful working of democracy, citizens' participation is a must. The most commonly observed opportunity of participation is exercising the 'right to vote' during elections. And in order to vote wisely, it is necessary that each citizen is aware of the views of different parties and candidates, and then makes his or her own decision on voting.

There are very few organizations in the country who have involved themselves in sensitizing the people on their right to vote. Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development (V-LEAD), with able support of professionally qualified people, community based organizations and all relevant stakeholders have been a beacon of hope in transforming the mindset of people towards voting and the election process. "Making Democracy Work" campaign is a whatworks-model and certainly a benchmark practice which is worth emulating not only in India but across the world. Role of mass media, committed civil organizations and involvement of stakeholders are the key to success.

REFERENCES

- 1. Butler, David., Lahiri, Ashok., and Roy, Prannoy (1995): India Decides: Elections 1952-1995, Delhi, Books and Things.
- 2. Ganguly, Sumit., Diamond, Larry., and Plattner, F. Marc. (2007). The State of India's Democracy A Journal of Democracy Book, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland.
- 3. Grama Vani. (2013). Democratic Empowerment Campaign: Loksabha 2014, Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development, Mysore, Volume 2, Issue 5 August to October 2013.

- 4. Grama Vani. (2013). Election Special, Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development, Mysore, Volume 2, Issue 2, March 2013.
- 5. Guha, Ramachandra. (2008). India After Gandhi The History of World's Largest Democracy, Pan Macmilan, Picador India, Daryaganj, New Delhi.
- 6. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy, Retrieved on 16th December 2013.
- Karnataka Poll Report. (2013). Karnataka Polls: Average Asset Worth of MLA Rs.19.87 crore, http://www.rediff.com/news/report/karnataka-poll-2013-k-taka-polls-average-asset-worth-of-mla-rs-19-87-crore/ 20130423.htm. Retrieved on 14th December 2013.
- 8. Kohli, Atul. (2001). The Success of India's Democracy, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, pp. 1-21.
- Rediff.com. (2013). 67 per cent of Rajya Sabha MPs are Crorepatis, http:// www.rediff.com/news/report/67-per-cent-of-rajya-sabha-mps-are-crorepatis/ 20131206. htm. Retrieved on 14th December 2013.
- 10. Sahi, Ajit. (2013). Can Criminals Really Be Kept out of Indian Politics, Tehelka, Volume 10, Issue 30, 27th July 2013.
- 11. The Constitution of India. (2007). Government of India, Ministry of Law and Justice, New Delhi.
- 12. V-LEAD. (2013). Making Democracy Work, Report of Activities Undertaken Towards Strengthening Democratic Participation of People in the Context of 2013 Assembly Elections of Karnataka in Mysore District, Vivekananda Institute for Leadership Development and Association for Democratic Reforms, Mysore.

Protecting Historical and Cultural Structures in Urban Planning: A Study of Mysore City

BATHOOL, ZAHRA GOWDA, KRISHNE SRIDHARA M. V

Abstract : Cities change constantly. Urban planning for transformation of built forms, open spaces and for cityscaping without causing damage to their historical cultural identity and endowments is indeed a challenge. In countries like India, heritage structures in ancient cities have come under tremendous threat due to improper planning and management of heritage areas and lack of expertise. Mysore, a city well known for its palaces and manifestations of culture is an educational, commercial and administrative centre and also is an attraction for tourists and heritage buffs. Heritage of the city substantially encompasses its architectural flavour.

The empirics of urban landscape undergo changes; it is not mere expression of visible features including its physical and human elements. This relates to the emerging ways of analysing heritage areas like monuments, natural areas such as lakes and natural greens, public squares, water fronts, gateways, avenue trees and traditional residential buildings. These structures are of architectural value and are losing their identity due to negligence, decay and disharmonious developments, resulting in devaluing the city image.

The way to solve urban problems includes planning and organization of the locale, coordinated interspersing of residential areas, industrial complexes, recreational blocks and community centres. In addition to this, this research paper is a critique of thoughts and ideas on urban planning improvement and implementation. *Keywords:* Cultural richness, Urban landscape, Built up environment, Transformation of spaces

Authors: Bathool, Zahra., Assistant Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Manipal Institute of Technology, Manipal, India. E Mail : amreen_zahra@yahoo.co.in

Gowda, Krishne., Professor of Urban & Regional Planning, Institute of Development Studies, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006, India. **Email:** krishnegowda@hotmail.com

Sridhara M.V., 561, P&T Block, 10th Cross, Kuvempunagar, Mysore-570 023, India. Email: srishabh561@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Historic cultural landscapes in towns and sites are threatened all over the world. They suffer from thoughtless replacements and inconsonant renewals and augmentations. The increasing population density leads to increased land use intensity. This implies adverse effects on the preservation of historic ensembles, settlements and innercity historic areas including open spaces. Only imaginative conjoining of settlement area and open space secures the future urban livelihood as any city needs "free space" kept available for future developments. Urban planning so far doesn't adequately incorporate appropriate or optimal strategies and measures (Kaltenbrunner 2004, 2005).

Planning for a city has to encompass demographic, social, economic and environmental conditions along with its settlement typologies, infrastructure requirements and preservation and up gradation of local environment. Any evaluation of the functional and spatial structure of the city will have to take the above factors into consideration. All this activity focuses on ensuring the development of city, construction planning, renovation and upkeep of its infrastructure according to the growing needs of population. The tools for solving urban problems include the rational planning and organization of the spatial and functional systems, coordination of residential areas, industrial complexes, recreational blocks, community centres, etc.

Cities change constantly. Historic city segments thereby experience change of meaning, significance and coping with changes

Bathool, Zahra , Gowda, Krishne, Sridhara M. V

in historic urban planning patterns, replacement of buildings or open spaces and new dimensioning of surroundings without jeopardising the urban identity is a challenge for urban planning. For many centuries adaptation of existing buildings and urban patterns to new needs of society and trade has been an on-going process that didn't affect urban substance seriously. This has changed fundamentally during the past few decades. Historic elements like buildings, urban patterns or open spaces constitute the resources that are not replicable and so become irretrievable.

To keep urban heritage intact, serious and planned efforts are needed. These have to include a framework for joint action by all stake-holding groups, including local authorities. It also has to develop a strategy to preserve the urban fabric and a sense of scenic presence while allowing further development for fulfilling legitimate expectations and needs of diversified and growing inhabitants.

Heritage of city entails a natural linkage with its architectural uniqueness of features. In a developing country like India, built heritage structures in old cities have come under tremendous threat due to population growth, improper planning and management of heritage areas. The Government of India has identified Mysore as a "heritage city" for planning and development under the National Urban Renewal Mission. The city is also known as a City of Palaces and is one of the tourist destinations in India. Mysore is an ancient, historical, cultural and heritage city.

The heritage areas like monuments, natural greenery, lakes, gardens, public squares, water bodies, gateways, avenue trees and traditional residential buildings having architectural value are losing their identity due to negligence, decay and disharmonious and skewed developments, resulting in spoiling the image of the city. In order to prevent the heritage areas from decay, it is necessary to plan appropriately to conserve heritage areas of the city. The aesthetic character conservation needs holistic and an integrated approach with expert intervention.

The city has both natural and built heritage and it has substantially retained its built character, a decisively princely legacy of yore. The most imposing and majestic building in Mysore is the Ambavilas Palace, which is a principal landmark - the focal point of the city. It has been built in an Indo-Sarcenic style. The city is characterized by buildings, gardens, boulevards, and planned markets designed and built by the Kings of Mysore, Dewans (governors), and yester year administrators.

The architectural and urban design elements like vistas, focal points, landmarks, avenues, plazas etc., make it undoubtedly the most important traditional city in India. The architectural growth of Mysore occurred during 1805 - 1940. This marvel gave the city a skyline which proclaims a powerful aristocracy that prevailed in the past. Though, a large number of buildings were deliberately made in Hindu style or in the Indo-Sarcenic style, European classical style too has made its presence felt by manifesting in elements of Norman and Gothic architecture. The balanced architectural composition with a blend of man-made structures of natural features, has given the city a rare and exclusive beauty.

In 1960, Lynch studying the urban landscape and scenic areas deliberated on the meaning of image, the interactive effects of the city form and people's impression of this form. He refers to the most characteristic urban elements as: 'paths, nodes, edges and landmarks' and considered the basic criteria for designing: vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency and justice. Mental image, mental map, and the form that people make of their city are the result of the type or pattern and body characteristics embodied; for example, Florence and Glasgow (Frey, 1999).

These characteristics can be considered as a certain skyline, a specific large scale spatial structure, developmental patterns and special use of the places. A "good" historical city, at least in some parts of the world, contain permanent elements, form and construction that leave an impression or an image in addition to their capability of being changed in consonance with socio-economic transformation. Accordingly, in designing a city this point should be observed: the dominant feature of the city does not change or if at all, change gradually. In other words, rules and frameworks for the city design should include two important characteristics: to be capable of being vigorous and recognized with its uniqueness intact.

Today, city is continuously changing consequent to socio economic transformations. If these changes happen in the private residential and such other areas of the city, without any effect on the public purpose areas, the city retains its identity.

Urban revitalisation processes usually focus on 1) preservation of historic legacy (built structure), 2) regeneration of "pride" in the characteristic city structures, 3) use (new use) of the centre and 4) creation of a strong utilitarian base. This base will help make the local economy grow and diverse, increase property values and tax revenues and create jobs (Blanchard 2000). Most of the time people think that traditional cities appeared and developed in an organic way, but there are many factors which cause the emergence of those cities. But, at every stage of development it gains a temporary form. History shows that a good city is formed on the basis of local characteristics and historical thrusts rather than by it or accidentally.

Moreover, history shows that the "good forms and structures" of the city, the ones that strengthen and promote urban activities, and find a balanced relation with local and the larger environment, are typically protected and have been enduring. This is because they effectively function and manifest the history, memories, values, beliefs, and the pride of the city and its citizens. Although formation and development of a traditional city might however be a slow and gradual process, without any formal plan or design, this evolution however embodies certain accepted patterns of development.

Trying to visualise city's social and physical dimensions in a cohesive manner, making the physical space well defined through human interventions is an important step in understanding the city structure. We cannot see our environment as a hotch potch structure, in a way that the cities are looked at as equal to their buildings (Madanipour, 2000). On the other hand, space cannot be understood merely as a container for social relations without its physical characteristics and endowments.

Thus, the term Urban Space is not only used to refer to the

space embodied in the buildings, the empty space apart from the mass of the objects, but this term in its total meaning includes all city constructions and buildings, things, environmental spaces, people, events and the relations between them. It also includes cultural space in a significant sense.

The elements that organize the city are the following:

- H The elements with fixed forms or change gradually, e.g. paths, walls, buildings.
- H The elements that are not fixed, e.g. signs, plants, urban furniture.
- H The moving elements, e.g. people, activities, and their relations.

The urban environments and natural environments are no longer divorced because of the structural relationships in the ways we relate to these environments. These structural features -meaning, novelty, potential for innovation, surprise, and irrepressibility - do, however, create a difference between small-scale and large-scale built environments, of, 'city identity' through the new forms of urban aesthetics in which the quest for authenticity and the 'resurgence of the real' are embodied spatially in urban space with respect to the themes outlined above by looking at this new context of aestheticization. It also deals with how notions of nostalgia and melancholia function within these new aesthetic forms and how they are embodied through and within spatial forms and practices.

DISCUSSION

Each of the key urban structures of Mysore can be defined geographically. Each defining structure forms a layer of Mysore's urban form with respective characteristics. Due to the complexity of urban areas, these components do not exist in isolation. They overlap one another, creating different urban facades and experiences depending on the specific layers present and the characteristics within each. Understanding these layers, their supporting characteristics and where and how they overlap to create different urban conditions are the starting point for analysing Mysore and for developing a responsive Urban Design Strategy.

Bathool, Zahra , Gowda, Krishne, Sridhara M. V

The City of Mysore is located in the Deccan plateau lying in a saucer shaped basin flanked by Chamundi hills to the south west. It is located at the interflow between the two rivers Cauvery, in the North, and Kabini, in the South. Being part of the Deccan Plateau, it has an elevation of 763m above sea level with Chamundi Hills reaching 1065m above sea level. The spectacular and attractive presence of Chamundi Hills in an otherwise flat landscape might have had a fundamental role in the birth of the first settlement. The city lies amidst a built barrier created by the Krishnaraja Sagar (Dam) reservoir and a natural relief by the amalgamation of the two rivers.

Visual Character

The Visual setting of Mysore is arresting. Whereas much of the city has developed on a relatively flat ground, the topography of the city area is integrated with the elevated view of the Chamundi Hills. A panoramic view of the city can be had from the top of the hills. It offers a scenic view of the various landmarks.

The objective of planning is to foster this diversity in the overall urban fabric and to make a contribution to environmentally wholesome urban design by undertakening the following tasks: increasing the proportion and improving the quality of open space in the inner city; ensuring preservation of wide range of natural forms; increasing the quality of life in the various districts and preserving the typical overall appearance of the landscape. The harmony of architectural buildings, sites, lakes, parks and open spaces in the back drop of Chamundi hills adds to the city's attraction. 'Foreground linked by background through different elements like landscape, water bodies, pathways etc., closed by a mass of buildings and it produces a sense of power and model omnipresence'. The stretch of buildings on either side of the road creates a vista, with the foreground circle. Albert Victor Road leading from Harding circle to DC office via Chamaraja circle and Krishnaraja circle forms a vista. The street axis has an avenue of trees and beautiful architectural landmarks. The pathway leading from Ballal circle is another good example of a vista.

Protecting Historical and Cultural Structures in Urban Planning: A Study of Mysore City

The street pattern in Mysore city is more or less of a grid iron type with the Palace being the focal point and arterial roads originating and running radially outwards in the city in all directions leading to different parts and other towns and cities. Streets are broad with sufficient scope for the pedestrian movement. This is from the point of view of the modern norms and requirements. However, majority of the roads in the central area, are very narrow and congested. Only Devaraja Urs Road, Sayyaji Rao Road and Chamaraja Double Road are having a width of around 24-30m. Remaining roads are of a maximum of 15m width and some roads are at times only 9m in width, with improper alignment.

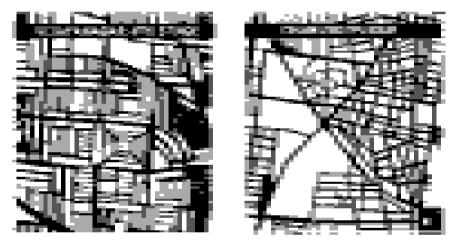


Fig.1 Grid Iron and Radial Pattern of a New Layout v/s an Old Street

Old Areas

The most valuable buildings of the city are located within this area and underline the identity of the city. Most of the buildings in this area are government edifices, but some have cultural, religious and educational significance as well making up the main nucleus of the city, and its neighbourhoods are vulnerable areas, which require informed planning intervention to improve their structural and functional quality. The following characteristics define the identity of an old building:

- ¹ Small buildings: Fifty per cent of these buildings have a plinth area of less than 200 sqm. This indicates the density of small size units.
- ¹ Unstable buildings: These buildings are not structurally sound and may not last long.
- ¹ Impenetrable buildings: Fifty per cent of these buildings have a width of less than 6m. They have poor access and motor vehicles cannot reach them.

Spatial utilization optimizes relationships between buildings, spaces, places, activities, and networks. It also recognizes that Mysore is a part of a constantly evolving relationship between people, land, culture and the wider environment. The other palaces are evenly distributed in relation to the main palace along the north west and south east axis, not because of its climatology but as view-points to the skyline created through man-made efforts, with a veiled geometrical (triangle, parallelogram, pentagon) orientation, around which most of the public spaces encircle the focal point of Mysore city, the Ambavilas palace.

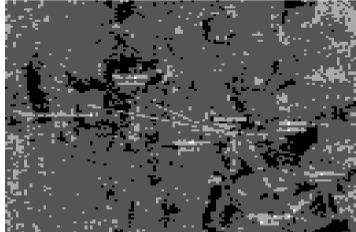


Fig 2: Orientation of the main Palaces Source: Google reference

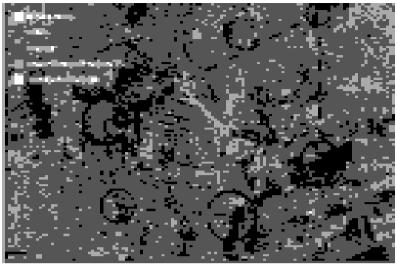


Fig 3: Utilization - The Spatial loops

Source: Google reference

Mysore is gracefully covered with beautiful trees. Thanks to the vision of Kings who planted trees of immense natural wealth. The roads are avenues with a row of flowering trees, spreading beautiful fragrance during its flowering season. The Mysore Maharajas took great care in promoting the aesthetic value of the city's famous roads and streets with choicest trees. Instead of a city being composed of a few protected buildings as reminiscence of the past within a modernized surrounding, a more holistic approach leads towards a modernized city consisting of whole historic areas (Asworth, Tunbridge 2000) with buildings, urban patterns and open spaces.

The value of urban open spaces has many aspects like their form, function and location. The criteria of sustainable development should be applied to the development of open spaces; this can be done in two different ways. Firstly, a sustainable use of spaces for the present generation is required and secondly, a responsibility towards future generations must be taken into account. The design of open spaces - whether they are used commercially or for leisure - has ecological, socio-cultural and economic dimensions. To manage and use these urban open spaces it is absolutely essential to embed them within the highly complex urban system (Aruninta 2004).

Bathool, Zahra , Gowda, Krishne, Sridhara M. V

Urban identity, the "Genius Loci", depends fundamentally on the maintenance of historic monuments, single buildings and open spaces that shape the abiding form of the growing urban agglomeration. Developed urban variety is part of our cultural heritage and of historic richness of cities (Curdes 1999).

The Notional Divisions

The impression one gets while understanding the nature of Mysore planning is that the Maharajas gave great importance to the minutest detail in appreciating the city form. They enclosed roads based on their hierarchy and experiences involving social encounters, submergence in the sights, sounds, sun, wind and atmosphere of a locale, and curiosity about the ambience, imagination and investment that have guided their construction and use over time. They divided the Mohallas into quadrangles which provided visual experiences of the palace.

Fig 4: Hierarchy of Road Enclosures Making Boundaries



Higher the cultural differences, stronger the sense of boundary One important observation here is that when people encounter differences, i.e when the people from different cultural backgrounds come closer sharing residential spaces, they tend to express their identity very strongly. The notional boundaries become strong and vivid.

As Richard Senett says, "Character in urban space, like character in a novel develops through displacement which encounters resistance".

Scale and massing have been driven by three main considerations:

- ¹ The existing heights and scale together with the massing of surrounding buildings. Consideration for visual connection from all directions;
- 1 The necessary reference to planning requirements;
- ¹ The appropriateness of the design and its ability to convey spatial integrity (internally and externally) and a built form that respects the natural landscape.

The built form of an entity enhances the townscape and urban form of Mysore while the natural landscapes create a new vision, for the quality of the public or private space by capitalizing on the city's structure, performing calibrated functions deliberately based on their forms.

Problems and Needs of Mysore

While reviewing the performance of planning in Mysore, describing its success and failures may give us an insight into the problems and needs of the city to gear up for moulding its aestehtic character.

Make best use of community's resources, solve current community problems, and protect important physical and geographical landmarks, all while considering how the future needs of the city will fit in. Begin by protecting historical neighbourhoods, while maintaining their economic vitality. Concentrating not only on the land use and leaving out the other sectors is to be issued through handling the infrastructure planning is required. Traffic congestion to be addressed in the narrow streets, deal with zoning and building codes and environmental regulations to ensure that the plan is legal

Bathool, Zahra , Gowda, Krishne, Sridhara M. V

and will work within existing codes, check the progress of the sub urban sprawl and also find ways to help the city foster new business development in the suburbs to create jobs for the growing population.

This study evolves six steps that are fundamental while working on an urban plan. They are as following:

Step 1: Define priority objectives.

Step 2: Develop a strategy consistent with objectives;

Step 3: Identify and quantify inputs;

Step 4: Identify and quantify outputs;

Step 5: Project and monitor outcome;

Step 6: Project and monitor citywide impact;

Foreign models are not directly adoptable. There are a lot of planning successes around the world, but there are a lot of failures too, and one needs to learn from the failures than from the success. Urban Aesthetic planning is an evolving science. We are all still learning in all parts of the world. Nobody possesses a complete methodology which is "fail proof," so we have to learn, we have to face our own failures, acknowledge them and learn from them, and eventually we would be able to demonstrate that urban planning really adds something to a city and makes a city more efficient and aesthetically pleasing.

This Urban Design Assessment illustrates important considerations and issues that must be addressed in a new urban design framework diagram for Mysore. It also establishes some additional approaches that will help the City in particular.

- ¹ Urban Spaces Creating healthy intercultural spaces where the diverse cultures can integrate, exchange and learn from each other, an environment which is open and flexible.
- ¹ Build environment with flexible and easily connected spaces which are safe for its residents.
- 1 Transforming the city as a vibrant cultural hub.
- 1 Assess compliance with regulations and plans governing visual quality

- ¹ Consider potential impacts of visual access to important visual resources on the city.
- ¹ Both focal views (i.e., views of specific features of interest, such as buildings or landscaping), and panoramic views (i.e., broad views encompassing a large or distant area, such as the city skyline).
- ¹ Views of and from the city are assessed.
- ¹ Features such as proposed building height, massing, and density are evaluated for their potential to obstruct views.

