

**INTERROGATING MARGINALITY AND INVISIBILISATION
IN PRINT MEDIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment
of requirements for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation titled “**Interrogating Marginality and Invisibilisation in Print Media: A Sociological Study**” submitted by me in partial fulfilment of requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** to Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. It has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Abbreviations

ASNE	The American Society of News Editors
BAMCEF	All India Backward (SC, ST, OBC) And Minority Communities Employees Federation
BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
BJP	Bhartiya Janta Party
CSDE	Centre for the Study of Discrimination and Exclusion
DS4	Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
NCR	National Capital Region
PTI	Press Trust of India
U.S.	United States
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
TV	Television

Chapter- 1

1.Introduction:

“Journalism in India was once a profession. It has now become a trade. It has no more moral function than the manufacture of soap. It does not regard itself as the responsible adviser of the Public. To give the news uncoloured by any motive, to present a certain view of public policy which it believes to be for the good of the community, to correct and chastise without fear all those, no matter how high, who have chosen a wrong or a barren path, is not regarded by journalism in India its first or foremost duty”.¹

Although the statement above was made over 64 years ago by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, but it is still very relevant in the context of the marginalised community in India even today. In a contemporary perspective for the marginalised group’s the justiciable media representation is still a challenge. The marginalization and exclusion happens at many levels including political, social, cultural and economic.

This study is an attempt to examine the coverage of the Dalit issues in Delhi based newspapers and magazines. The socio-economic environment is an important determinant of mass communication activities and media institutions. The media enforce as well as reinforce social norms.² The socio-economic, religious and communal interests of media controllers may cause them to emphasize certain norms in the media and enforce them through repetition, which can be a dysfunction.

¹ Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1943) *Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah*, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Vol-I, Section-VIII (Memorial address delivered on the 101st Birthday celebration of the late justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade).

² Cited in J.V. Vilanilam (2005) *Mass communication in India-A sociological perspective*. New Delhi, p-38.

Communication structures in India represent the hierarchical structure and caste relationship, as is present in Indian society. The media prefers to highlight all the caste agitations but ignore the root socio-economic causes. Media ignores the social and development issues and welcomes sensational issues. The Indian media has an inclination for controversy and indulge in rhetoric and loud journalism. This is evident from the fact that they often publish contrary statements and reports without even delving into the complete reality of such reporting. The affluent section of the society owns the Indian media, while people whose major interest is in capturing the advertisement market run it.³ The thesis will begin by giving a brief account of the coverage of Dalit, minorities in media, and then will engage in in depth analysis of some of these media reports.

1.1 Sociological Significance of research:

Sociological perspectives bring to fore critical insights by analyzing and critiquing the long-standing assumptions on the relation between society and its underlying complexities. The research builds upon ‘sociological significance’ given the fact that caste and media has been discussed amongst theorists and scholars who have tried to understand the power dynamics of social structure and media within society. In the Indian context, the functioning of mainstream media reflects the tendency of the Indian society that is based on the graded inhuman caste system. According to Vilanilam the social aspects of journalism can be approached within the twin perspective of the social structure and its effects on the media, and the social implications of the media on society. He argues that caste and class structure of the Indian society have its influence on Indian

³ Ibid

media.⁴ Thus one needs to look into the sociological factors while trying to understand the media communication per se.

The media representation also involves the question about the social closure. This ‘social closure’ is reflected in the way media draws boundary in between representation of certain issue while excluding several others. This exclusion is witnessed in everyday practices of media representation, which this research would further intend to delve into. Further, the research looks into the process of Invisibilization of Dalits, which is basically in terms of their absence of issues, their perspective and also absence in terms of their numbers in media. For instance, in one of the reports presented by Subaltern Team, Patna, it shows that within all the popular print newspapers in the area the number of Dalit journalist were almost zero. Further, the dissertation will also give details of how the invisibilisation of Dalit issues have rendered them more vulnerable to caste violence. It is significant to mention here that when Fanon discusses the ‘invisibility’ of margins within society, he talks about how this process of marginalization and invisibility is normalised within the everyday practices. When we try to contextualize this in the sense of ‘invisibilization’ within media, we find sufficient instances of the discriminatory process which are assumed as given and unproblematic. For instance when Robin Jeffery was interacting with a senior-journalist about absence/presence of Dalits in their firm, the senior journalist replied that they were oblivious of the caste identity of journalist. This absence of certain caste identity never seemed to matter to them, probably because the hegemonic caste structure of media was almost assumed as given. The absence of certain identities, particularly Dalits in this case never seemed to create even an iota of

⁴ Ibid

disturbance. This systemic ‘invisibilization’ within media needs an in depth engagement, which this research aims at.

1.2 Sources of the study:

In data sources, used in this research includes, published research documents, government data, and various books and research papers etc. Texts from a multiplicity of disciplines have been consulted. This is with reference to the disciplines that in various ways commented discourse in world as well as in India. Furthermore, periodicals, journal articles, Magazines articles, relevant newspaper clippings, some working papers, and some internet sources also been used.

1.3 Review of literature:

Mass media can bring significant changes in ensuring overall development of society. It is an important tool in accomplishing social justice by educating, raising awareness and questioning caste discrimination and exclusion.

“The media occupies a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power”.⁵

Social exclusion⁶ and inclusion are issues of central significance to democracy. Social exclusion remains a persistent problem in all societies. It occurs when some groups of people for reasons of colour, caste, ethnic identity, religious beliefs and so on are systematically denied access to opportunities and resources, which are necessary for their

⁵ S. Cottle (2000). *Ethnic minorities & The media: Changing cultural boundaries*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

⁶ Term ‘Social Exclusion’ coined by Rene Lenoir in 1974, it is a multidimensional concept, the term used to refer to various forms of social inequality and disadvantage, related to new social problems that arose, ghettoization, livelihood, unemployment and fundamental changes in family life, correspondingly, social exclusion was defined as a rupture of the social fabric, and attributed to a failure of the state.

survival and sustenance. It is thus the result of discrimination, mostly against minorities. It hampers democracy, development and social integration.

Both exclusion and inclusion refers to access to participation in the public realm. One can note that the people belonging to the minority groups are often marginalized and deprived from the access to public goods and services. In terms of Emile Durkheim, “exclusion threatens society as a whole with the loss of collective values and destruction of social fabric”.⁷

Through Frantz Fanon concept the research explores the concepts of visibility and invisibility in relation to the daily experiences of undocumented or misrepresented life of marginalised community.⁸ This explains the linkages between visibility and invisibility to power as well as their purpose and the ways in which they are constructed on an everyday basis. Frantz Fanon argues that invisibilization and visibilisation is the strategy of the oppressed, in the context of mediated exclusion and invisibilization of marginalised person in society, here invisibilization means that often their voices go unheard or that their claims are not given serious consideration resulting into the lack of involvement in decision-making and deprivation from the power structure.

Contextualising through Invisibilisation concept, invisibilization is the strategy of the dominant section in society to exclude the life of disadvantaged section. Here the research sees invisibilization as a means of exclusion attach with the marginalization, disempowerment and misrecognition of a person with marginalized people.

According to Walter Lippmann in the work of ‘Public opinion’ and Schramm in the assessment of ‘Mass communication process and effects’ gave valuable perspective

⁷ Taket, A., Crisp, B. R., Nevill, A., Lamaro, G., Graham, M., & Barter-Godfrey, S. (Eds.). (2009). *Theorising social exclusion*. Routledge. P-5

⁸ Frantz Fanon (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press

about information processing. Lipmann opined that "The world outside [is different for each and forms] the pictures is in our heads".⁹ In this regard, Schramm proposed that "perception is the interpretative process through which we pass all the stimuli that we accept from our environment, and meaning is what comes out of this process the 'pictures in our head". Schramm's analysis supposes that an human's perception of an event is effected by 'the social world as perceived by the individual, and the information the individual received from a stimulus' (e.g. Mass media's interpretation of an event).¹⁰

T.H. Marshall argues "a member of the group becomes 'citizen' only when he/she is given full membership within the community. All who own the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties which the status is endowed".¹¹ According to Oxford Dictionary "citizen as legally recognised of a national, state or may be Commonwealth and the citizenship as denoting the collective individuals of a group or membership".¹² Further Gita Sen defines "citizenship as operating in four spheres, consist of; political right, economic, cultural (norms and values) and personal (homes and relations) levels".¹³ Further, she argues that the absence of citizenship in one levels put risk on the others.¹⁴ Giving a feminist critique, she says that the concept like universal citizenship is not possible until the unequal power relations prevails. The societal differences based on gender, caste, class etc. needs to be addressed to ensure citizenship rights that is 'equal

⁹ Walter Lippmann (1982). *Public opinion*, New York: Macmillan

¹⁰ W. Schramm (1954). How communication works. *The process and effects of mass communication*, 3-26.

¹¹ T. H. Marshall and T, Bottomere (1992), *Citizenship and Social Class*, (Vol.2). Pluto Press, London.

¹² In oxford Dictionary, 2011

¹³ Geeta Sen , 'Feminist politics in a fundamentalist world', Mukhopadhyay Maitrayee (ed.), 'Governing for Equity: Gender, Citizenship and Governance' (2003), Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), The Netherlands.

¹⁴ Ibid

rights for all members' is truly ensured. In inequalities force social exclusion and hence denies them the right of claiming full citizenship.¹⁵

John Rawls argued that justice meant that the way in which the major social institutions distributes fundamental rights and duties and determines the divisions of advantages from the social co-operations.¹⁶ According to Marian Young (1990), he argued that distributional issues are only one part of social justice, and the other dimensions such as the relation between people also need to be considered in particular the elimination of institutionalized dominations and oppressions.¹⁷ It draws the attention to culturally and socially constructed differences based on gender, ethnicity, sexually and marginality, which are earlier excluded from the Rawlsian notion of Justice.

For a progressive Democratic society education and basic human right considered as an important vehicle of social change as well to move a better society. Awareness and education often has a systematic influence on a person through a process like instruction and discipline which translates him/her from being an immature person to being developed into a intellectual, social and disciplined person.¹⁸ It gives people to move away from their previous condition. One can say in another word that, education, awareness and information gives that impetus to individuals where they feel that they can empower themselves and others as well.

Commenting on the role of the media in a capitalist society, eminent historian E.H. Carr said that mass media is the powerful source of persuasion in society. It drives

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Cited in Craig, G, et al (2008), *Social Justice and Public Policy, seeking fairness in diverse societies*.The Policy Press, University of Bristol. p.57

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Cited in T. Dary Erwin: (1991), *Assessing student learning and development, A Guide to the Principles, Goals, and Methods of Determining College Outcomes*, p.120.

people to opine for a certain taste and opinion. In this context, he says that when a professional advertiser, advertises a product he is not merely selling objective facts about the product. Rather it makes the consumer believe in the desirability of a certain kind of taste.¹⁹ The desirable tastes or in other words, manufacturing consent and opinions the media wants to construct here are to demonstrate a tension/strife free society by cosmetically concealing the inherent differences. This ‘peaceful’ and strife free society is promoted as ‘conducive’ to business interests. In this unique situation, it is imperative to consider that the Indian media fraternity is also serving the interest of market that is highly composed of upper caste business conglomerates, where voices of marginalized communities especially Dalit not heard by mainstream media.

Gopal Guru rightly pointed out that the Indian media is inaccessible for Dalits whether it is Print or Television.²⁰ While referring to the Durban conference, the United Nation Conference that was held at Durban, South Africa in 2000, he has argued that Indian government had very conveniently declined to include the case of Dalit atrocity in the conference. Guru, argues that shockingly this issue was ignored any debate within India media, which reflects the least concern Indian media has when it comes to containing the Dalit issue.

Furthermore, J. Balasubramainam in his work “*Dalits and a Lack of Diversity in the Newsroom*”²¹ explains his experience in details where he was denied to get a job in one of the Tamil dailies as a journalist after management got to know about his caste. This depicts the reality of the caste consciousness of the Indian media

¹⁹ E H Carr, *What is History*, Penguin Books, London, pp. 144 – 145.

²⁰ Gopal Guru &, A. Chakravarty (2005). *Who are the country's poor? Social movement politics and Dalit poverty. Social Movements in India: Poverty, Power and Politics*, Pp135-60.

²¹ J. Balasubramaniam (2011) “Dalits and a Lack of Diversity in the Newsroom”. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 12 March 2011.P p 21-23.

management where they deliberately prohibit the entry of the Dalit and other marginalized community in the media. In the Indian context, the social structure of the media houses is directly proportional and resemblance to India's social structure.

In this context Robin Jeffery in his seminal work on the Indian media articulate that there have been the pervasive absence of Dalits from India's media organization. This absence was there even in the past and the situation even today hasn't changed much today as well. In this regard he defines this miserable situation of the discrimination of Dalits in mainstream media as a mockery of constitutional guarantees, which ensures the principle of equality and fraternity to its citizens.²² When one looks into previous research about Dalits and the media is mostly about Dalits' representation in the news rooms. There are hardly any Dalit journalists, and in particular not in the English language press. However, later trends have tried to look into the dimension of exclusion of Dalits issues within media per se. They were reports about their misrepresentation and misinterpretations. For instance, an analysis of the editorial pages in The Hindu and Times of India in 1996 shows in a nine-month period there were merely four articles relating to Dalit issue.²³ B.N. Uniyal in his article "*In Search of a Dalit Journalist*",²⁴ argues that "the under-representation of Dalits journalist in Indian media results into the exclusion of news on Dalits." Further, he also states that there are almost no Dalits workings as journalists in the newsrooms in India.²⁵ There is limited research done concerning news about Dalits and media coverage. Thus this research is an attempt to look in this direction.

²² Robin Jeffrey (2012). Missing from the Indian newsroom. *The Hindu*, April 9, 2012. P9. Accessed on February 11, 2017.

²³ B N Unyal (1996): "In Search of a Dalit Journalist", *The Pioneer*, 16 November. - See more at: <http://www.epw.in/journal/2011/11/commentary/dalits-and-lack-diversity-newsroom.html>.

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid

1.4 Media discourse and reality:

A discourse determines what is truth and what can be considered as false. Thus 'truth' is not universal rather it is discursively created. This argument about relative truth rather than absolute truth was developed by Foucault in his archaeological work. In this reference, the social constructionist have argued that our understanding of the world is not the absolute 'truth' or reality rather it is just a product of discourse. Thus when we try to understand phenomena we must not treat it as objective', but they are actually coming from a discourse.²⁶ Such a relationship to understand truth exists within media discourse as well. Hobbs (2008) argues that even though the subject of Foucault's study was exclusively institutional settings, his theories have equal relevance in understanding spaces like media organisation, news rooms as well. He says that journalist play important role in imparting social truths and are often required to work with the sense of 'objectivity', 'impartiality' and in general 'public interest'. Such code is a discourse, that has an influence on events, objects and things represented within media discourse.²⁷ Other discourse are also shaped by the manner in which a particular 'news-event' is reported and the so called 'truth' is presented within the audience. Thus the media news and information is largely the represented and designed by the discursive practices of the media house. It is important to mention that media despite its professional codes like 'objectivity', 'impartiality' etc. is capable of making only tentative claim to truth rather than absolute truth. Truth can never be captured in 'pure manner', rather its representation

²⁶ V Burr (1995) *An introduction to social constructionism*, Sage publication, London.

²⁷ M Hobbs (2008) *On discourse and representation: reflections on Michel Foucault's contribution to the study of the mass media*, University of Newcastle, Accessed on 9 May 2017, <http://www.tasa.org.au/uploads/2011/05/Hobbs-Mitchell-Session-19-PDF.pdf>.

will have multi-dimensional aspect to it. Further, these representation will have always be constrained by discourse.²⁸

Habermas talked about the media as the representation of larger bourgeoisie ideology, which dictates the terms and conditionalities to the media houses so that their market interest remains better served.²⁹

1.5 Statement of Problem:

This research is an attempt towards understanding the issue of ‘representation’ of Dalits within mediatized space. The social composition and functioning (caste prejudices) of mainstream print media houses in Indian leads to the exclusion of subaltern masses, their identity, history, culture and literature. Further, this systemic exclusion denies them equal access to the resource and eventually their inclusion within the mainstream society. The exclusion of Dalits is not merely their absence in terms of numbers within the mainstream media, but it is also in terms of general ignorance of issues which concern them. The process of this exclusion is not contemporary, rather it roots down to pre-independent India as well. This is evident from the fact that during pre-independence when most the national dailies then were engrossed in mobilizing masses for freedom struggle, it was Dr. Ambedkar who asked for a separate Dalit space within these dailies to raise the problem of caste biases that prevailed within the society. Dr. Ambedkar himself published newspapers like Mook Nayak, Janta and Bahiskrit Bharat to raise some of these issue which the other popular Dailies had failed to raise. In contemporary media this issue remains far from being addressed. Through this research, I have tried to look some of the dimensions of this process of exclusion.

²⁸ Ibid, p.11

²⁹ Jurgen Habermas (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991. p. 175-177.

Further, this research tries to look into the impact which the process of exclusion or inclusion might generate on the lives of people at the margins. Within a democratic setup, media is an important medium to connect people and it plays an important role in generating opinion. A one-sided accentuated reality might fail people to get acquainted with the complete reality. Thus the role of media in representing an issue is important to be delved into. Further, one also needs to look into the bottlenecks at the level of ideology as well as the level of access to resource that pull-off inclusion of Dalits from the participation within media industry.

1.6 Research Questions:

1. How can one study the process of marginalization and exclusion of Dalits in mainstream media in India and what are the theoretical/ conceptual dimensions to the complexity of media exclusion faced by Dalits in India?
2. Why media representation and inclusion in media is important for Dalit and marginal communities?
3. What are the barriers to participation in the mainstream media industry for the Dalit and marginal community?

1.7 Research Objectives:

The primary objective of the study was to explore the coverage of the Participation of the Dalits in politics, movement in the Delhi. The focal objectives that I seek to explore through this study are as follows:

1. To understand the role of mainstream media in the agenda/opinion making process.
2. To identify and explore the varied forms of prejudices that is embedded in mainstream media.

3. To analyse the content of mainstream mass media with respect to the constructs of caste and cognitive blackout by mainstream print media.

1.8 Conceptual/Theoretical Framework and Methodology:

Social science has its unique methodology based on its philosophical assumption, epistemology and ontology. Guba and Lincoln, while discussing about Inquiry paradigm has argued that they are often based on two questions. Firstly, the epistemological enquiry tries to look into the question of the relationship between knower and the known. Secondly, the ontological question seeks to raise an enquiry about structure and nature of reality per se. It further tries to understand the methodological question as to what is there that can be learned and how can an inquirer know them.³⁰ Ontology basically tries to understand the nature of the world and how can reality be classified and related to each other. In words of Wand & Weber “ontology deals with nature and structure of the world”.³¹

The ‘ontological’ dimension of this dissertation is to look into the dimensions surrounding media inclusion/exclusion, which this research intends to study. Further, when one investigates into the practice of media inclusion/exclusion one needs to look into what relationship does this practice have with the society at large?

The epistemological question, on the other hand, is related with the theory of knowledge, and how is this knowledge is grew and understood.³² It further looks into question about

³⁰ EG Guba, & Lincoln, YS (1994) ‘Competing paradigms in qualitative research’, in Denzin NK & Lincoln YS (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, Sage, London, pp. 105-117.

³¹ Y Wand & Weber, R 1993, ‘On the ontological expressiveness of information systems analysis and design grammars,’ *Journal of Information Systems*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 217-237.

³² Kienzle, H. (1970). Epistemology and Sociology. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 21(4), 413-424. doi:10.2307/588496 . Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge, especially with regard to its methods, validity, and scope, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion.

how knowledge relates to the truth by questioning into other forms of knowledge that are present. Thus epistemology is an important driver of truth and reasoning, which helps the researcher to know the knowledge system as well as the production of new knowledges.

In this research, the epistemological question that is raised is how mainstream media produces a discourse. It is important to mention here about the significant role that media plays in political change and determining representational meanings. The research is an attempt towards understanding the role of media in propagating an ideology and promoting a certain kind of social behaviour. Through content analysis of some of the mainstream newspaper, the research attempts to understand the epistemological position of media and its role in understanding the society at large.

Through these conceptual framework, one can do the discourse analysis of media and thereby understand its role in processes of inclusion or exclusion. The terminologies that have been involved to understand this conceptual framework are content analysis, discursive practice, episteme, media texts and truth claims and, subjects, representations and ideology.

Quantitative/Qualitative Content method

The method used in this thesis to understand the cases of media bias is content analysis method. Content analysis refers to a method which enables one to do a systematic and critical analysis of the text. In essence, it involves methods like the classification of different sections of the text to be analysed. This can be done through systematic coding scheme from which an understanding of the text can be developed which is otherwise not explicitly mentioned about. By clearly specifying the coding and other procedures content analysis is replicable in the sense that other researchers could reproduce the study.

Content analysis can be carried out quantitatively as well as qualitatively. This thesis engages with both quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Content analysis can be used for wide range of written text for example speeches, articles or letters whether print or in digital, and in addition text in the form of pictures, video or other forms of visual media. Content analysis not only looks into the manifest content, that is visible and whose countable components of the message is present explicit and clear, but also to the latent content. Latent content refers to the meanings and intention that may lie behind the manifest content. They are subtly present in the text. An example of manifest and latent content can be explained through the representation of women's image within media. The manifest content of the image of women is that women are generally represented as doing domestic work, child care et. However, a latent content analysis of such representation can help one to understand the gender stereotyping which media subjects women too. Both manifest and latent content together help one to understand the social reality behind these representations. However, it is vital to specify here that such interpretations may vary in depth and level of abstraction.³³

For the first part, a quantitative content method is used. One of the research questions is how are Dalits represented in the selected newspapers. Content analysis is a way through which this problem can be understood. It can help one to enquire into dimensions like how frequently and adequately the Dalit issues are reported in a material.³⁴ The units being analysed are articles that contain the words like Scheduled Caste, Dalit or Untouchable in the document under study. This selection was made with an intention to cover maximum reports that were available in print media.

³³ U. H. Graneheim and, B. Lundman (2004). 'Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness', *Nurse education today*, 24(2), 105–112.

³⁴ H. Harris (2001). 'Content analysis of secondary data: A study of courage in managerial decision making', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 34(3/4), 191–208

Material and research process.

The research involves content analysis of news stories, articles, editorial, etc. For this study, Delhi newspaper 'The Hindu' and 'Dainik Jagran' (Hindi) for the period of one month i.e. 1st February 2017 to 28 February 2017 have been selected. A total of 56 newspapers publications were selected for this study. Newspapers have been chosen based on their circulation. The researcher used simple random sampling method for the selection of newspaper. These newspapers were read and the articles about Dalits were collected and coded with the code book.

Further, the research also looks into the issue of Dalit exclusion in some of the contemporary cases as well. It discusses issues like Bathani Tola, Khairlanji massacre, Rohith Vemula issue, Una incidence, Saharanpur violence, Jisha murder case, Tsundur incidents and their reporting within several print media. The idea was to get a picture of the process of exclusion across Dalit violence issues within media. Further, this was also done with the intention to understand the process of exclusion in terms of their representation.

Limitations.

First of all one of the limitations for this research was limited time within which report were to be written. This led me to narrow down the contents analysis to the news articles whose sources were available. The issues taken up has also been narrowed down to only concentrate on the research questions only. Secondly, the study was done on newspapers available in Delhi region or available online versions of news reports. Due to the language barrier, local and regional language newspapers (other than Hindi) were avoided. Thirdly, because of choosing of urban space, it is quite possible that news of the hinterland was missed out. Given the demographic fact that most of the Dalits and

marginalized are residing in the hinterland, it is very much possible that a shift from urban to regional or local media would have given a better picture of the reality.

Validity and reliability.

Validity can be defined as if you measure what you are supposed to measure.³⁵ News coverage and articles about Dalits were supposed to be investigated, and therefore a strict selection was made. The articles with titles or keywords Dalits, Schedule caste or Untouchables were collected. The keywords also helped in filtering out articles that were not relevant.

Reliability is the lack of mistakes and the accuracy that is maintained during the data gathering process.³⁶ Newspapers were selected based on their circulation. In this research, for the selection of newspaper, simple random sampling method has been used. The newspapers were read carefully. The online platforms of these newspapers were also selected in case the access to printed version was not found. The details of these content analysis is given in sections ahead.

Overall, the idea of working on the newspaper emanated from the fact that newspapers play a major role in upholding the meaning of democracy in India. They are ideally supposed to publish events which hold significance in addressing social, economic, political and moral problems in the society. Besides addressing the problem, they also help to vent out the problems which society faces on an everyday basis. It is an important tool to create awareness about social problems and has all the potential to organise masses to raise voice against social issues. However, the findings show that selected newspapers reflects the departure from these ideal circumstances. The research

³⁵ Klaus Krippendorff (1980) "Validity in Content analysis". In E. Mochmann (Ed.)Pp.69-112, *Annenberg School for Communication*. (Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/291)

³⁶ Klaus krippendorff (2004) "Reliability in Content Analysis Some Common Misconceptions and Recommendations", *Human Communication Research*, Vol. 30 No. 3, July , 411–433.

shows these newspapers give very less space to Dalit issues in front page and the majority of the space is given to political issues and advertisements in both the newspapers. This sociological engagement about newspaper reveals that the mainstream newspaper is giving very least importance to the Dalit issues.

