Communication and Media Studies

An Indian Research Journal

ISSN 2395 -1559

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UGC APPROVED

Peer reviewed Research Journal devoted to
Communication and Media Research

Communication and Media Studies

An Indian Research Journal

Published by

contents

Editor's Note

EDITOR'S NOTE

The conceptual and methodological questions are very vital for any meaningful study of Communication. Those engaged in communication research, whatever may be their initiation and training, need to re-examine the relevance and appropriateness of the conceptual framework and methodologies they have been following in their investigations.

Do the Western models and methodologies which have influenced most research studies so far, really help in explaining and understanding of communication events, phenomena and processes in context of Indian society and culture? If not can we think of some new approaches to Communication research in India? Majority of the papers presented in this issue address such concerns. Though most researchers have adopted time tested methodologies devised by Communication scholars from the West, their efforts to re-phrase and re-design them to suit our conditions has to be lauded. We hope in the very near future communication research in India would be able to grow as a sound discipline and play its role in answering many questions from our own surroundings by following methods best suited to our society.

Dr. M. S. Harikumar
Chief Editor
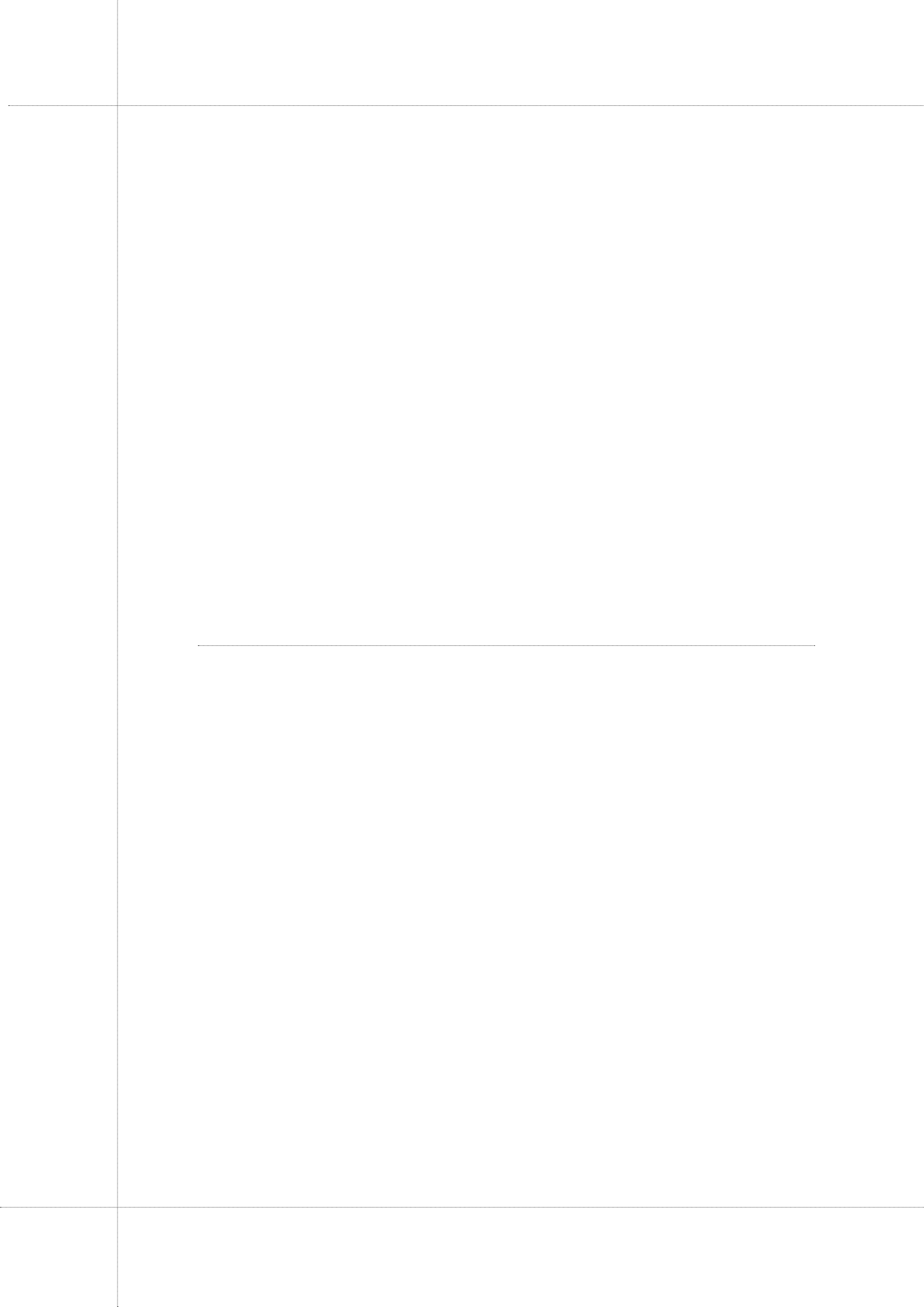
Communicating Environment through Documentary 'Mercury in the Mist'

■ **E. SURESH PAUL**[*]
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ABSTRACT

Environmental issues are gaining in importance. Indian documentaries on such issues contribute to create awareness through this powerful media. The documentary film titled 'Mercury in the Mist' by R.P. Amudhan promises to communicate and create awareness and sensitize the public by motivating and encouraging participation to bring about civic actions and social change. Using the theoretical framework of 'frame analysis' that includes diagnostic, prognostic and motivational perspectives, this film is analyzed as to how issues and concerns affecting the general population are addressed. From a diagnostic framing perspective, the film highlights the damage done to the misty Kodaikanal through disposal of mercury waste. In a prognostic framing perspective, the documentary focuses on the future consequences. The motivational framework instills a sense of immediate action that will result in protest discourse. This film asserts that if a solution is not sought, the consequences of environmental degradation will decide the future fate of our planet and lives.