Issues

There are a number of issues around urban quality that matter as we develop plans for Mysore's future. Although these issues vary across geographies, demographics and scales, their physical manifestations impact our perceptions, sense of well being and use of the city in part and as a whole. The challenge has been to recognize these variations and provide the city and its citizens with an overall attitude and approach that fosters great civic spaces in an appealing, functional and safe physical environment. Much of this synthesis can be accomplished by clear urban design ideas.

Proposed recommendations

- 1 Recognition of Aesthetics by the City Planning Department
- 1 Encouragement of Architectural Diversity
- 1 A Unified Landscape Design for All Open Spaces
- 1 Proposals for Funding Landscape Projects for Public Spaces
- 1 Encourage More Public Participation and Foster Civic Pride
- 1 Create and Better Develop Green Space throughout the City
- ¹ Minimizing impacts on existing visual quality while maintaining safety.
- ¹ Maintaining visual compatibility and integration of project features into the surrounding environment.

- ¹ Creating an aesthetically pleasing facility.
- 1 Avenue trees to be included along all new local roads.
- 1 To formulate schemes and apply special development controls/ regulations for Heritage/conservation/urban renewal
- ¹ To organise public hearings on urban renewal proposals which have impact on the heritage monitoring of the implementation projects.

REFERENCES

- 1. Ali Madanipour (2003), Public and Private spaces of the city, Routledge, Newyork
- 2. Anahita Mahmoudi, Kamyar Fanaei (2009), Finding new patterns to design sustainable cities by use of traditional urban patterns, REAL CORP 2009 Proceedings/Tagungsband
- 3. Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2000), The Tourist-historic City, London: Belhaven
- 4. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis, http://atlas.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=313, accessed on 2nd May 2012
- Cities of tomorrow, Challenges, visions, way forward (2011), European regional policy, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/studies/ pdf/citiesoftomorrow/citiesoftomorrow_final.pdf, accessed on 13th May 2012
- 6. Heritage works The use of historic buildings in regeneration a toolkit of good practice, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/heritage-works/heritage-works-2013.pdf, accessed on 13th May 2012
- Justin B. Hollander (2009), "Planning shrinking cities", Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning Department, Tufts University, Accessed 24th April 2012
- 8. Lynch, K. (1990). City sense and city design: writings and projects of Kevin Lynch. Ed. Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- 9. Rolf Pothof (2006), Urban Heritage tourism, Bournemouth University, U.K., http://www.du.se/PageFiles/5053/PothofRolf.pdf, Accessed 24th April 2012
- 10. Segregated city: An inquiry into the nature of boundary in traditional urban neighborhoods, http://www.rvce.edu.in/segregated_city_dissertation_studio4. pdf, accessed on 13th May 2012
- 11. Urban aesthetics and urban experience, http://www.urban-experience.net/, accessed 28th February 2012.

Narmada Bachao Andolan Online: Exploring Discourses of Representation and Resistance

MIRA K. DESAI PUTUL SATHE

Abstract : Globalisation has lead to social and cultural capital, cultural imperialism and counter flows, technological innovation and its interaction with the society, digital divides in the communication networks and extension of economy beyond nation/states. Development issues in the context of globalisation have emerged as one of the major sites where issues of human security, environmental degradation, ecological imbalance and climate change have been extended beyond geo-political boundaries. People's movement in the era of globalisation has emerged as civil spaces where formation of communication network through technology creates 'sociology of particular' type of human actors subjected to similar type of oppression share their experiences and thereby creates 'Internet' society. Internet provides opportunities for direct involvement and intervention by human agency in creation of knowledge networks.

This paper examines Internet as a site of struggle by people's movement like Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) using two specific websites as binary constructs of pro-movement and pro-dam locations and one web log stream (covering the web log spot and its 39 comments). The reasons for choosing such locations too reflect the researcher's curiosity for perceiving the meaning and representation about the most known movement of recent times; Narmada Bachao (Save Narmada). Narmada dam conceived in the Nehruvian era with the active role of State suggests the growth of capitalist production in Indian agriculture, which was well on its way during 1960 to 1990.

Sardar Sarovar Project trajectory is not one confined to development issue alone but also representation of nationalism, governance and cultural politics.

Rooted in cultural studies, the paper uses content analysis and textual analysis method and explores meanings of 'people', 'struggle', 'society' as posed by pro-NBA, pro-dam groups and group of audiences (blogger and the respondents to the web log) as producers of their own texts. The paper examines movement as a site for multiple discourses and website as representation and resistance. The idea is to explore the intersections of Movement, State, People, Internet technology and users of that technology.

The websites chosen for the purpose of analysis are: www.narmada.org, friends of river Narmada (pro-movement site) and www.supportnarmadadam.org (pro-dam site) and the web log chosen is http://prajatantra.blogspot.com which claimed itself as space "reflecting the hopes, expectations, fears and frustrations of the common man, the centrepiece in a democracy, who is forgotten more often than not". The analysis clearly reveals Internet websites as postmodern spaces, reflecting multiple voices and representations, wherein audiences/blogger spaces still indicate 'conformity' with the 'hegemonic' pro-state voices. It is interesting to note the diversity of presentation in pro-movement versus pro-dam websites. The paper concludes that Internet as a location for 'global civil society', represents, confronts and negotiates the 'global' and 'local'.

Key words: Narmada Bachao, Blogging, People's Movement.

Authors: Dr. Mira K. Desai, Associate Professor, University Department of Extension Education, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai, India. Email: mirakdesai@rediffmail.com

Putul Sathe, Lecturer, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai, India

INTRODUCTION

With liberalisation and privatisation impacting the economies around the world, technological advancements and advent and popularity of Internet as medium of communication has dramatically changed the way people interact, express, share and disseminate their concerns. Responsibilities of the citizen in such circumstances is extending beyond the so-called 'national identity' and leading to unifications beyond geographical, cultural and ethnic borders. Undoubtedly it has also lead to further divides in the society. Internet is contributing to such unifications and leading to shifting of concepts of power, community, time and space. Internet like globalisation links people, goods, information and practices and manifest different 'modalities' in the words of Tomilson (1999) who views globalisation as 'an empirical condition of the modern world'. Kenway (1997:138) remarks that the key 'logics' or features of post modernity include the techno-scientific and communication revolutions, the production of what can be called 'techno' or 'media' culture, the development of a form of techno-worship, the collapse of space and time brought about by the application of new technologies, the cultural dominance of the commodity and image, the internationalisation and post-industrial technologization of the economy (at least in Western economies), and an identity crisis for nation states accompanied by the decline of the welfare state and the intensification of state-inspired nationalism. The typical example of that would be the 'India shining' campaign by Bharatiya Janata Party, the right wing political party in power.

This has also impacted the notions of rationality, truth, subjectivity and progress, the phenomenon also known by the name of 'post-modernism'. The post-modernism (Kenway, 1997: 132) has wounded all isms "structuralism, functionalism, humanism, realism, binarism and essentialism". Internet as a medium of communication and as a technology that creates 'space' for alternative rationalities, newer versions of truth, multiple subjectivities and questioning of old construction of 'progress' and new definitions of development is an interesting site of post-modern worldview. The binaries of private-public, global-local, mainstream-alternate, producer-receiver, State-counter state, are blurred at the Internet site.

Bennett notes, "Internet offers individuals considerable opportunities for hands-on creativity and participation in cultural production" (2005: 91). "The capacity of Internet for weaving together global and local dialogues in this way can also be seen in relation to the rise over the last decade of 'new social movements', forms of direct action which reject mainstream political ideologies and adopt alternative or DiY strategies (McKay, 1996). Atton comments that Internet opens up avenues for challenging authoritative accounts of events, notably the 'eyewitness report (s)' or documentary accounts often used by news and press agencies (2002: 133). He further remarks that as a 'primary channel for autonomous communication', Internet offers new social movements the potential 'for sociality, community, mobilisation, knowledge construction and direct political action'.

According to Mc Adam and Snow, "there are many definitions of social movements; most conceptual efforts include the following elements: (1) collective or joint action; (2) change-oriented goals; (3) some degree of organization; (4) some degree of temporal continuity; and (5) some extra institutional collective action, or at least a mixture of extra institutional (protesting in the streets) and institutional (political lobbying) activity. Blending these elements together, we can define a social movement as collectivity acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside institutional channels for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order of which it is a part." (2007: xviii.) In todays time the definitions of people's movements cover civil rights, students, gender, peace, anti-nuclear and environmental issues. But as Edelman (2001) comments, "theories of collective action have undergone a number of paradigm shifts, from "mass behaviour" to "resource mobilization," "political process," and "new social movements." Debates have centred on the applicability of these frameworks in diverse settings, on the periodization of collective action, on the divisive or unifying impact of identity politics, and on the appropriateness of political engagement by researchers. Transnational activist networks are developing new protest repertoires that challenge anthropologists and other scholars to rethink conventional approaches to social movements.

Social interaction mediated through new media technologies breaks the dichotomies of communicator and audiences. However at the same time, the Frankfurt school theorists (especially Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno) using 'cultural industry' description points to "the progressive technological domination of nature becomes mass deception and is turned into a means for fettering consciousness. It impedes the development of autonomous, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves" (Adorno, 1997: 29). On the similar lines Gramsci (1971) argues that the state institutionalise invisible, intangible and subtle forms of power through multiple social practices in civil society, through educational, cultural and religious systems and other related institutions, for instance, political society disciplines the body through its penal code and prisons, but civil society disciplines the mind and the psyche.

BACKGROUND

Thukral (1992) comments, "Silent valley, *Tehri, Ichampalli, Suvernarekha, Koel Karo, Bodhghat, Polavaram,* major river valley projects have become synonymous with people's movement.... Although the recorded history of big dams in India dates back to as early as the 1700s when the *Jaismand* Tank near Udaipur (in Rajasthan) was built, the era of modern day large dams began in the early 1930s. This was also the time when dams were considered the symbols of technological advancement and development world over".

International Rivers Network's Campaigns in India notes that with 4,300 dams in place and many more in the pipeline, India is one of the leading dam-building countries in the world. According to estimates, large dams in India have submerged a land area of about 37,500 square kilometres -- almost the size of Switzerland -- and have displaced millions of people. The Government of India is committed to a huge acceleration in dam construction. (http://www.irn.org/ programs/india/)

The direct implication of the dam construction and submergence of the land, leads to displacement of the locals. "At the proposed height of 138.68 metres, the *Sardar Sarovar* dam will submerge 248

villages, displace over 3,00,000 people, and destroy 40,000 hectares of land. The official estimated cost of the project has risen from Rs. 4,200 crore in 1983 to Rs. 40,000 crore. The arguments are anticipated benefits of any such projects. *Sardar Sarovar Project* (SSP) is an ambitious multipurpose project, which is expected to produce 1450 MW power and supply water for irrigation and drinking purposes to the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Narmada is the fifth largest river in India and largest West flowing river of Indian peninsula. Interestingly way back in 1961 Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India laid foundation stone for 162 feet high dam on Narmada in Bharuch district in Gujarat. A dispute between the States of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra delayed construction; the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal (NWDT) was set up to mediate on the issue. In 1979 it fixed the height of the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) at 455 feet. The World Bank sanctioned a project loan of \$450 million in 1985 even before an environment clearance was passed. The forest and environment clearances from Centre took six years and came by in 1987. By that time the resistance and struggle had started emerging. "The first rally against the dam was held in November 1985 and organised mobilisation began to escalate. Finally, several groups, including the Narmada Dharangrast Samiti (Maharashtra), Narmada Ghati Navnirman Samiti (Madhya Pradesh) and Narmada Asargrast Sangharsh Samiti (Gujarat) joined forces to form the Narmada Bachao Andolan" (Chaudhry, 2005). "Narmada Bachao opposed not only construction of various dams and reservoirs on Narmada on ecological, ethnic and other grounds but considered rehabilitation package to be small answer to gigantic problem (Shukla, 1991). Due to Apex Court Stay on construction in 1995 the construction on SSP site was halted from 1994 to 1999. World Bank exited from the project in 1993 and foreign investors withdrew from Maheshwar dam (in Madhya Pradesh) during 1999-2001.

Narmada Bachao Andolan represents more than a movement that is anti-*Narmada* dam. "The struggle for justice continues through an alternative water policy and challenge to water privatisation and river interlinking. It is a protracted, unending battle for life and

livelihood, for people's rights and real democracy" (Medha Patkar). "Completion of 20 years of the NBA's struggle is a testimony to the commitment, perseverance and strength of thousands of people; at the same time, it is a telling commentary on the establishment that people have had to fight this long for their basic rights," says Shripad Dharmadikary, an activist quoted by Chaudhry (2005). "From its origins in the Narmada valley, the NBA has grown to become one of the most successful people's movements in the world. From rallies to hunger strikes, from boycotts to Jal samarpans, the NBA has worked incessantly for the people of the Narmada Valley while questioning one-dimensional capitalist 'development'. As a political force, the NBA has played a significant role in critical engagement with the State. It has redefined the politics of debate and renegotiated spaces for inclusion". NBA today has spread to encompass other major dams in various stages of planning and construction chiefly Maheshwar, Narmada Sagar, Maan, Goi and Jobat. Tawa and Bargi Dams that were completed in 1973 and 1989 respectively have seen the affected people organize post-displacement to demand their rights.

Narmada dam on one hand refers to slogans of 'vibrant Gujarat', 'land for land rehabilitation', on the other hand uproots marginalized and deprived for anticipated capitalistic development and so is the issue of human rights. SSP trajectory is not one confined to development issue alone but also representation of nationalism, governance and cultural politics.

METHODOLOGY

As an interdisciplinary field of study cultural studies approach as a methodology examines contemporary culture, popular media, and those cultural practices and cultural forms that shape the meanings of self, identity, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and gender in everyday life. Cultural studies theorists have questioned and problematized the assumption of an uncomplicated, lineal transmission of media messages and hence suggested possibilities of interpretative alternatives. Stuart Hall's much quoted 'encoding/decoding' formulation allows for multiple interpretations of media texts during

the process of production and reception. This in turn focuses on the power of media text (text denotes cultural production) to media production as well as media reception. This paper seeks to examine websites as manifestation of new media as multi-accentuated texts. Allen comments that, the text is a literary and linguistic sign and no longer the product of an author's original thought process. The text therefore is viewed not only "as the container of meaning but as a space in which potentially vast number of relations coalesce" (2000: 12).

Internet by itself is a sign of post-modern; technology mediated social representation of culture. Websites as deliberate presentation by agency projects site as representation and resistance where people's movement like Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) gets global coverage. Researchers have taken two specific examples of promovement and pro-dam websites and one web log stream (covering the web log and 39 comments to that web log). The websites chosen for the purpose of analysis were: www.narmada.org, friends of river Narmada (pro-movement site) and www.supportnarmadadam.org (pro-dam site) and the web log http://prajatantra.blogspot.com which claimed itself as space "reflecting the hopes, expectations, fears and frustrations of the common man, the centrepiece in a democracy, who is forgotten more often than not". The reasons for choosing such locations reflect the researcher's strive to understand the deeper meanings of the struggle about one of the well known movements of recent times in history; Narmada Bachao (Save Narmada).

Textual analysis includes content analysis, discourse analysis, ideological analysis, rhetorical analysis, genre theory, narratology, semiotics, and inter-textuality. Present paper uses elements of content analysis and gets into details of the texts using discourse analysis. Though detailed network analysis was not carried out, the paper touches briefly upon network representations of the sites and web logs.

Sosale (2007: 22) remarks in the context of her study that web site as a system provides the main reference point for the network analysis, allowing one to draw some conclusions about the type of navigation the authors have designed, as well as the extent of control they exert on the user/reader's choices and paths for browsing and gathering information. Quoting Jackson she comments, "network analysis points that while user enters a website through its universe resource locator (site address) and scroll down a page, the hypertext links within the site are mapped and ultimately controlled, to a greater or lesser extent, by the site's author/designer.

ANALYSIS

NBA Online and Offline

It is important to note that NBA has prominent presence on Internet. As a movement it has been around for more than two decades now. Internet search in October 2007 of "*Narmada Bachao Andolan*" on google lead to 76,700 results but when 'pages from India' were searched, the number dropped to 14,300. AltaVista search found 108,000 results and rediff search engine lead to 4822 results. With broadband and better possibilities for audio-visual content on Internet, YouTube had two videos on NBA. Interestingly video in the name of '*Narmada Bachao Andolan*' on YouTube loaded by enjoy41 had 788 views and 'Action-2007 NBA' uploaded by *Jagaruttrakhand* had 233 views by October 25, 2007. This in itself indicates sizable cyber citizenship for NBA.

Contrary to that NBA has been covered far less frequently in print media. The Times of India archive post- 2000 suggested 649 references for NBA. Journal like Economic and Political Weekly post 2000 had only nine references while The Hindu was more consistent with 799 mentions about NBA.

Apart from that, the site *Narmada*.org systematically records hundreds of 'press releases' issued by NBA between 1998 to January 2006. This in a way represents the 'voice' of the movement online.

The Site Descriptions

1. www.narmada.org

The site usually appears as first site on google search. The first line on the left corner of the site is "Friends of River *Narmada*". The

site has five main frames: 'Main' and 'Dams' as vertical frames with sub-topics and three vertical strips Dams on River *Narmada*, Action updates (September 2007) and News. The main colour of the site is green with a prominent box in orange stating "Immediately Call/FAX the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Prof. Saifuddin Soz, Afroz Ahmed (director of NCA), the Governor and Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Sonia Gandhi, and other officials and demand the land for land rehabilitation as per Supreme Court guidelines and no further raising of the gates or construction until complete resettlement and rehabilitation at 122 meter is met " which includes a link for a petition to be signed by the reader.

There are 15 topics in first main frame and four dams in second frame about dams. The topics are:

Main: Home, About us, Introduction, *Narmada* Dams, Press Releases, Press Clippings, Images, *Narmada Samachar*, Resources, Contacts, Contact Govt., Alternatives, Links, Other issues, SANDRP (South Asia Network on Dams, River and People) Dams: *Sardar Sarovar, Maheshwar, Maan, Indira Sagar*

Apart from a photograph captioned a "*Chimalkhedi Satyagraha* Sep 2007" on the left of the homepage, the page reads, "The construction of large dams on the river *Narmada* in central India and its impact on millions of people living in the river valley has become one of the most important social issues in contemporary India. Through this website, we the friends of the *Narmada* valley and its people hope to present the perspective of grassroots people's organisations on the issue". The paragraph includes links to 'introduction to the issue' and 'more about us'.

The 'more about us' also links one to 'about us' page, which includes four sub-topics: who are we, aims and objectives, National solidarity Network and Contact Information. The first sub-topics states, "First, we want to make it clear that we are not the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*. The struggle against the construction of mega-dams on the river *Narmada* in India is symbolic of a global struggle for social and environmental justice. The Friends of River *Narmada* is an international coalition of individuals and organizations (primarily of Indian descent). In particular, we are a support and solidarity network for the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (Save the *Narmada* movement) which has been fighting for the democratic rights of the citizens of the *Narmada* Valley. The Friends of River Narmada is entirely volunteer-based". The lines that follows mention the identity of the site by defining one of the points being "NVDP (*Narmada* Valley Development Project) is merely an example of a much bigger problem that is manifesting itself across the country: the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, the Enron controversy in the Dabhol Power Project in Maharashtra, the controversy over the Cogentrix project, the forgery of Environmental Clearances by Ernst & Young; the controversy over the construction of the Bangalore- Mysore highway, the human rights abuses over the port construction at Maroli, and the list goes on" linking NBA with other similar movements nationally.

The "aims and objectives" stated are mainly three: One, expressing solidarity with the movement by research on the issues raised by the movement, educating the public and making our voice heard through public action and rallies of solidarity and petitions; secondly; recording and documenting the struggle and thirdly; public outreach and education. The National Solidarity Network lists six names: *Narmada* Solidarity Coalition of New York, Bat Area chapter of Association of India's Development (AID), Boston chapter of AID, State college chapter of AID, Maryland chapter of AID and International River Network. The contact details provide interesting listing of people and address of four geographies: Canada, USA and Sweden besides Baroda in Gujarat, Badwani, Khandwa and Mandleshwar in Madhya Pradesh. The resources sections links the variety of movements and global and local networks besides print, audio-visual and other materials related to NBA.

2. www.supportnarmadadam.org

Another site selected for research was 'support *Narmada* dam' which had clearly defined its site map. This site had predominant colour of brown and grey. There are two photographs of a dam, one big one with a captioned text in Gujarati and English *"Namami Devi Narmade-Jai Jai Garavi Gujarat"* on the right of the home page and another

below that under caption 'Raise your Voice to Support *Narmada* Dam'. The home page is divided into seven blocks. Apart from text list on left and two photo boxes on the right the other four sections included-Resettlement and Rehabilitation Activities, People's Voices (found blank), Latest news (also without any text) and Appendix including Tribunal Award, Apex Court's Order.