1.9 Print-Media and its significance in representation:

The evolution of print communication has important significance in determining the socio-politico-economic discourse of a country. This can be understood from the fact that emergence of modern nationalism and nation-state has close linkages with the emergence of the printing press. Within the context of India, the situation was not much different as the growth of press is linked closely with the growth of Indian nationalism as well. The evolution of print newspaper in India began with 'Bengal Gazette' which was started by James Augustus Hickey in the year 1780. Very soon other newspapers including regional language newspaper also began to flourish in India. The print newspaper played important in generating social conscious and raising issue and demands concerning the interest of masses. Print media thus played important role in containing issues of social importance. Benedict Anderson in his work "Imagined communities" has looked into the close relationship between 'print capitalism' and the rise of Nationalism.

The role of the print newspaper has however gained a dubious role from the early 1990s onward.³⁷ Their role in exaggerating communal tension and atmosphere of violence has increased manifold. This was evident in print-media reporting the anti-Mandal agitation, where the reporting was more of a nature of sensationalism rather than showing the caste reality as it existed on the ground. This irony of their biased reporting was

³⁷ Yoginder S. Sikand and Avinash K. Mishra. (2010). *Indian Mass media: Prejudices against Dalits and Muslims*. Hope India Publications. NewDelhi. P. 29.

evident in Tsundur case where media had completely blacked-out the issue, while the anti-Mandal agitation was something which was never missed out by media.

The present research was conducted to find out the coverage of Dalit issues in Newspapers. The content analysis method is adopted for this study. Content analysis is the research technique which helps the researcher to understand the message, inference and the effects the media tends to generate. Content analysis has immense significance particularly in the area of media and communication studies. It basically means understanding the message contained in the media and communication networks. It is about looking at the content and the cultural symbols that it connotes.

The content analysis was done on the issues relating to Dalit marginalization, invisibilization, exclusion and discrimination. It was basically an attempt to study the coverage of Dalit news in the media. The content analysis was done on the two newspapers, 'The Hindu'(English) and 'Dainik Jagaran'(Hindi). The content of these newspapers were extensively followed up to look into the dimension of invisibilisation of Dalit issues. The content analysis was also an attempt to understand the systemic political and ideological biases of these newspapers. Further, to understand the issue of Dalit marginality, the dissertation is also trying to look into several cases of Dalit violence and there reporting within print media.

1.10 Organization of Chapters:

The dissertation overall has been organized into five chapters including Introduction and Conclusion. There are three core chapters in which this study has tried to understand theories around media communication, representation and news coverage and content analysis, the concept of representation in relation to Indian society and the role of print media.

The first chapter, contains an introduction of the research theme, methods used in this study, the literature review enabling a better understanding of the function of the media in the society. It also engages with the methodology of the research and also tries to cover the limitations of the research.

The second chapter focuses on the theoretical perspective to identify and explore the varied forms of prejudices that is embedded in mainstream media. With this chapter, the dissertation tries to challenge and critique the every day, normalised assumptions about marginalisation that are circulated within mediatized spaces. Further, it tries to understand what are the mediatized intervention that can bring margins from the peripheral space to the centre.

The third chapter is focusing on how the interplay of caste factors participate in the shaping the consciousness of individuals through multiples sites. Media remains to be one of the significant sites. The chapter tries to theoretically understand the ways in media stereotypes marginal identity and the larger repercussion it has in stigmatising marginal identity.

Chapter four is an elaborate content-analysis of the randomly selected newspaper published from Delhi. Further, I did a quantitative as well as qualitative content analysis of some published article in the newspaper. This provides new insight into the coverage of news media. Content analysis of newspaper and published articles enables one to understand the theoretical arguments and connect this theoretical argument with the larger ground reality.

The purpose of the study was to engage with media reports and coverage of selected newspapers and to find out whether Dalit's voice is justifiably articulated or not.

It attempts to understand the influence of media over people to raise concern and awareness among people about an issue concerning marginalisation of identity.

Overall, this dissertation has tried to highlight how Dalit and marginalised community are represented in news print media and the socio-cultural meanings that are asserted through such representations. Further, it tries to understand the 'why representation and media coverage is necessary' and meanings and attributes that are standardised through mainstream media for becoming 'acceptable' within society and who dominates within Indian media. The cultural and media economy often obfuscate the real issues that concern Dalit and marginalised. The concern I thus want to raise is that one need to problematize such forms of representations that media makes and not accept it naively.

Chapter- 2

Chapter two

Understanding margins and Exclusion of Dalits in media-A theoretical perspective.

1. Introduction:

This chapter focuses on the theoretical perspective to identify and explore the varied forms of prejudices that is embedded in mainstream media. This chapter is also an attempt to challenge and critique the everyday forms of marginalization which is often normalized and hence is not problematized. Such a critique is an attempt to problematize the media which often presumes itself as unbiased and democratic. The critique is also an attempt to bring at centre the problems of marginalized voices that is often ignored within the mainstream media.

1.1 Understanding margins and Dalit:

Marginalisation has been understood as a complex phenomenon which reduces specific groups into lower or at the periphery of the society. It effectively pushes these groups to the margin of society economically, politically, culturally and socially. This leads to their exclusion in all the spheres of society. Marginalisation not only denies a section of society from access to the productive resource but it also undermines their potential to bring an effective contribution in productive process and development.

One of the most evident definitions of ‘marginal man’ is defined by Robert E. Park¹, who derives this term from word ‘Margin or border’. He was one of the pioneers who brought the question of marginality at the centre of sociological discourse. It was George Simmel’s work on “Stranger”, which gave a conceptual framework and tentative dimensions marginality. Simmel understood marginality in terms of freedom and objectivity and to by understanding the relationship between host and stranger.² Another approach to understand marginality is the ‘functional’ approach. According to this approach, a marginal is understood from the group’s point of view. It focuses on the marginal’s relation to the group. The identity and participation of a group is further in understood within frame of reference of this relation.³ ‘Identity’ and ‘participation’ are key concepts through which marginality is understood. The process of ‘identity-making’ is defined only when it involves participation. This approach is also called as the ‘actionist’ approach to understand marginality.⁴

Further, Marginality, in general, “used to understand and interrogate the sphere of political, socio-cultural and economic aspect, where marginalized group struggle to gain access (societal and spatial) to resources, and inclusive participation within social spheres”.⁵ These sections of marginalised groups are socially,

¹ R. E. Park (1928) Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, no 6, pp. 881–893. R. E. Park (1961) Introduction. Stonequist E. V. *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*, New York: Russell and Russell.

² G. Simmel (1989, *Philosophy of Money*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Publishing House; Simmel G. (1992) *Sociology: Investigations on the Forms of Socialization*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Publishing House.

³ Svetlana Bankovskaya. (2014). Living in-between: The Uses of Marginality in Sociological Theory. <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/mezhdu-granits-ponyatie-marginalnosti-v-sotsiologicheskoy-teorii>, Accessed on February 11, 2017.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Anderson, J. Larsen, J. E. (1998) *Gender, Poverty and Empowerment. Critical Social Policy*, 18(2): 241-258

economically, legally and politically ignored. This further adds to their vulnerability and exclusion at other stages of life.⁶

Marginality can be defined and described by looking by using the societal and spatial framework. The 'societal framework' focusses on factors like culture, religion, demography, social structures like class, ethnicity and gender. It also includes economic and political dimensions to understand the accessibility to resources which an individual or group has. This framework of marginality emphasis on understanding dimensions like of social injustice, exclusion, inequality and spatial segregation of people.⁷

The social conditions are some of the important factors to understand social marginality. The concept like 'disparity' is a consequence of discrimination and exclusionary processes from the central discourse. The economic and political disparity between marginalized and mainstream can be accessed on the scale of equitable and legitimate access to resources and the inclusivity of marginal groups in the decision-making process. The concept of marginality can also be understood as antithetical to 'mainstream'. Further, the process of understanding marginalisation must also include marginalisation within the marginal groups as well. This includes concepts like doubly- marginalised or trebly-marginalised due to factors like gender, regional differences, etc..⁸

⁶ P. Brodwin (2001) *Marginality and Cultural Intimacy in a Trans-national Haitian Community*, Occasional Paper No. 91 October. Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA

⁷ H. Jussila, W. Leimgruber and R. Majoral. (1999a) *Perceptions of Marginality: Theoretical Issues and Regional Perceptions of Marginality in Geographical Space*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, England.

⁸ S. Dain (2003) Conceptual and Operational Framework on Exclusion in Social Protection for Health. Pan American Health Organization. www.opas.org.br/servico/Arquivos/sala5461.pdf.

The social condition of people like lack of livelihood options, lack of resources, skill and opportunity, low self-esteem also reflects on social marginality. The restricted participation in the public decision-making process and a reduced or restricted access to public space adds to the dimension of spatial marginality or an individual or community. The people or community thus discriminated on this axis of spatial marginality are often subjected to ignorance, suppression and stigma. The factors like gender, religion, culture, ethnicity, age, occupation, race, education and economy are some of the factors in which this spatial exclusion can be accounted for.⁹

The other definition of ‘marginality’ comes from Stuart Hall et al. in 1960. This school has argued that marginality can be referred “to those person identities and representation which have been excluded from or prohibited by mainstream media narratives”. The purpose of the marginal study is to bring to the centre who are located at the periphery.¹⁰

In the Social Sciences, Kharmarlov explains that ‘marginality’ as a concept has two distinct versions. The first version focusses on uni-cultural and ethnocentric approach to understand the marginal population from the standpoint of other existing dominant culture. The other version emphasis on the process of poly-cultural contact and interaction.¹¹ This dimension of understanding marginality is basically about how is the maginal identity within media constructed? Further, how are these

⁹ J. E. Larsen (2002b) Who Cares about and for Marginal People? *Danish Social Science Research Council*, Copenhagen. www.ihis.aau.dk/gep/publicationer/nr3.pdf, November 23, 2004.

¹⁰ Cited in Stuart Hall (1997) “Representation-Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices” (ed) Sage Publication, London. P.10 He is founder of British School Of Cultural Studies.

¹¹ N.A.Kharlamov (2012) Boundary Zone between Cultural Worlds or the Edge of the Dominant Culture? Two Conceptual Metaphors of Marginality. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33 (6), 623–638

marginalised identity located on a globalized platform? This dimension of understanding marginality pushes margin at the centre of the inquiry.

1.2 Defining the term 'Dalit':

According to Elenor Zelliott "Dalit, which, as shown earlier, means ground down, downtrodden, oppressed, is now being used by the low castes in a spirit of pride and militancy. The term began to be used by politically-awakened ex-Untouchables in the early 1970s when the Dalit Panthers, a youthful group of activists and writers in Bombay, came on the scene to protest injustice. The Dalit Panther organisation is now scattered and important only in a few places, but the pride and militancy that accompanied the name has created a new category of culture in India".¹²

Further, Zelliott in her seminal work '*Untouchables to Dalit*' writes about Dalit "To me, Dalit is not the caste. He is a man exploited by the social and economic traditions of this country. He does not believe in God, rebirth, soul, holy books teaching separatism, fate and heaven because they have made him a slave. He does believe in humanism. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution".¹³ "Dalit implies those who have been broken and ground down by those above them in the social hierarchy in a deliberate and active way. There is in the word itself an inherent denial of pollution, karma, and justified caste hierarchy".¹⁴

¹² Eleanor Zelliott, (1996) "Dalit Movement", in *Dalit International Newsletter*, 1(1): 1-4. No. 1, February, pp. 1-4.

¹³ Eleanor Zelliott (2001): *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi. (Letter written to Zelliott by Gangadhar Pantawane, editor of 'Asmitadarsh' magazine of Dalit literature. In the letter he defines the term 'Dalit').

¹⁴ Ibid, p-267

According to Gail Omvedt the term Dalit came into common parlance when, “The 'Dalit Panthers' revived the term in their 1973 manifesto and expounded its referents to include the Neo-Buddhists, scheduled tribes, working people, landless and poor peasant women and all those being exploited economically, politically and in the name of religion”.¹⁵

“Caste prejudices and discrimination against Dalits are a social reality of Indian society” and in a sociological sense this is a normal social fact.¹⁶ “Dalits have suffered social exclusion based on caste for a long time in history”.¹⁷ “The word ‘Dalit’ comes from the Sanskrit root dal- and means ‘broken, ground-down, downtrodden, or oppressed.’ Those previously known as Untouchables, Depressed Classes, and Harijans are today increasingly adopting the term ‘Dalit’ as a name for themselves”.¹⁸ Similarly in the Marathi dialect of Maharashtra, "Dalit" signifies "broken" "ground to pieces," or "oppressed." Popularized by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar during India’s colonial times, the term is the self-assertion used the issues of caste oppression and discrimination at an international platform.¹⁹

According to Vivek Kumar, the word “Dalit has been strictly used for ex-untouchables of Indian society, who have occupied a unique structural location. Here the term structure has been used in terms of the pattern of inter-related roles and

¹⁵ Gail Omvedt (1995) *Dalit Visions: The Anti-Caste Movement and the Construction of an Indian Identity*, Orient Longman, New Delhi., p-72

¹⁶ In, Emile Durkheim (1982). "What is a Social Fact". *The Rules of Sociological Method*: P.74, Durkheim says that a social fact is a thing that many people do very similarly because the socialized community that they belong to has influenced them to do these things.

¹⁷ Vivek Kumar(2009), ‘Locating Dalit Women in the Indian Caste System, Media and Women’s Movement’, *Social Change: Journal of the Council for Social Development*, Volume 39, Number 1, March, New Delhi, pp. 64–84.

¹⁸ <http://www.ncdhr.org.in/dalits-untouchability/> Accessed on March 12, 2017.

¹⁹ Cited in, Clifford Bob (2007). "Dalit rights are human rights": Caste discrimination, international activism, and the construction of a new human rights issue. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 167-193.

statuses, which the actors of a specific society occupy in the spheres of rights and obligations”.²⁰

Nadel argues, “We arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behaviour the pattern or network (or ‘system’) of relationships existing between actors and in their capacity of playing roles to one another”.²¹ The above statement can help one to understand what structural position Dalits had occupied in the past and is still occupying in contemporary Indian society. These social processes can thus help one to understand social exclusion.²² The term ‘social exclusion’ here can be understood as, “a multi-dimensional process which integrates several dimensions like access to employment, inclusion in decision making and political processes into a common cultural process. When combined, they create a sharp form of exclusion that finds a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods”.²³

Vivek Kumar defines Dalits sociologically by highlighting the three characteristics. These are firstly, the structural locations of Dalits within Indian society. Secondly, he talks about Dalit in terms of their social exclusion from the society and finally, in terms of “unique construction of consciousness, anchored naturally in their structural location and social exclusion”.²⁴

²⁰ Vivek Kumar, Op. Cit. pp. 64–84.

²¹ S.F. Nadel (1969). *The Theory of Social Structure*, Cohen and West, London. p.5

²² Kumar, Op. Cit., pp-64-84.

²³ A. Madanipour (1998). ‘*Social Exclusion and Space*’ in A. Madanipour, G. Cars and J. Allens (eds.), *Social Exclusion in European Cities*, Jessica Kingsley, London. 84 *Social Change* : March 2009, p.22.

²⁴ Kumar, Op. Cit., pp-64-84.

When we contextualize the process of marginalisation in terms of media misrepresentation of marginalized community in India, then we find that media always represent the voice of mainstream and dominant social group and in doing so they often hide and blackout the narratives of the marginalised social group. For society like India, media representation remains to be a matter of immense significance. The media represents part of the daily discriminatory practices against members of marginalised communities. The hegemonic dominance of the upper caste in media houses continues at the cost of the marginalised. The process of marginalisation and exclusion includes access to resource and issues of power. It has social and cultural dimensions as well. Indian Constitution recognizes the social and cultural variability and the marginality across the spectrum of this variability that exists. Marginality is also factored in because of the small size of the community who are rendered more vulnerable as compared to large sized communities. Thus, the Constitution of India provides them with safeguards so that the cultural domination by majority community is well accounted for. The provisions safeguard them against disadvantage or discrimination that they might face by virtue of being marginal. Further, it adds to their sense of social security, confidence and well being.

The Article 14 of the Indian Constitution states that “The State shall not deny any person equality before the law and equal protection of the laws within the territory of India”.²⁵ The constitutional safeguard ensures the commitment of Indian constitution in promoting equality, protecting India’s cultural diversity and social justice. The Right to Constitutional remedies further ensures right to the citizen to move to the court in the case of violation of his/her fundamental rights.

²⁵ Article 14, The Constitution of India.

Further, Article 15 and 16 of Indian constitution talks about the exceptions to the general rule of equality.²⁶ These articles state that the State can make laws for the advancement of women and children, SCs and STs, and socially and educationally Backward Classes. But where does right to equality stand if there is no sense of democratisation of social and political institution exist in the real sense. Therein lay the problem. Democratisation is not just a story of political change. Politically this process of relegating people, denies them equal access to the formal power structure. Further, it also leads the subordination of these marginal groups at the hands of politically and economically dominant groups of the society.

Media plays a critical role in either empowering or disempowering the citizens who are at the margins. This plays a vital role in determining whether they act as an agent of change or becomes an obstruction in the process of democratization. One needs to look into how the issues concerning margins are mediated, that is to look whether the mediated space works for the margins and by the margins. Within media discourse, the social exclusion has to be largely understood in the perspective of how the processes like exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination and deprivation are understood within the ‘mainstream media’ discourse.

Before discussing social exclusion and mainstream media, let’s first begin by understanding what is meant by mainstream media.

²⁶ Article,15-Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, Article16- Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

1.3 What is Mainstream media?²⁷

The term “mainstream media” refers to the collectivity of various mass-media sources that reflects and is influenced by the thought of a large number of people. It is the masses that become the major source for the content formation of this form of media. They have a very direct influence on this form of media. A mainstream media sets the agenda and smaller organizations imitate it. However, the sense of the term used in a news context frequently is understood as an assertion of public interest and democratic values into the society. According to media scholar Anup Shah, “A critical component of participatory democracy is to be well informed and up-to-date in order to take part effectively in that democracy. One of the most important ways that many people are informed is through their mainstream media. ... The majority of people get their view of the world from mainstream media. It is, therefore, important that mainstream media is objective and presents accurate and diverse representations of what goes on around the world.” Some of the vehicles of mainstream media includes daily newspapers, weekly news magazines, radio and television, etc.

India has about 4,000 daily newspapers, which is published in nearly 100 languages. However in this vast array of mainstream media, one voice can be seen conspicuously absent and that is of the lower castes, which account for more than 70 percent of the country's population. While the absence of Dalit in the news-making process has will be discussed subsequently, it is significant to mention how the issues concerning majority 70% of the population is left out in the dark. There is no mainstream media house in this country that claims itself to be completely dedicated

²⁷ This content was developed in an unpublished work of e-pathshala module by self.

to the issue of some marginal identity. If there are traces of such media houses they exist only in the form of so-called ‘alternative media’.

When one looks into the term ‘social exclusion’ one finds that the term brings within its ambit a lot of dimensions. In this context, Chinna Rao (2010) has argued that instead of looking into a particular definition of social exclusion one can understand and define ‘exclusion’ through the ways in which it was practised within history. However, the roots of the term ‘social exclusion’ can be seen Western Europe when the concept of ‘social exclusion’ was used by policy makers to address some of the negative social effects that had emerged due to social restructuring.²⁸ Within social science research the roots of ‘social exclusion’ emanates from poverty and inequality prevalent within society.

1.4 Social exclusion and Dalit in Mainstream Media:

Caste has been playing a very dominant, debilitating role in our society since long. In the Indian context, following Amartya Sen, Thorat has discussed the issue of social exclusion within a welfarist framework and argued that social exclusion is group - based, and rooted in social relations, institutions and processes paying particular attention to caste and ethnicity-based exclusions.²⁹

The misrepresentation and exclusion of Dalit issue within the mainstream media relates to the inherent biases which seep in through mediatized communication. Social exclusion is often defined through parameters like denial of opportunities,

²⁸ Y. Chinna Rao (2010) Social exclusion and Dalit in India, In V. Subtmanyam and K. Sekhar (ed.) “Social Exclusion, Integration and inclusive policy, Rawat Publication, New Delhi. P.37

²⁹ Cited in Sukhadeo Thorat. Newman, S Katherine (2012) Blocked by caste – Economic discrimination in modern India (eds). New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p.15

denial and inability of a person to participate in the basic social, political and economic functioning of the society.³⁰ These forms of social exclusion penetrates even in the mediatized space reducing the so called pillar of democracy merely into rhetoric. This is evident from the various fact and case study related to news coverage and editorial desk that there is a complete absence of SC or ST person, not a single person from the Dalit communities taking a call on editorial policies in the Indian mainstream news arena. There are research and reports as well which has reflected on the social exclusion within media-houses. For instance, Kenneth J Cooper, an African-American, who was active within media-houses like The Washington Post, had written towards the mid-1990s that “*India’s majority lower castes are minor voices in newspapers*”.³¹ Similarly, B.N.Uniyal, a journalist from Delhi in his interaction with Robin Jeffery gave a personal anecdotal reference, in which he said that in 30 years of his journalism career, “he had never met a fellow journalist who is a Dalit”.³² Robin Jeffrey has also reflected upon this in his article where he says “Almost no Dalits worked in the Indian press as reporters or sub-editors. There were no daily editors and no daily-run dailies.”³³

Such one-sided inclination of mainstream media towards socially dominant caste, class or religion, often makes processes like social exclusion implicit and

³⁰ Mayara Buvinic, et al ed. Social Inclusion and Economic Development in Latin America, Columbia: IDB,2005

³¹ Kenneth J Cooper, 'India’s Majority Lower Castes Are Minor Voice in Newspapers; Few Journalists,Periodicals Advocate Interests of the Underclass', *The Washington Post*, 5 September1996.

³² B N Uniyal, 'In Search of a Dalit Journalist' , *The Pioneer*, 16 November 1996.

³³ Robin Jeffrey (2000) *India's newspaper revolution: capitalism, politics, and the Indian language press 1977-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, Scholarly and Reference Division.

obvious. Such trend within communication structure is a peril for democracy as the very ethos of democracy is based on the principle of equity and representativeness.

Siddharth Varadarajan, one of the noted journalist, has observed that one of the major reason for absence or fair assessment of Dalit issues is the non-representativeness of Dalits within the media house. He observes that within television and newspaper the coverage of anti-reservation is often represented in a one-sided manner. He alleges the lack of diversity within the newsroom is one of the main reason behind such one-sided opinions. He concludes with a suggestion that if newsrooms diversify by including different sections of society like the Dalits, Muslims, OBC, tribals etc. then the true picture of journalistic endeavour will actually unravel. He thus says “There are a million stories out there waiting to be told. If only we allow the storytellers to do the telling”.³⁴ The diversification of the very composition of media structure can ensure that a social reality can get multifaceted understanding.

³⁴ Siddharth Varadarajan, “Caste Matters in the Indian Media”, *The Hindu*, 3 November 2006

1.5 Social composition of newsroom and Invisibilization of Dalit Journalist- A case study-2006:³⁵

Caste-Community profile compared to population share

Caste/community group	Share in India's population	Share in key media personnel
'Twice born' Hindus (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, others)	16 %	85 %
'Intermediary' Hindu castes (Jat, Reddy, Maratha, Patel, etc.)	8 %	3 %
Hindu OBC	34 %	4 %
Muslim	13 %	4 %
Christian	2 %	3 %
Sikhs	2 %	1 %
SC	16 %	0 %
ST	8 %	0 %

Figures.1. Report of CSDS survey 2006.