*Keywords : **Documentary, Environmental Hazard, Communication, Framing, Mercury Waste***

Introduction

Protection and preservation of a pristine environment is the duty of every citizen. The fast growing industrial technology and the pace at which the Indian corporate sector is booming, environment is degraded. Natural resources are constantly exploited and the natural world is thus continuously affected by human activity.

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Waste disposal that mixes with the earth's surface and clean drinking water through various forms create health hazards. This paper deals with the issues relating to health, economics and politics which are addressed through the documentary film.

Documentaries have not always been a focus on academic research and hence the topic for the research is environmental documentary films. Audience gets involved in real issues. The documentary film 'Mercury in the Mist' focuses on the damage done to Kodaikanal, a hill station situated in the southern part of Tamil Nadu. The film highlights the damage done to this beautiful environment by the most hazardous metal, mercury. Exposure to mercury has damaged not only human beings but also the flora and fauna of the surrounding areas.

Documentary films are, as such, powerful visual media to educate the mass of general population and bring forth reality of contemporary issues affecting people. When several strategies adopted to bring about a solution to preserve the natural environment have not been very successful, this visual medium promises to focus the attention on people, government and policy-makers to the environmental threats and life safety issues that may play havoc to the very human existence.

Frame analysis, as a theoretical framework, tries to highlight these environmental concerns thereby bringing about awareness and sensitization so that a resistance and protest discourse is duly constructed. In this process, it is also analyzed as to whether documentary film as a medium of communication was able to bring about perceptible change in the minds of people so that they are seized of the issues in hand prompting them to act.

Review of Literature

Lamar (2013) suggests that the environmental documentaries bring about the desired change through the use of emotive imagery, through the transportation of the viewer into the narrative and through viewer identification with the character or characters involved. According to Gamson (1982), Snow et al. (1986), and Snow & Benford (1988), social movement scholars employ the verb "framing".

Goffman (1974) says that frames denoted "schemata of interpretation" that enabled individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large. It is, therefore, established that individuals recall their

own experiences when they watch these frames in a documentary or in a film. The life is situated and contextualized through these frames.

Snow & Benford (1988) were of the opinion that collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization. The legitimate activities and campaigns in a social movement are given a space in the frames. Collective action frames are, in fact, acting as a mobilizing agent in organizing the people into a movement.

To bring these movements into a frame, it requires a kind of sustained efforts by the film-makers. Mobilizing and organizing different individuals into a movement is a herculean task about which this film deals with.

The idea that the media provides audiences constructed versions of reality which have been central to communication, media, and cultural studies (Franzosi, 2013).

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

"To frame," Entman said in a definition that was to stick, "is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993: 52). Frames, then, define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest solutions.

According to Snow & Benford (1988), there are three core framing tasks. They are 'diagnostic framing' that deals with problem identification and its definition, 'prognostic framing' that concentrates on problem solution, and 'motivational framing' that focuses on argument of the definitions and solutions. Using framing analysis, the film 'Mercury in the Mist' is analyzed and especially the focus is on political influence, people's protest, agony and their decision-making attempts.

This paper takes a single documentary as primary and qualitative data for analysis using framing analysis as a methodology. The entire documentary running into approximately 18 minutes duration includes the interview bytes of industrial workers, trade union leaders and the parents of the deceased

members. The documentary is shot at in and around the factory location at Kodaikanal.

Analysis and Interpretation

India with a fast growing population faces some crucial environmental issues at various regions in various forms. Since it has become a major public concern today and since Tamil Nadu has also not been spared from this devastating and immeasurable destruction, this paper deals with the issues addressed through the documentary film. Though different innovative approaches through the print and visual media have created an impact, they have not always been successful.

Documentary films have come up on various themes and issues the world over. The focus for this paper is narrowed down to environmental concerns due to carelessly-treated industrial effluents in the state of Tamil Nadu, India, where several industrial developments have threatened a cleaner healthier atmosphere. And since most of the damage is done in particular sections of the land, only the people concerned voice out. But this ignorance will affect the future. Hence this medium will help communicate the issue in detail and further alert the public in other regions, of the looming similar threats to their part of the nation.

Kodaikanal, a beautiful tourist spot in south India, housed the most destructive thermometer factory run by Unilever's Indian subsidiary Hindustan Lever. Mercury containing waste and ground glass pieces have been littered in and around places. The place, established in 1845 by the British raj, is ideal to enjoy cool climate, clean environment, and a healthy atmosphere. Water as far as the distant city of Madurai has been contaminated. Though the factory was closed in 2001 after 18 years of operation, the environmental hazards including health hazards still affect a larger mass of people.

This particular paper concentrates on the documentary on this issue of Unilever's mercury contamination in Kodaikanal by documentary film-maker R.P. Amudhan

From a diagnostic framing perspective, the film highlights the damage done to the misty Kodaikanal and its population through disposal of mercury waste. Air and water-borne mercury contaminated this vast area including the lake harming the fish in the lake. The film 'Mercury in the Mist' throws light on this

crucial issue, political influence, people's protest, agony and their decision-making attempts. Several interviews of the affected people have been recorded and to make it more powerful several close-up shots and mid-shots have been used. Thus this emotive imagery is very effective. This is a major issue calling for immediate action. This framing highlights the corporate indifference to the society as shown in the film through the interviews of people who are affected. As a result of mercury dumping, many have lost their lives and many more have been handicapped. As understood from the interviews in the film, broken thermometer glass is ground till it becomes like sugar. When the glass is ground it flies around like flour contaminating the environment and causing pollution for years. These glass pieces not only harm the environment but also create physical wounds further causing itching on the skin. This corporate greed increases due to the society's negligence. The film hence will contribute to create environmental awareness. The society can be alerted against such foreign businesses which completely neglect the future of the Indian citizens. Although attracted towards income through jobs, our people will think before they join an organization if awareness is created. Such films will create awareness to the extent that the public comes together and refuses to take up jobs in such organizations which bring harm to them and their environment.