The site map included 23 items as following: Home, Current Status, Latest News, Photo Gallery, Raise your Voice, Need for *Sardar Sarovar Project*, Main Features, Supreme Court Judgement, The *Narmada* River and Basin, Benefits, Environmental Protection, Give us your feedback, Links, *Narmada* FAQ - Answers to all critics, Hunger Strike by Gujarat CM, SSP a National Project, Unravelling of BHAKRA - A critique by R. Rangachari, Inter Basin Transfer of Water in India Prospects and Problems, Water and Civilisation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Activities, A report on the resettlement and rehabilitation program in Gujarat, Tribunal Award, Apex Court's Order.

There is no clear indicator of the 'identity' of the site except the logo and link to the site designer: Madhuvan infotech, Ahmedabad-Gujarat based commercial company. There is also a visitor count on the left corner indicating 17238 visitors to the site by October 2007.

3. http://prajatantra.blogspot.com

Blogger.com as a site is a "group of three friends since 1999 bought by google in 2002" defines itself as a space "focusing on helping people have their own voice on the web and organizing the world's information from the personal perspective". The site provides expressions in 36 languages ranging from Bulgarian to Vietnamese. The site defines blog- popular terminology for web log- as "a website where you write stuff on an ongoing basis. New stuff shows up at the top, so your visitors can read what's new. Then they comment on it or link to it or email you or not". In the process of searching about NBA, researchers came across a blog titled *'Narmada Bachao Andolan se Bachao'* posted on Friday April 7, 2006. This web log was chosen for analysis also because this log had number of hyperlinks and it raised number of issues besides NBA. Narmada Bachao Andolan Online: Exploring Discourses of Representation and Resistance

The blogger defines 'him' as *Lokadhikar* (Lok + Adhikar = Rights of people) and blogspace as "Perceptions and perspectives on Life and Governance in 21st Century India, that is *Bharat*, the largest Democracy in the World" which is "reflecting the hopes, expectations, fears and frustrations of the common man, the centrepiece in a Democracy, who is forgotten more often than not". The blog spot was created by 'him' on May 11, 2005. The NBA blog was posted on 7th April 2007 and at the time of analysis in October 2007 the last comment was that of July 10, 2006. The particular blog had 23 readers including the author responding to the spot over a period of four months. Based on their names for obvious reasons, majority of the commentators were 'males' (15), six females and one regular 'anonymous' reader who had contributed consistently nine times.

Representations and Resistances

NBA pro-movement web site illustrates the concept of hypertext where the text is no longer product of author's original thought process but a site of words and ideas allowing for play of multiple meanings. The site besides introducing the reader to the significant people's movement creates 'space' that 'resists' 'dubious claims of common benefit and "national interest" as well as 'represent' 'struggle for a just and equitable society in India'. The site also globalises the 'voices of voiceless' and represents the 'global civil society'. The 'politics of affirmation as well as that of conflict-ridden encounters, the politics of solidarity as well as that of confrontation' shapes the agenda on the site. The site is both plural as well as polarised since it is a 'campaign for human rights, humanitarian aid, anti-war, anti-nuclearization, antipoverty, and anti-authoritarianism'. The site also draws attention to the rise of projects of globalisation bringing with them feminised poverty, environmental degradation, and extremely elusive condition for peace and security. The main text are issues of human rights, rehabilitation, large-scale irrigation projects, crisis in agricultural economy, alternative harvesting schemes, politics of State and political party in power, indicating the concerns for shrinking civil spaces in

globalised world. The concerns are vital for human existence for instance, electricity, irrigation, and provision of drinking water. The urge is direct and clear "dominant development path being practised today (the SSP being the prime icon of that path) need not be the path of the future".

Contrary to the pro-movement site, the pro-dam site is far more linear and co-opts the similar voices for suitable representation yet interestingly on one page titled UNRAVELLING THE UNRAVE-LLING OF BHAKRA - A CRITIQUE BY R. RANGACHARI quotes two book/report: one by R. Rangachari, Bhakra-Nangal Project: Socioeconomic and environmental impacts, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005 (under publication) and another 'Unraveling Bhakra: Assessing the Temple of Resurgent India' written by the coordinator of Manthan Adhyayan Kendra Report by the anti-dam activist, Shripad Dharmadhikary published in April, 2005. The counter argument in a way represents multiple voices in the otherwise polarised space of the site. Though the identity of the producers of the site is not revealed, it depends heavily on Gujarat case and goes on the extent of defining SSP as 'national project'. Besides that the site description clearly reveals the subtext of masculine, capitalist, pro-state development and counters the movement by putting up a page 'Narmada FAQ- Answers to all critics". The page presents answers to nine questions, first being 'necessity to complete the Narmada dam without suggesting any alternative?' and last being 'loss due to further delay of construction of Narmada dam project?'. The site counters the 'alternatives' suggested in the *narmda*.org site.

Narmada Bachao Andolan Online: Exploring Discourses of Representation and Resistance

Table 1:

Comparison of the Two Websites with Reference to Various Elements

| Website Elements | Narmada.org (Pro-movement web site) | Supportnarmadadam.org (Pro-dam web site) |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Authorship | Clearly defined | Unknown |
| Main Colour | Green | Grey |
| Structure | Non Linear | Linear |
| Engagement | Users - Government | Absent |
| Tone | Personal / We | Impersonal |
| Textual projection | Pictures & words | Pictures & words |
| Links | Too many | Very few |
| Networks | Government - other | |
| | movements | Absent |
| Last Updating | September 2007 | Not identifiable |

Table 1 shows the representations and resistance diversities across two web sites chosen for analysis. As clearly evident the texts of pro-dam sites surprisingly makes the 'author' absent from the location. Also there seems to be no engagement of the reader and as discussed earlier the 'people's voices' though 'boxed' are blank in a way representing absence of people from the discourse of development.

Another dimension to NBA is the way female figure is being projected in the development discourse by symbolising Medha Patkar as icon of NBA. Even the *Tehelka* stories about NBA have been titled, as 'women power, not flower power' (Sengupta, 2006) and '2 decades of Satyagraha, 20 years of NBA- *Ma Rewa Tera Paani Amrit'* (Chaudhry, 2005) reconfirms the feminisation of NBA by people's paper *Tehelka*. Many scholars have pointed about the economic agency of women being layered by complex web of multiple challenges including poverty, unemployment, limited access to land-legal and social discriminations, sexual abuse and other forms of violence. Light Carrurjo quoted by Bhavnani et. al. (2006) comments, "development is not something that is 'done to' the third world; instead, there is an acknowledgement that third world actors, elite and non-elite, male and female, organised and not organised, contribute to the construction of the discourse and practice of development".

Interestingly web log examination revealed agreement to 'masculine, capitalist, pro-state discourse' by majority of the audiences confirming to Gramsci's hegemony theory. Blog being a space of reader's production of meaning, the title of the blog itself indicated anti-movement stand. Surprisingly out of 23 readers, except the 'anonymous' consistent responder and other three, everyone 'agreed' to bloger's statement, "it is a pity that those who feel that Medha Patkar and herilk have a just cause and a right to blackmail the Central and State Governments into changing their decisions, are either not fully aware or ignore the background of the entire issue...Any further delay due to such obstructionist activities will result in further cost escalations in this much delayed project. The cost, direct and indirect due to delayed realisation of benefits, will naturally be borne by the people". This precisely is the language of supportnarmadadam.org website.

It is also the larger question of 'who speaks for whom' and politics of representation. The web log discourse also reveals multiple production of meanings of a same text and production of 'other' texts by readers due to the very nature of the medium of Internet. The space also confirms critical postmodern/feminist's democratic politics of voice and representation "where state is not the overcoming domination once and for all but ongoing imaginative and creative forms of positive resistance to various types of domination" (Yeatman, 1994: 9) The blog space also confirmed that "transnational social structures, which govern the multiple transactions of an interconnected world, are heavily tilted in the favour of the already advantaged and against those persons who are already disadvantaged" (Pogge, 2002: 169).

CONCLUSION

In the words of Hennessy (1993: XVII) "social totalities (capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism) transverse and define many

areas of the social formation- division of labour, dimensions of state intervention and civil rights, the mobility of sites for production and consumption, the re-imagination of colonial conquest and the colonisation of imagination".

Civil liberty movements are influenced by invisible and subtle forms of power through multiple social, educational and cultural structures. The politics of activism consumes rights and obligations and justice beyond borders. Hence huge number of strangers may be sustained or destroyed by institutionally embodied action. Secondly, critiquing unjust global arrangements and recognising the obligations of cosmopolitans to those who suffer the consequences of this highly inequitable world order. Thirdly, the principles of justice, originally designed for national communities are extended to people across borders (Chardhoke, 2007). With the above issues, and rise of transnational activism, problems of everyday existence of poor and impoverished of the third world have reached international forums. NBA pro-movement site is a clear example of that development. An attempt is being made to re-write the collective history of people who have not been able to produce their own histories. However, in staging of these protests, global civil actors more often than not speak highly specialised language that may be incomprehensible for the inhabitants for whom they speak for".

Democratic politics and its terms have to be renegotiated with fresh insights. As in case of NBA, the issue that remains unresolved is how one resolves the tension between the rights of society to benefit from the 'big' development projects, at the same time protect the rights of the communities. But as far as internet as a technology is concerned, it mediates the user/reader and the social world. When the analysis clearly reveals Internet websites are post-modern spaces, reflecting multiple voices and representations, the audiences/blogger spaces still indicate 'conformity' with the 'hegemonic' pro-state voices. It can be concluded that Internet as a location for 'global civil society', represents, confronts and negotiates the 'global' and 'local' and both the websites are clear representation of that reality.

^{*} The original version of this paper was presented at 31st session of Indian Social Science Congress in December 2007 at Mumbai. Authors acknowledge the permission granted by the Indian Academy of Social Sciences to publish this paper.

REFERENCES

- 1. Adorno T (1997) Cultural industry reconsidered, In Marris Paul & Sue Thoruham (ed.), Media studies: A Reader, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- 2. Atton Chris(2002) Alternative media: Sage, London.
- 3. Bennett (2005) Culture and everyday life, Sage, London.
- 4. Bhavnani K, John Foram and Priya Kurian (2006) Feminist futures, Zubaan, New Delhi.
- 5. Chardhoke Neera (2007) Global civil society and global justice, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XIII, No.29, July 21-27, 2007, p-3016-3022.
- 6. Chaudhry Shivani (2005) 2 DECADES OF SATYAGRAHA, 20 YEARS OF NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN MA REWA TERA PAANI AMRIT, http://www.tehelka.com/story_main15.asp?filename=Cr121705 Ma_Rewa.asp, Dec 17, 2005 accessed on 17th October 2007
- Edelman Marc (2001) SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics, Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 30, p- 285-317, October 2001.
- 8. Gramsci Antonio (1971) Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, International Piblishers, New York.
- 9. Hennessy R (1993) Materialist feminism and the politics of discourse, Routledge Chapman and Hall, New York.
- 10. McAdam Doug and David A. Snow (2007) (Ed.) Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics, Oxford University Press, USA.
- 11. McKay George (1996) Senseless acts of beauty: Culture of resistance since the sixties, Verso, London.
- 12. Pogge Thomas (2002) World poverty and human rights, Polity, Cambridge.
- 13. Sengupta Amit (2006) WOMAN POWER NOT FLOWER POWER , Tehelka, May 06 , 2006
- 14. Shukla Dinkar (1991) Understanding the Narmada Controversy, http://www.pib.nic.in/feature/fe1099/f1510991.html accessed on 5th October 2007.
- 15. Sosale Sujatha (2007) 'Pre-modern' online: Converging discourses of globalisation and development, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Monograph, Vol. 9, No 1, Spring 2007.
- 16. Thukral (1992) Big dams displaced people- Rivers of sorrow- Rivers of change, Sage, New Delhi.
- 17. Tomilson John (1999) Globalisation and Culture, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 18. Yeatman A (1994) Post Modern revisionings of the political, Routledge, New York.

Cracking the Glass Ceiling in the Media: Rural Women in Community Radio

KIRAN PRASAD

Abstract : Rural women in India have begun to successfully use alternate media networks to promote gender justice and sustainable development. Community media in various forms- radio, video, television, information and communication technologies such as the Internet and web based networks- are enabling rural women to debate about their rights and empower them through knowledge about different social, political economic and environmental policies and programmes. This paper traces the emergence of a new breed of barefoot journalists- the rural women who have begun to participate in media production and management to promote women's empowerment. Community radio initiatives endeavour to bring in grassroots development while building solidarities among the rural women. This paper presents examples of how rural women are attempting to crack the glass ceiling in the communication media through community radio to bring India closer to gender equality and empowerment that is at the core of sustainable development.

Key words: Rural women, community radio initiatives, gender equality and empowerment, sustainable development

Author: Prof. Kiran Prasad, Professor, Department of Communication and Journalism, Sri Padmavati Mahila University, Tirupati - 517 502. Email: kiranrn.prasad@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

The urban-rural divide is pronounced in 26 African, Latin American and Asian countries leading to skewed development. South-Asia including India is home to the largest rural-urban disparities. These disparities are marked by gender discrimination which is complicated by characteristics including residence (rural areas), ethnic background (indigenous minorities) and socio-economic status (poor households). Poverty and difficult physical and social environments are rife, in addition to women being exposed to exploitive and abusive treatment, all of which have an adverse impact on their lives (Prasad, 2008; Prasad, 2013).

In Indian families, a woman's autonomy and physical mobility are restricted by various cultural traditions and practices, which pose a lifelong disadvantage particularly to rural women. In this context, women's powerlessness is reinforced by behavioral norms grounded in a culture of honor and shame that women are expected to adhere to unequivocally (Prasad, 2013). The most prominent of these behaviors are seclusion, subservience and self-denial, which have important implications for a woman's control over her fate. Women in the rural areas are not to be seen in public leave alone be heard in their own voices.

Development approaches largely regarded women as mere recipients of aid to be cared and protected for rather than giving them due importance in the overall scheme of national development. The result was that women continued to be at the periphery of the national development process that ignored their special requirements and problems with the benefits of planning only reaching them incidentally. It is necessary to hear rural women on their needs to strengthen their quality of life of as they constitute nearly three-fourths of the total female population in India.

In this context, community radio has tracked the difficult journey of rural women who are often home-bound, have lower exposure to mass media and have rarely appeared before the television camera for a highlight of their problems. The transformation of rural women from gaining better media exposure to finding their voice and engaging in the production and management of community radio is a fascinating story. This paper presents examples of how rural women are attempting to crack the glass ceiling in the communication media to bring India closer to gender equality and empowerment that is at the core of the sustainable development.

Broadcasting in India

In India, public broadcasting services include All India Radio (AIR) and Doordarshan (DD) television network which are among the largest broadcasting networks in the world. In 2000, AIR provided radio coverage to 99 percent of the population spread over 89.5 percent area of the country. India is home to 1652 languages, of which about 350 are major ones. There are 22 officially recognized languages in India and 844 different dialects. Radio programmes on AIR are heard in two-thirds of all Indian households in 24 languages and 146 dialects over 120 million radio sets (http://air.kode.net). This offers scope for expansion of radio to cater to the information needs of the vast population who speak nearly 700 dialects in the country (Prasad, 2011).

Apart from AIR, there are a total of 245 private FM radio stations in operation according to TRAI's 'The Indian Telecom Services Performance Indicators' report for the period between January and March 2012 (www.radioandmusic.com). However, private FM radio stations are not allowed by state policy to cover news and current affairs on their own and their programming is mostly entertainment. While terrestrial television is a state monopoly and All India Radio (AIR) alone is allowed to do news and current affairs radio broadcasts from within India, private television channels and FM radio stations function under a licensing system and can be taken off the air for alleged serious transgressions of the rules (Ram, 2011).

Post-1991 economic liberalisation, notwithstanding the remarkable role of the media in the anti-corruption campaign and highlighting the need for gender justice and curbing violence against women in India, majority of the media are pro-market and tend towards commercialization of content (Prasad, 2009; Kumar 2011). In this regard, the broadcast policy of October 2006 permitted civil society

Kiran Prasad

organizations to own and operate their own community radio stations (Prasad, 2006) before which only corporate houses could buy FM frequencies. There are 130 community radio stations in India at present. The tension between the profit motive of the media corporations and the social role that the media are expected to play (Prasad, 2008: 61) has led to some innovative new media types by overcoming existing regulations to favor the local communities.

The mainstream dominant media have been critiqued as commercial in its approach and not effectively serving local community issues and interests. This has led to a search for alternative communication media that would provide greater access to media resources and enable the voices of marginalized communities, particularly rural women, to be heard on their own terms and experiences (Prasad, 2004; Prasad, 2008). Despite the availability of diverse national, regional and local media, the main challenges to media pluralism are the inclusion of the poor (260 million) and women. Community radio has enabled local people to debate and decide on issues which are relevant to them.

The tribes of Chhattisgarh who are among the poorest are among the latest to enter the media sphere. Most of the news sources are in Hindi, a language alien to them. Tribal journalists are scarce and very few among them are trained in the tribal language. Radio is the only medium suited to such an illiterate population. But unfortunately AIR has no news service in the tribal language. Community radio operation is also hampered due to difficulties in obtaining licenses. A unique cell phone-based networking system in Chhattisgarh helps the Adivasi Gonds to share local news and air (Acharya, 2013; Choudhury, 2012).

In 2000, CGNet *Swara* was started by Shubhranshu Choudhary as a voice based portal, based on Audio WiKi software developed by MIT. It is freely accessible via mobile phone and it shares local news with both the citizen journalists and the tribals living in remote areas. Choudhary has trained more than 100 citizen journalists to produce audio news reports. CGNets receives on an average 200 calls a day from local people for accessing those reports. Stories are also posted on a website to reach a wider audience. This service thus overcame the ban on private radio news and reached people who never before had access to local news.

Even before CGNet *Swara* took root in tribal Chhattisgarh, rural women in India have begun to successfully use alternate media networks to promote gender justice and sustainable development. Community media in various forms- radio, video, television, Internet and web based networks- are enabling rural women to debate about their rights and empower them through knowledge about different social, political, economic and environmental policies and programmes (Prasad, 2006). This paper traces the emergence of a new breed of barefoot journalists- the rural women who have begun to crack the glass ceiling and participate in media production and management to promote women's empowerment.

The Women Speak to Women Project of the Deccan Development Society of Andhra Pradesh; the Radio Ujjas of Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan in earthquake ravaged Bhuj; Chala Ho Gaon Mein of Alternative for India Development, Bihar, in the Palamau tribal district of Jharkhand; Namma Dhwani, the VOICES initiative in Budikote, Karnataka; SEWA's Rudi no Radio in Gujarat and Agragamee's Ujjala in Jeypore, Orissa, have programmes designed and produced by the rural women's networks focusing on remote villages that remain untouched by the mainstream media. "Ek kahani meri bhi" ("I too have a story"), is a programme on Community Radio Bundelkhand that reveals the stories and histories of women in the community.These media initiatives endeavour to bring in grassroots development while building solidarities among the rural women.

Rural Women and Community Media Initiatives

In India, through the Right to Information the average citizen has hope of getting information on what the government is doing or not doing. The Magsaysay awardee and the guiding spirit behind the Right to Information campaign, Aruna Roy, who is also a former IAS officer, emphasizes that, "the RTI law is a basic entitlement for the effective use of other laws and rights. Denial of the right to know underlies the denial of all rights. It is therefore a part of all campaigns and basic to any demand for democratic and civil rights" (Roy in Sen, 2001b). Information and communication has become integral to grassroots initiatives particularly for women's development to draw the active participation of women in several development strategies. Women have begun to engage in several new media initiatives to reach the community and also strengthen their cause for development (Prasad, 2008).

Community Radio

In a country where literacy remains a substantial barrier to development, radio, especially community radio, plays an important role in addressing the gap in media exposure. Radio can reach large number of poor people because it is affordable and consumes less power which is in low supply in remote parts of the country and barely affordable for the poor. Community radio, which is spurred on by new social movements and grassroots organizations articulating alternative thinking and development, aims to be the voice of the voiceless, a mouthpiece of oppressed people, especially for those marginalized within a community on grounds of gender, caste, or class. Community radio is defined as having three aspects: non-profit making, community ownership and control, and community participation. It is about the community owning and controlling its own means of communication. Community radio and television, produced by the local people, is emerging as a powerful communication tool among women in the rural areas, especially for its effectiveness in bypassing the literacy barrier.

Community radio enables local people to debate and decide on issues which are relevant to them. Interestingly many programmes are recorded in the houses and courtyards of local people. Youth associations, women's and other groups have variety of programs consisting of discussions of day-to-day problems and success stories of individuals as well as local skits, songs and music. The use of informal local dialect adds to the comfort and confidence of listeners, as well as their comprehension of the information imparted (Uniyal, 1999). Community radio projects and audio initiatives have been successful in promoting women's empowerment in rural India. The Pastapur initiative of the Deccan Development Society of AP is managed entirely by Dalit women. The Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan is an initiative in Bhuj using the medium-wave broadcast channel of AIR. Alternative for India Development, Bihar, which has a radio initiative in Daltonganj, in the Palamau District of Jharkhand, uses paid airtime from a local AIR channel. Namma Dhwani, the VOICES initiative in Budikote, Karnataka, cablecasts programs, made by the community members themselves, right into their homes. Some of the most recent initiatives include Charkha's Pechuwali Man Ke Swar in Ranchi, SEWA's 'Rudi no Radio' in Gujarat and Agragamee's 'Ujjala' in Jeypore, Orissa. With programs designed and produced by the communities themselves, and in their own idiom, these initiatives endeavour to bring in development from the grassroots while building solidarities among the rural women at the same time (Prasad, 2006).