In 2006, following the mainstream media's one-sided anti-reservation campaign, a survey was conducted to inquire about the social composition of Delhi based mainstream media house in which caste composition of more than three hundred senior journalists in thirty seven English and Hindi television channels and newspapers in the National Capital Region found that it is the "Hindu upper caste

³⁵ The survey (Period 30 May-30 June2006) was designed and executed by Anil Chamaria, freelance journalist, Jitendra Kumar from the Media Study Group and Yogendra Yadav, senior fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). For details see- http://www.milligazette.com/dailyupdate/2006/20060606_india_media_social_profile.htm.

men, who form eight per cent of the country's population and occupy major share of the top jobs in the national media (71 per cent). Women, non-upper castes, and Muslims are grossly under-represented in relation to their share in the population”.³⁶ According to **survey** “SC/ST are conspicuous by their absence among the decision makers. Not even one of the 315 key decision makers belonged to the scheduled castes or Scheduled Tribes”.³⁷

Caste communities profile:

	Brahmin	Kayastha	Vaishya/ Jain	Rajput	Khatri	Non dwija upper caste	OBC
Print Hindi	59 %	9 %	11 %	8 %	5 %	0 %	8 %
Print English	44 %	18 %	5 %	1 %	17 %	5 %	1 %
Electronic Hindi	49 %	13 %	8 %	14 %	4 %	0%	4 %
Electronic English	52 %	13 %	2 %	4 %	4 %	4 %	4 %
All	49 %	14 %	7 %	7 %	9 %	2 %	4 %

Figure.2. CSDS Survey 2006, Social Profile of Journalist

According to the findings, the percentage of upper-caste Hindus (including men and women) who are present at the topmost position in media is 85 per cent. However, it is interesting to note that these castes comprises of 16 per cent of the national population. 49% of the top jobs in national journalism are constituted by Brahmins only. Further according to the report “if non-Brahmin forward castes like Marathas, Patels, Jats and Reddys are added; then the total forward caste share stands

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

at 88 per cent.”³⁸ Thus the ratio of representation in media is highly skewed, and is tilted towards social elites of the society. In this context Anand Teltumbde describes:³⁹

“Dalit presence in the fourth estate is perhaps relegated to what in India is known as Class IV –labourers in musty warehouses where newsprint is stacked, or in the press where a few Dalits may operate this machine. They may even have a dominant presence in the distribution network as tempo drivers. Helpers and newspaper delivery boys, but they will be scarcely found as journalist or editorial staff-those who decide what constitutes news. Little wonder then that the media has little understanding or empathy for the Dalit cause. Kahairlanji best illustrates the media’s indifference.”

In this context, there was yet another report that was published by Subaltern Team, Patna, Bihar (Mentioned below). The report did a survey of seven newspapers by looking into the caste composition of these newspapers. The result was shocking as out of 297 journalists only one SC journalist was present while there was no representation of scheduled tribe at all. This data shows that the absence of certain caste identity is not merely a chance happening rather there is an inherent caste biases that persists within media which leads to such exclusionary practices. This trend is seen in other regions as well, like in the content analysis done in the later section of the dissertation will show discriminatory representation in Delhi region as well.

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Anand Teltumbde (2008) *Khairlanji: A strange and Bitter Crop*, Navayana publications, p-90

Newspaper	Number of Journalists	Upper Castes/ Other Upper Castes	Backward	Extremely Backward	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Unknown
Hindustan	74	59	9	2	0	0	4
Dainik Jagran	51	46	4	0	0	0	1
Dainik Bhaskar	44	39	5	0	0	0	1
Aaj	19	15	2	0	0	0	2
Prabhat Khabar	59	42	13	2	0	0	1
Rashtriya Sahara	37	27	5	3	1	0	1
Inext	13	9	3	0	0	0	1
Total	297	237	41	7	1	0	11
Percentage	100%	80%	13%	3%	0.33%	0%	4%

Figure 3. A survey conducted by Subaltern Team in 2016, Patna, Bihar.

Caste	Number	Percentage
1.Upper Caste	237	80
A. Brahmin	105	35
B. Bhumihar	32	11
C. Rajput	46	16
D. Kayastha	45	15
E. other upper castes (Muslim, Jain, etc)	9	3
2. OBC	41	13
3. EBC	7	3
4. SC	1	0
5. ST	0	0
6. Others	0	0
7. Caste unknown	11	4
Total (From 1 to 7)	297	100

Figure 4. Percentage wise distribution of caste identity of journalists within newspaper published from Patna. (Source: The Subaltern Team, Patna, Bihar)

Thus through above reports, the systemic practice of invisibilization, misrecognition and misidentification of socially marginalized groups can be read out loud and clear. In a Durkheimian sense, exclusion is a threat to social fabric because it “threatens society as a whole with the loss of collective values and destruction of social fabric”.⁴⁰ Inequality persists in the Indian mainstream media in a growing manner. But this question is often underestimated in the sense that reporting and coverage of mainstream media is generally not questioned.

The absence of Dalit journalists is the result of an intentional and conscious discrimination by the management of media houses. This is evident from the opaque process that are used in the process of recruitment. Most of the time the recruitment is done on the basis of choice and interest of the selection board, without a fair assessment of candidates as such.

The mass-media, or the mainstream media as it is popularly called, can play an important role in addressing the issue of casteism by generating a public opinion in favour of equity based casteless society, however, unfortunately, it is not so nor does it intends to take steps in this regard. This is evident from the fact that media has somewhere failed to engage with the socially sensitive issues and social challenges that lie out their in field. The truthful and sensitive investigation is a key responsibility of media which it has somewhere failed to adhere to.

⁴⁰ Emile Durkheim (1965) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press. (Originally published in 1915.)

Journalism, which is referred to as the fourth pillar of Indian democracy, needs to take up vociferous debates on caste problems that exist within society. Ideally, a media system should provide its readers with some coherent sense of the broader social forces that influence states of their regular day to day existences, and the ways in which social exclusion is a danger to society as it disturbs the very sense of social solidarity.

However, the mainstream media situation as it stands today nowhere is near this ideal situation. Whenever Dalits are referred in the newspapers reports, the main subject is almost never Dalits per se. This denies them the centrality in the issue concerning them. Even if they made a subject that had an intention of generating sensationalism rather than addressing the problem at its core. Within mediatized space violence on Dalits rarely invites critical engagement about the caste question, which remains pertinent and the root cause of such forms of violence. It has also never exposed the chinks in the state policies, which leads to failure in protecting the interests of Dalits. Further, when one looks into the question of distribution of resources, it is the wealthy and upper-caste who gets easy access to these resources, while the marginalised are at the receiving end when it comes to the access of resources. The irony remains that media never seems bothered in reporting such skewed imbalance of resources that exist within society.

1.6 Bahujan movement, BSP and Mainstream Media:

When we look into the news coverage of mainstream media in the context of Ambedkarite Social movement, political gathering and speeches, were marginalized social groups try to assert their voices and grievances through the rally, protest, seminar, and convention, the mainstream media often tries to blackout the news. This is done by either covering the issue only in parts or by ignoring them completely. Further, these reports are also presented in a distorted way often showing an incomplete picture of the reality. In this regard Suryakant Waghmore in his work 'Challenging Normalized Exclusion' says, "The Ambedkarism for the Dalit is an aberration in the popular social practices of caste and Nationalism, more particularly as they engage in mainstreaming Dalit concern." Thus the issue of absence and invisibilisation remains pertinent within Dalit discourse. In this context of systemic invisibilisation the coming up of the Bahujan movement is significant. The Bahujan movement and the origin of BSP was led by Kanshi Ram in the year 1984. He felt the need for a party because the existing party matrix did not address the needs of 'Bahujan Samaj'. Further, the 'Bahujan Samaj' remained at the receiving end of the public sphere, which was dominated by upper-caste Hindus.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that caste prejudices is the hall mark of the Indian mainstream media. In this reference, Teltumbde in his work writes:⁴¹

"When the late Kanshi Ram organized the most unlikely section of salaried Dalits, minority and backward classes into Bamef (Backwards and Minority Communities Employees Federation) in 1978 and began organizing the massive conference, the media

⁴¹ Anand Teltumbde, Op. Cit. P.100

systematically ignored his efforts. This media blackout continued through his transition to DS4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) and then to BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party) in 1984. It is only when the BSP managed a string of political successes and posed a veritable threat to the mainstream political party that the media took note. There was no neo-liberalism or blatant marketization then to explain the exclusion of Kanshi Ram's movement from the mainstream media. It was just caste prejudices.”

Maxine Loynd in his work 'Politics without Television' discusses the reasons due to which Mayawati do not maintain a good relationship with media. He argues that the coverage of their party agenda is often filtered through biases within the mainstream media. The mainstream media which is the composed of hegemonic caste structure within somewhere fails to look into the questions that does not concern hegemonic domination. Loynd has argued that caste composition of mainstream media is one of the major cause for persisting caste biases within mediatized spaces. The discrimination is often subtle, and media distances itself from talking about it. Empirically, these biased structures can be seen in a skewed number of Dalits who are in these mainstream media houses. In addition to this fact, the failure of the audience (who come from weak socio-political background) to understand that hegemonic caste design further adds to the plight of Dalits within media.⁴² Further, the visible absence of Mayawati from mainstream media was seen during an election where her perspective was not included.

⁴² M. Loynd (2009). Understanding the Bahujan Samaj Prerna Kendra: Space, Place and Political Mobilisation. *Asian Studies Review*, 33(4), 469-482.

Overall, the chapter has looked into the role of media in ensuring social inclusion. However, the chapter also highlights that media communication process is determined by the larger nexus of political and business elite, which uses media more as vested interest rather as a tool to bring social change in society. The question of media ownership is thus a significant instrument to understand the ways in news by media is influenced and channelized.

1.7 The Hoot study and discrimination against Dalit Journalist:

This study was one of the research findings conducted by The Hoot.⁴³ This is an online media website. The Hoot study suggests Dalit journalist still are nowhere in proportion to their countrywide population. If at all they are present they are at the lowermost rung in the hierarchy that exists in newspaper and T.V. outlets. Of the 21 Dalit journalists the interviewer had met, more than the majority (12 journalists) were planning to quit their job because their were other better job opportunities.⁴⁴ Most of the journalist who were planning to leave stated caste-based discrimination as the principle factor for them to quit journalism.

Discrimination that journalist faced, was more severe in Hindi media that in any other language. In order to escape the caste based discrimination, the journalist would often keep ambiguous surnames. However, Dalit journalist said that they were often asked umpteen questions to reveal their caste identity. The disclosure of caste identity, in particular, Dalit identity, would often leave them in a situation of

⁴³ Excerpt from the Hoot study report, The longer version of this story, divided into three parts, can be read on The Hoot website here(<http://www.thehoot.org/web/home/story.php?Bstoryid=6956&mod=1&pg=1&SectionId=19>)

⁴⁴ Ibid

harassments in forms like denial of promotion, the increment in salary and even snide remarks would often be passed on them.

The experience of Dalits within media is tragic not just because their presence into these mediatized spaces is limited but also because their presence is often viewed with scepticism and rejection. Their work environments are not comfortable, and they are often explicitly the victims of exclusion. For instance, Santosh Valmiki, who was the principal correspondent, Dainik Hindustan newspaper⁴⁵, Lucknow, said that as a child he used accompany his mother as she went from house to house cleaning toilets; he also distributed newspapers to fund his college education. With an immense struggle, he had become a journalist. However, it was because of his caste identity that he still remains to be a principle journalist, whereas his juniors have been promoted to become editors. He said that Dalits have no mai-baap in media which leads to their poor representation⁴⁶, to promote and facilitate them raise higher in the hierarchy. Thus a Dalit within media faces double marginalization first due to lack of access to a resource like education and secondly due to the social exclusion and discrimination once they enter into institutions like media-houses. The journalist said ‘The overwhelming feeling among Dalit journalists about the prevalence of hatred against them tends to make them rethink of whether they should continue with journalism or not’. These circumstances leads to poor presence of Dalits in media, which further impacts the coverage of news about them as well. The antagonism towards Dalits further, demotivate them from taking up journalism as their profession.

⁴⁵ Daily Hindi News paper publishes from Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India.

⁴⁶ Literal meaning of this word is "mother-father"

Telugu columnist and senior journalist Mallepalli Laxmaiah⁴⁷ talks about five Cs govern the media coverage –controversy, crime, cinema, cricket and corporate. He says “Violence against Dalits comes under Crime and is consequently covered. All other aspects of their life don’t make of their life don’t make a story”.⁴⁸ This statement throws open the vulnerability of Dalit issues within media which is anyways conspicuously absent. This also throws light on the element of sensationalism to which the serious issues like social exclusion is reduced. Laxmaiah, thus argues that talking of media is essentially reduced to spheres which is detached from the essence of democratization.

1.8 Strategies of Invisibilization:

We have already discussed the Indian mass media prejudice and biases, which reflects on the macrocosm of caste based division that exists in society at large. With the advent of globalization and economic liberalization the media has turned out to be a means of money making the institution and serving out the propaganda of the political elites. The essence of media like freedom and democracy has somewhere taken a backseat. This is evident from the fact that media often uses the powerful tactics of ignoring the protests and movement, with believe that blackout will kill the protest and movement and will also impinge its further spread. This strategy of invisibilization gives them the confidence that they can either ‘make or break the leaders’. Instead of making social movements more vibrant their propagandist approach has set out a dangerous trend within the media discourse.

⁴⁷ Mallepally Laxmaiah is an Indian Telugu language journalist.

⁴⁸ In interview with Hoot reporter.

1.9 Incident related with caste atrocities and negative media coverage:

Besides the problem of inclusion or exclusion of Dalit issue, the pertinent question that emerges is how does media represents an issue, if it does it at all. Post-independent India has witnessed many cases of violence against Dalits. For instance, in the context of media exclusion and invisibilisation of Dalit issues we can see the example of the *Keelavenmani* incident, in Tamilnadu.⁴⁹ The incident was reported in the *Dinamani* with the heading of “Clashes between Farmers”.⁵⁰ The media saw this issue as a class issue, sidelining the factors of caste oppression. However, it was only later after many years that with a political intervention the case of caste atrocity was revealed. It is also significant to mention about the failure of media to capture violence against Dalit. It failed to look into the dimension of untouchability and human right violation that was one of the root cause of violence. Media had rather reduced the entire representation of violence to over-simplification based on immediate facts and statistics.

The Khairlanji massacre also shows the negligence of media to cover the sensitive news like violence, murder and rape of Dalit women.⁵¹ The entire episode was published only eight days late in DNA media. Further, the incident caught up media’s imagination only when the incident began to generate political opinions. The casteist bias particularly of Hindi media was reflected when some of these Hindi language newspapers published the police version of moral justice, without any

⁴⁹ In this violence 42 Dalit individuals burnt alive by the dominant caste Hindus in 1968.

⁵⁰ J.Balasubramaniam, Dalits and a Lack of Diversity in the Newsroom. *Economic & Political Weekly*, march 2011. p 21-23

⁵¹ On 29 september 2006, a Dalit family, in Khairlanji, Maharashtra, Surekha Bhotmange and her daughter Priyanka Bhotmange were raped and eventually killed. Surekha’s two sons were lynched. In this gruesome killing entire village was involved.

hesitation. Some of the leading English newspapers like “The Hindu” also shared the incidents of Khairlanji from the point of view of the state. The articles were more in the nature of interrogation into whether the protest of the masses after a month does have any Naxal link or not.⁵² (Teltumbde 2008: 91). Such attitude shows how the nature of atrocity the over-simplified ways in which atrocity around Dalit is speculated. It also reflects on the way dominant media views Dalits. They often stereotype Dalit as being violent and frustrated by nature. This reduces Dalits into the category of the violent mob whose anger is essentially directed towards some vested interest. This shows the degree to which the Dalits are stereotyped within media. As a consequence, the question of Dalit identity is missed out through the media politics.

One can look into media’s biases and prejudices in their coverage on the incident of Khairlanji violence. For instance, Sarita Kaushik in her work “Stop in the name of caste”⁵³ argues the Khairlanji violence was used more into vote-bank politics. Further, the incident was reduced more into a moral question rather than a caste-based atrocity. For instance, she argues that there were rumours and allegations that woman and her children were killed due to her illicit affairs. This affair was unacceptable to the villagers, and the episode of murder happened at Khairlanji. This episode also throws light into the Hindu tradition were questioning the morality of women often legitimises the action of Hindu aggressor. The Hindu interpretation of caste thus reduces event the worst form of caste violence as no violence at all. She argued that paradoxically, vernacular media gave a caste based interpretation to these

⁵² Anand Teltumbde (2008): *Khairlanji: A Strange and Bitter Crop* (New Delhi: Navayana Publishers). p.91

⁵³ Sarita Kaushik (27th November 2006) “Stop in the name of caste” .*Hindustan Times*

conflicts. However, this representation within vernacular press lacked understanding the complexity of caste based violence. Kaushik further argues that the historical facts about brahmins needs to be interrogated. She further argues that Dalit women are often at receiving end of this caste based violence.

It is also important to see the response to this article by Anand Teltumbde. Teltumbde argued that Kaushik's article was a truncated version of his original response. Teltumbde argued that Kaushik's writing about the issue lacks a sense of sisterhood. He invokes a Dalit feminist point of view and argues that non-Dalit women are often not sensitive to the issue of representation of Dalit women and thus they have distortions in understanding the worldview of Dalit women. Thus, the understanding of Dalit women is often at a receiving end by the intellectuals who are non-Dalit men and women.⁵⁴

Anand Teltumbde has further argued that most of the representation of Khirlanji violence in media actually masked the caste realities and presented the facts of violence in a manner that resisted masses to generate any sort of empathy with the victims.⁵⁵ The representation of entire episode shows the ways in which media actually calculates where and for whom to generate sympathies. When a business class elite like Dhirubhai Ambani dies the entire media was hung over with emotions to show the grief, but the grief of marginal section of society nowhere drew similar kind of emotional outburst.

⁵⁴ Cited in Smita Patil (2011) "Violence of Silence: Brahmanic Media Constructions of Caste and Gender", *Women's Link*, Vol.17, No. 3(July-September)

⁵⁵ Anand Teltumbde Op. Cit.. p.91

The media speaks the language of dominant upper-caste Hindus. Hence the act of even the most gross violence on communities other than upper-caste Hindus becomes a minor or no issue for mainstream media. Dr B.R. Ambedkar drove this point most explicitly when he said that when one looks into village administration, it is completely overtaken by the caste Hindus. He said that caste Hindus are almost omnipotent within the administrative structure and they have unfailing support of state as well. Dr Ambedkar has further argued that within these traditional structures the principle of equality is completely missed out. Instead, it promotes hegemony and hierarchy. These caste Hindu place control over established order.⁵⁶

Laxmanpur-Bathe Massacre:⁵⁷

The incident is about caste based violence that happened on 9th October, 1997 at Laxamnpur Bathe, Arwal district. In this case, the Patna High court had acquitted all twenty-six men accused of violence. The order came two days before Sachin Tendulkar's retirement from Test Cricket.⁵⁸ The youngest of those killed in this gruesome killing had been a one-year-old child. This anecdotal reference is significant because it throws light on what draws limelight in between cricket and grave human right violation. While the retirement of Sachin Tendulkar was something media never missed out, the ignorance towards Laxmanpur Bathe was such that the culprits were absolved of crime due to lack of evidence. The incidence caught attention only years later. It was a President of India K.R.Narayanan who

⁵⁶ Cited in Ghanshyam shah (ed) (2002) *Dalit and the state, Published for centre for rural studies,LBSNA*. p.44

⁵⁷ Laxmanpur Bathe is a village in Arwal district in Bihar state, It is most known for the massacre that happened on 1st December 1997. In this incident 58 Dalits were killed by members of the Ranvir Sena. Ranvir sena is a militant group of upper caste Bhumihaar. They are the landlords of the state.

⁵⁸ Shuddhabrata Sengupta (2013) "*The Nation did not want to know about Laxmanpur Bathe and that is why Sachin Tendulkar is 'God'*",October,13 (www.kafila.org.)

describes the incidence of the Laxmanpur Bathe Massacre a ‘national shame’ in 1997.⁵⁹

The incidence is a one of the case in the sequence of other cases on the atrocity against Dalits that were witnessed in Bihar. The other cases included Bathani Tola massacre, the killing of 34 Dalits in Miyanpur village of Aurangabad, and killing of the Dalits at Shankarbigha village near Jehanabad, Bihar. In most of the cases, the accused were acquitted by the court on the grounds of lack of evidence about the violence. The other details of media coverage and Laxanmpur Bathe has discussed in the content analysis of news media report of the incidence.

Operation Black Rain:⁶⁰

Operation Black rain was the string operation Cobrapost conducted. The sting operation was carried out by K. Ashish, in which he had in camera captured the witness of many killings that had happened in Jehanabad, Bhojpur and Gaya. The sting operation had on-record confessions of the culprits involved in the act of violence. However, the reports of the operation was completely blacked-out by the media. The entire episode exposes the brahmanical bias which mainstream media has. This sting operation was significant as it could have very well decided the fate of Bihar Assembly election 2015. The exposé was however blackout, which shows that media did not wanted a public opinion to be generated on the issue. Even the so called parties based on principles of social justice failed to discuss this issue and make it relevant within media discussions. This somewhere reflects on the nexus between politics and media which convivently passes-off the issue of social justice.

⁵⁹ Former Indian President late KR Narayanan called it a ‘national shame’.

⁶⁰ Operation Black Rain’, the sting operation Cobrapost conducted in 2014-2015.

The Tsundur Incident:

Like the history of other violence reporting, the Tsundur killings had met the same fate. The case is also significant because it was the first case that was tried under SC/ST Atrocities Act, 1989. The violence happened in August 1991, when eight Dalits were killed by the upper-caste community. A special court was set in this issue and convicted some 21 people to life imprisonment. However, later in a bench comprising of Justice L. Narasimha Reddy and M.S. Jaiswal, The prosecution failed because the exact time of death, place of occurrence and identity were not established. It was almost after more than two decades that High Court acquitted all convicts in the massacre case. The violence caught media glare only when different social groups like Praja Sanghala Ikya Vedika protested over the issue. The negligence of media in reporting the violence was clear from the day the violence had happened. Eenadu reported the issue on the front-page, however had reported the issue caste atrocity as 'Clash between two groups'. Later the protest of Dalit Mahasabha found space only in two paragraphs mentioned on the second page.

It is significant to contrast such under-representation of violence, with the Mandal agitation that took place. The anti-reservation protest and discussions were given full flare and space. The media was often shown reporting the opinions of anti-reservation doctors of AIIMS. This visualization of the one-sided reality of society, make people unaware of the complete picture of caste reality as it exists within society.

1.10 Locating Dalit in Print media:

One needs to interrogate into the reason for the absence of Dalits from media. When such a question is thrown open to the mainstream journalist (who are mainly the upper-caste men), they end up giving two arguments. Firstly, they say they are not aware about the caste composition of their media house or secondly, they say that in the hiring process the Dalits were not qualified for the post. Now such statements needs to be deconstructed. One needs to ask difficult questions as to what sets the qualification or merit criteria. Further, those who are ignorant about the caste composition should be asked if caste never matters to them then why are Dalit journalist not comfortable in working in those media houses. Why are they subject to bully or social ostracization.

The contemporary India's situation is very much comparable to the situation of American Press in the 1970s, when the country was witnessing the civil rights movements. The American press were also having shortcomings most of which were visible during the Iraq invasion. However, when it comes to the question of diversity and inclusiveness, the American press has certainly praiseworthy. The diversity of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) is something that most of the Dalit activist support and want the similar kind of diversity within Indian press as well. In the context of U.S. it was noted that social responsibility could be ensured only if there is a balance of staff within spaces like newsroom. These newsroom

spaces are actually a reflection of media house interest in communities which they actually intend to serve.⁶¹

“The ASNE website outlines the firm belief that ethnic, social and gender-based diversity are essential for impartial and unbiased coverage of communities. To that end, the ASNE conducts an annual census of Hispanics, Blacks, Asian Americans, Native Americans and women in the newsrooms of major media houses and establishes three-year benchmarks for measuring progress. Thus far the American model has shown some progress: At the time of its inception in 1978, the percentage of representation of minorities in the media in the US stood at 4 per cent. Twenty years later in 1998, the proportion had risen to 11.5 percent.”⁶²

The model of ASNE can be used as the basis to build a media in India with greater inclusiveness and diversity, which is otherwise “Upper caste male dominated. The importance of reform in established media was talked about by Dr. B.R.Ambedkar when he said,

“It is usual to hear all those who feel moved by the deplorable condition of the Untouchables unburden themselves by uttering the cry, ‘We must do something for the Untouchables.’ One seldom hears any of the persons interested in the problem saying, ‘Let us do something to change the touchable Hindu’.”⁶³

⁶¹ Neil Benson (2004): *Diversity in the Newsroom-Employment of Minority Ethnic Journalists in Newspapers*, “A Report by the Training Committee of the Society of Editors”, October.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ <http://drambedkarbooks.com/dr-b-r-ambedkar-books/> Accessed on March 12, 2017 .

Chandrabhan Prasad observed that the outcome of such inclusivity within media was quite fruitful and remarkable. He says that the genuineness and authenticity in news-making of ASNE is remarkable. This is reflected in the fact that “out of 1,446 American newspapers, 950 (66%) decided to stand by ASNE’s declarations, including all newspapers with a daily circulation of above one lakh”.⁶⁴

The gravity of social exclusion of Dalits within Indian context is also highlighted in the context of research conducted by Thorat and Newman, which finds mention in their book “Blocked by Caste: Economic Discrimination in Modern India”. The research was aimed to know the level of discrimination which marginal caste and community faced in society. In the research the interview letters of candidates with the same qualification but different caste and religious identity were sent to the firms for recruitment. However, it was found that of every ten upper caste Hindu who were selected, only six Dalits got the call. The interview call for Muslims were even less. This research throws light on wide array of discrimination that exists within our society. The absence of Dalits presence within media is somewhere a consequence of this caste discrimination mentality which is present within society at large.