Although the company was shut down as a result of the people's protest it refuses to reclaim the dumped waste in the shola forest endangering many species. Pambar Shola is now absolutely polluted. Once released into the atmosphere, mercury can cause severe health hazards. The fatal damage done to the human being and the destructions done to a clean tourist place like Kodaikanal is clearly depicted. The various footages of the film portray emotional labourers affected by the factory that has caused health hazard issues. The film opens up with a shot which depicts a boy badly affected medically. Many scenes depict the bad health conditions of the labourers. Workers recall their poor health condition like leg sores, with puss oozing out. Skin allergy seems to be common as a result of exposure to mercury especially as seen in the film -- the people working in the factory's screening department seems to be affected the most.

In a prognostic framing perspective, the documentary focuses on the future consequences of such damage done to the environment. According to the film, even the doctors refuse to acknowledge the actual medical condition due to pressure from the factory management. Some workers talk about their bad dental

problems probably due to the contaminated water. No one from the company seems to help. Though the workers were keen to work for their livelihood they seem to be unaware of the consequences of working in a mercury factory. The film shows clearly that no precaution was carried out to protect the labourers at work. The family of the labourers seem to be affected equally. Inhaling mercury has caused damage to the womb of the women.

Children have ulcers on their tongue and suffer from chronic leg pain. The film also portrays various people visually narrating this horrendous experience where the teachers of schools seem to complain about the poor comprehending levels in children. Women complain about their health problems during menstruation besides their mental stress and memory loss. Most of the people from different age groups suffer dysfunction below the hip. Mercury also affects the central nervous system. It damages hearing, memory, speech and vision.

The motivational framework is clearly depicted through the visuals in the film which instil a sense of immediate action that will result in protest discourse. It identifies the various strategies adopted by the film-maker to mobilize a more effective solution to save the environment. It helps in persuading individuals directly and indirectly to fight for a cause and also influence governments to make laws in support of social demands. Strong factual images will be viewed at close quarters. It opens up to new reality encouraging more participants to protest. Documentaries have not always been a focus on academic research; hence the topic for the research is environmental documentary films. Environmental destruction is clearly explained and the various visuals in the film prove this. Such awareness through documentary films is essential to prevent any further damage done to any city in the future. Though the problems have aggravated in general throughout India to a great extent, such visual mediums are thought-provoking and they call for rapid action. Under this framing, legal and civic issues are concentrated upon. This will also motivate and encourage participation of a large number of people in bringing about a civic action and social change.

Conclusion

Documentary films like these will definitely aid in bringing about attitudinal changes in the public mind. The public demonstrates worry, fear and sense of insecurity for the future as seen in the various visuals. This film asserts that if a solution is

not sought, the consequences of environmental degradation will decide the future fate of our planet and lives.

It is, therefore, concluded that this kind of analysis will bring about clarity and awareness to the general public and the affected people on core issues that are raised in the documentary and this calls for attention from the government and the policy-makers.

As India is marching towards the superpower status, the main casualty would be the environment. As a fast developing nation there are many environmental issues to be addressed in a humane manner. Unfortunately in India, public awareness of the environmental concerns and existence of powerful and active environmental movements are lacking. The independent documentary film-makers with environmental commitments are contributing in their own way to serve as a bridge between the environmental issues and the people at large. The academic community in the area of research has not shown much interest about producing these kind of environmental films. This study tries to throw some light on the way in which the environment is being framed in a documentary so that the stakeholders will understand and appreciate the messages in a constructive and meaningful way.

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Media-Policy Agenda-Setting in the Context of Demonetization

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ABSTRACT

The `demonetization policy implemented by the central government of India has brought out a fair share of criticism and acclamation. It has divided the citizens of India in two groups, one in its favor and others against. It is in this context that this study "Media-policy agenda-setting in the context of demonetization" was conceived, to explore the linkage between media- policy agenda setting. For the purpose, the researcher analyzed 53 copies (from 9th November 2016 to 31st December 2016) of the Hindu and Malayala Manorama respectively.

The study also examined the thematic frames used by the selected dailies in reporting demonetization. All the news stories/ reports on demonetization were analyzed in terms of space and page allocated. A qualitative analysis was also carried out based on the thematic framing of news reports on demonetization.

Keywords : **Demonetization, media-policy agenda setting, salience, media framing**

Introduction

The role of mass media today has gone beyond mere dissemination of information towards public opinion formation. Ultimately, it offers an explanation of how decision -making process takes place in a democratic society. The mass media is said to have an indirect influence on policy agenda setting process in addition to their direct influence on the media-public agendas.

For decades mass communication scholars have tried to identify how the relative salience of an issue on the media agenda determines how the public agenda is formed and in turn influences

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policy agenda. This new paradigm of indirect media effects has not only directed communication researchers to study how media news coverage affected an issue salience in a democratic social system but also how public opinion formation occurred

The present study tries to determine the media- policy making relationship with particular reference to the demonetization initiative introduced by the Modi government. The study also tried to perceive how the salience given to the issue of demonetization in terms of coverage in the Hindu and Malayala Manorama respectively.

On 8th November, 2016 when Prime Minister *Narendra Modi*, in an unscheduled televised address to the nation declared that All 500 and 1000 banknotes of the Mahatma Gandhi Series ceased to be legal tender in India from 9th November onwards. A new phase of financial reforms was being introduced in to the Indian economy. The sudden announcement shocked the entire country and opened the floodgates of Facebook memes and WhatsApp jokes before making way for more serious discussions. The government had assured that the move will fetch billions of unaccounted money in to the formal banking system and clean India's economy from 'black money' and prevent the illegal financial transactions like Fake currency, Corruption and Money laundering. The move negated about 86 percent of the Rs. 15.44 lakh crores cash in circulation. The demonetization initiative brought out a fair share of criticism and acclamation and has divided the citizens of India in two groups, one in its favor and others against it.

Demonetization

Demonetization is the act of stripping a currency unit of its status as legal tender. It occurs whenever there is a change of national currency: The current form or forms of money is pulled from circulation and retired, often to be replaced with new notes or coins. There are numerous reasons why nations demonetize their local units of currency. The process of demonetization involves either introducing new notes or coins of the same currency or completely replacing the old currency with new currency (investopedia, n.d.).