NAMMA DHWANI

Namma Dhwani media centre is located in the Kolar District of eastern Karnataka state, in south India. The average literacy rate is around 45%, though only 20% of women are literate compared with 80% of men. The majority of the population depends upon agriculture as a means of livelihood. The media centre organisation Namma Dhwani, meaning 'Our Voice' in Kannada, the local language, was first conceived in 1999. Its core objective is to combine new and traditional technologies to produce relevant local content in local language that improve the quality of life for people in rural communities, especially those from poor households. Radio is a very popular medium in the region with a high level of listenership. On any given day, radio can be heard playing in most small shops. There are three radio services available in Budikote and surrounding villages: Akashavani radio comes from All India Radio (AIR), located in Bangalore; Gyan Vani is an educational offshoot of AIR; Radio City 91FM, a commercial station privately owned; and the most recent alternative, Rainbow FM, also comes from AIR. Hence, three out of the four radio stations locally available are transmitted by All India

Radio, which underscores the limited range of choices available locally (Nair, Jennaway and Skuse, 2006).

VOICES, a communication resource and advocacy group based in Bangalore, along with an NGO in Chitradurga in Southern Karnataka, is helping local people record their own radio programs aired by the local All India Radio station. One of the pioneering community radio programs in India, the half hour session, known as Namma Dhwani (Our Voices), includes a mix of entertainment and discussion on issues of health, farming, schooling and raising the status of women. Women are actively involved in the management of community radio. The management committee at Namma Dhwani comprises of 10 women, 2 local men, one representative from VOICES, and one from MYRADA, a local NGO. The ten women on the management committee are all representatives of the ten Self Help Groups (SHGs) in Budikote, which, between them, represent around 230 women. Each of these representatives brings with her the needs as well as the ideas of her group, which ensures that the benefits cater to all the women in the community, cutting across age and religious barriers.

This committee is responsible for a number of tasks such as the supervision of management and administrative matters; determining program content and providing regular documented feedback; and importantly, recruiting volunteers, with emphasis on their own SHG members and other girls in the community, and encouraging programming by women. The programming schedule also has regular slots devoted to women. Interviews conducted with farmers while they are at work in the field include women, since most of them accompany their husbands to the fields. There are weekly programs where the representatives from all the SHGs share their activities and financial transactions, bringing about an increasing control of women over their financial positions. There are also programs where family values are discussed by couples. This not only enables women to express their opinions on relationships and equations within the family, but also contributes to the equity in the relationship between husband and wife.

The committee has declared every Saturday as a "women's zone", where only the women will operate the equipment, compere and discuss issues that are relevant to their lives. Such programs lead to an increased level of awareness among women, as they discuss topics such as anti-dowry laws, reproductive health, alcoholism, household medicine, the relevance of traditional customs in present day society and other issues that affect their lives. Each member of the management committee also ensures that an increasing number of women from the SHGs participate in making radio programs at the centre. Namma Dhwani is managed on behalf of the entire community by the women of the community who strive for self-empowerment and rural development. Thus women play a key role in running the community radio.

Because there are several SHGs' in the village, they produce a news based program called "Sangada Varthe" (SHG News), specifically for SHG members. These programs cover issues like information about loan schemes, how to save more, managing an SHG, etc. that would be useful for the listeners. Information is also gathered from SHGs to find out if any of them had been able to save and repay loans quickly, or had devised any productive income-generating activities which are in turn highlighted in the radio program. The programs are well received as they motivate the community to work efficiently and their work gets appreciated on radio.

All SHGs listen to the programme on tape recorders or through cable, and discuss the efficiency of SHGs at their meetings. This programme helped create a link between the SHGs, and also helped to address and resolve the difficulties they encountered. Women are encouraged to participate in radio programs and share stories about the changes in their lives. There were several women who had worked under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) scheme and had gone on to become entrepreneurs running their own business. Such stories help motivate women of other SHGs (Nagaraj, 2011).

RADIO-UJJAS

The arid Kutch district of Gujarat has seen a silent revolution in the area of community radio. In recognition of the role of community radio, the *Kutch Mahila Vikas Sanghatan* (KMVS), Kutch's rural women's group and a grassroots level NGO which works in earthquake ravaged Bhuj was awarded the prestigious Chameli Devi Jain Award of "outstanding media person". Its work straddles several fields from crafts to livelihoods to media. Radio-*Ujjas* was launched by KMVS in 2000 to communicate with thousands of villagers across the region. Launched with the help of IIM-Ahmedabad, it received support from UNDP and Indian Government. All India Radio, Bhuj, has leased weekly air-time to the NGO working with rural women. The all-woman team produces a 30-minute serial every Thursday at 8 pm called *Kunjal Panjee Kutch Ji*. Programs scripted, rehearsed and performed by the rural women with help from *Drishti* Collective are recorded and given to AIR in digital format for broadcast.

The programme reflects the local culture and focuses on several local social problems. Most of the shows are in the form of song and soap opera styled dramas in local language and aims at creating social awareness for alcoholism, dowry, corruption etc and has a news magazine having investigative reports and a segment exploring history and art of the region (www.digitaloppurtunity.org/cgi-bin/index.cgi). The programme is also interspersed with information about panchayat procedures, government formalities about land records and other development information. The KMVS constructively utilised radio to give a new dimension to successful community broadcasting (Sen, 2001a).

An action oriented research project was taken up in Mysore district of Karnataka to instill awareness about Panchayat Raj institutions among the rural population including women. With the support of All India Radio, Mysore, the project team broadcast a 13episode Kannada serial, titled *"Namage Naave Wodeyaru"* (We are our own masters), on the *Panchayat* system with emphasis on *Gram Panchayats*. The episodes were broadcast every Monday (between July and September 1998) between 6.50 p.m. and 7.35 p.m. (see Pur, 2003). Among the episodes broadcast were the philosophy of decentralization; history of decentralization, the Karnataka *Panchayati Raj* Act, 1993, *Panchayat* elections, role of women in *Panchayats* and reservation in *Panchayat* systems. The final episode was concluded by a question-and-answer session. The listeners offered a wide variety of comments and suggestions. The serial provided with a forum for women to give expression to their problems and seek means of redress. The program's success led to a demand for more programs, especially programs that focus on finances and on zilla and taluk *Panchayats*.

WOMEN SPEAK TO WOMEN

The Deccan Development Society (DDS) in Zaheerabad of Medak district in Andhra Pradesh, a backward region that is contiguous with other least developed districts of North Karnataka, works with about 100 Dalit women's groups (sangams) consisting of nearly 4,000 members in 75 villages on areas like sustainable agriculture and empowerment of women. These women were trained in basic film making by the NGO in collaboration with UNESCO and they use their skills to document traditional farming know-how. The DDS has established a media centre and its Women Speak to Women project is carried out through community radio and a community video project. A five-member technically trained team visits the villages in the NGO's constituency and records programs on a simple cassette recorder and edits it again on a cassette editor. The team has already prepared 200 hours of programs.

CHALA HO GAON MEIN

Palamau district in the state of Jharkhand, carved out of Bihar, is one of the most backward areas of northern India. Tribal and nontribal groups constitute majority of the population. They earn their livelihood out of minor forest produces and grow basic crops like paddy, wheat and lentils. Ecological changes as a result of deforestation have adversely affected both the natural wealth of the region and the lifestyles of the communities. Most live on the edge of poverty with a sizeable number of men dependent on migratory-labour-opportunities to earn their living. More than 70% of the women are illiterate. Poverty, however, has not hampered their natural aptitude for song-writing, musical compositions, folk theatre and non-formal information dissemination.

Alternative for India Development (AID) and National Foundation for India (NFI), the two NGOs working in this area decided to dovetail the creative potential of the people with that of community radio to create awareness among people in Palamau. *Vikalp* Radio has been broadcasting on AIR since 2001. Their weekly series "*Chala Ho Gaon Mein*" is highly popular among listeners. Trained in the basics of audio production, volunteers chosen from various villages of Palamau recorded quite a few field-based programs, including the signature tune being composed by the villagers themselves. The recorded programs were then 'narrowcast' in various villages. Enthused by the response, the team then bargained for a slot on the Daltongunj's AIR station and community programming has been aired since 5th August 2001. The programs produced by the Palamau team focus on empowerment of the tribal communities with women as the focus (www.thehoot.org).

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The mainstream mass media are rarely seen taking up the agenda of women's development seriously. In this context, women have begun to successfully use alternate media strategies like the community radio to promote gender justice and equality. Community media in various forms- radio, video, television, information and communication technologies such as the Internet and web based networks- are enabling women to debate about the rights of women and empower women through knowledge about different social, political, economic and environmental policies and programs. It would be interesting to study the performance of women journalists in the community media and their involvement in breaking stereotypes to promote women's empowerment.

Women in the rural areas who engage with community radio need greater awareness of various media laws and ethical regulations that guide the broadcasting sector in India. The key questions of nonprofit making, community ownership and control, and community participation in community radio often requires careful study and considerable social understanding of how caste, religion, kinship and gender influences the flow of information and expression in communities.

Community radio must also grapple with how focusing on reaching the poor may be commercially unsustainable, while commercial success may deflect the media from their stated social objectives. Community radio stations are bound to find it difficult to sustain themselves following the Ministry of Telecommunication's decision in 2012 to hike the spectrum fee to Rs. 91,000 for radio operations. Even though the Government of India maintains a policy of encouraging more community radio stations in the rural and backward regions of the country, this steep hike in spectrum fee can hit community radio operations which do not have any commercial interests and are engaged in empowerment of rural and marginalised communities. It can also prove to be a dampener to those who are new applicants for establishing community radio stations.

Convergence of technologies have created successful hybrid media such as CGNet *Swara* which overcomes some of the technical and legal barriers such as licensing but it is open for the government to check such media through local administration even without a regulatory policy as has been seen in the case of curbing the use of social media. Community radio needs the guidance of expert knowledge, community learning and participation for it to chart a successful and effective path for the empowerment of rural women.

REFERENCES

- 1. Acharya, Keya (2013). 'The new jungle drums', The Hindu, 10 November 2013, p.1.
- 2. Choudhary, Subhranshu (2013). 'CGNetSwara as Social Media', Lecture at a National Seminar on 'Social Media Interventions for Rural Developmentt: Strategies and Approaches', National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, November 1-2, 2012.
- 3. Kumar, Sashi (2011) 'The exercise of hegemony in contemporary culture and media and the need for a counter hegemony initiative', paper at a Sahmat symposium in New Delhi on October 13, 2011.

- 4. Nagaraj, G. (2011). 'Play Your Part: Approaches to Community Participation' in Ground Realities: Community Radio in India, New Delhi: UNESCO.
- 5. Nair, Seema, Megan Jennaway and Andrew Skuse (2006). Local Information Networks: Social and Technological Considerations, New Delhi: UNESCO.
- 6. Prasad, Kiran (2013). 'Burdened by Shame: Women, Media, Culture and Identity Crises in India' in Mira Moshe and Nicoleta Corbu (Eds.). The Walk of Shame, New York, USA: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- 7. Prasad, Kiran (2011) Media Law in India, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law International.
- 8. Prasad, Kiran (2009) 'The False Promise of Media Liberalization in India' in Cherian George (ed.) Free Markets, Free media? Reflections on the Political Economy of the Press in Asia, Singapore: AMIC, FES and Nanyang Technological University.
- Prasad, Kiran. (2008). 'Gender Sensitive Communications Policies for Women's Development: Issues and Challenges' in Katharine Sarikakis and Leslie Regan Shade (Eds.) Minding the Gap: Feminist Interventions in International Communication. USA: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 10. Prasad, Kiran. (2006). 'Cracking the Glass Ceiling: Rural Women making News in India'. Media Asia, Vol.33, No. 3&4, pp. 229-234.
- 11. Prasad, Kiran (2004). Communication and Empowerment of Women: Strategies and Policy Insights from India. (Vol.2). New Delhi: The Women Press.
- 12. Pur, Kripa Ananth (2003). 'Political Communication for Participation: Linking Local Governance and Rural Citizens through Radio in Karnataka' in Kiran Prasad (Ed.) Political Communication: The Indian Experience, Vol 1, New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- 13. Ram, N. (2011) 'The Changing Role of the News Media in Contemporary India', Indian History Congress, 72nd Session, Punjabi University, Patiala, December 11-13.
- 14. Roy, Aruna (2001). Quoted in Ashish Sen (2001b) "The Right to Know". The New Sunday Express, August 26.
- 15. Sen, Ashish. (2001a). "Return of the Radio", The New Sunday Express, June 17.
- 16. Sen, Ashish. (2001b). "The Right to Know", The New Sunday Express, August 26.
- 17. Uniyal, Mahesh (1999). "Radio for the Marginalised", Humanscape, June p.28.
- 18. www.digitaloppurtunity.org/cgi-bin/index.cgi
- 19. www.thehoot.org

'Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond...' -A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood Cinema Spectatorship in Milieu of 'Media Convergence Culture'

ARCHANA CHANUVAI NARAHARI

Abstract: The word 'convergence' is increasingly being used to describe the imperatives reshaping media industries around the globe. *Media convergence, by the sense where old and new media collide,* makes the circulation of media content or message more powerful and focused by enabling the flow of content across multiple media platforms. In fact, the migration behaviour of media audience enables them to go anywhere to any extent in search of entertainment experience of their liking, thus becoming the participants of the media convergence culture. Regarding Hollywood, the increasing common mergers of media companies into corporate conglomerates to control multiple aspects of the entertainment industry is one of the crucial aspects associated with convergence culture of this cinema industry. Further, the advent of digital technology has reinvented the Hollywood cinema and made it commendable in capturing the world markets through its distribution, exhibition, advertising and reception strategies. This research paper evaluates the association between viewing habits of Hollywood cinema and youth's participation in media convergence culture. The participation in media convergence culture is exclusively related to Hollywood cinema in terms of 'seeking information on Hollywood cinema and sharing the derived movieviewing experiences that enable interactivity and interpersonal communication, and carrying out any other extension activities'. The paper also tries to establish the gender significance, in terms of

interactivity and participation in media convergence culture. The study reveals that Heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than moderate and low viewers. Users highly depend on internet, television and published material to seek information on Hollywood cinema or to share the derived experiences. Comparatively Male heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema, play more video games based on Hollywood themes and characters than female viewers.

Keywords: Media Convergence, Convergence Culture, Youth, Hollywood cinema, cinema-viewing.

Author: Dr. Archana Chanuvai Narahari, G., D-97, Anandalaya, NDDB Campus, Anand - 388001, Gujarat. Email: cn_archana@yahoo.co.in Mob: 09825299956

INTRODUCTION

The word 'convergence' is increasingly being used to describe the imperatives reshaping media industries around the globe. Convergence is the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migration behavior of media audience who will go anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experience they want (Jenkins, 2006). UK's 'convergent' media regulator defined, convergence technically as 'the ability of consumers to obtain multiple services on a single platform or device or obtain any given service given on multiple platforms or devices' (Ofcom, 2008). Convergence makes the circulation of media content or message more powerful and focused. Challenging the older notion of passive spectatorship, the ideology of media convergence is amplifying the audience participation to that extent, where the audience tends to converge within his psyche to make himself 'active' in perceiving the content or message, and subsequently share the experience through his social interaction to 'others'.

Digital and wireless interventions consist of smart phones with 3G connection televised broadcasting service, downloading movie through internet, or viewer himself converges with other communication and technological sources like SNS (social networking sites), email, mobile chatting etc.,

The increasing common mergers of media companies into corporate conglomerates to control multiple aspects of the entertainment industry is one of the crucial aspects associated with convergence culture of cinema industry. Today, some giant media corporations of Hollywood including Disney, Time-Warner-AOL, 20th Century Fox, Viacom - Paramount, Sony - Tristar - Columbia and others also make and distribute CDs, books, magazines, newspapers and TV shows. And at the same time own theme parks, sports teams, TV channels, cable TV distributions, and chains of cinema theatres. Benshoff and Griffin (2004) call it a new type of corporate oligopoly of global conglomerates which controls almost all of the world's mass media. Further, the advent of digital technology has reinvented the Hollywood cinema and has facilitated capturing the world markets through strong distribution, exhibition, advertising and reception strategies. In fact, the proliferation of portable and interactive media players and distribution streams have altered the spectator's relationship with film culture in a ways that remain difficult to predict (Tryon, 2009).

While publicity through television and print material remained a common and widely practiced strategy, Internet became one of the best options in the media marketing chain adopted by Hollywood marketers to reach viewers across the globe. For instance, film blogs allowed the audience to connect with each other to discuss and debate their favorite movies and actors, to participate in opinion polls, while YouTube offered vibrant means of interaction among viewers. Efforts like editing the clippings, uploading the trailers, and sharing via YouTube, made viewers unendorsed promoters of cinema. As Caldwell (2008) points out, "the collapse of the barriers between media producers and consumers, then, is less about democracy than it is about co-creating with viewers' information cascades on multiple media platforms." Another common and huge marketing practice by Hollywood that carries out the significant revenue stream is its convergence with gaming industry which started with the Speilberg's movie E.T. (Extra Terrestrial) released in 1982. Video game spin-offs are often tied to the most successful films in the market and are an important tactic in the larger marketing strategy of establishing a film franchise. Indeed, where the most profitable films are concerned, video game releases are becoming the rule rather than the expectation, says Brookey (2010). The revenues generated from both home video market and video game licensing fees has become significant, while both of them are available in DVD formats supported by PlayStation 2 gaming system (PS2), providing a state-of-the art gaming experience with Hollywood super heroes and narratives.

The viewing of cinema is just not about watching films for the sake of entertainment or other gratifications, but it is also about how the audience is involved, occupied, and engaged in sharing the experiences. And it is obvious that many trends have been emerging from time to time in Hollywood cinema viewership, especially in the milieu of media convergence culture. This research paper evaluates the association between Hollywood cinema viewership of youth and their level of participation in media convergence culture.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A widespread popularity of digital technologies and internet are currently playing a key role in movie consuming habits. With the adoption of new technologies, the consumption behaviour tend to change (Zinkhan & Richard, 1998), and can even enforce various national cultures to adopt new protectionist quotas (Feigenbaum, 2002). Social media is new emerged technological zone which not only increases opportunities for communication between marketers and consumers, but also enhances communication among consumers, facilitating a forum for the discussion of products and services (Heffernan et al, 2010). In fact, with these narrow reach channels, consumers are anticipating more personalized information on movies for better information on decision-making process (Septak, 2008). Therefore, these most avid users of media on multiple platforms called "uber-media consumers" are becoming the source of driving changes across entertainment industry (Nielsen Analytics and The Movie Advisory Board, 2006).

According to a social media marketing survey on nearly 4000 movie goers, an overwhelming number of people (94%) including middle aged ones are online, and especially teens and young adults increasingly depend on social networking, digital face to face interaction, texting, searching engines etc., to gain information about new movie releases and help with their decisions about which films to see (Stardella Road, 2010). Online videos in social networking sites like YouTube, Facebook and MySpace is another crucial viewing experience for teens among which movies / entertainment videos occupy top priority (Nielsen Report, 2009).

Whereas in India, a study done on a large sample of 6,200 online users reveals that 90% of the online population uses the Internet for movie information and these users prefer Hindi and English films with regional films coming third. The results also showed that net users watch almost all genres inclusive of adult entertainment and quite interestingly an enormous amount of Internet users (96%) watch movies on television and an whopping number (82%) watch more than one movie a week on TV channels. This unique integration with traditional media is shattering a myth that online users are technophobic (IOAI, Cross-Tab Marketing Services Study, 2005).

The online searches provide information like 'online ratings' that may additionally influence the consumers' propensity to engage in off-line / on-line "word of mouth" publicity for a given movie (Dellarocas and Narayan, 2006). Online movie comments i.e., 'Word of mouth (WOM)', has become a crucial information source that provides references to help moviegoers formulate their decisions (Duan, Gu, and Whinston 2008, San, 2006; Dellarocas et al., 2004). Online WOM determines both innovation and imitation probability (Wang et al., 2010), thus enabling to forecast the sales of entertainments goods like movies (Dellarocas et al., 2007).