Generally, a gesture of dominant media to Dalit is an extension of the projection of the lack of social as well as cultural capital among Dalit’s social world. In Bourdieu’s sense of cultural capital, we can contextualise this situation of absence of Dalits as powerful media persons as an extension of their lack of cultural and political capital within the mainstream society itself. According to Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital is the acquisition of the quality of being adequately or well qualified

⁶⁴ Chandrabhan Prasad (2004): “The Indian Media And Unity 2004”, *The Pioneer*, 01 September.

physically and intellectually as well as being well acquainted with dispositions. “At the same time, Bourdieu argues that political capital provides its holders with a form of private appropriation of goods and public services”.⁶⁵ Within Indian context, the access to cultural and political capital is limited to selective groups, by virtue of which they determine the larger discourse and functioning of institutions like media. One can substantiate this argument with the contemporary case of Rohith Vemula suicide, where the reports and coverage within media displayed some of the intrinsically biased. The media political nexus was also clear which will be discussed in detail in later chapter.

Smita Patil argues that news about Dalit are often distorted by the dominant and reactionary perceptions. Instead of engaging Dalits per se in media they are instead reduced to just a category of ‘textual enquiry’.⁶⁶ Even the news as produced by the dominant and Brahminical media often distort the caste reality as it exists at ground reality. It instead reduces caste reality to other triviality by either politicising or simply avoiding some concrete social realities.

The irony of the mainstream media lies in the fact that while the cases like Jessica Lall murder, Priyadarshini Mattoo and in Damini incidents are adequately represented and is also given a media trial, however, such enthusiasm is somewhere absent in the incidences of the heinous and gruesome killing of Dalit life. The Indian

⁶⁵ Pierre Bourdieu (2001), “*Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*”, Polity Press: Cambridge, Pp,1-18

⁶⁶ Smita Patil, Op. Cit.

mainstream media has an upper caste elite bias in which the stories and narratives of Dalit atrocities are completely silenced off.

The silence of the mainstream media has made Dalits look in for alternative means of information dissemination, which can be more inclusive to consider their issues. The internet is also slowly gaining prominence among Dalits, with young generation students accessing information through emails and other online alternative platforms. Since social networking is free (to a certain extent) and opens for all unlike the print and visual media, Dalits find it as a viable and useful media. It is nearly impossible for the majority of Dalits to start and run a media firm (since most of them are not economically well-off), but through social media they can easily login to any social media site and give expression to his/her thoughts. A study suggests that most of the people use social media sites to make new contacts, information sharing and campaign for social justice purposes. Many other use this for information and socialising. Social networking sites are very popular among Dalits, and it is often used as a platform to generate debates on caste related issues. The online media and social media are thus used as popular platform for the assertion of their identity.

Thus the chapter brings to light the cases and reports of systemic exclusion of Dalits at the hands of media which finds adherence to the Brahminical ideology. The chapter has looked into some of the statistical reports highlighting this dimension of marginalization. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical dimension to understand the representation itself and the discourse which actually determines representation.

Chapter- 3

Chapter-three

Reality and representation: mainstream media in contemporary Indian society.

1. Introduction:

After looking into the theoretical perspective of margins and Dalit in media in that we discussed in the earlier chapter, how Dalit news is represented within mainstream media, this chapter tries to understand how the interplay of caste and prejudices determinants participate in the shaping the consciousness of Indian mass media.

According to Oxford dictionary, meaning of 'Representation' is: "The description or portrayal of someone or something in a particular way".¹ In other words, the act of representing or the state of being is something that represents as an image or a symbol like a verbal or pictorial portrait. In a Sociological sense, representation means someone's view of their own social situation; their everyday world as driven by the social process.

In the context of the political representation, Will Kymlicka argues that "The historical domination of some group by other groups has left a trail of barriers and prejudices that makes it difficult for the historically disadvantaged group to participate effectively in the political process".² Although this argument is given in the context of political representation of minority

¹ Oxford dictionary, 2011

² Will Kimlicka (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon press.,p.141

communities but we can contextualize this in the context of representation in other areas as well. For Kymlicka, historical discrimination is an adequate justification for permanent intervention to safeguard the interests of groups within society.

The construction of a representation of an identity is based on the preconceived notion and the way in which a particular identity is imagined. Thus the questions like who can speak, on behalf of whom become crucial in the process of understanding representation per se. In social science, this debate has been ongoing since long. For marginalize social group like Dalits, one of the important aspects of representation is to empower them to re-present themselves because they have not been able to speak for themselves or present their viewpoint or, were demoted to the margins in the social order.

The relationship between reality and its representation is the first question we think of when we consider the relationship between the media and society. While talking about the representations of reality in the contemporary electronic and print media, we should look at the widest framework of representations available to mankind. In relation to the representations of reality in the print media, we can look at dimensions like the ways in which the minorities and Dalits are represented. Further, this relationship can also be explored in terms of systemic pattern in which the coverage of the issues concerning these marginalized sections has been ignored. Even if some of these issues are covered up in media they are denied a fair assessment. This is not only in terms of its inadequate reportage but also in terms of the lack of sensitivity with which these assessments are often done.

1.1 Representation of minorities in the media:

In the international context, when we look into the image of minority communities (for example, African communities in America or in European countries), then we find that their representation in mainstream media always stereotyped in negative aspects. Based on this exclusionary representation, International Encyclopaedia of Communications viewed the coverage of minorities in the Media as follows:

i) Inadequate or non-existent coverage of minorities. ii) The lack of fair treatment by the media and of full participation in them results in the diminution of minorities' rights and opportunities. iii) Minorities remain to stereotyped within media.

This parameter leads to invisibilization of minorities within media. They fail to connect with the mainstream masses and thus are reduced to ghettos.

1.2 Inadequate or non-existent coverage of minorities:

The news about minorities seldom appears in the news media. Only a little attention is given to the minorities issues. Their rights and opportunities are given less prominence, and they lack proper emphasis in the media. It can be understood by observing the number of appearance of news about minorities, its placement and the space allotted for the minorities in the media.

One finds a conspicuous absence of minorities to the extent that they become almost non-existent to be accounted within the mainstream society. This lack of inclusive representation marginalises them even further.

1.3 The lack of fair treatment by the Media:

The media coverage about the minorities is infrequent and insufficient in the handling of minorities' issues the coverage is considered unfair. The coverage is biased, sensational and negative. This can be observed by examining the tone and language used to describe the issues discussed. In this context, it is significant to consider that the act of violence against marginalised that are covered within media is more of sensationalism rather than actual engagement with the causes and consequence of violence. It is also significant to mention that in such kind of reporting the marginalized section are never given active voice. They are not allowed to speak for themselves rather they are allowed to ascertain their plight only through other's mouthpiece. This state of passivity shows the unfair treatment they have within a mediatized space.

The other forms in which the very mediatized language undermines the identity of the marginalized section is that the terms used to explain discrimination is very generalized and it contains within its ambit a lot of things. This often dilutes the questions who is discriminated? Who discriminates? Many a times discrimination is also rendered in-groups.³ These intricacies of understanding discrimination is often missed out.

1.4 Stereotyping of Dalit and Minorities:

The Dalit and minorities are always seen as a threat to the majority society. These communities represented as people who indulge in crime, drug

³ Roger fowler (1991) "*Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the British Press*", Routledge, London. P.45

trafficking and other immoral activities. The minorities are excluded from the majority society, and they are represented as rather different from others in the society. For instance, the blacks are stereotyped as criminals, drug traffickers and womanizers. The immigrants are stereotyped as invaders, economic refugees, and culturally inferior people. The sexual minorities are stereotyped as criminals, comedians and sex workers. The other aspects of the minorities are not discussed and covered by the media.

In the international context, Van Dijk criticised that the news media also plays a major role in racism. The news Media practice new racism. According to him, the so called 'new racism' is not just about biological inferiority, but it is also about the difference in terms of culture and values. The media often stereotype them with having lack of achievement values, associates them with drug abuse. These media often are often best at counting the pathologies of welfare scheme and affirmative action given to them.⁴

1.5. Representations and discourse:

Representation refers to "the embodying of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form' which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted as signifiers in the context of cultural circuits".⁵ Hence, human understanding and knowledge are socio-culturally construed. This is one of Foucault (1973)'s

⁴ Teun. Van dijk(1989) "*Social cognition and discourse*". In Handbook of Social Psychology and Language, edited by H. Giles and R.P. Robinson, p. 163-183. Chichester: Wiley

⁵ S.Hall (ed.) (1997) *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*.The Open University, Sage Publications, London. p.10.

assertions as to the representational of knowledge.⁶ This argument comes close to ‘constructionist’ view, which says that human beings are cultural beings and they are situated within history.⁷ Thus the ways in which we represent the world is actually dependent our cultural specificity.⁸ In this context, the discourse on media for social representation is concerned with discursive representations and the socio-cultural context that shape and form its content. Thus, Foucault’s concept of discourse and its linkages with ‘culture’ and ‘representation’ can enhance our understanding of media reports and the ways in which they represent the world around us.⁹

The discourse of representation also brings in the question of the ways in which different images are represented within media. Images are significant as one always correlate to the image of themselves. These images are often connected with our lives. For instance, a photographer or a painter tells the entire story of life through an image. The images became significant particularly with a visual turn in cultural studies in the 1970s. Stuart Hall established a connection between representation, culture and identity, in what he called as the circuit of culture.

⁶ M Foucault (1973) *The order of things: an archaeology of the human science*, Vintage Books, New York

⁷ K.Gergen (1985) ‘The social constructionist movement in modern social psychology’, *American Psychologist*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 266-75.

⁸ L. Phillips & MW Jorgensen (2002) *Discourse analysis as theory and method*, Sage, London.

⁹ M Hobbs(2008) *On discourse and representation: reflections on Michel Foucault’s contribution to the study of the mass media*, University of Newcastle, viewed 9 May 2017, <http://www.tasa.org.au/uploads/2011/05/Hobbs-Mitchell-Session-19-PDF.pdf>.

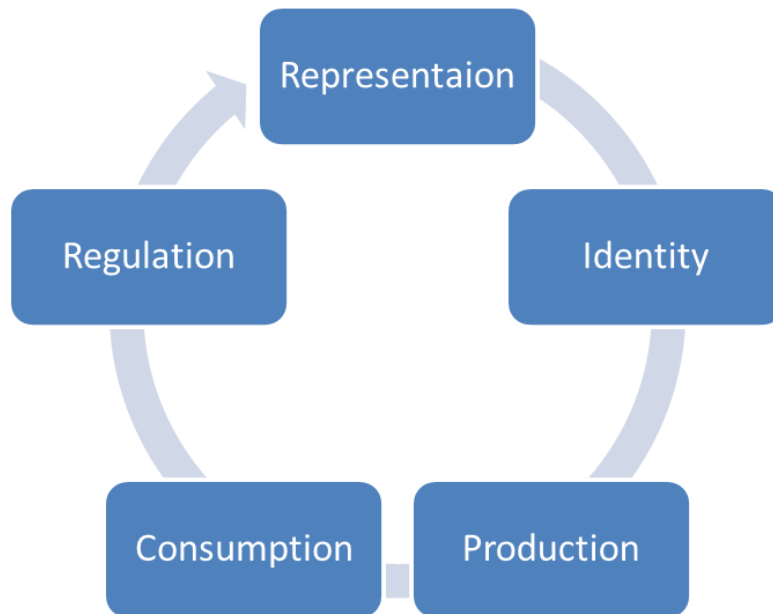


Figure.5. Circuit of culture

Through this circuit of culture in above picture, Hall has tried to explain that our identity within society is very much controlled by the ways in which we are represented.¹⁰ Such identity formation, decides our roles and position within society. Thus, the question about how one is represented is significant. Further, Hall has pointed to the interlink that exists between representation and process of production and consumption. This throws light on the dimensions that can influence the representation of identity within media.

1.6. Ideology as the basis of social representation:

Ideology is one of the core theory in discourse analysis, particularly in the context of an understanding of media discourse. Ideology represents the world a particular way. The views in the world that appear to us often ideologically and symbolically constructed. Ideology, however, has many dimensions to it, for instance, normative and political dimension. In this regard, Van Dijk

¹⁰ S. Hall Op. Cit., Pp15-64.

defines “ideology as ‘... the basis of the social representations shared by members of groups. This exemplifies that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organise the social belief and act accordingly”.¹¹

From a political perspective, ideology largely looks into the role of the state, how the society must be organized and also into what kind of government is desirable.¹² A political perspective thus recognizes that politics is not natural but is rather plural and contingent. It often has conflictual relation within itself as well.¹³ Different theorists have approached the links between media, power, and ideology in contemporary societies. They have done so by looking into multiple strategies like whom the media employs, what are the explicit and implicit linguistic practices etc. Martín Serrano (1993), has argued that media institutions is responsible for constructing stable meanings behind an event which it chooses to represent. Within this framework of stable meaning, media often integrates the existing contradictions by fitting it within a dominant discourse.¹⁴

1.7. Media and its Social Responsibility:

The ethical perspective of the press and mass media contends that behave of the media needs to must give priority to public interests. The criteria of public interest’ basically includes freedom and authenticity of publication and

¹¹ TA van Dijk (1998) ‘18 Critical discourse analysis’, viewed 9 My 2017, <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Critical%20discourse%20analysis.pdf>.

¹² A Carvalho (2000) *Discourse analysis and media texts: a critical reading of analytical tools*, p.26, Universidade do Minho, Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedad, Braga.

¹³T Carver & Hyvarinen, M (1997) ‘Introduction’, in Carver T & Hyvarinen M (ed.), *Interpreting the political, new methodologies*, Routledge, London, pp. 1-6.

¹⁴ M, Martín Serrano (1993) *The social production of communication*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid.

plurality of media ownership. It must contain a diversity of information corresponding to the diverse culture and heterogeneity that our country has. Further, the other significant dimension can make it qualify to correspond to 'public interest' is its unflinching support to the democratic political system. It needs to ensure that it supports the security of the state and the information and the information it generates has universal reach and appeal. Further, it must also show its sensitivity in representing issues of diverse cultural importance and must ensure that such reporting does not harm individuals and the society.¹⁵

The social responsibility of media is often explained in terms of what Edmund Burke called as 'media as a fourth estate'. A strong debating point of the media roots back to 1947, "Commission on the Freedom of the Press", which was also known as the Hutchins commission.¹⁶ The commission basically was formed to discuss the issues rampant commercialization and monopolistic practices which were emerging within the American media.¹⁷ Further, it also aimed at regulating growing sensationalism within American media. The report is often considered as a treatise on the expected journalistic ethics and social responsibilities that media is expected to take.

The media ethics as highlighted by Hutchins report were as follows. It said that media must be fair and objective. It must present information that are

¹⁵ D. McQuail (2005) "*McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*". (5th edition). London: Sage Publications.p.24

¹⁶ M. A. Blanchard (1977) The Hutchins commission, the press and the responsibility concept. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, P.49.

¹⁷ Cited in, Soumya Dutta (2011) Social responsibility of media and Indian democracy. *Global Media Journal—Indian Edition/Summer Issue*,Pp 1-8.

relevant and truthful. While the report talked about the freedom of the press but it simultaneously drew the importance of self-regulation as well. This self-regulation can be in the form of “professional code of conduct and ethics”. Further, self-regulation by the government is important if it breaches the public interest.¹⁸ The report had further talked about media ownership and has argued that such an ownership must belong to public trust so that principle of media obligation towards society prevails.

It is important to mention that media besides informing the citizen also plays an important role in the functioning of democracy by allowing citizens to make informed choices. It ensures that the ethos of democracy is upheld by keeping check and balance upon the elected representatives. However, media, in order to operate in free and democratic setup, needs to detach itself from the clutches of private or government dictated control. The credibility of media depends on the authenticity of information it delivers. Further, the credibility also needs to be assessed in terms of diversity of media platform which can ensure that credible voices of democracy finds its space in mediatized communication.¹⁹ The ‘fourth estate’ of democracy is only possible if the democratized space of media allows for debates and alternative discourses to emerge. Democracy is the ideal space where the idea of free space has the space to emerge.

¹⁸ Ibid,Pp.24-30.

¹⁹ S. Parceiro (1999).*The Role Of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach*. Retrieved fromhttp://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and.../pdfs/pnace630.pdf

“The publicly agreed norms are weighed over that of actions on the part of economic organizations and political institutions.”²⁰ Tsekeris argues that this is very close to the concept of the ‘public-sphere’ which gives weightage to public debate and discourse. This free space allows for different discourses to emerge, which is both inclusive and engaging.²¹ Panikkar (2004) too has argued on similar lines that media plays important role formation of the public sphere.²² However, there are counter views as well that argues about the narrowing of space which mediatized communication creates. Barnett has argued that the essence of the public sphere has actually diluted with debates and discussion which are using very narrow and particularistic interest, rather than opening up the platform for a general interest that is more universally acceptable.²³ However, such an argument can be resolved by ensuring more and more democratized space. This will help channelizing vested interest towards a public good rather than a parochial interest.

1.8. The role of media in Indian Democracy:

The political system of India is build with a model to contain the spirit of liberal democracy. This liberal principle are set out within the Constitution of India which has provisions like separation of power. This ensures that legislature, executive or judiciary does not impinge upon the domains of each

²⁰ C. Barnett (2004). Media, democracy and representation: Disembodying the public. In C. Barnett & M. Low (Eds.), *Spaces of Democracy: geographical perspectives on citizenship, participation and representation*, London, UK: Sage. pp. 185–206.

²¹ C. Tsekeris (2008). The Public Sphere in the Context of Media Freedom and Regulation . *Humanity & Social Sciences Journal* 3 (1), pp. 12-17. Retrieved from [http://www.idosi.org/hssj/hssj3\(1\)08/2.pdf](http://www.idosi.org/hssj/hssj3(1)08/2.pdf)

²² K..N. Panikkar (2004, January 12). Opinion: Media and the public sphere. *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <http://www.hindu.com/2004/01/12/stories/2004011201571000.htm>

²³ C. Barnett , Op. Cit.pp. 185–206.

other. The party system in India also gives flexibility to the roles of both government and opposition. Mass media, which is regarded as an important instrument of Indian democracy has also been given freedom to bring criticism.²⁴ This is the reason that Indian press has attracted scholars from worldwide and have shown success even amidst several oddities. While the problems in India poverty, inequality persists, the democracy has survived because people still rest their hopes that their issues will be heard and addressed to. They still expect that media can be the connecting link them and the government.

Media besides taking up the role of information dissemination or entertainment also helps in government policy dissemination. They educate masses for social upliftment as well. Thus the social responsibility in the form of 'developmental journalism' is also worth mentioning. It has an important role in generating public opinion which in turn can pressurize political parties to address the issue of general public interest. However, Corneo argues that the developmental journalism also has the danger of manipulation which can in turn end up serving only narrow parochial interest.²⁵ There are another dark side to media as well. Media can conceal facts and use unethical practices like showing doctored videos. Values like objectivity and truthfulness can be cornered to present a biased, one sided view. Many a times such unethical

²⁴ A. Pelinka (2003). *Democracy Indian Style: Subhas Chandra Bose and the creation of India's political culture*. (R. Schell, Trans.). (pp 109-111). USA: Transaction

²⁵ G. Corneo (2005). *Media Capture in a Democracy: The Role of Wealth Concentration*. CESifo Working Paper Series No.1402. Retrieved from SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=667326>.

practices are witnesses during elections which often viciates the authenticity of opinion.

Within Indian context, public service broadcasting has enjoyed its unique role after independence. While it was given freedom much later with opening up of the Indian economy, its role as an agent of social change cannot be denied. AIR (All India Radio) and Doordarshan have important role in disseminating educational programs, agricultural related besides providing information and entertainment.

However, the problems behind the monopolistic media structures cannot be ignored as well. Their lies a threat of such monopolistic media houses to become mouthpieces of the state. The state control can reduce a medium with the immense potential to bring social change, merely as the mouthpiece of the ruling elites. With the emergence of a globalization and opening up of Indian economy the scenario of media has changed. Globalization has enduced competitiveness among the media industry to woo more and more audiences. However, the problem of ownership still remains as even private ownership has a nexus with political and business elites. This concern over ownership is a cause of concern across the globe. Corneo has argued that a higher concentration of media few hands, who are often the owners of the big corporate house the globe increases the risk of monopoly within media.²⁶ As I have already discussed the significance of ‘social responsibility’, such monopolistic trends set out by the big cooperate houses often undervalues the significance of social responsibility. This also erodes the space for a plurality

²⁶ Ibid

of idea and is one of the gravest danger to democracy. Bogart observes that that media ownership is concentrated in few hands in many democratic countries of the world.²⁷ For instance, he cites the example of News Corporation's (owned by Rupert Murdoch) which has 37 % share in United Kingdom's national newspaper circulation. Further, referring to the issue of media ownership, he observes that Silvio Berlusconi has the ownership of top three commercial channels, three pay channels and various magazines and newspapers in Italy. This authoritative position within media given to one man endangers the independence of media and many a times also reduce them into political mouthpieces.²⁸

In the Indian context, the presence of transnational powerful media corporates are spreading their presence. Their media presence encompasses all spheres from newspapers, radio, television, book publishing, etc. These large media conglomerate includes General Electric, Walt Disney, News Corporation, Times Warner, Viacom and CBS. Within Indian market, the two important firms are the Times Group and ABP who govern in the media arena. The Government of India has allowed 26% FDI in news publication, while 74% FDI has been permitted for the non-news segment. The Film industry has 100% FDI. The 100% FDI norm is also in television software production.

²⁷ L. Bogart (1995). Media and Democracy. In E. E. Dennis & R. W. Snyder (Eds.), *Media & Democracy USA*: Transaction , pp. 6-8.

²⁸ Ibid

However, it is subjected to specific government criteria. FM Radio networks and Cable networks have FDI limits of 20% and 49% respectively.²⁹

The research taken up by Pricewaterhouse Coopers has shown the FDI investment trend across mass media in India. According to the report, Virgin Media Asia has a holding in HT media's foray into FM radio. Financial Times (Pearson Group) has a tie-up with Business Standard; American Corp Ventures, Mauritius has a share in Nimbus Communications which deal in television and films, and Reuters UK has equity sharing with the Indian broadcaster Times Global Broadcasting. Because of these nexus between different media houses the content developed is more or less homogenous and largely suiting a transnational interest.

The growth of media hubs and their powerful presence raises eyebrows about the authenticity of media in keeping the very ethos of democracy. These corporate giants have severe competition among themselves to present news and content which attracts more and more audience. As a response these media hubs end up producing news that are primarily centred around sensationalization, infotainment and exaggeration, which allow them to capture more markets. The upsetting trend that can be witnessed presently within media is that the use of media houses have become associated with different political groups.³⁰ Such association is relatively newer phenomena in India. News channels are often reduced into the mouthpiece of political

²⁹ FICCI and Price water house Coopers. (2006). *Indian Entertainment and Media Industry : Unravelling the potential*. Retrieved from <http://www.pwc.com/.../ficci-pwc-indian-entertainment-and-media-industry.pdf>

³⁰ S.Coronel (2003). *The Role of the Media in Deepening Democracy*. Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan010194.pdf>

propaganda. This not only leads to dissemination of misinformation among masses but is also makes a mockery of media ethics which demands neutral rather than one-sided accentuated reality. When the same reality is presented with a different lens, it develops a general mistrusts in the minds of people for democracy.

Coronel arguing on same lines says that promotion of hate speech in place of the constructive debate often creates a situation of suspicion rather than of social trust among people at large. It develops cynicism in the minds of people about the democratic setup. Such cynicism and mistrusts can lead to a breakdown of social fabric and emergence of the conflictual relationship between state and its people.³¹

While the negative sides of media in the process of development remains, one cannot ignore the significance of media in ensuring democracy also needs to be re-ascertained. It is important to highlight the fact that the media is a watchdog of the democratic system despite all other shortcomings. It is important to mention that the investigative reports that often makes news within print and television media have a significant role in exposing the large scale corruptions and scandals. Such exposure gives a preventive check to corruption activities which often lead heavy losses to India's exchequer. The exposure of the Adarsh Housing Society Scam³², Commonwealth Games Scam³³, "Cash for

³¹ Ibid

³² Adarsh Housing scam was exposed in November 2010, The Adarsh Housing Society is a Posh, 31-story building built on prime land in Colaba, Mumbai, for the welfare of war widow and personnel of India's Ministry of Defense but political lynchpins subverted rules and regulations for personal benefits.