Demonetization: A glance

Many countries have tried demonetization to restructure their economies. Singapore, Ghana, Myanmar, Soviet Union, Australia North Korea, Philippians, Pakistan and Zimbabwe tried demonetization initiative for various reasons.

Demonetization in India

In India demonetization has happened thrice. The first was on the 12th of January 1946 (Saturday), second on 16th of January 1978 (Monday) and the third was on 8th of November 2016(Tuesday).

In 1946 notes of denominations 1,000 and 10,000 rupees were withdrawn from circulation and new notes of denominations 1,000, 5,000 and 10,000 rupees were introduced in 1954. The government were giving attention to ways and means to check black market operations and tax evasion, which were known to have occurred on a considerable scale. (THE HISTORY OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA, 1935-1951,VOLUME-1) It was the first of its kind move that aimed to fight against black market money and tax evasions which have now assumed enormous proportions.

The story of second demonetization starts with an ordinance that was announced via All India Radio on 16 January 1978 at 9.am.The declaration stated that Janata Party coalition government decided to demonetize banknotes of denominations 1,000, 5,000 and 10,000 rupees with the notion of curbing counterfeit currency and black money. The Ordinance provided that all banks and government treasuries would be closed on 17 January 1978 for transaction of 'all business except the preparation and presentation or the receipt of returns' that were needed to be completed in the context of demonetization. This time public was given even lesser time of 3 days to exchange Rs 1000, Rs 5000 and Rs 10000 notes. (HISTORY OF RESERVE BANK OF INDIA. 1967-1981, VOLUME III)

The demonetization of denominations Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 banknotes was a policy decision carried out by the Government of India on 8th of November 2016. In the declaration, the use of denominations of all Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 banknotes of the Mahatma Gandhi Series would be invalid after the midnight of the same day, and was also announced that the new Rs. 500 and Rs. 2,000 banknotes of the Mahatma Gandhi New Series will be issued in exchange for the above mentioned old currency notes. The move by the government is defended as an attempt to eliminate a reasonable volume of currency notes which is in the circulation because of inflation.

Media Coverage on Demonetization

The media always plays a crucial role in the development of the society. It is the best tool to spread awareness about any change whether socially, politically or economically. It gives us insight

about what is happening around us. Thus media holds a pivotal role in making us aware about our rights, and in the formation of our opinions and attitudes toward certain issues

According to Linsky (1986) media coverage affects the ability of policy makers to get a policy successfully adopted and implemented. So policy makers attempt to get positive coverage for their policy initiatives. In short, policy makers pro -actively use media to further their own policy goals. Demonetization, being a suddenly implemented government policy was likely to impact every sector of our country. Following the declaration by the government on demonetization, all forms of Indian media; print, broadcast, digital or social media, were replete with news on it. There were many news stories along with visuals describing difficulties faced by public as a result of demonetization.

Though few of the news media reported on the negative aspects of demonetization, others supported demonetization by stating it as a 'surgical strike' against black money and as a bold and revolutionary move as in a single master stroke, the government has attempted to tackle all three malaises currently plaguing the economy—a parallel economy, counterfeit currency in circulation and financing terrorism. The media system in India tested almost every claim made by the government, checked the implementation of every new announcement, and reported from the remotest villages.

International Media and Demonetization

The Guardian, New York Times, BBC, and Bloomberg widely criticized the way In which the demonetization policy was implemented while Washington Post and Independent reacted in a positive manner. Forbes supported the policy in the initial stages and later disparaged the move as an immature one that is not a well-planned to meet the requirements of a country whose economy relies predominantly on cash.

Theoretical Framework

Agenda-Setting theory

At the core of the theory is the notion that mass media forms the primary interface between the public and the world around them. The agenda setting process is composed of the media agenda, the

public agenda, and policy agenda and the inter-relationships among these three elements. Social scientists examining this agenda-setting influence of the news media on the public usually have focused on public issues. The agenda of a news organization is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, an entire year. Over this period of time, whatever it might be, a few issues are emphasized, some receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned. Lippman (1922) in his book *public opinion* the first chapter of public opinion argued that the mass media and the principle connection between events in the world and the images of these events in our head.

Cohen (1963) observed that the press "may not be successful much of the tie in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. The world will look different to different people, depending on the map that is drawn for them by writers, editors and publishers of the paper they read. Cohen thus expressed the metaphor that lead to agenda-setting research, and its focus on the mass media. One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this phenomenon.

Later the theory of agenda setting was formulated by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw in their study *1968 American Presidential Election*.

Media-policy agenda- setting

Agenda -setting researchers often simply examines the effects of information flow from policy makers to citizen. Another perspective for agenda setting is that the key of media is to provide meaningful agenda setting, that is not only monitor social activity and provide surveillance of the sociopolitical environment, but also to focus attention on a useful agenda. Leading to a political or social reform. However **Kingdon (1984) considered agenda setting to be a narrowing of the sets of subjects that could occupy policy attention to the list on which attention is actually focused. Scholars of public agenda setting label this process as media framing**.

Media Framing

The framing theory was put forwarded by Erving Goffman, in his study, *Frame Analysis: an Essay on the organization of Experience.* He stated that people interpret what is going on around their world

through their primary framework. The "schemata of interpretation," which are labeled "frames," enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences or information (Goffman, 1974). For Goffman, 'the frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes' (He, 2010).

The most widely employed definition among current researchers in political communication is provided by Robert Entman: "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". (Entman, 1993). The process by which the media place reality into frame and the study of the process of framing is at the core of media analysis. **It is widely accepted that framing can have a significant influence on public attitudes toward important policy issues and on the application of policy issues directly. For a given issue, what frames are used by politicians, the media, and the voting public to communicate about it has an enormous influence in the success of a policy.**

A framing effect as a communication effect is not due to differences in what is being communicated, but, rather, it is caused by variations in how a given piece of information is presented in a public discourse. (Iyengar, 2011) .in other words, framing refers to the ways in which mass media organize and present issues and events, in terms of "patterns of presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion. And this will affect the perception of the audience to whom the news pieces are exposed. Framing in many ways is related to the Agenda setting theory. Both focus on how media draws the public's eye to particular cases. Thematic frames, political frame, economic frame, quality of life frame, capacity and resources frame, policy prescription and evaluation frames are some of the important frames used by the newspapers.