A study by De Vany and Walls (2007) estimating the effects of

movie piracy on box-office revenue states by the end of sixth week of a movie release there were 7,50,330 peer-to-peer downloads, 50 FTP downloads and 1,386 IRC downloads. Usernet downloads are estimated to be 2,40,000 on the whole resulting to about 1 million downloads. The unpaid consumption of movies downloaded from popular applications like BitTorrent could displace paid consumption (Chan, 2006). India is among the top 10 countries in the world where illegal file sharing and downloads of Hollywood movies through Internet is taking place (MPDA News Release, 2013). Movie piracy in India is also dominated by piracy of optical discs - DVDs and VCDs, as quoted by Motion Picture Distributors Association (India) Pvt. Ltd (2013). Tens of millions of pirated optical discs are identified every year, but, many more slip through the net and are distributed throughout India, says MPDA (2013). Camcording of Hollywood movies in theatres is another harmful activity identified in India (IIPA, 2012). In fact IIPA recommends that India remain on the Priority Watch List in 2012. According to another study report by MPA and Envisional Ltd., titled 'India: Internet Piracy Landscape Audit (September 2009), the two main internet piracy methods used in India are the file-sharing network 'BitTorrent' and web-based file hosts 'cyberlockers'. The study also reveals that the attitudes of the Indian netizens with regard to piracy or unpaid movie downloads are apparently at ease - 'take it for granted', who are absolutely least bothered about associated legal issues than any of the western countries. The data show that the power of the Internet to expand supply is enormous and on the other hand the large number of people who are so called "free-riders" are consuming movies without paying and this has a substantial effect on motion picture revenues across the world.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The researcher made an attempt to identify the popular preferential source of the respondents to access the Hollywood cinema. For the hypothetical analysis, the researcher has confined to study the spectators' edge i.e., to evaluate the degree of heavy, moderate and low viewers' participation in media convergence culture, exclusively in terms of, Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond...' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

- 1 'seeking information on Hollywood cinema',
- ¹ 'sharing the derived movie-viewing experiences which enables interactivity and interpersonal communication',
- ¹ 'carrying out any other extension activities related to Hollywood cinema'.

OBJECTIVES

- 1. To identify the preferential sources to access the Hollywood cinema.
- 2. To evaluate the impact of level of viewing namely Heavy, Moderate and Low viewership of Hollywood cinema on youth's participation in media convergence culture.
- 3. To identify and evaluate the difference between male and female heavy viewers in terms of participation in media convergence culture.

HYPOTHESIS

- H 1: Heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema tend to participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than moderate and low viewers.
- H 2: Male heavy viewers tend to participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than female heavy viewers.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The current research is based on the Uses and Gratifications theory, reviewed by Rubin (2002), who gave a contemporary view of the uses paradigm grounded on five assumptions. First, audiences' communication behaviour is goal-directed. Second, the audience select and use the media to satisfy their needs and wants. Third, a set of social and psychological factors, including predispositions, the living environment, and interpersonal interactions mediate the communication behaviour. Fourth, the media compete with other forms of communication, like interpersonal interaction, for selection and attention. Finally, through processes after people initiate media

selection, media may affect individual's attitudes and perceptions, characteristics, or socio-political, cultural or economic structures of society and lead to the people reliance on certain media programming.

METHODOLOGY

The survey method was found appropriate for a study of this nature. The sample consists of 400 student respondents. The survey was conducted among 400 respondents in the age group of 15 to 25 years representing both both males and females. The research was carried out in Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, India. The two-stage random sampling technique was used to select the colleges and the respondents. Care has been taken to give equal representation to male and female. The influence of Hollywood cinema was hypothetically tested, in terms of level of viewing and gender by using One-Way ANOVA, Student's t-test, Duncan's Multiple Range test (DMRT) and Multiple Linear Regression Model of SPSS-16. The sample is classified into Heavy, Moderate and Low viewers on the basis of "number of Hollywood movies they watch per week" and the "duration of years" since they developed the habit of viewing. For hypotheses testing, i.e., to analyze the level of Heavy, Moderate and Low viewers' participation in media convergence culture, some 23 activities are identified and grouped into five individual group variables namely;

- 1. **Internet usage:** participating in social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter etc.; maintain / visit a blog; share / download Hollywood film based music; trace Western Music FMs, online; visit official websites of the movies or production houses; watch online movie trailers; upload / watch movie clippings on YouTube or similar video sharing sites; download visuals of movies and stars; read online movie magazines or related content available on net; participate in web-based interactive programs, like solving quizzes, puzzles etc.; and book movie tickets, online.
- 2. **Television usage:** for watching trailers, promotional features like behind the scenes', 'making-of...' stories, directors'

Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond ... ' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

commentary tracks, film news etc.; viewing songs related to Hollywood cinema on TV music channels.

- 3. Usage of Published Material: reading articles, features etc., in published material like cinema magazines, brochures, newspapers and other printed form; reading novels / published versions of popular cinemas to interpret the missing elements in cinema; reading supplement texts like graphic / comic novels.
- 4. **Video games:** to analyze whether viewers are interested in playing video games made with Hollywood themes and characters, or not.
- 5. Other extension activities: like watching movie sequential; visiting special screenings; using mobile phones to download screensavers, ringtones etc., related to Hollywood cinema; usage of any editing software to remove unwanted or offensive material from the movie or to store them for personal intentions; Gather objects / products made on famous stars, characters like toys, souvenirs, photographs, dairies and scrapbooks.

FINDINGS

a. The Demographic profile of the respondents:

The sample consisted of male 53 % male and and 47 % female viewers. A significant percentage of respondents (66.3%) belong to the age group of 15- 20 years and 33.8% of respondents are between the age of 20 - 25 years. The data on the 'type of family' revealed that a great majority of respondents are from nuclear family (78.5%), and very few are from joint family (18.5%). The distribution of respondents on the basis of 'Status of living' disclosed that a considerable amount of respondents fall into upper class category (44.5%), followed by middle class (30.3%) and upper middle class (25.2%). The percentage of heavy viewers (53.75%) is comparatively higher than moderate (30%, N=120) and low viewers (16.25%, N=65).

b. Preferred sources to access Hollywood cinema:

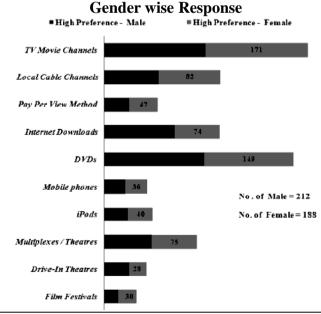
Table 1 provides the details of the respondents' preferential

sources to access Hollywood cinema and figure 1 gives the genderwise preferences. These are the general viewing patterns and preferences of the respondents irrespective of their Level of Viewing i.e., Heavy, Moderate and Low viewership.

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by their PreferentialSources to Access Hollywood Cinema

| | | High Preference | | Medium Preference | | Low Preference | |
|------|--|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| SLNo | | | | | | | |
| | Source | No. of | % | No. of | % | No. of | % |
| | | Resp. | | Resp. | | Resp. | |
| 1. | Television Movie Channels | 340 | 85 | 31 | 7.75 | 29 | 7.25 |
| 2. | Local Cable Channels | 193 | 48.25 | 69 | 17.25 | 138 | 34,5 |
| 3. | Pay Per View Method | 89 | 22.25 | 64 | 16 | 247 | 61.75 |
| 4. | Internet Downloads | 192 | 48 | 89 | 22.25 | 119 | 29.75 |
| 5. | DVDs | 316 | 79 | 52 | 13 | 32 | 8 |
| 6. | Mobile phones | 71 | 17.75 | 69 | 17.25 | 160 | 40 |
| 7. | iPod | 80 | 20 | 56 | 14 | 264 | 66 |
| 8. | Multiplexes / Theatres | 154 | 38.5 | 103 | 25,75 | 143 | 35,75 |
| 9. | Drive-In Theatres | 70 | 17.5 | 83 | 20,75 | 247 | 61,75 |
| 10. | Film Society Screening / Film Festivals | 53 | 13.25 | 40 | 10 | 307 | 76.75 |

Fig. 1: Highly Preferred Sources to Access Hollywood Cinema-



Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond ... ' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

The results show that a majority of respondents (85%) depend on television movie channels to view Hollywood movies. As per the figure 1, out of 212 males, 169 (around 80%) prefer television. Whereas, 171 young females (around 91% of total 188 female respondents) agreed that Television is the best source to watch Hollywood movies. Besides growing number of television channels exclusively set to bring the Hollywood cinema home, other factors like digitized telecast for better audio-visual experience, customized content suitable to capture Indian families and dubbing strategy (like UTV Action Telugu) to bring an indigenous outlook etc., are playing a crucial role to attract the audience. It has been observed that 30 premiers are feasting the viewers every month on the top three English movie channels -- Star Movies, HBO and Warner Brothers. Thus, undoubtedly television remains the best source of access to Hollywood cinema through various movie channels. The content with an array ranging from favored genres to blockbuster titles, the quality of experience and moreover the marketing strategies like distribution, packaging and perception of the television movie channels are driving the audience to stick to them (Talwar, 2004).

The study shows that the usage of DVDs is another best practice to view Hollywood cinema, for both male and female viewers. Out of total 212 male respondents, 167 (79%) prefer DVDs. Similarly out of 188 female respondents 149 female prefer DVDs, which is 79% of the total female sample. Traditionally the home video market which is largely unauthorized with local outlet influences, have been fulfilling on-demand movie needs at very generous low rental rates. Hence, it continues to be easy and cheapest source to seek Hollywood movies. In the questionnaire, when the respondents were asked whether they prefer to watch original version of Hollywood cinema without censor cuts, 53% strongly agreed. According to present regulations it is absolutely not possible to watch uncensored Hollywood films on Indian television movie channels. This can be considered as another significant motive in choosing DVDs either authorized or pirated, despite the availability of cinema on Television movie channels.

With regard to other sources, only about half of the respondents

JMSD, Oct.-Dec. 2013 / 130

(48%) said they depend on Local cable channels. In case of Internet downloads, 48% of respondents have reported that they use internet to download Hollywood cinema, among which 56% are males and 39% are females. This can be considered as a reasonably good percentage, keeping in view that Internet penetration in India is one of the lowest, coupled with very low band speed.

Analysis of respondent's preference of outdoor sources shows attending multiplexes and theatres is slightly low with 38.5% of preference where as it is 85% in TV channels and 79% in DVDs. Figure 1., indicates that women preference in attending multiplexes or theatres is slightly more (N=75, which is 40% of the total female sample) compared with men (N = 79, which is 37% of the total male sample). Reasons that might affect the cinema attendance in multiplexes or single screen theatres could be various like - rise in movie ticket rates, trouble in reachability, no time to visit theatres, pre-hand availability of ratings and opinions on cinema, delay in screening new releases, or limited theatrical releases due to regional cinema precedence and so on. Similarly, study reveals that viewing Hollywood cinema through portable device sources like mobile phones, iPods etc., and other sources like pay-per-view method, attending special screenings etc., is significantly low. In India, while mobile services are creating newer avenues for non-physical music formats, visual experience through these portable devices could be disapproved as it cannot provide full fledged visual experience on a small screen.

Media Convergence Culture

Besides identifying the preferential sources to view the Hollywood cinema, the study mainly aims at analyzing the impact of 'level of viewing' on youth's participation in media convergence culture, in terms of 'seeking information on Hollywood cinema, sharing the derived movie-viewing experiences enabling interactivity and interpersonal communications, and carrying out any other extension activities related to Hollywood cinema'. The study also tries to establish gender differences if any, in terms of the degree of participation in media convergence culture.

H 1 - Heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema tend to participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than moderate and low viewers

Figures 2, 3, and 4., indicate that a fair amount of respondents do possess more than one Television set at home and a majority have personal computers with Internet access, which tend to enhance the scope of respondents to converge more with Internet and Television. The table 2 summarizes the influence of 'Level of Cinema Viewing' on dependent variable of 'Media Convergence Culture' through Oneway ANOVA test. The summary indicates that the p-values for all the specified variables are less than 0.005. This evidently proves that there is a prominent impact of level of viewing on viewer's engagement with media convergence culture. Further, Duncan's Multiple-Range test proves that the Heavy viewers significantly differ and lead in mean scores than moderate and low viewers for all the variables i.e., Internet usage, Television usage and video games based on Hollywood themes, usage of published material and other extension activities. Hence, the hypothesis is highly supported.

Fig. 3: Number of Respondents who

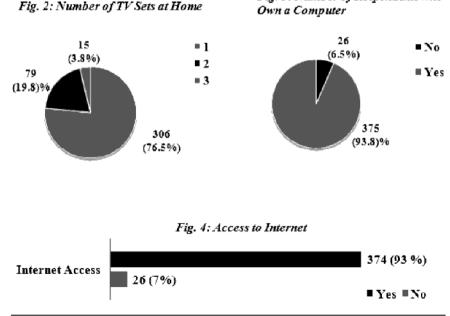


Table 2: Summary of One-way ANOVA - Influence of'Level of Cinema Viewing' on Dependent Variables of'Media Convergence Culture'

| Convergence Culture | Level of viewing | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | F-value | p-value |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----|---------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| | Low | 65 | 2.5888a | .81377 | | |
| Internet | Moderate | 120 | 3.0470b | .73099 | 27.883** | 0.000 |
| usage | Heavy | 215 | 3.3543c | .72445 | | |
| | Total | 400 | 3.1377 | .78988 | | |
| | Low | 65 | 3.4231a | .96108 | | |
| Television | Moderate | 120 | 3.6875b | .99803 | 3.160* | 0.043 |
| usage | Heavy | 215 | 3.7721b | .97715 | 5.100* | 0.045 |
| | Total | 400 | 3,6900 | .98620 | | |
| | Low | 65 | 2.2000a | 1.25250 | | |
| Video games based on | Moderate | 120 | 2.8083b | 1.24547 | | |
| Hollywood themes | Heavy | 215 | 3.0837b | 1.36801 | 11.407** | 0.000 |
| inemes | Total | 400 | 2.8575 | 1.34786 | | |
| | Low | 65 | 2.6615a | 1.07609 | | |
| Usage of published | Moderate | 120 | 2.6639a | 1.03757 | 7.813** | 0.000 |
| material | Heavy | 215 | 3.0729b | 1.01871 | | |
| | Total | 400 | 2.8833 | 1.05131 | | |
| | Low | 65 | 2.4862a | .94470 | | |
| Other | Moderate | 120 | 2.6817a | .86791 | 9.604** | 0.000 |
| extension activities | Heavy | 215 | 2.9944b | .93127 | | |
| | Total | 400 | 2.8180 | .93448 | | |
| | Low | 65 | 2.6719a | .71704 | | |
| Total | Moderate | 120 | 2.9777b | .66208 | 18.524** | 0.000 |
| LOTAL | Heavy | 215 | 3,2555c | .73404 | 10,524 | 0.000 |
| | Total | 400 | 3.0773 | .74098 | | |

Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond ... ' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

Participating in media convergence culture emphasizes a multidimensional concept called 'interactivity' that provides ample choice to users to interact, exert their effort to access the required information, and can maintain interpersonal communication between specific users to share the views. For this reason, 'interactivity' significantly strengthens the core Uses and Gratification notion of active user, because it has been defined as "the degree to which participants in the communication process have control over, and can exchange roles in their mutual discourse" (Williams, Rice and Rogers, 1988).

H 2 - Male heavy viewers tend to participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than female heavy viewers.

Table 3 helps to analyze whether gender is playing any significant role on 'media convergence culture'. The chi-square p-value (0.039) indicates that there is a possibility of difference between male heavy viewers and female heavy viewers with regard to their participation in media convergence culture. The independent sample t-test is executed to study the significant gender differences on each individual variable of 'media convergence culture'. The t-test results are provided in table 3.

| Viewers' Participation in 'Media Convergence Culture' | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----|--------|-------------------|---------|---------|--|
| Convergence Culture | Gender (Among heavy viewers only) | Ν | Mean | Std. Deviation | t-value | p-value | |
| Test and the second sec | Male | 118 | 3.4299 | .70954 | 1.694 | 0.092 | |
| Internet usage | Female | 97 | 3.2624 | .73538 | | | |
| Television | Male | 118 | 3.8178 | .96002 | 0,756 | 0,451 | |
| usage | Female | 97 | 3.7165 | .99976 | | | |
| Playing Video | Male | 118 | 3.3305 | 1.34008 | 2.970** | 0.003 | |
| games | Female | 97 | 2.7835 | 1.34804 | | | |
| Usage of published | Male | 118 | 3.0395 | 1.01384 | -0.528 | 0.598 | |
| material | Female | 97 | 3,1134 | 1,02840 | | | |
| Other | Male | 118 | 3.1508 | .90956 | 2.758** | 0.006 | |
| extension activities | Female | 97 | 2.8041 | .92645 | | | |
| Total | Male | 118 | 3.3537 | .74949 | 2 183* | 0.030 | |
| Total | Female | 97 | 3.1360 | .70014 | | | |

Table 3: Results of Independent Sample t-test to StudySignificant Difference between Male Heavy and Female HeavyViewers' Participation in 'Media Convergence Culture'

The Student's t-test was performed for each individual variable to observe any significant different between males and females. The overall p-value = 0.030 < 0.05 of table 5, indicates a significant difference between male and female heavy viewers in their participation with media convergence culture. The total result given above also specifies that the male heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema have scored higher mean scores (M = 3.3537) than the female heavy viewers (M = 3.1360), which implies that male heavy viewers significantly participate in media convergence culture more than female heavy viewers. Hence, the Hypothesis is significantly supported.

Looking at the perceived significant difference between male and female heavy viewers among individual variables, it is crucially found in two variables i.e., video games and other extension activities. For video games, the mean value of male (3.3305) indicates that men are more interested in playing Hollywood related video games, than female (m = 2.7835). In an earlier study conducted in Germany, Hartmann and Klimmt (2006) found that female respondents are less attracted to competitive elements in video games, which crucially lack meaningful social interaction, followed by violent content and sexual gender role stereotyping of game characters. Traditionally perceived as a "boy's toy," the video game industry remains a medium that is dominated by primarily male interests, despite the popularity of female video game protagonists says Grimes (2003) in a study, which reveals that female protagonist must reconcile traditional ideals about beauty and body type with the decidedly untraditional gender roles and actions she engages in.

Similarly, the p-value (0.006) for 'other extension activities' shows a significant difference between male and female, where mean value of male (3.1508) is leading female (M=2.8041). This implies that men are more active in executing other extension activities associated with Hollywood cinema like watching movie sequential, visiting special screenings, usage of mobile phones to download screensavers, ringtones, usage of any editing software to remove unwanted or offensive material from the movie or to store them for personal intentions.

With regard to usage of Internet to seek or share information on Hollywood cinema, a very trivial difference, but not very significant, is observed between male and female respondents, where the mean score for male i.e., 3.4299 is leading female (M = 3.2624). Follows (2005) study on how men and women use the Internet, found that women are catching up with men in most measures of online life men like the internet for the experiences it offers, while women like it for the human connections it promotes. The statistics show that users who are growing to be the predominant users of social network sites like Facebook and Twitter is the fairer sex i.e., women (Harrison and Grindeland, 2009).

Multiple Linear Regression Model Analysis to study the Influence of Hollywood Cinema on "Youth Participation in Media Convergence Culture":

Multiple linear regression is a statistical technique that uses several explanatory variables to predict the outcome of a response variable. The goal of multiple linear regressions (MLR) is to model the relationship between the explanatory and response variables. This model gives the statistically derived scores of "Hollywood cinema influence" on youth's participation in media convergence culture. The five individual variables are used to develop the regression i.e., Internet usage, television usage, usage of published material, video games, and other extension activities.

Table 4. Summary of Overall ANOVA onYouth participation in Media Convergence Culture

R2 value 0.395

| Source | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F-value | p-value |
|------------|-------------------|-----|----------------|---------|---------|
| Regression | 30.561 | 8 | 3.820 | 8.975** | 0.000 |
| Residual | 166.417 | 391 | .426 | | |
| Total | 196.978 | 399 | | | |

The model as specified in table 4 has R2 value equal to 0.395, which means that around 40% of influence of Hollywood cinema viewing on 'youth's participation in media convergence culture can be defended in terms of gender, age, level of viewing, status of living, and living vicinity of the respondents. Also, the F-value of ANOVA reveals that the regression model - 1 is significant at 0.01 level.

Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond ... ' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

Table 5. Summary of Multiple Linear Regression

| Independent and derived Variables | | Coefficient | p-value |
|--|---------------------|-------------|---------|
| | (Constant) | 1.289** | 0.000 |
| Gender (Comparing with Female) | Male | 0.076 | 0.256 |
| Age (Comparing with age group 15-20 years) | 20-25 years | -0,190* | 0.013 |
| Level of viewing (Comparing with | Moderate viewers | 0.507** | 0.000 |
| Low viewers) | | | 0.000 |
| Status of Living (Comparing with | Upper middle class | 0.146 | 0.102 |
| Middle class) | Upper class | 0.440** | 0.000 |
| Living Vicinity (Comparing with | Living with friends | 0.156* | 0.045 |
| 'Living with family members') | Living alone | 0.084 | 0.602 |

Influence Score = $1.289^{**} + 0.076$ (Male) -0.190^{*} (Age group 20-25 years) $+ 0.507^{**}$ (Moderate viewers) $+ 0.603^{**}$ (Heavy viewers) + 0.146 (Upper Middle class) $+ 0.440^{**}$ (Higher class) $+ 0.156^{**}$ (Living with friends) + 0.084 (Living alone)

From the summary of multiple linear regression model (as detailed in table 5), it is evidently clear that gender, with probability value 0.256 > 0.05, doesn't play a significant role towards youth participation in media convergence culture. With regard to independent variable 'Age', the age group 20- 25 years has the mean influence score 0.190, less than the age group 15 - 20 years, which implies that the influence of Hollywood cinema is significantly more in the age-group 15-20 years towards their participation in media convergence culture.