Vote Scam”³⁴ and the “Bofors Scam”³⁵ are the positive signs of the Indian media, which have helped masses contain their faith in this fourth pillar of democracy. Across newspapers and television channels voices have been raised when the bureaucracy, judiciary or another public functionary who have gone beyond this prescribed limitation.³⁶ The initiatives like ‘community media’ remains to be important in venting out the concerns of common citizens. However, bringing in the role of ‘alternative media’ is important here. Mainstream media due to several factors like ownership, viewership have somewhere failed to address the real issues concerning the ailing democracy. The significant leap towards alternative media has thus enabled democratisation of media per se. It has ensured participatory communication within media communication.

The participatory communication refers to communication pattern where the information flows from grassroots rather than flowing in a top-down manner.³⁷ Even mainstream media has realised the significance of ‘participatory approach’ in communication. Various television channels have come up with innovative ideas like ‘citizen journalist’, which gives space to

³³ Commonwealth Games 2010, was held in India, game have been highlighted by Indian investigative agencies and media outlets; these include – serious corruption by officials of the Games' Organising Committee.

³⁴ In July 2008, three BJP leaders waved bundles of cash in Parliament, alleging it was bribe to vote in favour of the Manmohan Singh government.

³⁵ The Bofors scandal was a major political scandal which had happened between Sweden and India during the 1980s and 1990s. The scandal relates to illegal kickbacks paid in a US\$1.4 billion deal between the Swedish arms manufacturer Bofors with the government of India for the sale of 410 field howitzer guns, and a supply contract almost twice that amount.

³⁶ Soumya Dutta (2011). Social responsibility of media and Indian democracy. *Global Media Journal—Indian Edition/Summer Issue*, pp1-8.

³⁷ Jan Servaes, Thomas L. Jacobson, and Shirley A. White, eds.(1996) *Participatory communication for social change*. Vol. 24. Sage, 1996.

ordinary citizens. This ensures bottom-up and democratic participation of citizen in the nation-building process. Newspapers have also played an important role in educating the masses against the social prejudices that exist in society. Much of developmental news also reaches masses through channels like radio. It has comparatively low cost and wider acceptance within society. This makes it the potential tool for ensuring a participatory approach and allowing penetration of ideas that are beneficial to the public at large.

However, the role of the internet in the dissemination of information has revolutionized the very concept of participatory communication. This form of alternative media is a relatively newer entry in the field of mass media, but it has proved to be more democratic than newspaper and television.³⁸ The Internet has provided the opportunity for citizens who are often hesitant to express themselves within mainstream media. These alternative platforms have given them space to express their views about a number of issues more frankly and without hesitation. Many of these alternative media groups are formed by like-minded people who seek new and innovative ideas and are engaged in the process of discussion over a number of issues like government decision and interest of society at large. The power of alternative media in the form of the internet was seen during Arab Spring in Egypt in recent times and many other new social movements that have emerged. The social networking sites like Twitter, Facebook have become a newer platform for people to come together

³⁸ S. Coronel. Op. Cit.

and interact. Their social change potential was seen in Egypt where these media played an important role to topple the regime of President Hosni Mubarak.³⁹

In the internet the barrier to communication is reduced, which creates a participative environment for masses to engage with issues concerning them and democracy at large. Alternative media like the internet also ensures greater empowerment of the users. It gives its users higher level of interactivity and flexibility. The potential of the medium lies in the fact that it gives its audience more personalized interface and it also initiates the process of two-way communication.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, there is a flip side to this new form of media as well. The internet has the threat of getting bogged down by advertising revenues. The Internet has dangers of fake news and exaggeration of existing reality as well. Those who control considerable wealth have the opportunity to sway public opinion in their favour, can do so with the help of internet. Further, The Radia Tapes controversy in the 2G scam in India brought in focus the journalist, politician and the industrial conglomerate nexus that was used to influence people at large.⁴¹ Developments like these are a threat to democracy and undermine the very authenticity of media in giving unbiased information. In the present political premise, advertisements whether in print, television, radio and at times the internet have become part and parcel of the current election campaigns. The political Candidates who have better funds and

³⁹ Kuwait Times.(2010).Egyptians on e-revolution. Retrieved from http://www.kuwaittimes.net/read_news.php?newsid=MjA0MTkwMTQw

⁴⁰ T. Flew (2009). Democracy, participation and convergent media: case studies in contemporary online news journalism in Australia. *Communication, Politics & Culture*, 42(2), pp. 87-115

⁴¹ P. Jebaraj (2010, November 24). Opinion: The spotlight is on the media now. *TheHindu*. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/article907823.ece>

support gain an edge over others. Their ability to influence voters increases because they can get access to more newspaper space as well as air time in electronic media for the purpose of election campaigning.⁴²

⁴² S. Coronel, Op. Cit.

1.9. Mass media in India and Media Ownership:

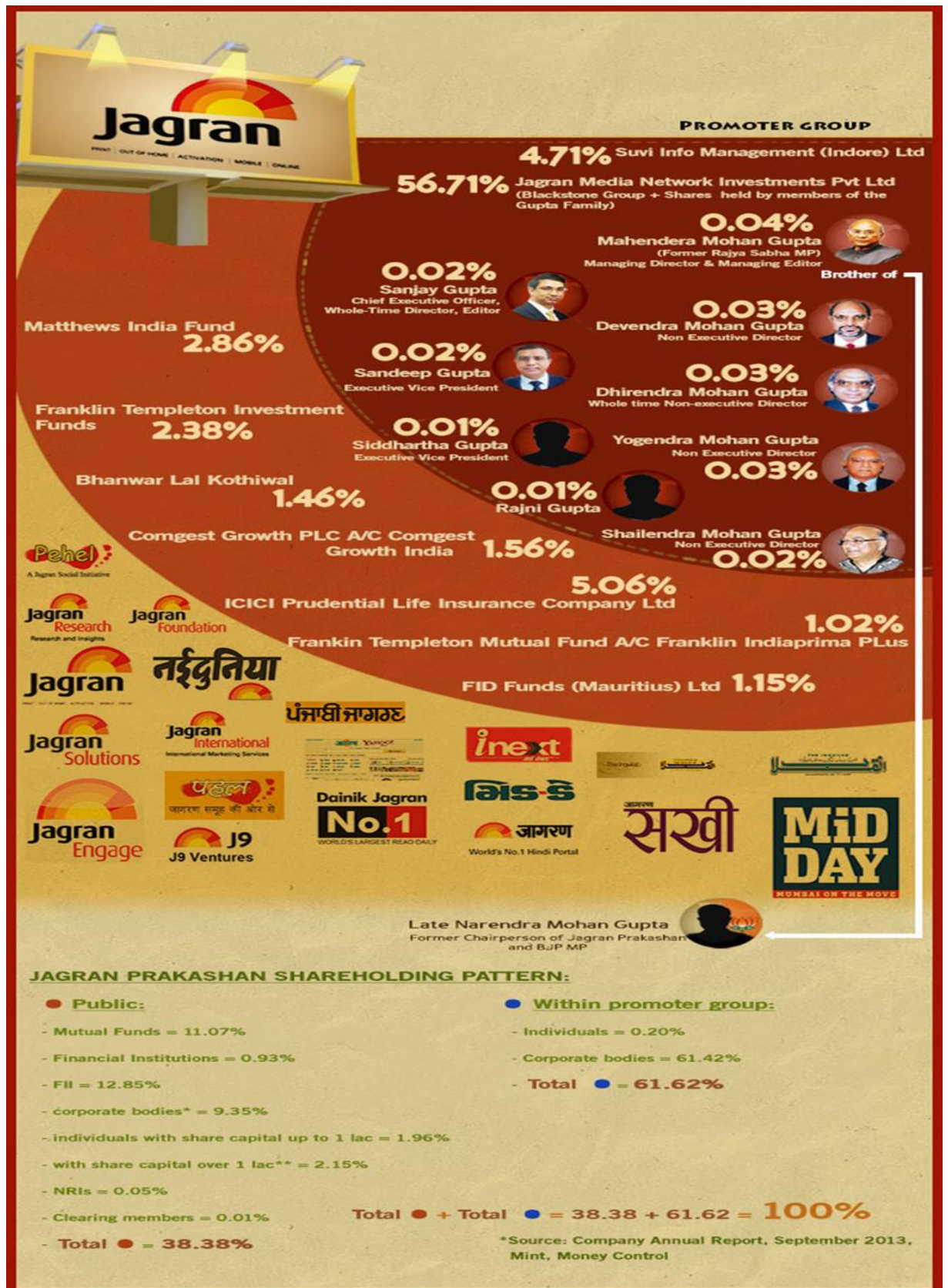


Figure.7. Media Ownership Pattern of Dainik Jagran (Photo credit-Newslandry)

The question about media ownership is important to unravel the problems within mass-media. One needs to ask the difficult question as to who owns mass-media in India? India has many mass-media organisations that are owned and controlled by a wide variety of entities including corporate bodies, trusts and individuals. However, information about such organisations and people is scattered, not complete, and more often outdated. This makes the analysis of media ownership difficult. Further, the information gathered is too little to and often inadequate to understand the exact structure of media ownership in India.

In this context, this is important to mention that real public issues invariably eludes media coverage through a kind of censorship-that is market censorship. According to John Keane:⁴³

“In an era of media corporations, the doctrine of freedom of the press is reduced to unchecked freedom of the market-with drastic results. ‘Friends of the ‘liberty of the press’ must recognize that communication markets restricts freedom of communication by generating barriers to entry, monopoly and restriction upon choice, and by shifting the prevailing definition of information from that of a public good to that of a privately appropriable commodity.”

In this regard Teltumbde opines that “The neoliberal paradigm has transformed the media into big business. The media no longer cares towards society or democratic polity. News then becomes a product to be packaged keeping the market in view. If the media’s content is driven by the market, and the real

⁴³ J. Keane, J.(1991)*The Media and Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press, Pp-88-89.

market comprises people with disposable incomes, most of the Dalit population would get excluded from the market.”⁴⁴

After the coming of the new market policy that is fully based on the free market economy results into the removal of basic ethos of public concern that used to worn by the press.

When one looks at the large number of media organisations it gives the us a sense of diversity within media houses. However, this diverse number is just a misnomer. The fact remains that it is few handful dominates these markets. This gives an oligopolistic structure to these markets. The absence of restrictions on cross-media ownership means that particular companies or groups or conglomerates have the upper hand in markets both vertically and horizontally. While the horizontal domination is seen across different media such as television, print, radio, and the internet, the horizontal domination is seen in particular geographical regions.

If one looks into the composition of media ownership, it spreads across politically affluent persons, business tycoons, etc. The majority of these media houses are owned by political parties and person with some or the other political affiliation. The owners of these media houses also are engaged with other bussiness activities. Media houses thus play a role even influencing the business. There are a couple of instances, and this situation is increasing gradually where media sponsor who have used the benefits from their media

⁴⁴ Anand Teltumbde, Op. Cit.,p-99

ownership to channelized into other (unrelated/unaccounted) businesses as well.

The gravity of growing interest in media industry can be understood through the manner in which large industries and business domains are acquiring a direct and indirect interest in media groups. The media industry is also witnessing a growing convergence between creators/producers of media content and those who distribute the content. This pattern can be seen as an example of concentration in a sector in which big market players have been engulfed in debt and very short of money over the past few years. The adverse economic condition that results in the elimination of marginally financed participants in media industry results into growing concentration of ownership in an “oligopolistic market structure”.⁴⁵ This is a dangerous trend as it is leading to loss of heterogeneity and plurality. The emergence of cartels and oligarchies is an indication towards the increasingly homogenization that ought to be seen within the sphere of communication. Despite this growing homogenization, the increasing usage of internet technology is bringing a resemblance of democratisation by allowing for more user-generated content by “prosumers”.⁴⁶

The rise of the internet has however led to the blurring of geo-spatial boundaries, and it has also reduced the check on the information flow. The

⁴⁵ Oligopoly is a market structure in which a small number of firms has the large majority of market share. An oligopoly is similar to a monopoly, except that rather than one firm, two or more firms' dominant the market.

⁴⁶ Paranjoy Guha Thakurta (2012) *Media Ownership in India-An Overview*. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.thehoot.org/resources/media-ownership/media-ownership-in-india-an-overview-6048>. Prosumers refers to producer-consumer. For detail information about media ownership pattern in India see-appendix ‘Who owns your media’.

paradox lies that however with the increase in diversity of opinion the number of traditional media operations in television and print hasn't changed much. This somewhere shows the disinterestedness of traditional media in actually bringing up the voice of the masses.

Media decides what are the questions to be raised. It ascertains who speaks and how they speak within a mediatized discourse. Further it is media which decides whose views and interpretation matter to be produced and reproduced. These are done subtly and is often very much implicit in their everyday practices. The minority people at the margins are often rendered as vulnerable within such media discourse.

1.10 A theoretical approach to understand mass-media:

It is here important to understand theoretically what does a discourse actually mean. Foucault's understands discourse as constituting a particular subject. For instance, lets talk about members of specific minority group. For Foucault, the "Discursive constitution"⁴⁷ of subjects means that the minority groups that are the subject of our analysis exist only within a specific discursive field (for e.g. media), which has realistic implications for these groups. Thus, the 'discursive field' has an implication on subjects. Thus, media's influence on the identity of a minority cannot be ignored in order to understand the minority per se.

⁴⁷ Studies employing the Foucauldian discourse analysis may for example look at how figures in authority use language to express their dominance, and request obedience and respect from those subordinate to them. In a specific example, a study may look at the language used by teachers towards students, or military officers towards conscripts. This approach could also be used to study how language is used as a form of resistance to those in power.

It is important to mention here that media representations, in fact, create the image of these groups that play a major role in creating an image of these groups within society. This in turn is significant to determine the tolerance level within society. Thus, the relationship and attitude of a group and community towards the larger majoritarian community does not have a casual relationship as is common-sensically understood, rather the media discourse of representing the society in a particular way plays an important role. Despite the fact that the media are frequently described as the sole source of “hostility, stereotypes and intolerance” with reference to minority groups. Nevertheless, such a criticism does not look into the fact that media reports are more of an interpretation rather than absolute truth. A discourse analysis, too, is ultimately an interpretation. However, it would be incorrect to say that media does not represent or depict reality. However, this depiction is often done in a way that makes the representations of minorities and marginal identities completely powerless.

“Foucault asserts that resistance is contained in the very idea of power, meaning that wherever power is being exerted there exists the potential for resistance”.⁴⁸ (For instance, through Media Representation of Dalit discourse) Foucault’s work is not a direct theoretical development in the field of media studies however his concept of ‘discourse’ and the ‘discursive’ nature of subjects can nevertheless be used as a conceptual framework for understanding the media and marginalization. For instance, the ‘framework of knowledge’ that Foucault establishes can very well truthfully explain the power

⁴⁸ Stuart Hall (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*, 72, 81.

relationships among different subjects.⁴⁹ It can help one to understand the role of mass-media in the production of such power relations.

Power and media have a close relationship. Foucault argues that understanding a discourse primarily involves how a specific set of knowledge is 'mediated' to the subject.⁵⁰ In other words refers to how the existence of particular phenomena can be testified through the use of language. The discourse analysis primarily concentrates on the rules guiding the interpretation of an occurrence, significance rules that, in turn, declared unfit other and differing views and ways of thinking. Foucault further argues that one must be cautious while considering the question regarding how the knowledge of a particular subject get credibleness and thus becomes 'truth' in the period of history. It is also necessary to take into consideration the subjects that personify a specific discourse and institutions. Hall has argued on similar lines saying that "those who are not directly part in the process of the shaping of norms and definitions within elusive arenas of political life are primarily dependent for their "working definitions" on agents, institutions and channels that have access to power and are the primary means of signification."⁵¹ Mass media are certainly among these establishments which play a critical role in agenda setting.

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Pantheon.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault (1972). The discourse on language. *Truth: Engagements across philosophical traditions*, 315-335.

⁵¹ Hall, Stuart (1993), "The question of cultural identity", in Hall, Stuart; Held, David; McGrew, Anthony, *Modernity and its futures*, Cambridge: Polity Press in association with the Open University, pp. 274-316

1.11 Social inequality and Media representation:

While media and communication technologies play a major role in shaping global and local cultures, it would be a gross mistake to overlook the imbalances and inequalities it generates within society. The digital revolution has stretched its benefits in many directions, which has almost revolutionised the communication process. The commercial availability of the Internet, the explosion of digital satellite television content platforms, the innovations in mobile communication technologies have all played an important role in shaping a global society. They play a major role in ascertaining the essential aspect of life.⁵² However, an analysis of social inequality that media perpetuates has to be understood in terms of the cultural and transcultural realm.⁵³

When one tries to understand Culture in a capitalist society, it is not merely culture in the absolute sense of the term, but it is also culture as products. This means that Cultural practices have become products that needs to be created, packaged, and marketed. These cultural practices are channelised through global networks of communication conglomerates that have spreads its presence all across the globe. The intersection of culture and economics subsequently leads to issues of communication power.⁵⁴ Thus, to control the cultural industry today is to shape the culture itself. As a result, culture is

⁵² Cited in, Jan Servaes, Toks Oyedemi, ed. (2016) *Social Inequalities, Media, and Communication: Theory and Roots*. Lexington Book, P.29

⁵³ Ibid P.30

⁵⁴ Ibid. P.30

packaged for its market values, in this process cultures are represented and in ways that suits the market needs.

However, this process of cultural homogenization cannot escape the problem of the digital divide, which such communication process bring about. In assuming that bridging the divide would be the end of inequality is also problematic. Conventional digital divide often ignores the sociologically rooted indicators that lies at the heart of digital divide.⁵⁵

However, when one looks into the present policy approach development organisations are ignoring these sociological divides. UNDP in its report has problematized the ‘conventional’ notion of the digital divide. For instance, the United Nations Development Programme’s report “Mobile technologies and empowerment: enhancing human development through participation and innovation” (UNDP 2012) cherishes the conventional concept of the digital divide as problematic. It says that technological diffusion cannot be considered as a magic wand to address the digital divide. It says in its report that statistics reveal that mobile phones today have reached even the world’s poorest population. This has created cross-country convergence which the report describes as “a new wave of democratisation and based on inclusivity and get access to modern and advanced mass communication channels, prompted by state-of-the-art technologies and diminishing barriers to entry”.⁵⁶ It has further argued that the penetration of the technology itself will cannot resolve the issue

⁵⁵ Panayiota Tsatsou (2011) Digital divides revisited: what is new about divides and their research?, *Media Culture Society*, Sage, 33(2):317-331.

⁵⁶ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2012). Mobile technologies and empowerment:enhancing human development through participation and innovation.http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/access_to_informationandgovernance/mobiletechnologiesprimer.html.P.8

of digital-divide without addressing the issues of sociological glitches. The conventional concept of ‘digital divide’ is based on the assumption that ‘access equals participation’, which deterministic and problematic.

The UNDP report has argued that looking into the development of technology as a way to bridge digital divide was used during the 1990s.⁵⁷ This led to a proliferation of Information and communication technology (ICT) in developing countries with an intention to provide a digitally conducive global platform. Such an approach neither delved into the sociological problems that can hinder digitalization nor did it engaged with the dimension of democratic governance to set in place this process of digitalization. UNDP thus argued that under the larger paradigm of development agendas are set the process of digital divide will continue to exist.⁵⁸

Once the agenda to remove the digital divide is set in, with the inclusiveness of different sociological discrepancies, the question then arises who will be included or excluded from this? Further, the question is about who decides over this cultural industry? How does this ownership structure shape participation of different communities in media? How are issues of race, class, sexuality, and gender shape inequality patterns in the media and communication landscape? Who can access media and communication platforms? Further, the questions on the characteristics of the development process and social agendas also needs to be resolved. The concerns also needs to be raised over the production and regulation of transcultural communication

⁵⁷ Ibid, P.12

⁵⁸ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Op.Cit.

and how the of transmedial interdependencies of communication across cultures can be resolved.⁵⁹

1.12 Theoretical dimensions to understand inequality:

One can draw from the works of Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Amartya Sen et. al. to understand inequality from structuralist, culturalist and postmodernist approach. These theoretical discourses can be further related to ways in which they can help one to understand inequalities in access to communication technologies. More specifically these theoretical approaches can help one understand how digital inequalities are framed and the policy narratives that can be developed to address technology gaps.

Max Weber's theory of stratification can help one understand how the inequality is reproduced online in a digital age.⁶⁰ One needs to examine as to whether the Digital inequalities are an extension of traditional forms of inequalities, or are they leading to new forms of inequality within society. Weber's theory can help one to understand that digital inequality does not have to be merely approached from economic dimensions only. The influence of class, status, and power in creating the digital gap can clearly be identified as the basis of digital inequalities. Focusing also on the other two forms of

⁵⁹ Cited in, Jan Servaes, Toks Oyedemi, ed. (2016) *Social Inequalities, Media, and Communication: Theory and Roots*. Lexington Book, p.31.

⁶⁰ Max Weber (1978). Basic sociological terms. *Economy and society*, 1, pp3-62.

stratification, namely “status” and “party” can enable one in understanding as to who controls determines the key issues of the media industry.⁶¹

From a structure’s point of view, a Marxist understanding of digital gap becomes significant. One needs to look into the role of the state to understand the equations of digital communication and the role and interest of the state in it. Ragnedda and Muschert talks about the importance of status in a postmodern (network) society in relation to new social and digital inequalities. They argue that the social class and political affiliation have a significant influence upon digital divides that exists within society. It also influences an individual’s prestige and within the society and the extent to which a person is included or excluded in digital participation.⁶²

1.13. Mapping the margins: Dalits in the Indian print Media:

The representation of Dalits within news media can be understood by looking into their frames of their visibility and invisibility within the mediatized space. The marginalization of Dalits in media happens at many levels. Firstly, the issues concerning Dalits often take up a back seat in terms of their coverage within media. Secondly, when it comes to the representation of Dalits within media, they are treated as ‘lesser human’. They are stereotyped and not given a fair assessment. Thirdly, Dalits face an empirical vacuum within the news space. They are reduced more as news-collectors rather than newsmakers. However, mediatized space does witness inclusion of Dalits if they act more

⁶¹ Max Weber (1978). The distribution of power within the political community: Class, status, party. *Economy and society*, 2, pp926-940.

⁶² Massimo Ragnedda, Glenn W. Muschert (2013) Edited. *The Digital Divide The Internet and Social Inequality in International Perspective*, Routledge

like patrons rather than a critic. This often done with an intention to silence off the assertive political self of Dalit. The Dalits if included are often seen more in the light of a victim who constantly needs civilized modernist projects.

There are sufficient scholarship which reflects on the lack of representation of Dalits in Indian national media. The debate about Dalit exclusion from journalism has been debated since the time of Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar has shown his apathy towards the nationalist press and had pointed towards the propagandist nature of the national press. Unlike Congress and Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar critically said about the National press that:

“The first and foremost circumstance for the spread of this view is the propaganda by the Indian press in favour of the Congress... [T]he second circumstance why the world outside believes that the Congress is the only organization which represents India, including even the untouchables, is because of the absence of propaganda on behalf of the untouchables to advertise their case against the Congress claim... [T]hey (Dalits) have no press, and the Congress press is closed to them. It is determined not to give them the slightest publicity. They cannot have their own press”.⁶³

Dr. Ambedkar had also categorically pointed to the Brahmin domination within National Press. He said:

⁶³ Ambedkar, B. R. 1945(1991). ‘Plea to the foreigner’ (What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables), in Vasant Moon. (Ed.) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writing and Speeches, Vol. 9. Bombay: Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra.

“The staff of the Associated Press of India, which is the main news distributing agency in India, is entirely drawn from Madras Brahmins- indeed the whole of the press in India is in their hands and who for well-known reason are entirely pro-Congress and will not allow any news hostile to the Congress to get publicity. These are reasons beyond the control of Untouchables”.⁶⁴

When Ambedkar argued for a separate electorate for Schedule Castes as that of Muslims, he received severe criticism from various media. His criticism of the Congress also seemed unacceptable. An editorial in the National Herald described his speech as a ‘cynical outburst lacking wisdom and foresight’. The editorial in Vartman also described his *as* ‘reactionary and against the ideals of Indian Nationalism’. The National press was sceptical of Ambedkar’s nationalism. This was evident from the fact that when Dr. Ambedkar joined cabinet the same press gave him a choice either to ‘submit to nationalism or quit the cabinet’.⁶⁵

Further S. Anand in his seminal work, ‘Covering Caste: Visible Dalit, Invisible Brahmin’ writes about the coverage of Ambedkar:⁶⁶

“The deliberate neglect and suppression of the Ambedkarite point of view in the mainstream ‘nationalist’ press is epitomised by an editorial in The Hindu following the Poona Pact, which shockingly does not make a single reference to Ambedkar, but

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Anand, S. (2006). Fusing Phule and Ambedkar Retrieved on 14 September 2011 from <http://www.outlookindia.com/printarticle.aspx?232803>

⁶⁶ S. Anand (2005) *Covering Caste: Visible Dalit, Invisible Brahmin*, In Rajan, N. (Ed.) *Practising journalism: values, constraints, implications*. Sage Publications India.p-176

heaps adulation on Gandhi and his struggles. Such attitudes of wishing away caste reality resurface even today in what is regarded as India's most 'progressive' English language newspaper, which in its commemorative 125-year anniversary issue (13 September 2003) did not discuss Ambedkar once, used his picture nowhere, but issued an entire special supplement devoted to M.K. Gandhi."