Objectives and Methodology

Objectives of the Study

- To determine the media- policy agenda setting linkage with respect to the coverage given by the selected dailies in terms of number of stories, space allotted, and page positioning.

- Media- policy linkage with special reference to the editorials of

both *The Hindu* and *Malayala Manorama* on demonetization

- To compare the differences in thematic framing of news reports on demonetization in the selected dailies.

Methodology

Content analysis of the selected dailies were carried for a given period of time. Thematic framing of the content was based on the following categorization.

- Policy Prescription and Evaluation Frame
- Capacity and Resources Frame
- Economic Frame
- Political Frame
- Quality of life Frame

Policy Prescription and Evaluation Frame

Policy prescription and evaluation frames are related to Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective (Amber E. Boydstun, 2013). The news stories related to the policy goals of demonetization and the related regulations and provisions implemented by the central government comes under this frame. The news stories that evaluate the effectiveness of the policy in fulfilling its policy goals are also categorized here.

Capacity and Resource Frame

Capacity and resources frames concentrates on the lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals. (Amber E. Boydstun, 2013)

News stories related to the functioning of banking sector with special reference to the demonetization and calibration of ATMs and the capacities of treasuries etc are discussed in this frame.

Economic Frame

Economic frames involves the costs, benefits, or monetary/ financial implications of the demonetization to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole. (Amber E. Boydstun,

2013) The demonetization policy is seen as a financial reform in the country that has both merits and demerits. Impact of demonetization on the economic stability as well as on the growth of the country, its financial implications on various sectors of the country

Political Frame

Political frames includes any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base, mentions of political maneuvering. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party. (Amber E. Boydstun, 2013)

Quality of Life Frame

Quality of life frame deals with the effects of a policy on individuals' wealth, mobility, access to

resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc. (Amber E. Boydstun, 2013) The news stories discussing how demonetization changed the lives of people. The difficulties experienced by the common people because of demonetization and all other possible positive and negative implications of demonetization on the common people is discussed in this frame.

Unit of Content Analysis

Any one news reports,editorials on demonetization. Photographs and cartoons are excluded from the study.

Sampling

The Hindu and *Malayala Manorama* were selected and subjected to both quantitative and qualitative content analysis with respect to news reports on demonetization. They were selected because *The Hindu* is the largest circulated national daily in Kerala and south India and *Malayala Manorama* is the largest circulated regional daily in Kerala. The study period was from November 9th 2016 to December 31st 2016. This period was decisively selected since it was during that time the controversy has occurred and got a wide media coverage**.**

Analysis and Findings

Page wise categorization of stories

Increased number of news stories shows the concern of the newspapers regarding the demonetization. The following Table discusses the number of stories that appeared in the selected newspapers during the study period.

Table 4.1: Page Wise Categorization of Stories

News stories	*The Hindu*	Malayala Manorama
Front page stories	94	152
Editorial page stories	19	72
Business page stories	70	25
Inner page stories	532	798
Total news stories	715	1047

From Table 4.1 it is clear that Malayala Manorama published most number of stories regarding demonetization when compared to the national daily *The Hindu*. Malayala Manorama published a total of 1047 stories during the period. It includes 152 front page stories, 72 editorials, 798 inner page stories and 110 photographs. With all these news items, the largest circulated Malayalam daily has communicated clearly about the demonetization policy and its after effects. These large number of stories shows the exceptional importance that Malayala Manorama had given to the policy implementation process. Though *The Hindu* falls just behind Malayala Manorama in terms of the number of stories appeared, it does not mean that *The Hindu* lacks in coverage when compared to the other. *The Hindu* extensively covered the demonetization. When the newspapers allow more than enough space to any particular issue, then the people will consider the issue, as prominent and sensitive. These dailies have published almost thousands of small and big stories related to the policy during the study period.

The inner page stories include the action statements, background matters, and opinions of academicians and other scholars. The editorial and op-ed page also consisted of special articles by experts form the fields concerned. One glaring difference between The Hindu and Malayala Manorama is in the count of stories appeared on the

editorial page. While Manorama had published 72 stories in their editorial page, The Hindu discussed the issue with 19 stories in their editorial and perspective page. But this difference in the count does not means that The Hindu gave less importance to demonetization

Space Allocation of Stories

Space allocation is an important aspect for any newspaper. When a newspaper gives space for an issue has a bigger impact in grabbing the attention of the reader. Space allocation is directly proportional to the importance given by the newspaper towards an issue. If an issue is regarded as significant, then the newspaper will provide a lot of space in covering various aspects of that issue. Space allocation in the front page, editorial page, etc is also determined by the prominence of the issue. The news items that get a major space in the first page will have something sensational. Moreover, the newspapers also give importance to front page photographs, cartoons, editorials and op-ed pages. The below Table reveals crucial understandings on the space allocation of the selected newspaper for reporting the demonetization.

Table 4.2: Space Allocation of Stories

Position	Space allocated in column cm(*The Hindu*)	Space allocated in cms Malayala Manorama	Percentage of space allotted in *The Hindu*	Percentage of space allotted in Malayala Manorama
Front page	8703 column cm	15844 column cm	9.04%	16.4%
Editorial page	2672 column cm	6560 column cm	2.81%	6.83%
Business Page	6914 column cm	2794 column cm	7.12%	2.90%
Inner page	74765 column cm	112646 column cm	4.31%	6.51%
All stories	93054 column cm	137844column cm	5.37%	7.96%

A total of 53 copies of the each newspaper constituted the sample. Each newspaper was analyzed on the basis of the number of stories and the space allocated to those stories. It is found that The Hindu allotted a total space of 93054 column cm for demonetization and Malayala Manorama allotted 137844column cm space during the study period. In front page, The Hindu has given 4.31% of total news items on inner pages. The editorial page occupied 2.81% of the total

space. 6.51% allotted to the inner page coverage of demonetization. Malayala Manorama has given a grant total of 5.37% stories about the issue during the time.