Concerning the 'Level of viewing', the regression coefficient values indicate that when compared with low viewers, moderate viewers are more influenced with score 0.507, and heavy viewers are even more influenced with score 0.603. Hence, it may be concluded that influence of Hollywood cinema is significantly more on heavy viewers followed by moderate viewers but not on low viewers.

Similarly, upper class respondents with the influence score 0.440, are significantly influenced by Hollywood cinema, when compared with middle class respondents. For respondents of Upper middle class, the p-value 0.102 which is greater than 0.05, proves

Archana Chanuvai Narahari

that there is no significant influence of Hollywood cinema towards the specified variable. Finally, the influence score 0.156 for the respondents living with friends imply that they are more influenced by Hollywood cinema, than those who live with their family. The influence score 0.084 shows that there is no significant influence of Hollywood cinema on respondents who are living alone in their participation in media convergence culture.

Thus, the study reveals that the regression coefficients are statistically significant in respect of the variables like Level of viewing, Age, Status of living, and Living Location, except Gender. Hence, it is observed that the influence of Hollywood cinema on youth in their participation in media convergence culture is significant on those respondents who are heavy and moderate viewers, falling in the age group of 15 - 20 years and who belong to upper class family and those who are living with friends.

CONCLUSION

- Heavy viewers of Hollywood cinema participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than moderate and low viewers either to know more about Hollywood cinema, to share derived experiences, and / or to carry out other associated activities.
- ¹ Heavy viewers extensively depend on internet, television and published material to seek information on Hollywood cinema or to share the derived experiences.
- ¹ Male heavy viewers tend to participate in media convergence culture to a higher degree than female heavy viewers.
- Heavy male viewers of Hollywood cinema, when compared with heavy female viewers, widely play video games based on Hollywood themes and characters. They also carry out other extension activities associated with Hollywood cinema like watching movie sequential, visiting special screenings, usage of mobile phones to download screensavers and ringtones, usage of any editing software to edit movie for personal intensions etc.
- 1 With regard to usage of Internet, male heavy viewers lead female

heavy viewers at a very negligible difference but not at significant level. This indicates a change and enhancement in women's approach towards technologically enabled interactions and personal communications.

¹ The influence of Hollywood cinema on youth's participation in media convergence culture is evident through multiple linear regression model and is significant on heavy viewers, falling in the age group of 15-20 years, who belong to upper class family, and who live with friends.

Participating in media convergence culture emphasizes a multidimensional concept called interactivity that provides ample choice to viewers to interact and access the required information facilitating interpersonal communication between specific users. With the prevailing vibrant media convergence culture, the Indian youth is articulating the derived experiences of Hollywood cinema and its semiotics, more specifically, personally and as well as interactively.

REFERENCES

- 1. A.C. Nielsen Report (June, 2009). How Teens Use Media: A Report on the Myths and Realities of Teen Media Trends. The Nielsen Company, USA. Retrieved from:http://blog.nielsen.com/nielsenwire/reports/nielsen_howteensusemedia_june09.pdf
- 2. Benshoff M., Harry and Griffin, Sean (2004). America on Film: Representing Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality at the Movies. USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- 3. Brookey, Robert Alan (2010). Hollywood Gamers: Digital Convergence in the Film and Video Game Industries. USA: Indiana University Press.
- 4. Caldwell, John Thornton (2008). Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 325.
- Chan, Jeremy (2006). The Impact of Unpaid Movie Downloading on Box Office Sales. Wharton Research Scholars Journal. University of Pennsylvania. Retrieved from: http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1033 &context=wharton_research_scholars
- 6. De Vany S. Arthur and Walls W. David (2007). Estimating the Effects of Movie Piracy on Box-office Revenue. Rev Ind. Organ. Vol.30:291-301.
- 7. Dellarocas, Chrysanthos and Narayan, Ritu (2006). A Statistical Measure of

a Population's Propensity to Engage in Post-Purchase Online Word-of-Mouth. Statistical Science. Institute of Mathematical Statistics. Vol.21(2): 277-285.

- Dellarocas, Chrysanthos; Awad, F. Neveen and Zhang (Michael) Xiaoquan (May 10, 2004). Using Online Reviews as a Proxy of Word-of-Mouth for Motion Picture Revenue Forecasting. Social Science Research Network eLibrary. Retrieved from: SSRN: ttp://ssrn.com/abstract=620821
- Dellarocas, Chrysanthos; Zhang (Michael) Xiaoquan; Awad F. Neveen (2007). Exploring the value of online product reviews in forecasting sales: The case of motion pictures. Journal of Interactive Marketing. Autumn (Fall), Vol.21 (4):23-45.
- 10. Duan, Wenjing, Bin Gu, and Andrew B. Whinston (2008). The Dynamics of Online Word-of-Mouth and Product Sales-An Empirical Investigation of the Movie Industry. Journal of Retailing, 84 (2): 233-242.
- 11. Feigenbaum, B. Harvey (2002). The Effects of New Technologies on Cultural Protectionism. Occasional Paper Series, October 7, Research funded by GW Centre for the Study of Globalization, Washington, USA. Retrieved from: http://gstudynet.com/gwcsg/publications/OPS/papers/feigenbaum.pdf
- 12. Grimes, Sara M. (2003). 'You Shoot Like A Girl!' The Female Protagonist in Action-Adventure Video Games. Level Up: Digital Games Research Conference. Marinka Copier and Joost Raessen (Eds). DIGRA: Utrecht University. Retrieved from: http://www.digra.org/dl/db/05150.01496
- 13. Harrison, Cathy and Grindeland, Mark (July, 2009). The Power of Social Networking for Women Study. Volume 1, Boston: ShesConnected Multimedia Corp.
- 14. Hartmann, T., and Klimmt, C. (2006). Gender and computer games: Exploring females' dislikes. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication. 11(4), article 2. Retrieved from: http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol11/issue4/hartmann.html
- 15. Heffernan, Julia; Lurie, Shana and Mihaylova, Biliana (2010). The Fusion of Social Media, Marketing & Entertainment in a DreamWorks Animation Social Media Plan. University of Harford. Retrieved from: http://www.hartford.edu/ barney/files/pdf/undergraduate/marketing/entertainment_paper.pdf
- 16. IIPA International Intellectual Property Alliance (2012). 2012 Special 301 Report on Copyright Protection and Enforcement. Retrieved from: http:// www.iipa.com/rbc/2012/2012SPEC301INDIA.PDF
- 17. IOAI and Cross-Tab Marketing Services Study (April, 2005). E-ntertainment, Eyes and Ears tuning to the Internet. Internet and Online Association of India. Retrieved from: http://www.domainb.com/ebusiness/general/ Report.pdf
- 18. Jenkins, Henry (2006). Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide. New York: New York University Press.
- 19. MPA and Envisional Ltd. (September, 2009). India: Internet Piracy Landscape

Not just the Cinema Viewing, it's Beyond...' - A Study on Emerging Trends in Hollywood ...

Audit. Piracy Intelligence, Envisional Ltd.

- 20. MPDA News Release (September 18, 2013). Indian Screen Community Calls for Protection of Online Content To Ensure Vibrant Digital Marketplace. Retrieved from: http://www.mpaa-india.org/press/Final%20Press% 20Release_%20Digital% 20conference.pdf
- 21. Nielsen Analytics and the Movie Advisory Board (2006). Modern Movie Experience- a report on moviegoer behavior today, possibilities for tomorrow, and the impact of digital technologies on the movie value chain. Retrieved from: http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/nielsen-analytics-and-the-movie-advisory-board-release-new-study-on-the-modern-movie-experience-56112552.html
- 22. Ofcom (2008). What is Convergence? Paper submitted for the seminar "Why does convergence matter?", On 7th February 2008, Emirates Stadium, Highbury, London.
- 23. Rubin, A. M. (2002). The uses-and-gratifications perspective of media effects. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), "Media effects: Advances in theory and research" (2nd ed., pp. 525-548). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbawn Associates.
- 24. San, Lim San (July, 2006). Factors Related to Online Movie Comments Trust and Watching Movie Intention. Masters' Thesis submitted to National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, Taiwan.
- 25. Septak, Daniel (May, 2008). Understanding the Effectiveness of Trailers, Teasers, and Television Spots in Marketing Movies. Thesis for graduation submitted to New York University. Retrieved from: http://web-docs.stern.nyu.edu/old_web / emplibrary/Daniel%20Septak_ Honors%202008.pdf
- 26. Stradella Road Study (2010). MOVIEGOERS: 2010. Retrieved from: http://www.slideshare.net/gpaddison/moviegoers-2010-stradella-road
- 27. Talwar, Sakshi (November, 2004), What drives English movie channels? Retrievedfrom:http://www.exchange4media.com/e4m/news/ fullstory.asp?section_id=6&news_id=14161&tag=8896#
- 28. Tryon, Chuck (2009). Reinventing Cinema: Movies in the age of Media Convergence. USA: Rutgers University Press.
- 29. Wang, Feng; Zhang, Yin; Li, Xiaoling and Zhu, Huawei (2010). Why do Moviegoers go to the Theatre? The Role of Prerelease Media Publicity and Online Word of Mouth in Driving Moviegoing Behavior. Journal of Interactive Advertising. Fall, Vol. 11(1):50-62.
- 30. Williams, F., Rice, R. E., and Rogers, E. M. (1988). Research Methods and the New Media. New York: Free Press.
- 31. Zinkhan, George M. and Richard T. Watson (1998). Electronic Commerce: A Marriage of Management Information Systems and Marketing. Market-Focused Management. Vol.3 (1):5.22.

INTRODUCTION

Television viewing is not an isolated experience for the child. Much of the viewing occurs, and is influenced by the child's larger social environment. However, most of the research on children and television has not focused attention on this aspect, while pursuing a two-dimensional approach. In the first, television has been examined to determine its impact on the learning and behavior of the child. In the second, characteristics of the individual child have been examined as influences on how television messages are attended to, comprehended and used. These two approaches focus completely on the individual child's cognitive sophistication, interests, and motivations. They rarely place the child in the larger social context (Pinon, Huston and Wright, 1989). Since much of children's viewing occurs in the social context of family or friends, it is important to examine the impact of these influences on their viewing behavior. Family is the first socializing agent for children and as such, along with affecting various other developmental areas, it also influences children's television viewing. The various characteristics of the family and its members are therefore important determinants of children's television viewing. In India especially, television viewing is a social activity, in which the entire family participates. Thus it is important to place the development of children's television viewing in the larger social context of socialization in the family.

In most middle class Indian homes that have four to five rooms, the drawing room is a social space that is shared by all the members of the family. Placing of the television set in the drawing room reveals the status accorded to television. In heavy viewing households, where television is turned on for a large part of the day, sometimes even when no one is watching it, it becomes a background medium for various day to day activities of the family members. Background exposure occurs when the child is incidentally exposed, as and when the child is present while the other members of the family watch television. Foreground exposure is when the child watches programs made for him/her while paying attention to the medium. Children who spend most of their time in the drawing rooms, playing, reading or completing their homework are thus exposed to television for a

Children and Television: The Family Context of Media Use

B.N. NEELIMA

Abstract : Television viewing is not an isolated experience for the child. Much of the viewing occurs, and is influenced by the child's larger social environment. However, most of the research on children and television has not focused attention on this aspect, while pursuing a two-dimensional approach. Television has either been examined to determine its impact on the learning and behavior of the child or characteristics of the individual child have been examined as influences on how television messages are attended to, comprehended and used. These two approaches focus completely on the individual child's cognitive sophistication, interests, and motivations. They rarely place the child in the larger social context (Pinon, Huston and Wright, 1989). Since much of children's viewing occurs in the social context of family or friends, it is important to examine the impact of these influences on their viewing behavior. Family is the first socializing agent for children and as such, along with affecting various other developmental areas, it also influences children's television viewing. This study therefore examines how the various characteristics of the family and its members are important determinants of children's television viewing. It presents the results of a survey conducted among 400 children in Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh. It establishes the fact that the family has an important role to play in determining children's television viewing and also affects certain correlates of television viewing.

Key words: Children, Television, Family, Socialization, Media environment

Author: Dr.B.N.Neelima, Assistant Professor, Department of Communication and Journalism, Sri Padmavathi Mahila University, Tirupati, Email: neelprof@gmail.com

major part of the day. Parents engrossed in watching television may also not pay attention to the child's needs. Thus television intervenes with the day to day functioning of the family members.

The family also makes a number of adjustments to watch their favorite television programs. Children may reschedule their play and homework in order to watch television. Meals time in many homes is television time, with dinner scheduled according to the family's favorite programs. Not only does this affect the family's consumption of food, it also affects the valuable dinner time conversation among family members. Television may also serve to alienate the family members, though they are home bound together in the evenings in front of the television set. The family members may relate more to the programs than to other members watching television. Thus, though physical proximity has increased, social togetherness may decrease (Yadava and Reddi, 1998). This will be the case unless the parents or other members of the family initiate conversation while watching television.

Apart from the family's mode of viewing, various personal characteristics of parents such as their socio-economic status has been found to have a direct bearing on children's television viewing behavior. Educated parents are likely to enable their children to value reading. They will thus engage their children in various literary activities such as reading books by buying more books for their children. A study conducted by Bianchi S. and Robinson J (1997) revealed that children of highly educated parents, study and read more and watch less television. Educated parents might also encourage their children to watch certain kinds of programs that they feel are beneficial and discourage them from watching violent or adult programs. Mother's education is very important in this regard as in most cases she may have a greater influence on children's television viewing (Roe, 2000). The quality of home environment also supports children's viewing of educational TV programs and infrequent viewing of entertainment TV (Huston, Wright, Marquis and Green, 1999).

Family income is also an important determinant of children's television viewing, though the nature of the impact has been found to

be varied. While some studies find that parents with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to regulate (Brown, Childres, Bauman and Koch, 1990), others have found a negative relationship between socio-economic status and regulation (Lin and Atkin, 1989). Children of low-income families may not have the resources to indulge in entertainment outside the home. Television being a relatively cheaper entertainment medium, many of the low and middle income group parents might prefer TV rather than taking their children to movies or other places where they may have to spend more money. They are thus likely to be exposed to television for greater periods of time owing to lack of alternatives. Families with higher incomes can provide their children with other entertainment media at home such as DVDs, electronic toys or video games that may also serve to decrease the amounts of time that children spend with television. This reinforces the thesis that parental education and family income are predominant predictors of the human and social capital investments that children receive. The present study therefore attempts to investigate the influence of these various factors on the television viewing of children.

Parents are also major contributors to a child's development of critical viewing skills. Although there is a vast body of research on parenting, there is very little research on parent's monitoring of children's television use. The meager research on parental regulation of children's media use yields mixed results. Estimates of the actual percentage of parents who actively regulate their children's media use vary from study to study (Dorr and Rabin, 1995). A majority of the studies however conclude that although parental regulation and encouragement play a role in children's viewing experiences, particularly at 5 and 7 years of age, the strongest long-term predictors of children's entertainment viewing are parental education, family size, and the age and sex of the child (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997). Active mediation by parents has also been found to reduce the negative effects of television such as aggression, while helping the child to discriminate between fantasy and reality in television content. When parents take an active mediating stance toward television, and comment about programs, children may acquire a critical stance toward the medium. Children so influenced may fail to show the more negative effects of

viewing and perhaps even learn some constructive orientations (Singer and Singer, 1986).

Mediation of television content is a kind of parental authority which when implemented sends a message to the child that television content must be used wisely. Parents may use different mediating techniques to limit their children's television viewing.

Television mediation comprises three distinct but related activities: active mediation or talking to children about television, restrictive mediation or setting rules or regulations about children's television viewing, and co-viewing, or simply watching television with children (Nathanson and Cantor, 1996). It is important to understand the effects of these mediation techniques when applied individually and collectively.

Children who receive active or restrictive mediation tend to experience positive outcomes such as increased comprehension of television (Collins, Sobol and Westby, 1981; Desmond, Singer, Singer, Calam and Colimore, 1985). Such children also develop skepticism towards television (Austin, 1993). Negative mediation may serve to reduce the amount of time that the television is watched as it subtly tells the child that television content is unimportant. Children who receive negative active mediation tend to be less aggressive (Hicks, 1986) and express less aggressive attitudes after viewing (Corder-Boltz, 1980) than others who do not receive this negative mediation.

The mere fact of maternal involvement in a child's television viewing regardless of what exactly a mother may say about a television program makes a child more attentive and receptive to information presented on the screen (Messaris and Kerr, 1984). However, mediation of children's television viewing by parents may not be consistent throughout childhood, with parents intervening only at certain times and in certain contexts. It is natural for any parent to increase mediation if a child receives low grades in school. Mediation may also be higher when the child is young (Austin et al, 2000). The frequency of active and restrictive mediation generally declines as children's age increases (Lin and Atkin, 1989). Also at certain times, parents might allow children to watch television in order to complete their own personal tasks. Parents might also interfere only when they find children watching certain programs that are objectionable.

Children lack the cognitive skills of adults necessary to evaluate program content. Children may fail to understand or may misunderstand program content if they lack the essential background knowledge. They may accept program content as accurate information when more knowledgeable viewers know it to be otherwise. Therefore situations in which parents co-view with their children and explain program content to them, supplement their children's knowledge of television content and help them to be wise media consumers.

Thus various familial factors affect children's television viewing and the family therefore emerges as a strong predictor of their viewing behavior.

METHODOLOGY

Keeping in view the importance of several family variables in the television viewing behavior of children, a study was conducted to analyze the association of certain parental and family variables with children's television viewing. The study was conducted among 390 elementary school children in Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh. Out of 70 recognized English medium schools in Tirupati, 35 were chosen randomly. From each school 12 children were chosen, 4 from each class (class 3rd, 4th and 5th). Care was taken to keep the number of girls and boys equal as far as possible. Only 390 responses were found complete and as such they were selected for the final data analysis. An interview schedule was administered to children that contained questions on the television viewing behavior of children. A schedule was also administered to their parents that sought responses on their personal and family variables.

MAJOR FINDINGS

1. Children's Television Viewing and Parent's Personal Variables

For the purpose of the study children were grouped into light (watching 1-2 hrs per day), moderate (watching 2-3 hrs per day) and heavy (watching more than 3 hrs a day) viewers.

| Table 1. Association between Children's Television Viewing and |
|--|
| Parent's Demographic Attributes |

| Children's | Educational | Qualificati | en e | f Mother | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|---|
| Television Viewing | Up to Matriculation | Degre | e | PG and Above | Total | Chi - Square |
| Light | 9 (2.31%) | 64 (16.4 | l%) | 53 (13.59%) | 126 (32.31%) | |
| Moderate | 45 (11.54%) | 46 (11.7 | <i>?</i> %) | 34 (8.72%) | 125 (32.05%) | 1 |
| Heavy | 86 (22.05%) | 38 (9.74 | %) | 15 (3.85%) | 139 (35.64%) | 1 |
| Total | 140(35.90%) | 148(37.94 | 1 %) | 102(26.15%) | 390 (100%) | χ2 = 89.578** (df=4) P value = 0.000 |
| | Educational | Qualificat | ion o | f Father | | |
| | Up to Matriculation | Degre | e | PG and Above | Total | |
| Light | 8 (2.05%) | 41 (10.5 | 1%) | 77 (19.74%) | 126 (32.31%) | |
| Moderate | 31 (7.95%) | 52 (13.3) | 3%) | 42 (10.77%) | 125 (32.05%) | |
| Heavy | 55 (14.10%) | 60 (15.3 | 3%) | 24 (6.15%) | 139(35.64%) | $\chi^2 = 67.583^{**}$ (df=4) |
| Total | 94 (24.10%) | 153(39.2 | 3%) | 143(36.67%) | 390(100%) | P value = 0.000 |
| | Employme | ent Status | of M | other | Total | |
| | Unempioy | re d | Emp | loyed | |] |
| Light | 66 (16.92%) | 60 | | (15.38%) | 126 (32.31%) | $\gamma 2 = 27.055**$ |
| Moderate | 95 (24.36%) | | 30 | (76.92%) | 125 (32.05%) | (df=2) P value = |
| Heavy | 111 (28.46%) | | 28 | (7.18%) | 139 (35.64%) | 0,000 |
| Total | 272 (69.74%) | | 118 | (30.26%) | 390 (100%) | 1 |

It is evident from Table-1 that there is a significant association between father's education, mother's education and the employment status of mother with children's television viewing (P<0.01). Similar findings have been reported by Roberts et al., (1999) and Hesketh, Crawford and Salmon (2006). They found that lower educational and employment status of parents is inversely related to television viewing. Juan's (1989) findings also support the findings of the present study that there is a significant association of parent's education with children's television viewing.