The question of biases of mainstream media towards Dalit was also evident from incidence when Kenneth Cooper, The Washington Post's Indian correspondent interacted with B. N. Uniyal, then the editor of The Pioneer. When Cooper asked Uniyal about the question of Dalit representation within media, B.N.Uniyal replied:

"Suddenly I realised that in all the thirty years I had worked as a journalist I had never met a fellow journalist who was a Dalit; no not one. And worse still was the thought that ... it had never occurred to me that there was something so seriously amiss in the profession".⁶⁷

The reply given in the 1990s was decades after Dr. Ambedkar had made a response to National press biases against Dalits. This somewhere reflects upon the grave apathy of media towards marginalized sections of society. The absence of Dalits from India's newsrooms, the absence of Dalit journalist somewhere expounds on the culture of journalism which has replicated the caste structure of society within an so called institutional framework. The Dalit writers and activists, Chandrabhan Prasad and S. Bachchan have taken the

⁶⁷ B.N. Uniyal, Op. Cit.

initiative in demanding affirmative action for Dalits in Indian media. This was articulated through the famous Bhopal Declaration.⁶⁸

Later in one of seminal work Robin Jeffery on Indian newspaper industry, he has argued that:

“In more than ten years of studying Indian-language newspapers, including twenty weeks of travel in which I stayed in twenty towns, visited dozens of newspapers and interviewed more than 250 people, I did not— so far as I know— meet a Dalit journalist working for a mainstream publication, much less a Dalit editor or proprietor”.⁶⁹

Jeffery’s research has tried to raise the question about the absence of Dalits in media. In order to get a true picture, he had met several journalists, whose response actually reflects upon the grave apathy of Indian national media towards Dalits. Some of these responses throws light on casteist mindset which journalist have despite being present in so called ‘modern’, a democratic institution called media.

In Jeffery’s interaction with Balwant Shah, senior Editor, Sandesh, said that their newspaper was not looking at the presence of Dalit in the editorial newspaper. Caste was never a factor which bothered them.⁷⁰ They were rather looking for ‘deserving person’. It is significant to consider at this

⁶⁸ Bhopal Declaration (12-13 January, 2002)

⁶⁹ Robin Jeffrey (2003) *“India’s newspaper revolution: capitalism, politics, and the Indian language press 1977-1999”*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, Scholarly and Reference Division.P.160

⁷⁰ Ibid

point that caste often hides under the garb of these ambiguous tags like ‘deserving’, ‘meritocracy’. The problem is also that these caste questions are taken very much as obvious rather than engaging with it in concrete empirical terms.

Jeffery also interacted with D.S. Ravi Doss, one of the very few Dalit journalists Jeffrey met during his exploratory research. He said:

“Even if there are some Scheduled Caste journalists, they won’t expose themselves because they will be treated separately [and] identified as Scheduled Caste. Even though they are all educated and progressive people, some journalists have in their mind communal feelings. [...] Practically no newspaper is against Scheduled Castes. But at the same time they are not bothering about their life also. They don’t take any special care for the treatment of Scheduled Castes. [...] Only Dalits can have the full feelings of their sufferings. They are the people who suffer. That cannot be experienced by others. [...] If a particular journalist is a Scheduled Caste, he can write more than other journalists because he is the person involved in the problem.”⁷¹

This observation somewhere throws light upon the baggage of caste identity with which a journalist has to live. The question of suffering and experience of exclusion, which can be felt only at an ontological level is never understood

⁷¹ Ibid, p.170

within these mainstream newspapers. Instead, they are reduced more as someone undeserving. Coverage of caste issues in Indian media is often understood in a commonsensical manner. The urbanized media that is dominated upper-caste Brahmins lack in terms of understanding caste structure per se.

Chapter- 4

Chapter four

Case study of Newspaper reporting: Content analysis

1.Introduction:

This chapter is an attempt to understand representation of marginalization within mediatized space like print media, by looking into the reports that had appeared in some of these print and online version. The chapter also intends to look into the discrepancies that emerge within mainstream and alternative media, in reporting an issue concerning marginalization. The chapter will also try to develop a theoretical and methodological framework through which the problems like marginalization can be understood.

1.1. Theoretical framework:

To understand the marginalization of Dalits in print media, three theories which can be used are Developmental journalism, agenda setting theory and theories to understand the marginalization of minorities. While the development journalism holds significance because the context of the research is to understand the discrepancies and lacuna that exists in developmental processes and how these developmental disparities are replicated within media spaces. The Agenda-setting theory on the other hand basically looks into whether Dalits have been given voice in the media or not. This is important from a 'democratic' point of view as it aims to understand whether the process of democratisation, actually penetrates the bottom-rung of the society.

1.2. Development journalism and Indian Media:

The developmental journalism basically aims to engage and empower people, so that they are actively involved in the processes of economic, cultural and political development of

a country. The pioneer work in developmental journalism is done by Xu Xiaoge in 1960. In his work 'The Handbook of Journalism Studies' he discusses the key role of journalism in facilitating and nurturing national development.¹ This theory has gained a worldwide acceptance including India.

Xiaoge, while discussing the key components of development journalism mentions that the most significant tenet of development journalism is that it must be directed in a way that it ends up improving and empowering the lives of ordinary people and communities. Journalists should empower the citizens and not the elite "to participate in human life and human development. Thus, he viewed journalist as "agents of empowerment".²

Liz Ford, a development journalist at the Guardian, has looked into 'development journalism' as something which can enable the marginalised section to tell their own story rather than being subjected to misrepresentation and ventriloquism. If one tries to contextualize this argument in the Indian context, the marginalization of Dalits can also be addressed to if they are given a voice and larger say in media.

1.3. The agenda setting theory:

This theory had its origin in 1922 when the researcher Lippman discussed the influence of media in constructing the image of one's identity within the society.³ In one of the research done by McCombs and Shaw in 1972, about the correlation between election

¹ Cited in Xu Xiaoge, "Development journalism", in Thomas Hanitzsch (ed) 'The handbook of journalism study', Routledge (2009), London,p.357.

² Ibid

³ Cited in Thomas Hanitzsch ,Wahl-Jorgensen Karin (2009) "*The handbook of journalism studies*".p.148, New York: Routledge.

results and media, they found that these two were perfectly correlated.⁴ The popularity and aptness of the research was such that it was called to be one of the 15 milestone mass communication research.⁵ The Agenda setting theory has also drawn a lot of its theory in the light of this research.

The most essential purpose of media is to give information about important problems of society (as developmental journalism has argued). However, such reporting needs to be free of biases and one-sided accentuated reality. The agenda theory setting theorists have argued that the importance of an issue is established when it gets coverage within media. If media focusses on one issue ignoring several others, then people will remain generally ignorant about the issue which is ignored. In other words, the more attention media pays to an issue the more it turns out to be important for people. The agenda setting theory thus argues that media overtly controls the thinking of audience by making the absence or presence of an issue felt to the public.

Media often regulates the interest of viewership by selection of news items which it considers of importance and giving a specific space and time. The slots like Primetime, important headlines are some of the techniques in which these time slot and mediatized space is managed. Such arrangements ensure what kind of response the news will generate from the audience.

The picking up of news for getting viewership is also decided by certain factors. McQuaill, a mass-communication researcher, has argued that picking up of a news is decided by three factors. These are firstly, the kind of news that is rendered desirable.

⁴ Ibid, Pp 148-149

⁵ Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1972), pp. 176-187

Secondly, it looks into the question of the relevance and lastly, it engages with the question of interest of the audience.⁶ He argues that the media does do not do away with the abnormal or sensational news as they fetch more number of audiences. For this thesis, I have used agenda setting along with theories relating to ‘development journalism’.

1.4. Minorities and suppressed groups in media:

Cottle, who has his seminal work in media, argues that media is one of the important sources which pays a significant role in shaping the audience views about the different groups in society. It is thus an important source of people's knowledge, attitude and ideology.⁷ India is the land of many cultures and ethnicity and media in order to ensure inclusivity within this heterogeneity needs to be sensitive to the different cultures and sentiments that prevails in this country. However, it is important to note here that when a journalist writes about ethnic minorities, it is written more in terms of the conflicts, violence and deviance. Cottle argues that such representation by media often ends up essentializing the very identity of minorities. Further, in such representation, the news is presented in a more factual and manner, and it often ignores the sensitivity in the process of news making.⁸

With the advent of globalization, the media landscape is quickly changing. Today advertisements and commercials play an important role in the financing of the newspaper. Cottle argues that today there is an ongoing tabloidization of the media around the world and this affects the way journalists report about minorities.⁹ Newspapers

⁶ Denis McQuail (2006) “*Mcquails’ mass communication theory*”.p.356 ,London: Sage Publications Ltd

⁷ Simon Cottle (2000) “*Ethnic minorities and the media*”. p.22 Oxfordshire: Marston Lindsay Ross International Ltd

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

have reduced their content about reporting the issues of minorities as it reduces their sellability. Most of the content that appears are from a majoritarian point of view. Even if minorities finds space within these mediatized space, it is more about the elites within these minority groups.

1.5 Introduction of the Newspaper and Quantitative content analysis:

India is the second most populous country in the world with more than 1.2 billion population residing in its territory. India is also witnessing rapid growth in population, and it is predicted that it might overtake China within next two decades.¹⁰ This fast developing country is witnessing considerable growth in its middle-class population. But despite all these growth trajectories, India still has considerable number of poor people, and the poorest of the poor continue to be Dalits in this country.

The Dalits were referred to as ‘untouchables’ and were treated as ‘impure’ and ‘polluted’ caste. This picture hasn't changed much where the caste consciousness still persists. Today Dalits in India constitute 167 million population.¹¹ At this backdrop, it is interesting to study how newspapers deal with the Dalits situation.

1.6 Purpose and research questions:

The issue regarding the inclusion of minorities and suppressed groups within media has caught the attention worldwide. This research problem is further more significant in the context of India which has the presence of some 167 million Dalit population, who have

¹⁰ Government of India, census report, 2011.

¹¹ Dalits form around 16.6% of India's population. The 2011 census recorded nearly 20.14 crore people belonging to various scheduled castes in the country.

been historically subjugated. The issue of presence and representation of Dalits in media thus holds its importance.

The purpose of the study is to know whether Dalit people have a voice in two newspapers which have been taken up for study. The two newspapers are one English-language and another Hindi newspaper in India. The aim is to look if journalists find Dalit issues important to write about since newspapers have the power to influence.

The research questions are:

1. How are the Dalits represented in the two newspapers, which have been taken up for the study?
2. What are the concerns that are generated with regard to the absence of Dalits or marginal presence within the mainstream media?

1.7 The newspapers studied for Content analysis:

The Hindu

The Hindu is the third largest English-language newspaper in India with a circulation of about 2.2 million copies a day.¹² The newspaper was founded in Madras in the year 1878. It became a daily in 1889. The Hindu is a family-run newspaper and is published by the Hindu group. Their headquarter is situated in Madras. It is considered as by and large left-leaning newspaper and not belonging to a political group as such. The paper gets published from several places in India including Delhi. The research has looked into this newspaper since it has one of the largest circulations and it is left-leaning. Dainik Jagran

¹² Audit Bureau of Circulations (India), 2016 report

on the other hand was chosen to get a tinge of vernacular newspaper and also that it was depicting reports that were largely not left leaning.

Dainik Jagran

Dainik Jagran is one of the Hindi language newspaper with the highest number of circulation. It circulates 3,632,383 copies in a single day. According to Audit Bureau of Circulations (India) Dainik Jagran is the largest read newspaper and has the second largest circulation in India.¹³ The newspaper was launched by Shri Puran Chandra Gupta, JC Arya and Shri Gurudev Gupta at Jhansi in 1942. It is important to mention that it was launched during the peak of Indian National movement by the nationalist of those times. Thus voicing the nationalistic sentiments was one of the most important agenda for the newspaper. The newspaper is owned by Jagran Prakashan Limited, a publishing house listed on the Bombay Stock Exchange and the National Stock Exchange of India. It was in 2010 that Jagran Prakashan limited had acquired Mid Day, while it was in 2012 that it acquired Nai Duniya.

1.8 Quantitative content method:

The dimensions looked into for generating a quantitative research are:

Firstly, is the issue of Dalit and their inclusiveness within mainstream print media. The thesis has argued about the exclusion which Dalit face due to the exclusion of issues concerning them. Through a quantitative analysis, the attempt is to understand this process of exclusion on an everyday news coverage. Further, the column Dalit issue also reflects upon how extensively, and systematically Dalit issues were discussed within mainstream media. It tries to interrogate into whether Dalit issues as and when appeared

¹³ Ibid

in the newspaper were a matter of merely factual information or was their an in depth analysis to go into the root of the problem. While discussing the societal role of media the thesis has argued about the direct correlation that exists within media and its social influence. By looking into the reporting of Dalit-issue the attempts to look into the kind of relationship that exists between print media and its social role in bringing out the problems of Dalits.

Secondly, the data looks into the question of Dalit Violence. Violence on Dalits renders them marginal within the society and an absence of its coverage further increases their vulnerability. This research attempts to look into the dimensions of Dalit violence covered within media through a quantitative content analysis. Further, it attempts to look the ways in which these issues of violence have been represented within mainstream media by engaging with it qualitatively as well.

Thirdly, this quantitative analysis looks into the coverage of caste issues in general. The caste issues range from the question of representation to their political unrest and issues. The separation of Dalit issue from the caste issue is done with an intention to specifically look into the marginalization of Dalits from the caste atrocities in general.

Fourthly, the quantitative analysis is looking into the marginalization of Dalits within political sphere by looking into the representation of Dalit political organization within mainstream media. This is further contrasted with the other dominant political parties to show the political exclusion, which the Dalits face within the mainstream media.

The newspapers of Danik Jagran and The Hindu were accessed for a duration of 28 days. In quantitative analysis, the research attempts to look only into the dimensions of coverage of the news reports of the above-mentioned parameters within the mainstream

media. In the qualitative analysis, the research will look into the ways in which this reporting have been done.

The Hindu (Feb 2017)

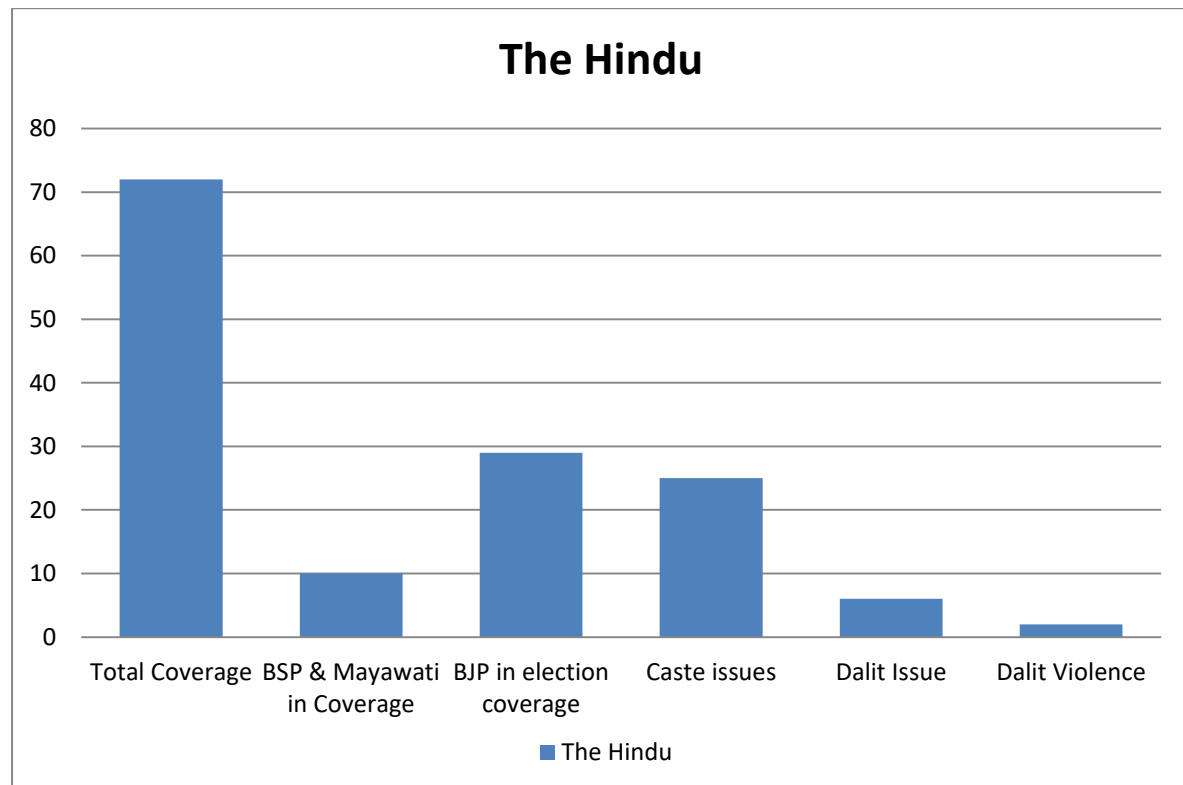


Figure-7. Major News items published in 'The Hindu' Delhi Edition

1.9 Data Analysis of 'The Hindu':

The election remained one of the dominant issues in the month of February 2017. Hence the party wise coverage also speaks a lot in terms of inclusion or exclusion of certain caste based identities. The other significant dimensions included were the coverage of Dalit issues, Dalit violence and caste based issues that have occurred during this period.

The data reveals that the instances of caste-based violence were covered within The Hindu newspaper. However it lacked depth. Most of the issues covered were regarding the Jat agitation, jallikatu debate, which was going on. The reporting on Dalit violence severely lacked in the newspaper. This questions the importance of Dalit lives

within the national mainstream newspaper. Many a times they are reduced merely as stray aberrations, which is problematic. The coverage of Dalit issue in the newspaper was largely about the Justice Karnan issue. Somewhere newspaper did not reflect upon the the larger concerns of Dalits. Even an in depth analysis with respect to Karnan issue was lacking in editorial columns.

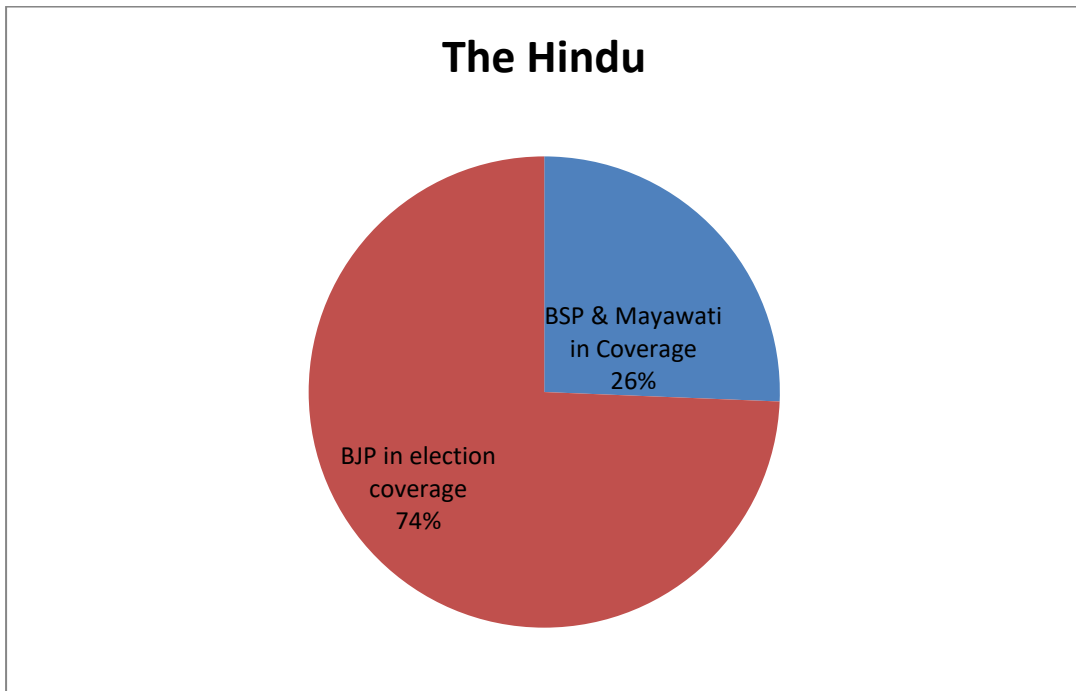


Figure.8.The Hindu newspaper coverage of BSP and BJP in 2017 UP Assembly Election

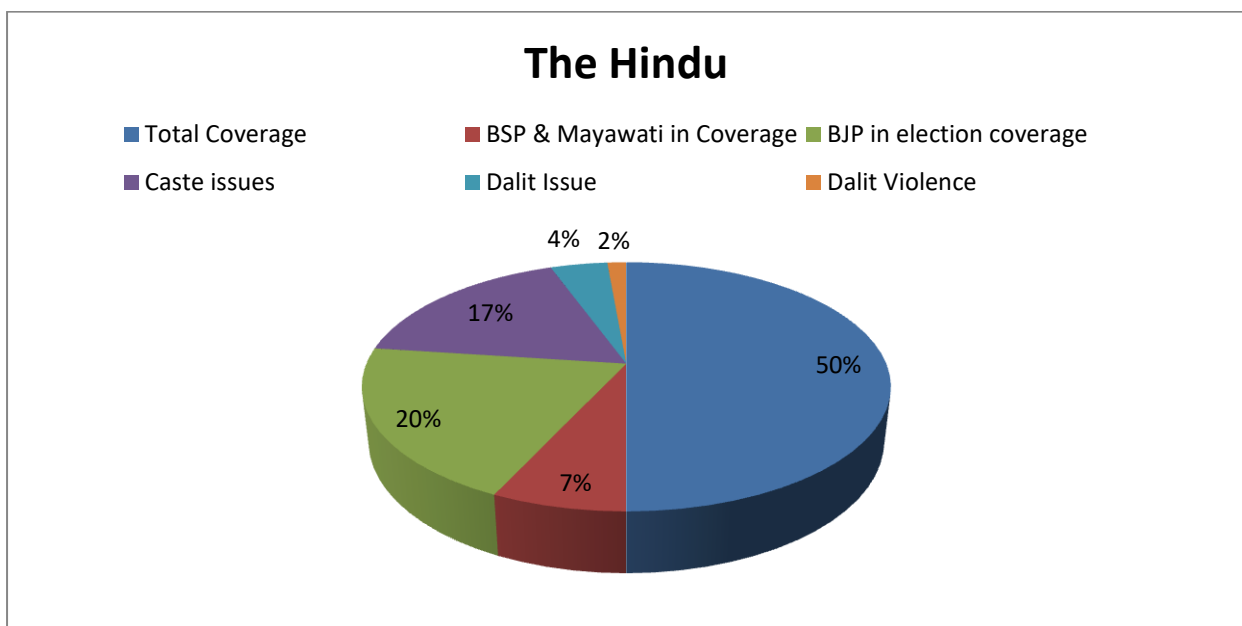


Figure.9. Major News items published in 'The Hindu' Delhi Edition in percentage

The contrast between election coverage of BSP v/s BJP is significant. However, the newspaper did try to maintain a balance all the parties. However, it is important to mention that the election report on BJP were not merely about election facts but it often found space within the editorial columns giving an in depth analysis of BJP's vantage point. However, such in depth assessment was lacking in terms of BSP election reporting. BSP was presented more as statements and facts. Further, the spacing for BJP was also more compared to BSP. The data also shows that during election time while the BSP news might be skipped from the newspaper but the events and happenings within BJP was never missed out. This can also be because of its presence at centre. However one cannot deny the tilt of balance that such reportage might create.