Malayala Manorama have covered 9.04% of news items regarding the demonetization in front page. The editorial page of Manorama had acquired 6.83% of its total. The inner page of Malayala Manorama grabbed 6.51% of its total. The grant total of the whole stories of the newspaper is 7.96% of *Malayala Manoram*a.

Malayala Manorama, the most reading newspaper in Kerala, has given prominence to the issue by giving a major space to the news in front page. It allotted a total space of 15844 column cm to the issue in first page. While The Hindu, allotted a total space of 8703 column cm in front page of the issue.

These huge amount of space indicates how widely both the newspapers covered the issue. It is to be noted that during the 53 days period, the demonetization policy and its related issues remained sensational and these newspaper never showed any decline in the space allocation for the news related to demonetization.

Editorial Page Analysis

A newspaper publishes its views on current events -- both local and national -- on its editorial page. Thus the editorial page is the most important page of a newspaper. An editorial is an unsigned article that presents the newspaper's opinion on an issue. It reflects the majority vote of the editorial board. *The Hindu* and Malayala Manorama deeply analyzed the demonetization in their editorial page and gave their clear opinions about it.

The largest selling Malayalam newspaper supported the policy by stating it as a strike against the black money. Though Manorama criticized the way in which it is being implemented, they welcomed the policy in an optimistic manner. They pointed out the inefficiency of the government in organizing such a big economic policy. At the same time *Malayala Manorama* provided detailed benefits of the policy by describing how it will affect the black money holders and how it will strengthen the country's economy.

Out of 78 stories, *Malayala Manorama* delivered seven editorials about demonetization. Among them two editorials appeared earlier days of demonetization and supported the demonetization policy while four editorials remained neutral. Malayala Manorama

had only one editorial that spoke against the demonetization. On the other hand, *The Hindu* published eight editorial that discussed the policy as a failure in fulfilling its goals. They published two editorial in a diplomatic manner. It is to be noted that only one of the editorial of *The Hindu* favored the demonetization policy and it was on November 10th of 2016. Concisely, *The Hindu* rated the demonetization as not favourable one while Malayala Manorama regarded as a favourable policy.

Moreover, *The Hindu* strongly questioned the effectiveness of demonetization and critically opposed the central government move to demonetize the currencies of high denominations. *The Hindu* explored how black money is handled in India and pointed that the demonetization cannot bring the black money in to formal banking sector. Moreover they severely criticized the inefficiency of the government machinery to meet the requirements of a sudden policy initiative. They widely discussed the shortage of new currency and the delay happened in calibrating ATMs for equipping the new notes. The national daily doubted the transparency of the policymakers while forcing such an important strategy. *The Hindu* questioned how some elite class got huge amount of newly printed currencies of 2000 and 500, while 90% of the people struggled with the cash shortage for their daily needs. In short, *The Hindu* stated that the strategy to demonetize was not well-executed one with little gain and more pain.

In the op-ed page of both newspapers, many special articles on demonetization, contributed by academicians and connoisseurs were published. *The Hindu* gave more prominence to special articles of acclaimed economic experts of the country and analyzed the policy more deeply than Malayala Manorama.

Framing Analysis

Policy Prescription and Evaluation Frame

Policy prescription and evaluation frames are related to Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective. This frame includes news stories that evaluated the demonetization policy and its effectiveness in fulfilling its goals such as to clean India's economy from 'black money' and prevent the illegal financial transactions like fake currency, corruption and Money laundering. Both dailies reported the merits and demerits of demonetization and its after effects in the short term span as well as

in the long run. Many of the news stories discussed how the policy fetch the huge amount of unaccounted money to the formal banking sector and makes the country more powerful in its economic aspects. At the same time, there were news stories stating that demonetization cannot bring any positive result in any sector of the country, whether economic, agricultural or any other fields. Moreover several news stories severely criticized the policy for creating unprecedented chaos in the whole country. Table shows the number of stories appeared in the policy prescription and evaluation frame.

Table 4.3: News Stories in Policy Prescription and Evaluation Frame

Newspaper	Front Page	Editorial Page	Inner Page	Total
The Hindu	19	15	211	245
Malayala Manorama	39	14	171	224

Table 4.3 disclose that among the selected dailies, The Hindu reported more news stories in the policy prescription and evaluation frame. It is in this frame The Hindu had most number of stories when compared to the other frames discussed earlier. The fact that 34% of the total stories published by the Hindu comes under this frame shows that the daily gave most important consideration to this frame. Out of 245 total news stories, *The Hindu* published 211 news stories on their inner pages. 19 news stories were appeared on the front page while the editorial pages contained only 15 stories.

Malayala Manorama also gave huge prominence to policy evaluation and prescription framing and published 224 news stories. This number is below the number of stories published by *Malayala Manorama* in political frame and economic frame respectively. Malayala Manorama published 171 news stories on their inner pages. That means their inner pages shows huge prominence for policy prescription and evaluation framing.

One important difference between the selected dailies is in the number of news stories appearing on the front pages. Although The Hindu had the most number of stories, it was Malayala Manorama which published most number of front page stories. Malayala Manorama published 39 front page stories while The Hindu only managed to publish 19 stories on their front page. The Hindu and Malayala Manorama published 15 and 14 news stories respectively on their editorial pages.

Another glaring difference in the framing of news stories on the editorial pages of The Hindu is that while the daily published negligible number of news stories in other frames, they had 14 news stories on the editorial page. It is to be noted that The Hindu published a total of 19 news stories on their editorial pages during the whole study period. In other words 94% of total editorial page news stories were framed in policy prescription and evaluation frame. That means The Hindu considered this frame as the most important one.