2. Children's Television Viewing and Family Variables

Table 2:Association of Children's Television Viewing Habits andDemographic Attributes of Family

| Children's | 0 | Family Type | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| Television Viewing | Nuclear | Joint | Extended | Total | Chi Square |
| Light | 120 (30.77%) | 5 (1.28%) | 1 (0.26%) | 126 (32.31%) | |
| Moderate | 99 (25.38%) | 15 (3.85%) | 11 (2.82%) | 125 (32.05%) | χ2 = 95.922** (df=4) |
| Heavy | 63 (16.15%) | 65 (16.67%) | 11 (2.82%) | 139 (35.64%) | P value = 0.000 |
| Total | 282 (72.31%) | 85 (21.79%) | 23 (5.90%) | 390 (100%) | |
| | s | ize of family | | | |
| | Less than 4 | 4-6 members | > 6 members | Total | |
| Light | 95 (24.36%) | 30 (7.69%) | 1 (0.26%) | 126 (32.31%) | |
| Moderate | 82 (21.03%) | 31 (7.95%) | 12 (3.08%) | 125 (32.05%) | $\chi^2 = 82.586 * *$ (df=4) |
| Heavy | 45 (11.54%) | 73 (18.72%) | 21 (5.38%) | 139 (35.64%) | P value = 0.000 |
| Total | 222 (56.92%) | 134 (34.36%) | 34 (8.72%) | 390 (100%) | |
| | Fa | unily Income | | | |
| | Below Rs.10000 | Rs. 10000 to 20000 | Rs.20000 and above | Total | |
| Light | 15 (3.85%) | 53 (13.59 %) | 58 (14.87%) | 126 (32.31%) | $\chi^2 = 44.006^{**}$ (df=4) |
| Moderate | 37 (9.4%) | 52 (13.33%) | 36 (9.23%) | 125 (32.05%) | P value = 0.000 |
| Heavy | 60 (15.38%) | 58 (14.87%) | 21 (5.38%) | 139 (35.64%) | |
| Total | 112 (28.72%) | 163 (41.79%) | 115 (29.49%) | 390 (100%) | |

The above table 2 reveals that there is a significant association of family type, size and income with children's television viewing (P <0.01).

Similar findings have been reported by Atkin et al (1991) who found a significant association of family type and size with children's television viewing. The researchers suggested that children of joint and extended families which have more number of members watch more television, as parents have less control over them. Schmitt (2000) also found that household characteristics that correspond to statistically significant differences in time spent with media included family composition. Roberts et al (1999) and Schmitt (2000) have also found that children in low income families watch more television. Neuman (1991) also found family income to be significantly associated with television viewing. This is probably because parents of low income families are not able to provide other alternatives to children in their leisure time.

3. Children's Television Viewing and the Media Environment At Home Table 3: Association between Children's Television Viewing and Media Environment at Home

| | | Media | Environm | chi ai | Home | |
|------------|---------|-----------------------|---------------|----------|------------|--------------------------|
| Children's | | | | | | |
| Television | 011 | Old Media Old and New | | Total | Chi Square | |
| Viewing | | viedia | Media | | | |
| | | 20 | 106 | | 126 | |
| Light | (5.1 | 3%) | (27.18% | 5 | (32.31%) | |
| | | | | | | $\chi^2 = 28.806^{**}$ |
| | 2 | 42 | 83 | | 125 | (df=4) |
| Moderate | | 77%) | (21.30% | a l | (32.05%) | P value = 0.000 |
| | | 55 | 74 | ·/ | 139 | |
| Heavy | | 67%) | (18.97% | 5 I | (35.64%) | |
| | ` | 27 | 263 | ·/ | 390 | - |
| Total | (32 | 57%) | (67.44% | 5 I | (100%) | |
| | (2.2.1 | | I Buying of P | , | | |
| Children's | | тасна | i buying orr | Other | | 4 |
| television | No sub | scription | Only | print | Total | |
| viewing | | scription | news papers | media | | |
| | | 12 | 22 | 92 | 126 | $\gamma 2 = 56.086^{**}$ |
| Light | |)8%) | (5.64%) | (23.59% | | (df=4) |
| | * | 26 | 50 | 49 | 125 | P value = 0.000 |
| Moderate | | 57%) | (12.82%) | (12.56% | | 1 value - 0.000 |
| | · · | 37 | 62 | 40 | 139 | - |
| Heavy | | 19%) | (15,90%) | (10.26% | | |
| | · · | 75 | 134 | 181 | 390 | - |
| Total | | 23%) | (34.36%) | (46.41% | | |
| | (u.z., | 2.570) | (54,5070) | (10,11) | (I\\//0) | { |
| | Aı | nount of Ti | me TV is tur | ned on a | at home | |
| | < 1hr | 1-3 hrs | 3-6 hrs | > 6 hrs | Total | |
| | 10 | 88 | 24 | 4 | 126 | 1 |
| Light | (2.56%) | (22.56%) | (6.15%) | (1.03% | (32.31%) | $\chi^2 = 133.031^{**}$ |
| | 2 | 34 | 74 | 15 | 125 | (df=6) |
| Moderate | (0.52%) | (8.72%) | (18.97%) | (3.85% | (32.05%) | P value = 0.000 |
| | 4 | 13 | 90 | 32 | 139 | |
| Heavy | (1.03%) | (3.33%) | (23.10%) | (8.21% |) (35.64%) | |
| | 16 | 135 | 188 | 51 | 390 | 1 |
| Total | (4.10%) | (34.62%) | (48.23%) | (13.10% | 6) (100%) | |

Table 3 reveals that there is a significant association between children's television viewing with the type of media at home, buying of print media by parents and the amount of time that television is switched on at home (P<0.01). Neuman (1986) concluded from his study that buying of books and magazines for children by parents promotes a healthy reading environment at home which is often indicative of children's leisure reading preferences and television viewing

Schmitt (2000) also reported significant association between type of media at home and children's use of these media. The association was inverse in nature.

CONCLUSION

From the findings of the study it becomes clear that there exists an association between demographic variables of parents, family variables and the home media environment and children's television viewing. As children's television viewing has been found to be associated with their academic achievement and also with their growth and development, strategies need to be framed in order to mitigate the effects of television viewing on children.

Policy Implications

- 1. Policies that aim to limit children's television viewing must be aimed at parents of low socio-economic groups. Since it is found that children of these parents watch more television, specific policies must be aimed at them. Educational and awareness programs for these communities can help in sensitizing parents to the evil effects of prolonged television viewing. The family as a whole must be involved in monitoring children's media diet. Especially in the case of joint families, parents may not be able to pay specific attention to their children. Thus involving the family members in monitoring children's television viewing will lessen the harmful effects of the medium.
- 2. Since the home media environment is found to be associated with children' viewing, parents must monitor the kind of media at home and the amount of time that TV is left turned on. Apart from this, increasing parental subscription to books and magazines for children and encouraging them to read print media

will help in steering them away from TV and introduce them to a new and rich experience of book reading.

- 3. Parents and other community members must support efforts to use TV constructively to expand children's knowledge and promote the development of positive social values. In this regard, a national policy for children's television needs to be formulated that must include the following;
 - ¹ Encouraging the production of indigenous TV programs for children and a scrutiny of videotapes of the programs to be telecast and elimination of all television programs linked to toys.
 - ¹ Such programs must be more developmentally appropriate, that meets children's diverse needs for information, entertainment, aesthetic appreciation, positive role models and knowledge about the world (Huston et al., 1989)
 - ¹ Formulate legislation to develop voluntary television industry standards to alleviate violence in programming.
 - Limiting violence in programs and during the time that children are likely to watch TV.
 - ¹ Develop a parental guidance rating system for network and cable television, videotapes, and computer games.

REFERENCES

- 1. Austin, E. W. (1993). Exploring the Effects of Active Parental Mediation of Television Content. Journal of Broad-Casting and Electronic Media, 37,147-158.
- 2. Austin, E.W., Pinkleton, B.E., & Fujioka, Y. (2000). The Role of Interpretation Processes and Parental Discussion in the Media's Effects on Adolescents' Use of Alcohol. Pediatrics, 105, 343-349.
- 3. Bianchi, S. M.. & Robinson, J. (1997). What Did You Do Today? Children's Use of Time, Family Composition, and the Acquisition of Social Capital. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59, 2, 332-344.
- 4. Brown, J. D., Childers, K. W., Bauman, K. E., & Koch, G. G. (1990). The Influence of New Media and Family Structure on Young Adolescents' Television and Radio Use. Communication Research, 17, 65-82.
- Collins, Andrew, W., Brian, L. Sobol, & Sally, Westby. (1981). Effects of Adult Commentary on Children's Comprehension and Inferences about a Televised Aggressive Portrayal. Child Development, Vol. 52, No.1,158-163.
- 6. Corder-Bolz, C. R. (1980). Mediation: The Role of Significant Others. Journal of Communication, 30, 106-118.

- Desmond, Roger J., Jerome L. Singer., Dorothy G. Singer., Rachel, Calam, & Karen Colimore. (1985). Family Mediation Patterns and Television Viewing: Young Children's Use and Grasp of the Medium. Human Communication Research, 11 (1985), 461-480.
- Dorr, A., & Rabin, B. E. (1995). Parents, Children, and Television. In: M. Bornstein (eds.). Handbook of Parenting, Vol. 4, Pp. 323-351. Mahwah, New Jersey, Erlbaum.
- 9. Hesketh, Kylie., David Crawford, & Jo Salmon. (2006). Children's Television Viewing and Objectively Measured Physical Activity: Associations with Family Circumstance, International Behavioral Nutrition Physical Act. 3:36, Published Online 2006 Oct 25. DOI: 10.1186/1479-5868-3-36.
- Hicks, D. J. (1968). Effects of Co-Observer's Sanctions and Adult Presence on Imitative Aggression. Child Development, Vol.39 (1), pp. 303-309. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- 11. Huston, A.C., Wright, J, C., Marquis, J., & Green, S.B. (1999). How Young Children Spend Their Time: Television and Other Activities. Development Psychology, Vol. 35, 912 -925.
- Juan, R.W. (1989). Children's Perceptions of Television as a Function of Various Modes of Parental Guidance. Dissertation Abstract International, Vol. 49 (8), DA 882 1563.
- Lin, C.A., & Atkin, D. J. (1989). Parental Mediation and Rulemaking for Adolescent Use of Television and VCRs. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Vol.33, 53-67.
- 14. Messaris, P., And Kerr, D. (1983). Mothers' Comments about TV: Relation to Family Communication Patterns. Communication Research, Vol.10, 175-194.
- 15. Nathanson, Amy J., & Joanne Cantor. (1996). Children's Fright Reactions to Television News. Journal of Communication, Vol. 46, No. 4, 139-152.
- 16. Neuman, S. B. (1986). The Home Environment and Fifth-Grade Students' Leisure Reading. The Elementary School Journal, Vol.86, 335-343.
- 17. Neuman, W.R. (1991). The Future of the Mass Audience. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Pinon, M.F., Huston A.C., & Wright, J.C. (1989). Family Ecology and Child Characteristics That Predict Young Children's Educational Television Viewing. Child Development. Vol. 60, 846 -856.
- 19. Roberts D.F., Foehr, U.G., Rideout, & V.J., Brodie, M. (1999) Kids & Media @ The New Millennium. Menlo Park, CA, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- 20. Roe K. (2000). Socio-Economic Status and Children's Television Use Communications. In Communications, Vol. 25, 3-18, Gruyter, Berlin, Allemagne.
- 21. Schmitt, K. (2000). Public Policy and Parental Mediation in the Multi-Media Environment of the Home, Philadelphia, PA,: The Annenberg Public Policy Centre.
- 22. Singer J.L. & Singer, D.G. (1986). Family Experiences and Television Viewing as Predictors of Children's Imagination, Restlessness, and Aggression. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 42, 107-124.
- 23. Yadava & Reddi (1998). In James Lull (ed), World Families Watch Television, London, Sage.

Internet, Political Communication and Media Inclusion in India - A Conceptual Perspective

USHARANI N.

Abstract : In the wake of Internet playing crucial role in social movements like Anna Hazare's India Against Corruption Movement, 2011 and Nirbhaya's Delhi Gang Rape case of December 16, 2012 this study tries to review the political consequences of Internet in India. Many research initiatives have studied the effects of Internet on political process. The inclusivity of Internet and the flexibility of the communication technology will transform society through political empowerment of ordinary people persuading them to participate in the political process. Democratization of media has facilitated space for public opinion that is evolved through intense participation and commitment by the masses. The recent social and political engagements by the common man in India endorse the premise that Social media like Twitter, Facebook and blogs have become a mainstay for activists around the world to share information and organize protests.

Key Words: Media inclusion, Internet, Social movements, Democratization of Media.

Author: Dr. Usharani N., Professor, Department of Studies in Communication & Journalism, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore- 570 006. Email: usharani_mc@yahoo.co.in

INTRODUCTION

India has 898 million mobile phone users and 292 million of them are living in rural areas. Mobile signals reach 77 % of the geographical area. An estimated 121 million people including 24 million in rural areas use internet in India. With the increase in mobile users every fraction of a minute, it is believed that mobile phones will expand the growth of internet. India is poised to exploit the benefits of media convergence. No mobile industry can afford to ignore India's 400 million young population which is perhaps more than the population of USA. India is also busy networking its over 800 universities and 24,000 colleges through Optical Fibre Cable to improve quality of education and increase employability of its youth by providing access to Internet. According to the World Internet Project International Report 2012, countries like Australia, Canada, Columbia, Italy, New Zealand, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom are reported to have more than 80% of heavy Internet penetration. Comparatively India is still lagging behind with 13% of Internet users which is abysmally low.

Mobile phones are becoming cheaper and have incredible multiple media features ever seen in the history of communication technology. Mobile computing will make internet much more accessible and affordable in India in the coming days. Today only 2% of rural areas in India have access to internet underlining the hurdle of digital divide that every development initiative has to encounter. Nevertheless, many studies related to the impact of internet have highlighted certain significant trends which indicate that the Internet use is gradually expanding and preference for online news is showing an upward trend even in cities with low Internet penetration in India (Bamezai et al, 2011).

According to the Indian Readership Survey 2011, Internet usage for the purpose of media has increased to 36% perhaps due to raise in the use of mobile phones and iPods. The rapid expansion of Internet in India has influenced the tech savvy youth and middleclass people to be more participatory in the political process through civil society activities. Considerable increase in the involvement of youth and educated women in demonstrations, sending sms, signing online

petitions, writing blogs, tweets, forwarding mail and expressing their comments and opinions in online news media on issues of social importance cannot be overlooked as it illustrates the inclusivity of interactive media.

This study is about the review of perspectives on political consequences of Internet in the world's largest democracy like India. Many research initiatives have studied the effects of Internet on political process (Bimber 1998; Hague and Loader 1999; Johnson and Kaye 2000; Castells 2001; Norris 2001) and have tried to give conceptual framework about Internet communication. In the wake of Internet playing crucial role in social movements like Anna Hazare (India Against Corruption Movement, 2011), Delhi Gang Rape case on December 16, 2012, Girl's arrest for Facebook post in Mumbai in November 2012, Professor's arrest over Cartoon in Kolkotta and Delhi Child Rape case in April 2012, researchers are seriously examining Internet as a channel of expressing public opinion. The participatory approach reflects the emergence of alternative media to challenge the conventional political institutions, wisdom and ideologies. The inclusion attribute of Internet and the flexibility of the communication technology intends to transform society through political empowerment of ordinary people persuading them to participate in the political process.

Political communication is absolutely necessary to establish democracy as it provides adequate information, consolidating community and generating legitimacy (Habermas, 2006). Throughout the history, mass media have grown as agents of political communication influencing political and cultural beliefs. Media were established with an agenda to participate and challenge the political regimes in public interest in most of the cultures throughout the history. The core position of mass media is said to create media power, a kind of power that can be influenced by but is not reducible to social, political and economic power (Habermas, 2006). Orwellian concept and 'Big brother watches all citizens through TV- televised propaganda' (Orwell, George, 1949) from George Orwell's Book 1984 reflected the mindset of political regimes who wanted to be wedded to power by controlling the lives of the people. Nevertheless, the independence

of the media system is vulnerable to the encroachment of political and economic power (Habermas, 2006).

The emergence of Newspapers, radio, cinema and TV as agents of mass communication caused significant changes in the society establishing media as one of the important social institutions. The enormous influence wielded by mass media compelled intolerant political regimes to control media in the guise of ethics, culture, communal harmony, security and war. History is replete with instances of political regimes who believed in government control of mass media as media was presumed to be the new power centre in the society. The unprecedented expansion of mass media raised the issue of public discourse in media and the presence of public perspective in news and views.

It was Walter Lippmann who coined the phrase, 'manufacture of consent'. In democracy he said 'the opinion does not spontaneously come from the public. Every leader is in some degree a propagandist. The official decides himself more and more consciously what facts in what guise he should allow the public to know. So, the leader manipulates information.' (Lippmann Walter, 1922). It is a well established fact that media have been portraying elitist opinion and the large part of readership is never involved in the churning of views, opinions and point of view in the media. The issue of public perspective as framed by the media is central to the presence of disparity between public opinion and media opinion. Movements across the globe from Arab Spring to India's Anna Hazare movement against corruption have established that Internet facilitates participation of common man in public movements and it also exerts pressure on traditional media to toe the line of public and checks the abuse of media power.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Internet has been the subject of voluminous studies by the scholars in USA, Europe and Asia from sociological, economical, cultural and technological perspectives. Obviously, the new media, Internet has generated significant interest among researchers as it

poised to change the dynamics of human communication. However, there are very few studies on establishing correlation between Internet and social movements. This study mainly focuses on studies that have reviewed the role of Internet in civic and political engagements in different societies. Scholars are divided on the impact of Internet on civic engagements. Many believe that owing to technological flexibility and easy access, Internet will be primarily used for entertainment and will affect people's participation in civic and social activities (Putnam, 1995, 2000). On the contrary, studies point out that Internet is substantially used for information gathering and for connecting with others through email (Day, Janus, & Davis, 2005; NTIA 2004; Nie & Erbring, 2000). Studies have also endorsed the hypothesis that Internet will have a significant impact on those people who are already active in civic and political activism (Bimber, 1999; Bonfadelli, 2002; DiMaggio, Hargittai, Celeste, & Shafer, 2004; Hendriks Vettehen, Hagemann & Van Snippenburg, 2004; Krueger, 2002; Norris, 2001; Polat, 2005; Weber, Loumakis & Bergman, 2003). It is also believed that Internet has the potential to mobilize even inactive people for political causes (Barber, 2001; Delli Carpini, 2000; Krueger, 2002; Ward, Gibson, & Lusoli, 2003; Weber et al., 2003) illustrating that Internet can be a tool for active political participation. Further, Internet will change the youth's participation in political activities (Delli Carpini, 2000). Studies have initiated debates on the role of Internet in creating opportunities for people in general and youth in particular to participate in political discussion, to exchange information on significant social and political issues, to express their anger, protests and frustrations against political systems and burning social issues. Though earlier studies predicted that Internet is unlikely to mobilize people for political causes, the Arab Spring and other movements proved the scholars wrong. Scholars did agree earlier that Web breaks media stereotype as the Internet user can be a printer and a publisher (Compaine & Gomery 2000, Todreas 1999) and can own a blog or a website on his own which facilitates independent political discussion, airing views and accessing high quality political information from the Web unlike huge corporate media ownership models .

The Asian economic giant China has provided an interesting model of Internet penetration and its impact on political and media systems. Speculation by the scholars about what political consequences Internet will have in China and the premise that Internet will sow the seeds of democratic polity cannot be overlooked. 'The past 15 years have witnessed a great transformation in China's media system. The installation of the Internet in China has transformed China's media from a closed and centralized system to a relatively open and decentralized one' (Ya Wen Lei, 2011). Many studies in China show that Internet clearly has democratic consequences (Tai, 2006, p. 289; Tang, 2005, pp. 87, 98; Yang, 2009; Zheng, 2008) whereas another group of scholars contend that the Internet does not have democratizing consequences as it remains primarily a playground for entertainment under the control of the state (Kluver et al., 2010; Peters, 2002; Yang, 2009, p. 10).

METHODOLOGY

Historical method of research was found to be most appropriate for a study of this nature. The study is qualitative and requires gathering of relevant information about the problem to explain relationship between many factors. A technology based subject like Internet is a vital subject of study for sociologists and political scientists as it influences and transforms the nature of human communication. The qualitative exploration of the impact of Internet on civic and political engagements will help the scholars and policy makers to understand the role of high end technology mediated multifaceted media like new media in the society.

Research Questions

- 1. Can Internet break media stereotype of conventional news media?
- 2. Can Internet cause media inclusion by stimulating political participation of common people and make journalism more connected with masses?

RQ1. Can Internet break the media stereotype of conventional news media?