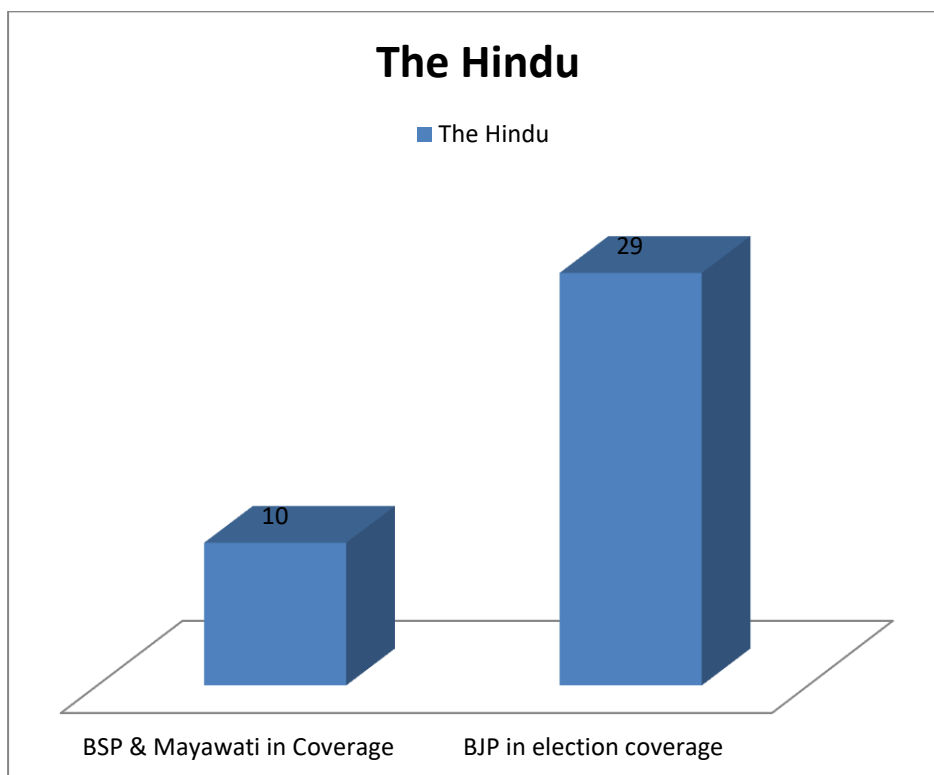


Figure.10. 'The Hindu' Comparative coverage of BSP and BJP

Dainik Jagran (Feb 2017)

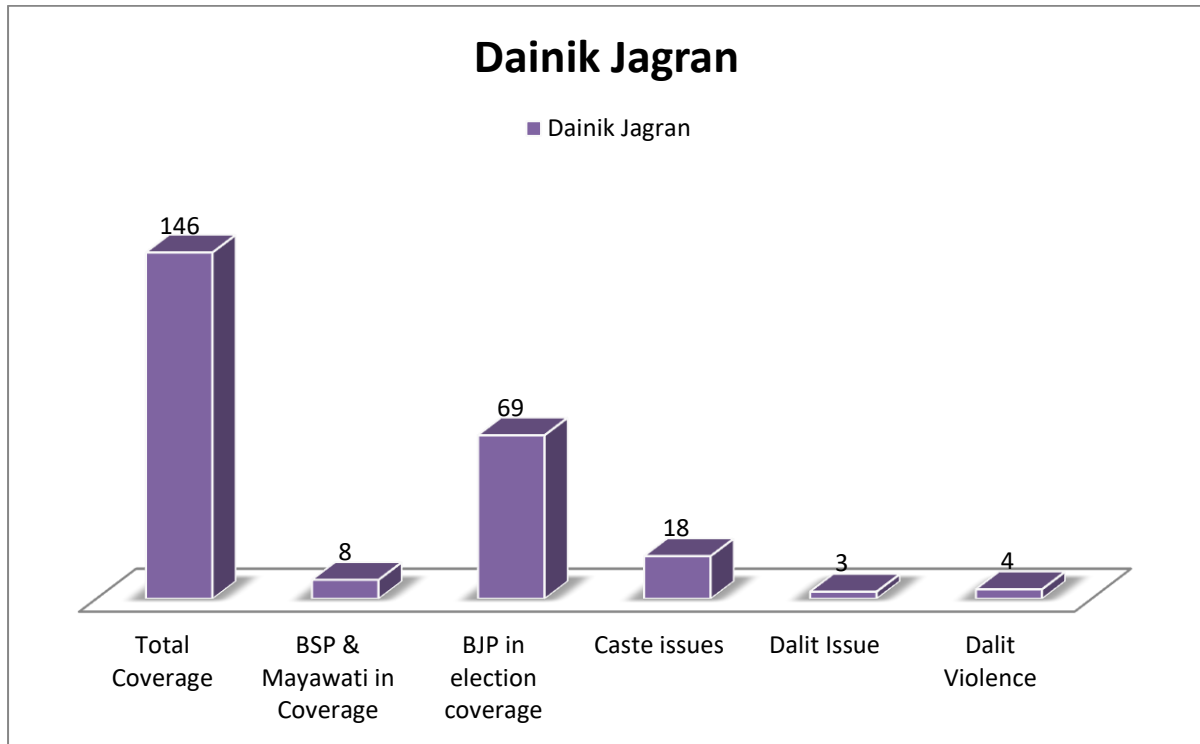


Figure.11. Major News items published in 'Dainik Jagran' Delhi Edition

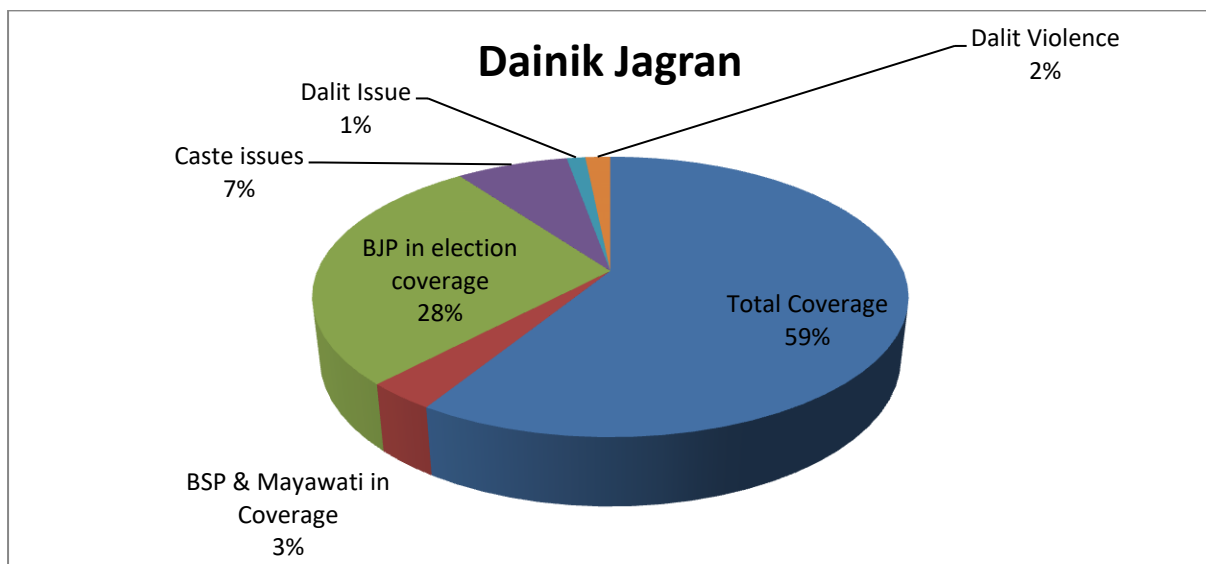


Figure.12. Major News items published in 'Dainik Jagran' Delhi Edition in Percentage

Data Analysis of ‘Dainik Jagran’:

The reporting of Dainik Jagran reflected complete political inclination towards a political party. This was more biased than The Hindu as the newspaper had completely blackout BSP and Mayawati from their report coverage. Even if bits and pieces of such report existed, they were more in terms of factual statements. The BSP ideas and opinions were never discussed per se. The huge shift of balance was towards BJP. Further, there was hardly any day when the reports on BJP or its opinions were missed out. Further, the volume of space given to the reporting of a political party (BJP) was much more than any other party. The coverage of the caste-based issue was also less compared to The Hindu. The incidents of Dalit violence were reported, as the newspaper was more close to the localized issues.

The data reveals that the newspaper had done an extensive coverage of the election. The newspaper had included a special page talking about the election news. However, more weightage was given to a particular party. Even if issues were mentioned about BSP or Mayawati, it was more about its stand vis-à-vis opposition to another party. An exclusive space to BSP was denied unlike BJP whose interviews and perspective were included in a major section. Further, when one looks into the ratio of news reporting of BSP v/s BJP the data is extremely skewed.

This analysis is significant because when one looks into the history of BSP and emergence of Mayawati, the events are rooted in a moment of the history of inclusion of Dalit within political space.¹⁴

¹⁴ See more details in Chapter 2.

Comparative Newspaper analysis of News coverage

Table-1

	BSP & Mayawati coverage in election	Total Election coverage	Dalit issue	Dalit violence	Caste issues	BJP coverage in election
The Hindu	10	72	6	2	25	29
Dainik Jagran	8	146	3	4	18	69

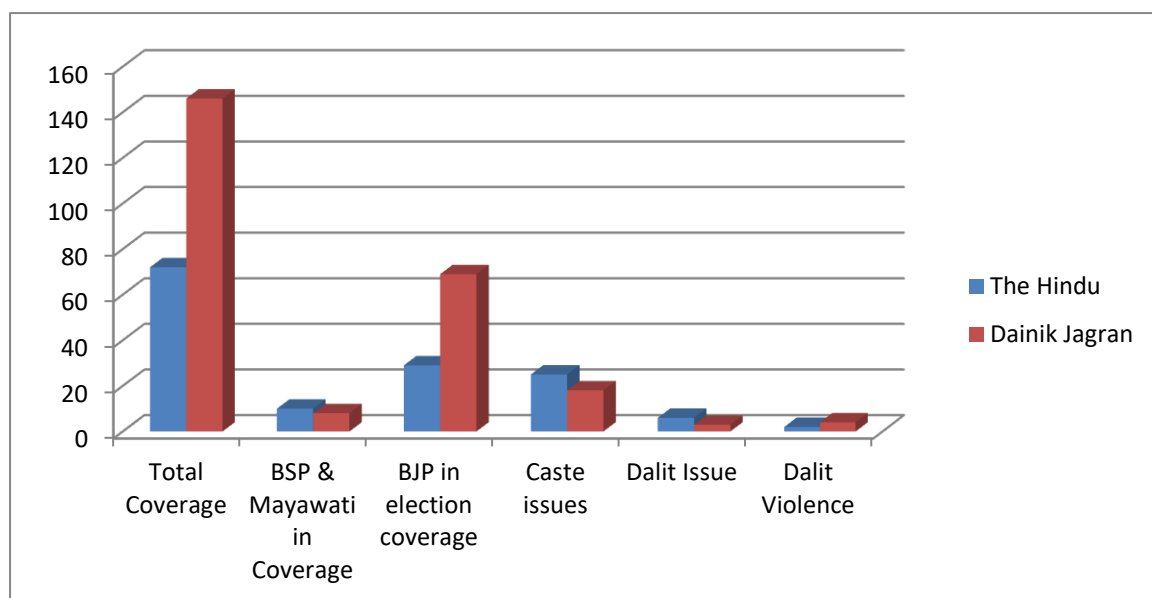


Figure.13- Comparison of Dalit issues and other issues published in different newspapers

A comparative perspective:

The comparative perspective of the two newspaper reveals a lot about the newspaper political and ideological inclination. The election coverage in both the newspapers were substantive; however, Dank Jagran had more coverage than The Hindu because it covered more of the localized conflicts and news as well.

While Hindu was more or less politically balanced in the representation of political parties, Dainik Jagran had skewed political inclination in the representation of political views. However, both the newspaper lacked an in depth and analytical coverage when it came to coverage of Mayawati and BSP related news. This was evident from the fact that the both the newspaper nowhere had an editorial related to BSP, while other political parties were given such space.

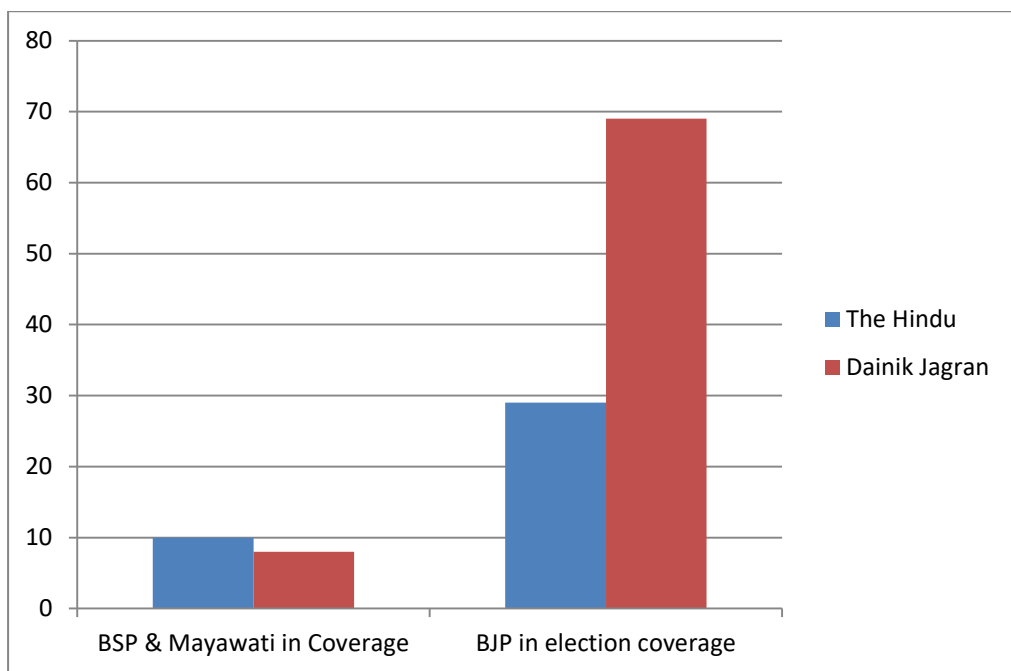


Figure-14 Coverage of BSP and BJP by ‘The Hindu’ and ‘Dainik Jagran’

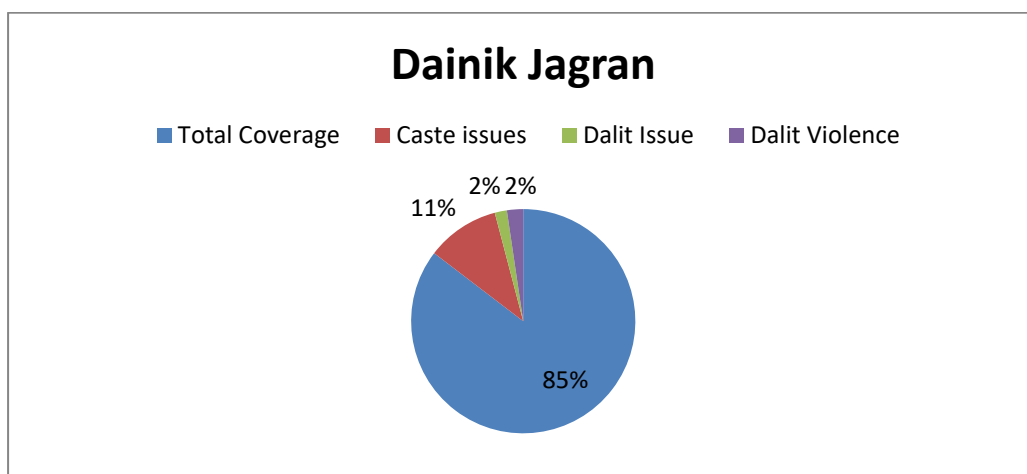


Figure-15. Coverage of Caste issues, Dalit issues and Dalit violence by ‘Dainik Jagran’

The Dalit issue in terms of its coverage and analysis did find some space within the The Hindu newspaper. This was mainly on the issue of Justice Karnan. The issue got coverage within front-page news report as well. However, the analysis about it was done more on the parameters of the legal issue rather than on the parameters of social justice. Dainik Jagran on the other hand, seemed completely oblivious of the issue. If at all it was covered it was covered in terms of facts rather than an analytical approach to understand it. The qualitative analysis later will show the casteist bias, which its report had while talking about the Karnan issue.

The absence of caste issues like Jallikatu debate or Jat reservation issues were conspicuously absent in Dainik Jagran. The issues related to these, however, did find mention in The Hindu.

Qualitative Analysis of ‘The Hindu’ and ‘Dainik Jagran’:

The Hindu covered first news on BSP and Mayawati when it had talked about the exclusion of farmers and marginal from the budgetary allocation. The second coverage was only after six days. Meanwhile, the coverage of BJP in the election was never missed out on any single day. The reports like ‘Caste, religion will tilt scale here’ (12th Feb, 2017), however, talked about the explicit role of caste within U.P. politics. This is significant to be mentioned here because the reports of Dainik Jagran talked about caste dimension from a perspective rather than its objective reality, as it existed on the ground. For Dainik Jagran, the issue of Kairana migration was never missed out, while it remained vocally silent on issues of lynching that U.P. had witnessed in recent past. Further, Dainik Jagran in one of its report “Badle Patra, Trasdi Wahi” (The characters have changed. However the tragedy remains the same), has looked into the issue of corruption. They pointed out to the richest candidates from BSP and SP, however were

silent on rich candidates from BJP. Further, the larger question of party funding from different sources were not raised rather the article basically aimed to corner some particular parties on the issue rather than presenting a holistic picture.

The columns given to BJP were large almost occupying 50% of the election page. In one of the interview by Amit Shah actually predicted 300 seats win. Such predictions by other parties were never mentioned within the newspaper. This somewhere tilts the opinion of the public. In an yet another article titled “Hari hui Larai larr rahi hai BSP” (BSP is fighting a war which is already lost) (13th February, 2017) the perspective of Rajnath Singh is given where he had predicted the win game for BJP. The opinion of Mayawati was however reduced to a little column, with much smaller font size. A photograph of Rajnath Singh further followed the article. Thus the inherent biases of reporting through these representational forms were loud and clear. Even Hindu newspaper gave an exclusive article of Venkaiah Naidu, allowing him to give an analytical opinion on his party’s perspective in the election. However such coverage was denied to party like BSP. Their perspective were presented more as a matter of fact rather than analysis. Even the coverage of roadshows and rallies by BSP were overtly absent from both the newspapers.

When it came to violence on Dalit issues, both the newspaper did not find it worth mentioning on the Front page or discussing it through analytical like editorial page. One such incident of violence was Mirchpur case, where Dalits were denied rehabilitation post the incidence of violence. The report was mentioned in 17th February, 2017. The Mirchpur violence happened in 2010, where a Dalit father and her daughter were torched to death. This led to the migration of 60 Dalit caste families from the village due to fear of upper-caste. The article that appeared in Hindu talked about the lacunae within

government policies to rehabilitate the Dalits who have been displaced in the process. However, such report appeared and just vanished away without any further reporting on the matter. Dainik Jagran did even consider mentioning about these violent acts within their discussion political news at the first place.

Further, the issue of other caste based like Jat reservation issue or the then prevalent Jallikattu issue lacked coverage in Dainik Jagran. The Hindu, on the other hand, did give a detailed coverage to the caste dimension of Jallikatu by giving it space within the editorial columns.

1.10 Qualitative content analysis of News related to Dalit Violence:

The newspaper plays a vital role in a democratic nation like India. The media publish/broadcast all the happenings in the field of social, economic, political and moral problems in the society. These newspapers are very helpful to get expulsion of several types of problems from our society. The newspaper is a mode of mass communication. It is very helpful in creating awareness about social problems and raising voices against social issues. The findings show that selected newspapers is given very less space to Dalit issues in front page and the majority of the space is given to political issues and advertisements in both the newspapers.

The Bathani Tola massacre shows the ways in which the media actually felt silent over the human right violation issues. The initial coverage and reporting of the massacre was more about the political tussle that was emerging between CPI (ML) and BJP. Even when the media took up the issue of violence per se, it was more of engagement in terms of the sensationalism and voyeurism that followed-up after the incidence of violence. However some magazines did talk about the incidence and made it

a front-page/cover issue, but it was only after some of the court judgments were passed with respect to the act of violence. For instance, there were several reports after Patna high court had acquitted some 23 men for the murder due to lack of evidence. The complete blackout of the incidence in between somewhere reflects upon the ignorance media has towards the people at margins. If media would have kept an eye over the incidence, the evidence vilification might have been avoided. Within the mainstream media, the issue turns up to significance only when these acts of violence were seen fit to catch up a national imagination.

In The Hindu, 25th July, 2012 issue the Bathani Tola incidence is referred to as a ‘A Travesty of Justice’ The article mentions about the killing of 21 Dalits and Muslims at the hands ‘caste militia’ called as Ranvir Sena.¹⁵ The article mentions about the delay in judgment due to the absence of witness and distortion of evidence. The entire investigation was shoddy and it took years for the landless Dalits and minorities to get justice. The article also talks about the elitist bias which media had in the entire case, as it somewhere failed to give the limelight to violence within the mainstream media discourse. The failure of the judiciary to punish the violators was somewhere also the responsibility of media that was least interested in taking up the issues concerning the margins.

The arguments on similar lines appeared in The Frontline, June 16-29, 2012 issue.¹⁶ This article also came at the backdrop of Patna high Court judgment where the convicts were acquitted due to the absence of evidence. The pertinent question that

¹⁵ Editorial. (2012, April, 25). *A travesty of Justice*. The Hindu. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/a-travesty-of-/>

¹⁶ Ajoy Ashirwad Mahaprashasta. (2012, June, 16-29). *Back to Bathani Tola*. Frontline. Retrieved from <http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2912/stories/20120629291203200.htm>

emerges from these reportages is that how significant is the role of media in either visiblizing or invisibalizing an issue. It is significant to mention that after the Patna High court judgment when the incidence caught up media's limelight swift actions were taken up in the case. It was on 18th April 2012 that Bihar SC/ST minister Jitan Ram Manjhi appeal the decision was taken to Supreme Court.

The systemic invisibalization of Dalits from the mainstream media discourse has somewhere aggravated their marginalized position within society. It is a grave irony that while the visual of violence remains fresh in the minds of people, the media and judiciary fails to capture it. The media's immediate understanding of the violence was more in terms of Jungle Raj and rising Naxalism that led to the incidence. It, however, failed to understand that people whom they were tagging as 'Naxals' were the people who victims of upper-caste feudalism from centuries.

The similar negligence by media in taking up the Khairlanji massacre as well. The massacre witnessed murder and rape of Dalits by politically dominant caste 'Kunbis' in 2006. The media coverage of the incidence was weak and initially it failed to get space within the print as well as electronic media. Teltumbde has argued that 'it is possible that the news was blocked because of the fifteenth Deeksha Bhoomi programme'¹⁷ which was happening at Nagpur. This somewhere reflects on which issues concern media. Somewhere media news goes with the euphoria of the urban mainstream population. The fringes of the city or the rural violence fail to catch the emotion of media. This is probably because neither these marginalized sections are capable of adding to the viewership of media house, nor do their lives matter within the mainstream discourse.

¹⁷ Anand Teltumbde (2008). *Khairlanji: A Strange and Bitter Crop*. New Delhi: Navayana publication. P. 63.

Media is regarded as one of the pillars of Indian democracy. Ambedkar in 1945 said “The Untouchables have no press”.¹⁸ Most of these media house is owned by Brahmins¹⁹ and the issue of Dalits are matters them with least concern. In the case of Khairlanji violence, while the mainstream were least bothered, the local media depicted the overt violence sensationalism and with misrepresentation of facts. Teltumbde has argued that local newspapers like Dehonnati, Lokmat Samachar, Lokmat Times hyped the incidence by giving it an adultery angle.²⁰ This attitude of media shows how it doubly renders vulnerability to women’s identity. Instead of exhibiting sympathy with the women it tried to sensationalize the act of violence as act of sexual pleasure.

The packaging of news-media does not become worthy until it makes the news ‘spicy’ enough to be consumed. In the case of Khairlanji, the media coverage did not happen until the people took upto streets for justice²¹. Further, the marginalized sections like Dalits, often fail to interest the newsmaker because neither are they socio-economically well-off nor they have a lifestyle that will attract mainstream society.

The recent incidence of Rohith Vemula also shows how the media constantly failed to show the real truth behind the event. The Rohith Vemula episode shows that media was more interested in establishing the identity of Rohith Vemula as Dalit rather than delving honestly into the investigative dimension of violence.

However, there were engagements about the Dalit exclusion within the university system in some of the newspapers like The Hindu. In one of the articles by Anaya

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 100

¹⁹ According to a survey conducted by CSDS, out of the 315 key decision makers in 37 Delhi-based publication and news channels, 79% were rahmin dominated. There were no Dalits within these media houses and the OBC and Muslims were merely 4% and 3% repectively.

²⁰ Anand Teltumbde (2008). *Khairlanji: A Strange and Bitter Crop*. New Delhi: Navayana publication. P 90.

²¹ Ibid. p.98.

Vajpeyi 'Ancient Prejudice, Modern inequality'²², she has highlighted how Dalit exclusion with education system has the burden of a historical past that structurally excluded Dalits from the process of education. The article boldly corners the ABVP that is increasing the Hindu right wing on campuses. She highlights that Rohith was having a bend towards Ambedkarite politics and was actively involved against Indian criminal justice system, communal violence etc. It was under these circumstances that he along with the four other students were suspended from the University hostel.