A deeper analysis of the news stories reveals that *Malayala Manorama* fairly supported the policy by publishing more news stories in a positive manner towards the policy. The daily also had news stories that projected the undesirable aspects of the policy while some news stories appeared in a neutral manner. Altogether, The Hindu maintained a diplomatic attitude towards the policy and hence most of the stories oriented in neutral manner. At the same *time The Hindu* widely pointed out the negative aspects especially in their editorial page. But they were more diplomatic on their inner pages where the most number of stories appeared.

Capacity and Resources Frame

Capacity and resources frames concentrates on the lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals of demonetization. The measures taken by the government and reserve bank to calibrate ATMs all over the country, the capacity of banking sector in implementing demonetization. The impact on treasuries capacity and the lack and capacity. How the currency printing press functioned during the application of demonetization comes under the capacity and resource frame

Table 4.4 News stories in Capacity and Resource Frame

Newspaper	Front page	Editorial page	Inner page	Total
The Hindu	18	1	100	119
Malayala Manorama	25	11	152	188

Table 4.4 proves that both selected dailies broadly discussed the capacity of the resources of the current system in implementing the demonetization policy. *The Hindu* had 100 inner page stories in capacity and resource framing and published 18 front page news

stories .*The Hindu* discussed only one news story under this category of frame. At the same time *Malayala Manorama* published 11 news stories on their editorial pages which in turn indicates the regional daily gave more prominence to capacity and resource frames than the national daily on their editorial pages. In the case of inner page, both dailies gave huge importance for capacity and resources frames

In this frame, *The Hindu* published more news stories in a positive manner towards the policy. The Hindu published news stories discussing the actions taken by the government and the reserve bank in equipping the current system to meet the requirement of the proposed policy. They also criticized the lack of capacity and resources in combating with the demonetization.

In the case of *Malayala Manorama,* they followed an opposite trend of *The Hindu.* They published more stories complaining the inefficiency of the capacity of banks, ATMs, and other resources on upgrading their systems according to the policy

Economic Frame

Economic frames involves the costs, benefits, or monetary/ financial implications of the demonetization to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole. The demonetization policy is seen as a financial reform in the country that has both merits and demerits. The impact of this demonetization on the economy was high primarily because, the demonetized currency represented 86.5 per cent of the total currency in circulation. Central government decided to cancel the legal tender of Rs.500 and Rs.1000 notes in a bid to curb and eliminate black money and counterfeiting, which is also likely to impact the macro economic variables in the country. (Digital transactions) GDP will be also impacted as consumption will fall and Indirect tax collection may be lower.(positive trends) The below Table shows the trends in the usage of economic frames by the selected dailies.

Table 4.5: News Stories in Economic Frame

Newspaper	Front page	Editorial page	Inner page	Total
The Hindu	10	2	96	108
Malayala Manorama	20	17	207	237

The above statistics gives the difference in the economic frames used by *The Hindu* and *Malayala Manorama. Malayala Manorama* gave more news stories in economical frame when compared to *The Hindu*. Out of 1047 stories, Malayala Manorama published 237 news stories in economic frame. The percentage of economic frame appeared in the regional daily is 23% while *The Hindu* wrote 108 stories that comprise 15% of the total stories.

There is a huge difference in the way these two selected dailies framed the news stories ion their editorial page. With a total of 17 stories in editorial page, *Malayala Manorama* widely discussed the economic impact of the demonetization. At the same time *The Hindu* debated the economic implications of demonetization with just two stories. The lesser number of stories in editorial page does not imply that *The Hindu* diminished the significance of economic framing in covering the demonetization. The published stories were very rich in content and discussed in detail the aftereffects of the policy.

Both dailies maintained same proportion in framing front page stories that are related to economic matters. In terms of percentage proportion, The Hindu and Malayala Manorama gave 10% of their total stories on their front pages. Concisely, both dailies explored the policy to inform the people about the economic inferences of demonetization.

The Hindu and Malayala Manorama widely pointed out the negative consequence of the economic sector as a result of demonetization such as instability of the economic sector, decrease in the economic growth. There were news stories explaining the possible acceleration that can be initiated by demonetization to the economic growth of the country.

Political Frame

This frame consists of explicit statements from different political parties on whether demonetization is good or bad, protests and supports given by those politically affiliated groups. The below Table displays the number of news stories that appeared in political frame.

Table 4.6: News Stories in Political Frame

Newspaper	Front page	Editorial page	Inner page	Total
The Hindu	19	1	133	153
Malayala Manorama	28	10	199	237

Political frame discussed the reactions and attitudes of various political parties of the country. It mainly includes the responses of Left Democratic Front (LDF), United Democratic Front (UDF) and other opposition parties. The frame also discussed the support given by other political parties such as BJP, BDJS towards demonetization.

A series of protests were organized by both LDF and UDF to criticize central government's lack of planning by projecting the difficulties of the common people. The trade unions and other politically affiliated unions also organized protests against demonetization.

From Table 4.6, it is clear that both selected dailies published a lot of politically oriented news stories. *The Hindu and Malayala Manorama* widely covered all the political actions related to the demonetization policy and its implementation. The newspapers published number of action statements, articles, and quotations from different political leaders. Malayala Manorama gave more prominence to 237 politically framed stories. Moreover the regional daily gave a good amount of space to politically framed stories on the front page as well as on the editorial page. They had 28 front page stories and 10 editorial page stories that come under this catogory. In the case of *The Hindu,* they placed 19 front page stories and 133 inner page stories with an aggregate total of 153 news stories within political frames.