The migration of news from traditional bastion to non linear social media territory influenced civil society movements in both democracies and totalitarian regimes. Arab Spring is a milestone in the history of media as it shows how democratization of media emboldens ordinary people to express their mind against state causing political change. Arab Spring is a symbol of pro-democracy revolutionary movement that made its foot prints in Middle East and North Africa. It played a key role in political upheavals in the countries where media control ruled for ages. Arab Spring can be construed as an event that propelled social media to the centre of news industry compelling the political regimes to mull on regulating the new media. The new media reach is increasing in India with 5 to 8 % annual growth increase in the readership of digital eiditon of newspapers. Further, newspapers continue to be the primary source of news contrary to USA where Internet is established as the primary source of news (Table 1 & 2).

| Table-1 |
|---|
| Comparative Media Reach Trends in USA and India |

| India | | | | USA | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| Newspaper | Television | New Media | Newspaper | Television | New Media | |
| 5 to 8 % annual growth Increase in digital edition readership | 231 million households 563 million audience | 137 million Internet users | Print edition is declining but e- edition, mobile edition increasing | 289.3 million show signs of decline | 245 million 78% Internet shows signs of increase | |
| Primary source of News | | | | | Primary source of News | |

 Table-2

 New Media Consumption pattern in USA, China and India

| Social Media vs Access | N | /orld | l | USA | С | hina | I | ndia |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| New Media/Social media | Total users in World | Penetration in World population | Social media | Penetration in population | Social media | Penetration in population | Social media | Penetration in population |
| Internet | 2.4 b | 34.3% | 245 m | 78.1% | 538 m | 40.1% | 137 m | 11.4% |
| Twitter | 500 m | | 22.9 m | | 36.5 m | | 33 m | |
| Facebook | 1 b | 12.1% | 166 m | 52.9% | 6.3 m | 0.0% | 62 m | 5.2% |

Comparatively China surpasses USA (245 million) with 538 million Internet users but India still has low Internet penetration with 137 million which is 11.4% penetration in population nevertheless showing signs of improvement.

New media considered as alternative media is basically a democratized channel of communication that is free from government, editorial and management control to a greater extent with public access to infinite space and time coupled with opportunities to own a blog or a website. The experience of getting heard/read/noticed gave visibility to the voice of the voiceless in societies where dictatorial regimes had oppressed the freedom of speech and expression of common man for ages. In democracies too, the perception of news and views changed adding different shades of perspectives. In the age of Internet common people have experienced the joy of freedom of speech and expression in both democracies and totalitarian governments. According to some of the Arab Spring activists, 'protests consisting of millions of people could be organized through social media like Facebook and Twitter', demonstrating the power of social media in shaping public support to political causes. These new media could connect with the masses breaking all psychological barriers. Arab Spring activists have said, 'we use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate and You Tube to tell the world' speaks volumes of the potential of the media that connects with masses. Interestingly, there has been total disconnect between conventional mass media and the masses where public opinion does not reflect the public mind. Arab Spring model is

feasible and could be replicated in any society, democratic or totalitarian, and change social order reducing the psychological barriers between government and the public.

Of course, social media did not cause Arab Spring but it changed the social order and broke the media stereotype and gave an impetus to journalism. Journalism across the globe was able to capture its lost sheen due to social media's entry into news (Fig.1). Journalism is not going to die but media are crucial in distribution and consumption of news. Many have predicted the end of newspapers but print continues to be a major source of information for all media. It is speculated that print may have to compete with its own digital edition of the paper in the years to come. People are going to read news either in print or digital edition but they are going to call the shots by choosing the device as well as the content. The news consumers are already using interactive technologies to have global conversation on local issues. New media has led to the birth of new breed of journalists known as data scientists advocating data journalism. New media intervention has transformed conventional TV news from impersonal to interactive mode (Fig.2).

Fig.1. Internet centric Media System

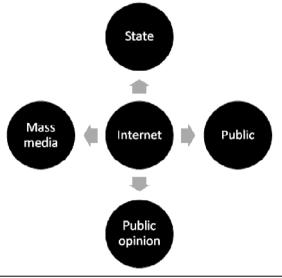


Fig.2. TV News Transition from Impersonal to Interactive Mode



For ages traditional media projected public opinion evolved without the consent or involvement of public. Readers, listeners and viewers of news media were taken for granted and media portrayed the opinion without public dialogue. Today, the online media has forced the traditional media to create a platform for public discourse for news stories in their virtual editions. Jürgen Habermas, argues that a truly legitimate opinion is not a sum of all opinions, but rather the result after their deliberation', (Habermas, 2006). The media saw the emergence of a new brand of news consumer, who consumed news from converged media of choice and who could not be described as a listener, reader, viewer or browser because he converged different consumption patterns. The recent trends show most of the conventional newspapers including New York Times using the opportunity to launch new social media feed like Twitter to provide access to breaking news with editors to live tweet stories establishing the migration of news to social media. In 2012, The New York Times and The Washington Post newspapers compiled their list of Twitter users and provided them a link to NASA, Google and MIT media labs armed with easy

JMSD, Oct.-Dec. 2013 / 164

JMSD, Oct.-Dec. 2013 / 165

clickable links to access latest information on Hurricane Sandy news making digital and mobile editions available to news consumers. Today Twitter and Facebook have been recognized as tools of news and major sources of news. Twitter is a valuable 24x7 source for news breaks, tool to follow newsworthy people and organization and is a gold mine for getting story ideas and to have continuous dialogue with users. The analysis of Tweets will establish the mood of the public, pulse of the community and the degree of public opinion on issues of public concern. Barack Obama's famous 3 worded tweet, ' Four more years', announcing his re-election as 44th President of the United States of America was retweeted by 8 million users and was the major source of news to the world media on November 6, 2012. Obama's tweet and a photo of Obama and his wife Michelle were run and flashed across the globe by the international media establishing the arrival of social media in hard news. Perhaps, New York Times now has over twice as many readers on the microblogging service than its most popular print edition, the Sunday paper and its followers on Twitter have crossed 4 million. Therefore, circulation of a newspaper has become complex with the facility of print and digital editions accessed by wide range of devices by news consumers. The global trend indicates 'like the sun newspaper circulation rises in the east and falls in the west' (economist.com, 2013) illustrating decline in circulation and advertising in Europe and America where as it has increased by 10% in Asia with China leading the world as the biggest newspaper market. Despite decline in circulation, newspapers reach a large number of readers- print, online and mobile giving an impetus to the performance of advertising (WAN-IFRA, 2013). Blogs (Table-3) have broken the media stereotype by facilitating owning media, infinite space and airing unedited views and comments on public events without government or editorial control and not dictated by market.

Table 3Blog and its Reach

| Blogging Tool and Content | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| Management System - CMS | No. of Blogs |
| Tumblr | 147.8 Million |
| Wordpress | 65 Million |
| Livejournal | 62.6 million |
| Weebly | 12 Million |
| Blogster | 5.8 Lakh |

Journalism in social media is not only about facts, facts and facts, but about point of view or opinion or public discourse underlining News stories that are analytical and interpretative. Newspaper culture is the stumbling block in the transformation of print in the battle against digital media. There is a conflict between the editorial policy of newspaper and that of social media policy. All media are going to survive if they converge. Convergence holds key to journalism. The presence of news in social media has made even powerful governments insecure. For instance Wiki leaks have threatened high and mighty in the world. Governments in democracies flaunting liberal media policy too want to control social media in the guise of ethics and privacy. Facebook has been banned in China since 2009. It is a matter of concern when journalists on social media toe the line of news organizations that they represent that might reinforce stereotype raising the crucial issue of safeguarding freedom of speech and expression. The attribute of inclusion of Internet has empowered the people to produce diverse information, communicate and form an opinion after deliberations breaking media stereotype.

RQ 2. Can Internet cause media inclusion by stimulating political participation of common people and make journalism more connected with masses?

The study finds out that today news is not only produced by news media but the Internet users consume, share, comment and express their views and participate in opinion polls besides sending

news from their perspective in the form of text, photos and video. The reader's or citizen's perspective in news that was missing in the traditional news media has made Internet news media more participatory and inclusive. Internet media can establish democratic space and pluralism in information production, distribution and consumption. Internet is against the principles of 'manufacture of consent' and on the contrary, it generates and distributes opinions of varying shades facilitating inclusion stimulating political participation and public opinion influencing the process of decision making.

Table- 4

Facebook Data Analysis from August 14th to 27th 2011 of Anna Hazare Protests

| Date of Monitoring | Page impressions for news feed | Active users | Likes of news feed | Comments |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 16 th August,2011 | 17.8 million | 209194 | 159053 | 35041 |
| 27 th August, 2011 | 25 million | 280017 | 168209 | 28294 |
| 14 th August to 31 st August, 2011 | 304 million | 4.3 million | 1.9 million | 0.33 million |

Courtesy: http://www.indiadigitalreview.com

| Table- 5 I | Digital Inclusion | and Anna Hazare | e - <i>Lokpal</i> Bill |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|

| Media | Reach |
|---|---|
| Anna Hazare – Lokpal Bill – TV channels AajTak, CNN IBN, Headlines Today, IBN 7, INDIA TV, NDTV 24/7, NDTV India, Star News, Times Now, News 24 and Zee News | 7% Largest percentage share sidelining cricket between Jan –Nov 2011 (TAM Survey) |
| Times of India – Act Against Corruption – Lokpal campaign (Aug 2011) | 4.7 million votes – Mobile Calls 36000 supporters - Facebook |
| Search Engine results | 29million |
| Facebook created to support Anna Hazare fast (Aug 2011) | 5 Lakh Likes 300 million views 10 million active users joining agitation |
| Hazare video recorded by Kiran Bedi on You Tube (Aug 2011) | 1.6 Lakh views in one month during fast |
| SMSs on Anna Hazare and Anti Corruption during fast (Aug 2011) | 3 Million till Anna broke his fast |

Anna Hazare's Anti Corruption movement in 2011 and Delhi Gang Rape "Nirbaya" case in 2012 tested the potentialities of social media, blogging, citizen journalism and other forms of media as powerful channels of freedom of expression. Anna Hazare's Lok Pal Bill agitation took social media by storm. The subject yields 29 million search engine results showing the presence of voluminous content about the agitation. A report in Times of India about Lokpal campaign against corruption seeking people to join the movment elicited 4.7 million votes via mobile calls and generated over 36,000 Facebook supporters. Facebook account was created to support fast by Anna Hazare generating over 5 lakh likes, 300 million views and 10 million active users of Facebook joined the agitation. You Tube video of Anna Hazare got 1.6 lakh views in one month during Hazare's fast illustrating the extraordinary interest shown by the Internet users. There were nearly 3 million SMSs on Anna Hazare and Lok Pal agitation establishing the pivotal role played by new media in social movement launched by Hazare.

Both the incidents of Anna Hazare and Delhi gang rape case gave two models of internet intervention in social movement. Lok Pal Bill movement had a leader in Anna Hazare who is recognized, respected and visible, supported by a host of NGOs and civil society activists. The agitation was well organized and funded. In contrast, the Delhi gang rape protests by women's groups, college students and members of civil society through social media had neither a leader nor an organization behind the movement but still shook the conscience of the nation and created an indelible mark on the masses about the ghastly crime of rape never witnessed in the recent history of independent India. The protesters converted Delhi the capital of India as the first battle field and Internet as the second battle field challenging the conventional media like newspapers and television. Having driven to the wall, TV channels had no other option but to join the band wagon of social media to showcase public opinion in public interest. In Nirbaya's case, unable to bear the protests and comments on social media against violent police crackdown on silent protesters, the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh broke his much criticised silence on Twitter urging protesters for calm. The

Prime Minister and Home Minister were mocked by the netizens for delayed response and indifference of the government. The public anger through Internet in the Nirbaya case saw very high degree of public participation both in quantity and quality compelling the government to take immediate measure in appointing former Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India Justice J.S. Verma to head a Judicial committee on December 22, 2012 to review criminal laws on crimes against women. The committee submitted its report within 30 days and the very fact that Justice Verma Committee received nearly 80,000 petitions from public about legislation about crimes against women speaks volumes about the unprecedented participation of the people. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance 2013 amended Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 on laws related to sexual offences. The amendment has made rape punishable by death sentence in the rarest of rare cases. On September 13, 2013, the four rapists in the Nirbhaya gang rape and murder case were sentenced to death by the court in one of the fastest cases tried in the history of Indian Judiciary. Despite the presence of variety of new media accessible easily on mobile phones, the photograph of the victim never got posted speaks volumes about the degree of social responsibility of the users predominantly women and vouth respecting the privacy, sentiments and feelings of the victim's family. The frustration and anger of the public protests both on ground and on social media forced the conventional media to toe the line of decency in not glorifying and sensationalising the gang rape victim and her family members.

One of the visible outcomes of *Nirbhaya* gang rape case is the Twitter account opened by the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on January 24, 2012 in the microblogging site. Criticised for being inaccessible to journalists and media and maintaining deadly silence on the gang rape incident, the Prime Minister felt the need to get connected with the young Indians through new media. "A lot of work gets done in the prime minister's office. Mr Singh makes 30-45 trips in a year. All this is not reflected properly and is not going out to the people. The Twitter account will help in disseminating this information. It will also help him to reach out to younger people,"

sources in the prime minister's office told the BBC.

The democratization of media has facilitated space for public discourse that is evolved through intense participation and commitment by the masses. The social media is not only reflecting the opinion of the elites or urban upmarket users but has created individual space for every person who has got something to say on public issues. The realization of the government led by Prime Minister about the need to connect with the public through Internet is a historic transformation in recognising the space for public opinion in a pluralistic society like India. The recent social movements in India against burning social and crime issues endorse the premise that Social media like Twitter, Facebook and blogs have become a mainstay for activists around the world to share information and organize protests. In the civil war that has engulfed Turkey, the social media have become more powerful than the military weapons as illustrated by Turkey Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan who has labelled social media 'the worst menace to societythe best example of lies can be found there' showing the desperation and intolerance of the governments against public opinion and the media of public expression.

The use of Internet in political and civic engagements does not merely depend on creating access and infrastructure in societies but is determined by the political regimes in power and their level of tolerance to the Internet use, access and reach by the mass that defines media inclusion or exclusion.

DISCUSSION

Media Inclusion

Media inclusion refers to creating equal opportunities to access media content and to enable people to participate or engage in civil and political events. Participation is fundamental to the process of inclusion as it provides an individual space in "Public Sphere" (Habermas,2006) to deliberate on issues of public interest and to form public opinion. Participation means civic and political engagements. Civic participation involves behavior aimed at resolving problems of the community (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins & Delli- Carpini, 2006). Political participation both offline and online refers to behavior seeking to influence government action and policy making (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).

Democratization of media is the first step towards media inclusion. Despite the information revolution and advances in communication technology, the writings in the mainstream media continues to use language that doesn't speak or reflect the mind of the masses. Media looks disconnected with the masses as its' sphere has room for the opinion of politicians, beureacrats or journalists but not for the public discourse of the marginalized resulting in exclusion. Inequities have been experienced in the news coverage depriving the marginalized class from participating in news process. Media inclusion is about creating opportunities, recognizing their existence, using language of acceptance and bridging the void between media and the masses. Increase in the quantitative and qualitative production of media content of deprived classes in news columns will facilitate their integration and visibility in the mainstream media. Media exclusion starts with denial of access owing to economic and social factors, unequal news coverage, depriving right to be informed and discrimination in prioritizing news.

This theoretical framework will however not work with the market controlled mainstream media compelling one to ponder over the potentialities of new media in establishing media inclusion. The new media have already provided platform for people irrespective of demographic variants to engage themselves in valuable political and civil activities and integrate with the process of development and decision making. It is in this perspective, the debate on new media and media inclusion assumes importance.

Index of Participatory Culture

- 1 Opening Social media accounts
- 1 Active on Facebook
- 1 Tweets / Retweets
- 1 Posting likes / Participating in opinion polls

Internet, Political Communication and Media Inclusion in India - A Conceptual Perspective

- 1 Having Faviourites
- 1 Personal Playlist
- 1 Active You Tube users by uploading or downloading or viewing content
- 1 Searching information
- 1 Blogging
- 1 Forwarding mails
- 1 Small group networking
- 1 Messaging

Index of Media Inclusion

- 1 Media reach and access
- 1 Freedom of expression
- 1 Opportunities for Democratic debates
- ¹ Space for Different layers of voice divergent views, opinions and comments
- 1 Diversity in media content
- 1 Nondiscrimination in media coverage
- 1 Space for opinion of Women, Dalits and Minorities
- ¹ Television Discussion Panels that are representative of the general public
- ¹ Free from editorial, management and ownership control

The reach of new media underlines higher degree of inclusion. In India there are 898 million mobile phone users and 121 million Internet users, which is comparatively overwhelming than total newspaper readership of 405 million and total TV households of 231 million with 563 million TV audience.

Nevertheless, the study is of the view that the democratization of new media that has changed the way the news is distributed and consumed over Internet in post modern and post colonial faces threat from new media business giants and government control, the former

protects business interests and the latter promotes political interests. The desperation of Google or Facebook to enter China is more a business proposition than to reach public in public interest. Unfortunately it is feared that the malaise of traditional media propounding business interest over journalistic interest and sacrificing public discourse would sooner or later might pose threat to the emergence of Internet news media as the people's media. However, the sheer ability of Internet to reach ordinary citizens has weakened the role of gate keepers of traditional media as anybody and everybody can produce, distribute and share information facilitating diversity in political communication enhancing the level of media inclusion.

REFERENCES

- 1. Bamezai et al,(2011); Gita Bamezai, Prashant Kesharvani, Babyrani Yumnam, Shashwati Goswami, Anand Pradhan, Annupriya Roy and B.N.Ambade, Impact of Internet on changing patterns of newspaper access and news reading habits in India, Media Asia VOL 38 NO 2, 2011.
- 2. Barber, (2001); Barber, B. (2001). The uncertainty of digital politics: Democracy's uneasy relationship with information technology. Harvard International Review, 23, 42-48.
- 3. Bimber (1998); The Internet and citizen communication with government;Does the medium matter.Political Communication;16:409-28
- 4. Bimber, B. (1999). The Internet and citizen communication with government: Does the medium matter? Political Communication, 16, 409-429.
- 5. Bonfadelli, H. (2002). The Internet and knowledge gaps: A theoretical and empirical investigation. European Journal of Communication, 17, 65-84.
- 6. Castells M. (2001). Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society.New York: Oxford University Press,
- 7. Compaine, Gomery, eds.(2000). Who owns the media? Competition and concentration in the mass media industry. Mahwah, NJ:Erlbaum
- 8. Day, J. C., Janus, A., & Davis, J. (2005). Computer and Internet use in the United States: 2003. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- 9. Delli Carpini, 2000; Delli Carpini, M. X. (2000). Gen.com: Youth, civic engagement, and the new information environment. Political Communication, 17, 341-350.
- 10. DiMaggio, P., Hargittai, E., Celeste, C., & Shafer, S. (2004). Digital inequality: From unequal access to differentiated use. In K. M. Neckerman

Internet, Political Communication and Media Inclusion in India - A Conceptual Perspective

(Ed.), Social inequality (pp. 355-400). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- 11. Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. Communication Theory, 16, 411-426.
- 12. Hague, Barry N. and Loader, Brain 1999; Digital Democracy: Discourse and Decision Making in the Information Age; Routledge.
- Hendriks Vettehen, P. G. J., Hagemann, C. P. M., & Van Snippenburg, L. B. (2004). Political knowledge and media use in the Netherlands. European Sociological Review, 20, 415-424.
- Johnson, T.J. and B.K. Kaye (2000). 'Using is Believing: The Influence of Reliance on the Credibility of Online Political Information among Politically Interested Internet Users', Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly77: 865-79.
- 15. Kluver et al., 2010; Kluver, R., Wu, X., Morozov, E., Wang, J., Bachman, D., & Yang, G (2010). Book review roundtable: The power of the Internet in China. Asia Policy, 10, 163-188.
- 16. Krueger, 2002; Krueger, B. S. (2002). Assessing the potential of Internet political participation in the United States: A resource approach. American Politics Research, 30, 476-498.
- 17. Lippmann Walter, Public Opinion, 1922; New York Macmillan Company
- 18. Nie, N. H., & Erbring, L. (2000). Internet and society: A preliminary report. Stanford, CA: Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society.
- 19. Norris, P. (2001). Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 20. NTIA 2004; National Telecommunications and Information Administration. (2004). A nation online: Entering the broadband age: Retrieved from http://www.ntia.doc.gov/reports/anol/
- 21. Orwell, George, 1949; 1984, Signet Classic, USA
- 22. Peters, 2002; Peters, R. (2002). China, democracy and the Internet. In M. J. Mazarr (Ed.), Information technologyand world politics (pp. 101-114). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan
- 23. Polat, R. K. (2005). The Internet and political participation: Exploring the explanatory links. European Journal of Communication, 20, 435-459.
- 24. Putnam, R. D. (1995). Tuning in, tuning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America. PS: Political Science and Politics, 28, 664-683.
- 25. Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. New York: Touchstone.
- 26. Tai, Z. (2006). The Internet in China: Cyberspace and civil society. New York, NY: Routledge

- 27. Tang, W. (2005). Public opinion and political change in China. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- 28. Todreas TM. 1999. Value creation and Branding in Television's digital age, Westport CT: Quorum.
- 29. Ward, S., Gibson, R., & Lusoli, W. (2003). Online participation and mobilisation in Britain: Hype, hope and reality. Parliamentary Affairs, 56, 652-668.
- 30. Weber, L. M., Loumakis, A., & Bergman, J. (2003). Who participates and why? An analysis of citizens on the Internet and the mass public. Social Science Computer Review, 21, 26-42.
- 31. Yang, G. (2009). The power of the Internet in China: Citizen activism online. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- 32. Ya Wen Lei, (2011); The political consequences of the rise of Internet: political beliefs and practices of Chinese Netizens, Political communication, Routledge.
- 33. Zheng, 2008 Zheng, Y. (2008). Technological empowerment: The Internet, state, and society in China. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.