Vajpeyi has interestingly drawn an analogy from the Mahabharata, where Ekalvya, a Dalit, met the similar fate of exclusion when he tried to establish talent. He was asked for his thumb as part of "Guru-Dakshina" which disabled him from the pursuit of his talent. Similarly, the story of Satyakama Jabali from Chandogya Upanishad Jabali is included as Gautama's pupil because he has Brahmin like character. Thus these snippets from mythology tell that education under any circumstance is a prerogative of Brahmin. Somewhere these myths have never been detached from the so-called modern university systems as well. The death of Rohith Vemula somewhere calls into question how democratic are university spaces for a Dalit. The emergence of these questions are heartening when the majority of the media houses were more interested in becoming the mouthpiece of the government.

However, the unbiased assessment by The Hindu was just one side of the picture. There were several other media houses that were more interested in throwing up 'national and anti-national' debate. The DNA, in its 21st January 2016 report reduced the entire act of university discrimination against Rohith Vemula as an attempt to malign the

²² Ananya Vajpeyi. (2016, January, 20). *Ancient prejudice, modern inequality*. The Hindu. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/Ancient-prejudice-modern-inequality/article14007054.ece>

image of BJP. Further, it argued that the death of Rohith Vemula was an act of tussle between the two political parties rather than an act of discrimination. Such reporting, however, fails to resolve the irony that why is it always a Dalit who are at the receiving spectrum of violence. Clearly, the tilt of caste biases within the mainstream media sets itself out loud and clear.

The incidence of Una violence was no exception to the biases that prevailed in its reporting. The incidence happened in Una, Gujarat, where the four Dalit men were beaten up mercilessly for skinning the cow. The video of this horrific atrocity was captured in a camera and was circulated across social media. The mainstream media captured the violence closely only when it was 'viral' all through Whatsapp and Facebook. Ravikiran Shinde reported that the protest gathered so much momentum that it became difficult for the mainstream media to skip the acts of violence²³. The incidence reflects on the paradigmatic shift that media is capable of doing. The news which otherwise could have been ignored and hidden well under the carpet, did come to limelight and raised questions as to whether to atrocities on Dalit life are too easy to be taken for granted.

The Una episode also caught attention when the protestor chose the unique method of protesting. They protested by disposing off the carcasses of a cow in front of the police station. They had argued that while on the one hand the Dalits were beaten up for skinning the cow, while on the other hand, they were they were socially positioned to do menial tasks like disposing off the cow. The mainstream media coverage such reporting in fact followed up from the news of social media. The matter was highlighted enough within the social media and mainstream media could not have afford to miss it out.

²³ Ravikiran Shinde. (2015, July, 2016). *Social media helps Una dalits remain uncowed*. The Hoot.

Mayawati too had raised the issue about the systemic ways in which media has tried to carefully slip off the entire Una incident.

One can also look into the Saharanpur incident that escaped the media coverage as well. For instance, the reporting of Saharanpur violence that happened on 5th May 2017 was reported only in ‘Other State’ page of the Hindu in barely three paragraphs. The reporting in other popular mainstream media like The Times of India, was also nowhere given a sufficient or front page coverage. The interest of mainstream media on the issue came up only when there were protests in Jantar Mantar, New Delhi. The urban space biases in media can be seen explicitly here. Further, the reports on Saharanpur violence were discussed explicitly within media more in terms of Bhim Army’s conflictual relationship with BSP. Thus, the question of politics of violence somewhere was more hyped than the question about the lives lost. In one of the report in The Hindu on 10th June 2017, Omar Rashid has talked about the genesis of Bhim army. The larger question the article wanted to look into was that whether the Bhim Army was an expression of localized Dalit aggression or was it a sufficient ground to lead a social movement.²⁴

While the above question remains pertinent, however, the ignorance of mainstream media to explicitly take up the atrocity on Dalit per se is problematic. The question about who were these Dalits who faced the brunt of violence?, were the compensated?, what impact the life-world had post-violence never captures the imagination of mainstream media. Probably the reason for the absence of these questions within mainstream media is because the discourse of mainstream media is never from the

²⁴ Omar Rashid. (2017, June, 10). *The lowdown on the Bhim Army*. The Hindu. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/the-lowdown-on-the-bhim-army/article18956257.ece>

point of marginalized. It is rather reduced more like a political event that has to be covered just once in a while.

When one looks into the condition of women the ignorance of mainstream media is even worse. The women within a community are more vulnerable to the atrocity of caste-based violence. This is because the women are often symbolised as the ‘izzat’ or honour of the community and violence on them has the intention of stripping off the community from a position of dignity. According to NCRB report 2014, a total of 47,064 cases of crime committed against SCs were reported, which was an increase over past records. The majority of these victims were women of the community. The Jisha murder case²⁵, the rape violence and gruesome murder in Khairlanji or ‘Bathe-Bathani Tola massacre’ misses the discussion within the mainstream public discourse. It is also significant to mention here that while 2012 Delhi gang rape case was in full media glare, there were rape cases on Dalit women that was conveniently missed out by the mainstream media.

In the gruesome Jisha murder case, was covered in Kochi edition of The Hindu dated 1st May 2016. It gave brief five-paragraph factual information about the murder. The mainstream media was busy with the election polls that were scheduled on 16th May 2016 and the murder case did not catch the limelight until the social media and her agitated college mates staged active protests. The online alternative platforms like The Wire, in fact, gave the coverage to the issue. The article titled “*The Rape and Murder of a*

²⁵ Jisha, a 29-year-old law student at the Ernakulam Government Law College, was killed on April 28, 2016 at her residence near a channel in Perumbavoor in Ernakulam. This was a rape and murder crime that stirred the Indian state of Kerala amid April 2016.

Student in Kerala: It Is High Time to Ask Some Hard Questions”, dated 11th May 2016, by Devika, J. highlighted the issue of Dalit social exclusion in contemporary Kerala.²⁶

The article highlighted the gender dimension of social exclusion in contemporary Kerala. Devika has argued that women from Dalit communities despite having no recourse struggle to reach to a college. The caste-prejudiced society, however, greets them with a sense of violence and exclusion. The article is significant because unlike the other mainstream media coverage that had merely reported the incident, the alternative media platform had actually engaged in depth with the systemic violence that Dalit women are facing.

The article searches for the roots of such forms of violence. She has argued that the education system particularly higher education somewhere has excluded poor and marginalised sections of the society. The police raised the eyebrows as it considered that Jisha was not helpless rather educated and well-positioned within society. Such naïve assumption reflects the kind of ignorance the Indian society has towards the layers of vulnerability that a Dalit woman undergoes. Devika thus highlights the systemic disadvantages, which renders Dalits more vulnerable within society. The in-depth engagement with the act of violence against Dalit makes it possible for the readers to generate a sense of sensitivity with regards to the issue. The mechanical presentation of facts as done by mainstream media somewhere overlooks the complexity of gamut of violence that is structurally situated within the Indian society. As Y. Chinna Rao says—
“Despite the fact that many Dalits do not report crimes for fear of reprisals by the

²⁶ J.Devika. (2016, May, 11). *The Rape and Murder of a Student in Kerala: It Is High Time to Ask Some Hard Questions*. The Wire. Retrieved from <https://thewire.in/35151/the-rape-and-murder-of-a-student-in-kerala-it-is-high-time-to-ask-some-hard-questions/>

dominant castes, official police statistic averaged over the past five years show that 13 Dalits are murdered every week, 5 Dalits homes or possessions are burnt every week, 6 Dalits kidnapped or abducted every week, 3 Dalits women are raped every day, 11 Dalits are beaten every day and a crime is committed against a Dalit every 18 minutes”.²⁷ However, the concern of the media has never been in this direction. The most recent examples has been that with what happened in Rohit Vemula suicide, Una Incident, Jisha murder case, Bhagana rape incidence there is a long list.

This content analysis study reveals that the mainstream newspaper in Delhi is giving very least significance to the Dalit issues. It is this negligence of the media that gave rise to a number of Dalit to initiate their own media in the public sphere.

²⁷ Yagati Chinna Rao (2010) *Atrocities on Dalits and Media responses*. In Sikand and Mishra (ed) *India Mass media: Prejudices against Dalit and muslims*, Hope India publication. P-226

Chapter five

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to engage in an assessment of a real and fair picture of the Indian mass media, especially in print media. To do so a considerable number of content analysis of news paper, magazine report, coverage on the issue related to Dalit has been analysed and studied. The findings across these newspapers and reports revealed some of the common grounds of biases that prevailed within these media spaces. Most of these contents were biased against the Dalit and other marginalized groups of the society. In this research, I tried to engage in the critical issue pertaining to media coverage of Dalit. The research finding shows that Dalits news and Dalit journalist both absent from the Indian news media.

In this context this research aimed to ascertain, through content analysis, how and with what purpose in mind, the print mainstream media report on an issue. Further, it has also tried look into the question of representation of issues concerning marginalised section of the society, and the relationship that media establishes with these sections of society at large. This work intends to unveil the gap that exists between the practice of journalism and the ideology of journalism. It attempts to bring out those dimensions which are often overstated, understated or overlooked.

This was done through delving into some of the questions like: How do mainstream print media write about the in terms of rhetoric and framing? Further it involves engagement with questions about the ideological standpoint and ways in which the different social class is represented within media.

The dissertation first begins by understanding what the significance of ‘representation’ is and the role it plays in determining one’s identity. Further, it tries to look into the ways in which marginalized section of the society is represented. This ‘representation’ is to be understood not merely in terms of issues taken up, misrecognition and misrepresentation, but also in terms of the presence of Dalits in actual numbers within the media-houses. The absence of Dalits in newsrooms results into the disappearance of Dalit narrative and silencing the Dalit voice in the field of news media in India and research findings.

When one tries to research into the question ‘Where are the Dalit?’, the enquiry cannot be merely in terms of empirical facts, but the engagement into the question of their invisibilisation in the ideological and cultural domains also remains to be significant. One needs to delve into the social structure and public domains where the Dalits are marginalised.¹ When one looks into the cultural domain of journalism, the social positioning of Dalits as ‘outcast’ remains to exist. This form of social-exclusion further weaves into the ideological fabric of and the process of exclusion is taken for granted without any problematization. This is apparent from the research finding that the empirical reality of ‘absence of Dalits’ or ‘absence of Dalits’ narrative in the newsrooms defines the cultural space

¹ Ranjith Thankappan (2006) ‘*Invisible Dalits*’, The Hoot, October 26, <http://www.thehoot.org/web/home/story.php?storyid=2348&mod=1&pg=1§ionId=1&valid=true> Accessed on June 1, 2017.

of the Indian national media.² This empirical reality of silence, absence and invisibility remains to be a grand narrative of mainstream media vis-à-vis the question of Dalit. This narrative of exclusion at cultural and ideological level is also witnessed at the regional level where a Dalit journalist is reduced to a similar kind of frame.

The second chapter, '*Theorising margins and Dalits in media-A theoretical perspective*', focused on the theoretical perspective to identify and explore the varied forms of prejudices that is embedded in mainstream media. In this chapter is an attempt to, challenge and critique the everyday, normalised assumptions about marginalisation. Marginalisation not only denies a section of society from access to the productive resource but it also undermines their potential to bring an effective contribution in productive process and development.

Chapter three dealt with the '*Reality and representation: mainstream media in contemporary Indian society*'. The relationship between reality and its representation is the very pertinent question we think of when we consider the relationship between the media and society. In this chapter, we try to understand the how the interplay of caste and prejudices determinants participate in the shaping the consciousness of Indian mass media. In relation to the understand the representations of reality in the print media, we have looked at different dimensions like the ways in which the minorities and Dalits are represented.

Further chapter four is a content analysis of newspaper coverage about Dalits. This Chapter attempt to understand representation of marginalization

² Ibid

within mediatized space like print media, by looking into the reports that had appeared in some of these print and online version of the newspaper. The chapter also intends to look into the discrepancies that emerge within mainstream and alternative media, in reporting an issue concerning marginalization. The chapter also tries to develop a theoretical and methodological framework through which the problems like marginalization can be understood. This case study reveals that the mainstream newspaper is giving very least significance to the Dalit issues. It is this negligence of the media that gave rise to a number of Dalit to initiate their own alternative media in the public sphere.

The empirical reality of 'Dalit invisibility' points to exclusion at the level of engaging with Dalit issues as well. The study conducted by Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (C.S.D.S.), New Delhi has argued on the similar lines. The study points that the conspicuous absence of Dalits in Indian English language national media, is followed up the domination of a particular caste 'Brahmins' within media. The absence of Dalits within mediatized space is witnessed not only in terms of the absence of professional Dalit journalist, but this absence is also seen in terms of the absence of Dalits as a potential consumer of media.

Further, when we look into the functioning of media, the complexity of media discourse and discourse analysis of the reports appearing in media we find there is no one absolute, objective meaning that can be ascertained to a particular report. There are numerous relative meanings of the report which is constructed through the interaction of news report with its readers and viewers. Verschueren concluded that the mental state of viewers, readers or listeners co-creates meaning

as much as do the statements of speakers.³ Even Hall (1997) argued that media cannot impose meaning and interpretation on the consumer. He says that a reader is not Tabula Rasa⁴, which means he does have some idea in mind about the things that media reports. However, despite this media has the 'legitimate power' to shape and define the political reality. There explanation and interpretations are often taken into consideration at the higher level of policy making. This is because media often gives convenient and easy explanation. Most of them are taken uncritically and unproblematically.

The casteist expression within all its domains, like advertisements. G Mamatha has argued that advertisements which say 'house for rent...only for Brahmins', are not seen as an expression as casteist attitude and instead is assumed as common and obvious.⁵ Shouldn't it journalistic ethics to interrogate into such casteist columns?. The question is can the commercial domains of newspaper take so much leeway, where they can overcome the need of being politically and morally correct. When one looks into the forms of social exclusion in contemporary society, it is often asserted through domains like separate housing, separate borewell, etc. The social segregation in the form of separate eating and living area through which caste identity is asserted and re-asserted. Media advertisements like one mentioned above, shows the ways in which this status-quo position in caste identity is maintained. Media somewhere fails to be out and out

³ J Verschueren et. Al. (2000) *Handbook of Pragmatics 2000*, p.136. John Benjamins publication.

⁴ S. Hall (ed.) (1997) *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, The Open University, Sage Publications, London. Tabula rasa refers to the epistemological idea that individuals are born without built-in mental content and that therefore all knowledge comes from experience.

⁵ G Mamatha, *Caste and media*, Accessed on 1 June, 2017. http://www.sundarayya.org/sites/default/files/papers/Caste%20and%20Media_final%20paper_mamatha.pdf

vocal against any form of such representation even if it is in media space like advertisements. Thus one can say that an indefinite postponement of issues and a refusal to confront them, are some the ways through which caste identities are reinforced within society.

Media representation represents corporate power structure as well as caste structure that exists within society. It is important to mention here that journalistic discourse is about the ways in which reality is constructed in order to suit the interest of ideologies that govern the media. In some of the content analysis, it was found that in most of the cases the the Brahminical ideology was dominant within media and the social reality were presented in the way that can suit the interest of this dominant ideology. The research showed that the social representation as done in media were mostly perspective, and these perspectives were often imposed upon the journalists. The caste composition indicates who wields power and authority on the Indian media scene.

This research is however preliminary and there are several issues which needs further investigation. Some of the areas that can be further be looked into are the growing role of social media within communication study, the coming up of alternative media and its assessment vis-a vis the omnipresent dominant mainstream media, etc. Further, the research can be expanded by enquiring into dimensions like social and political context within print media space and how they can act as a significant source to bring social change.

Overall, the dissertation is an attempt towards unveiling the caste violence, discrimination and exclusion through a media generated communication process.

The dissertation has tried to establish the role of media in ascertaining policies and influencing masses towards an issue. Further, the work attempts to look into the systemic invisibilization which the Dalits have been subjected to. This discourse of invisibilization and misrepresentation can be well documented through series of issues like Bathani Tola massacre; Khairlanji, Una incident, etc. where media had preferred silence over exhibiting genuine reporting on the issues. As Chinna Rao says “Dalits issues do not get coverage, Dalit problems needing immediate relief do not get highlighted, but falsehoods about having low IQ and low artistic capabilities do get published easily”.⁶ Further, he says, “The dearth of Dalit Journalists in the Indian media is worrying, particularly in the context of activist role adopted by the media”.⁷

The CSDS survey conducted in the 2006 was a reality of Indian media house, about how they produce media content in favour of the upper caste while neglecting and rejecting the narratives of the marginalized sections of the society. But even after a decade of the report publication, when we analyze the media content and the news coverage about the marginal community, it still remains to be the same. It is the upper echelons of media elites who still maintains the status quo of the Indian society in media houses. In this context, the research findings of this dissertation done through quantitative and qualitative content analysis of newspapers, reflects on the larger picture of the ground reality which hasn't seen much change or deviation from what CSDS report claimed.

⁶ Yagati Chinna Rao (2010) *Atrocities on Dalits and Media responses*. In Sikand and Mishra (ed) *India Mass media: Prejudices against Dalit and muslims*, Hope India publication. P-233

⁷ *Ibid*, p.234

After looking into all the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the functioning of the mainstream media, in contemporary perspective, we can say that, Public opinion is created by upper caste elites in the society through the ideological level with their own propaganda. Their opinion supposed to be 'preferred' views, results into influencing the understanding of common masses results into a deviation from reality.

However, it is important to note that media is a modern means of communication and thus it remains a vital instrument to bring social change. It's potential for social change can be seen in the Indian struggle for independence and more recently during Arab spring. In vast country like India, it has the potential to connect the society to the highest level of policy making. However, media in order to rise up to its fullest potential needs to shun-off its ideological bias and ensure inclusivity in the process of news making process. The wider dimension of media ownership and control also needs to be interrogated. Thus, it would not be too far-fetching to conclude with lines:

"It is never too late to give up our prejudices."

-----Henry David Thoreau.

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Appendix-1.Table-1.Dainik Jagran content analysis code book

Major News Items published in Dainik Jagran, Delhi Edition.

	BSP & Mayawati coverage in elections	Total Election coverage	Dalit issue	Dalit violence	Caste issues	BJP coverage in elections
1/2/17	2	6	-----	1	-----	2
2/2/17	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	2
3/2/17	1	5	-----	-----	1	1
4/2/17	-----	5	-----	1	-----	-----
5/2/17	-----	6	-----	-----	-----	1
6/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	4
7/2/17	-----	7	-----	-----	-----	3
8/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	1	4
9/2/17	-----	3	-----	-----	3	1
10/2/17	-----	10	-----	1	-----	1
11/2/17	-----	6	-----	1	1	7
12/2/17	-----	9	1	-----	-----	4
13/2/17	2	5	-----	-----	-----	3
14/2/17	-----	1	2	-----	2	2
15/2/17	-----	3	-----	-----	1	2
16/2/17	-----	3	-----	-----	1	4
17/2/17	-----	5	-----	-----	-----	3
18/2/17	1	4	-----	-----	1	2
19/2/17	-----	3	-----	-----	1	4
20/2/17	-----	5	-----	-----	-----	2
21/2/17	1	5	-----	-----	-----	2
22/2/17	1	8	-----	-----	1	2
23/2/17	-----	2	-----	-----	1	4
24/2/17	-----	9	-----	-----	-----	3
25/2/17	-----	8	-----	-----	1	2
26/2/17	-----	10	-----	-----	1	2
27/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	-----	2
28/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	2	-----
Total	8	146	3	4	18	69

Table-2-‘The Hindu’ content analysis code book

Major News Items published in The Hindu, Delhi Edition.

	BSP & Mayawati In elections	Total Election Coverage	Dalit issue	Dalit Violence	Caste issues	BJP coverage in elections
01/2/17	-----	1	-----	1	1	1
02/2/17	1	3	-----	-----	-----	1
03/2/17	-----	2	1	-----	-----	1
04/2/17	-----	5	1	-----	-----	1
05/2/17	-----	5	-----	-----	1	2
06/2/17	-----	5	-----	-----	1	2
07/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	1	-----
08/2/17	1	2	2	-----	1	-----
09/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
10/2/17	1	1	-----	-----	2	1
11/2/17	1	1	-----	-----	2	2
12/2/17	-----	5	1	-----	3	3
13/2/17	-----	4	-----	-----	2	2
14/2/17	1	5	1	-----	-----	2
15/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
16/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	1	1
17/2/17	-----	1	-----	1	2	1
18/2/17	1	4	-----	-----	1	-----
19/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
20/2/17	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	2
21/2/17	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	1
22/2/17	-----	5	-----	-----	1	1
23/2/17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
24/2/17	1	5	-----	-----	1	1
25/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----
26/2/17	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	1
27/2/17	2	5	-----	-----	1	2
28/2/17	1	3	-----	-----	-----	1
Total	10	72	6	2	25	29

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Figure-1



Figure 1: Media Ownership Pattern

Figure: 2



Figure 2: Dainik Bhasker Ownership Pattern

Figure 3



Figure 3: Network 18 Ownership Pattern

Figure: 4

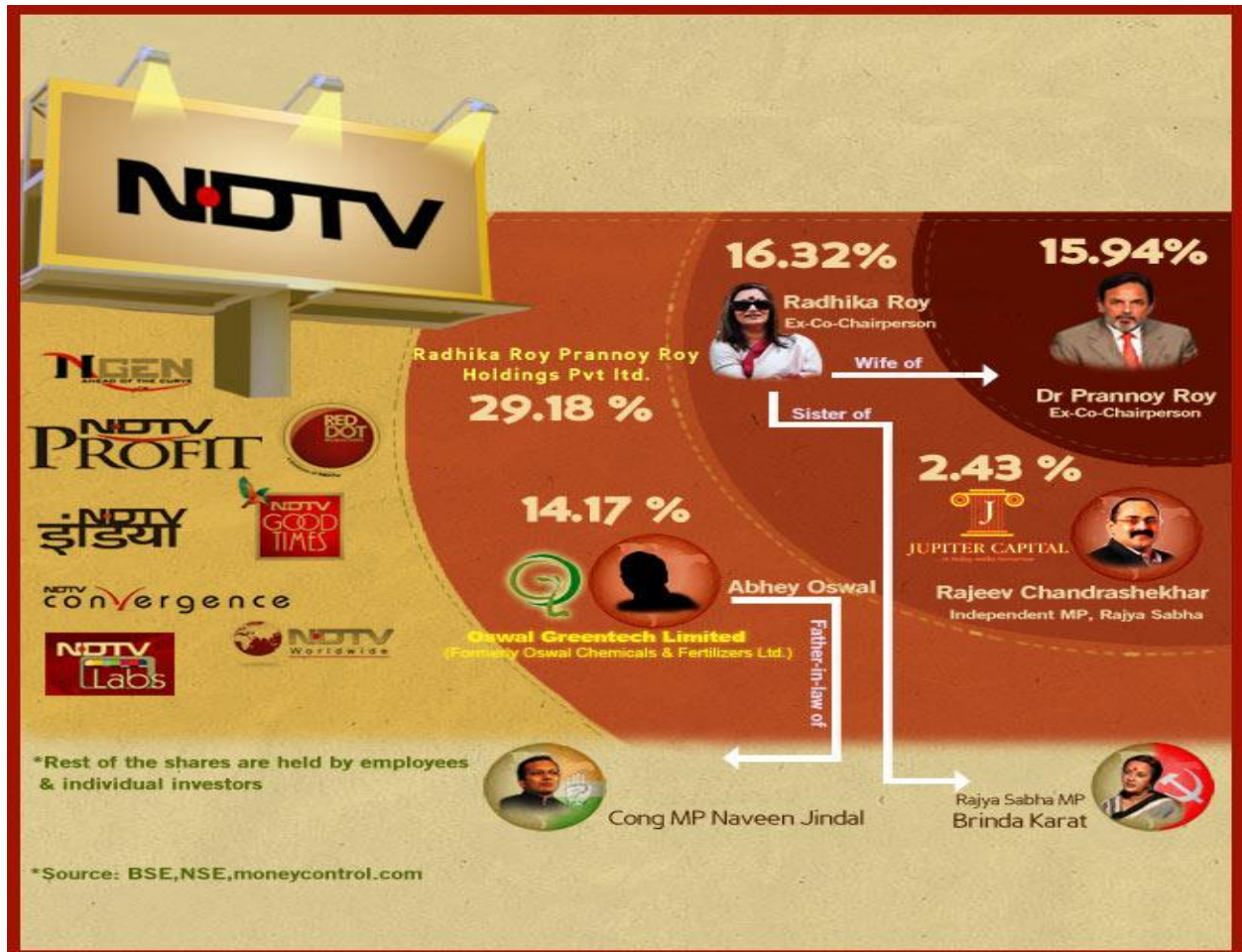


Figure 4: Ownership Pattern