One major difference in the political frame of the selected dailies is that while Malayala Manorama found space for political framing in their editorial page by publishing 10 news stories, *The Hindu* gave only one news story of the same

Quality of Life frame

Quality of life framing deals with the effects of demonetization on individuals' wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life etc. News stories regarding the difficulties experienced by the common people because of demonetization comes under this category. The demonetization resulted a drastic cash shortage and as a result serpentine queues were formed in front of the ATMs and banks to exchange the old notes and receive the new ones for their daily needs. Lot of inconveniences were experienced while making banking procedure .Even though the transactions were done without any problems, the people found it is impossible to withdraw the

cash form ATM. Imposition of withdrawal limits resulted in severe contraction in money supply and the consequential long wait for cash made the life more miserable. People died while having a long wait in the queues and cash shortage made it almost impossible to organize marriage functions. Cash shortage in the banks and treasuries also had its effect in the salary payment and hence the people failed to receive their monthly salary. There were instances in which some common people committed suicide because of cash shortage. The life of bank employees become more miserable due to the over work. At the same time Cashiers and bankers got due respect in society and appreciated for their duty commitment. Common People, traders all others tried to combat with the currency shortage. Some traders started digital payment by enabling Paytm feature in their shops.

Coo-paisa introduced in Thenjippalam panchayath of Malappuram district got wide appreciation in battling against the hardships of demonetization. Whole these incidents were widely reported by the selected dailies and Table below shows the number of stories in the quality of life frames

Table 4.7: News Stories in Quality of Life Frame

Newspaper	Front page	Editorial page	Inner page	Total
The Hindu	5	0	61	66
Malayala Manorama	28	15	94	137

Table 4.7 disclose that *Malayala Manorama* was very intense in reporting demonetization with quality of life frames. While *Malayala Manorama* published 137 total stories in this frame, The Hindu had a total of 66 stories. The difference shows that *Malayala Manorama* gave more importance to quality of life framing than *The Hindu*.

The Hindu does not published only a single news story on their editorial page that comes under this category. At the same time, Malayala Manorama had 15 editorial page stories in quality of life frame. This further proves that *Malayala Manorama* discussed more news stories in this frame than the national daily. The same trend was followed on the front page of the selected dailies. The Hindu had 5 news stories on their front pages whereas Malayala Manorama had 28 news stories.

Discussion

The Hindu and Malayala Manorama widely covered all the positive and negative aspects of the policy and hence published numerous news stories on Demonetization. The Hindu allotted special pages named 'Money Exchange' and 'Cash Crunch' to discuss the after effects of Demonetization while Malayala Manorama called their special pages related to the coverage of Demonetization as 'Notu Vishesham. This allocation of special pages further proves the exceptional significance given by the selected dailies in reporting Demonetization.

Two days after Demonetization, The Hindu published an editorial that fairly supported the policy by stating that policies such as Demonetization should be implemented in a sudden manner to have its maximum effect. The Hindu called the move as a bold one since a huge amount of unaccounted money prevails in India. The national daily supported the policy by asserting the fact that while there will be discomfort and confusion in short term for common people and the economy, a disruptive measure was perhaps the only way to shake up the system to a new compliance normal. At the same time, The Hindu pointed that no poor person is to be saddled with old, useless notes due to the lack of official identity documents or a bank account, and the older citizens should not be forced to visit a bank repeatedly to exchange high-value notes. To fulfill the policy goals, The Hindu pointed out the importance of checking black money parked in benami properties, the only editorial that supported Demonetization. The daily also provided enough information on how the proposed policy affect the parallel economy that has a strong roots in India. Then The Hindu started questioning the way Demonetization was implemented. Though a certain degree of pain and disruption is unavoidable, The Hindu indicated that preparation was lacking and these chaos could have been managed better than it has been. The delay in the arrival of new currency and in the calibration of ATMs were widely criticized. As the cash crunch and sufferings of the people continued, the national daily carried out an in depth analysis on the effectiveness of the Demonetization by publishing articles contributed by economic experts. Exactly after one week of Demonetization, The Hindu published articles directly opposite in perspective to the earlier editorial. 'Policy watch' column of The Hindu was equipped with a serious article titled as 'artificially created distress' written by Utsa Patnaik (professor emeritus, JNU

Delhi). The article termed Demonetization as a drastic one with no adequate preparations. The article complained that severe monetary implications was implemented without ensuring sufficient supply of new currencies.

"*To prevent further damage to the economy and to relieve distress, Demonetization should be revoked immediately*"

The Hindu, Nov-16, Policy Watch column

The Hindu said that Demonetization cannot wipe black money from the country since the denomination of 500 and 1000 notes has nothing to do with the presence of black money. It is mainly because lion share of total black money are not held in hoards of notes but is a circulation of unrecorded and undeclared incomes. Most of the articles published on the perspective page of The Hindu pointed out that unaccounted money by Indians is held in the form of foreign bank accounts and the present scheme can do nothing about it. This suggest that unaccounted money is not held as Rs.500 or Rs.1, 000 notes and the move is pretty much useless. While regarded Demonetization as a useless policy, The Hindu emphasized the need of a policy that checks the generation of black incomes at source. The national daily stated that such a policy requires the Central government to step in and legislate all transactions in gold and property through banks. The Hindu further condemned the credibility of the policy by saying that even as the common man gets in line for fifty days of pain, the affluent have found innovative ways to launder their hoard of cash. They substantiated this argument by indicating the reported spurt in deposits in Jan Dhan accounts. As these accounts mostly belong to persons with low incomes, and often had a zero balance, it suggests that these deposits may be black income being distributed among many agents. The debate was whether the benefits of Demonetization outweighs the short-term difficulties, The Hindu opined that there would be no long term benefits for the Demonetization

When the central government proposed that the real aim of Demonetization was a cashless society where digital payments are the preferred mode of transaction, The Hindu ruthlessly demolished the argument. The Hindu called the concept of cashless society as impractical in a country like India where only 40% of the total population have bank accounts. Moreover The Hindu opined that if cashless society was the aim of the government, then Demonetization need not be implemented and such aim should be achieved with other means.

The national daily doubted the transparency of the policymakers while implementing in haste such an important policy. The Hindu questioned how some elite class got huge amounts of newly printed currencies of 2000 and 500, while 90% of the people struggled with the cash shortage for their daily needs. It was the rural sector of the country which was worst impacted by Demonetization because they maintained a cash- oriented economy for their daily needs. The cash shortage and inadequate banking as well as ATM facilities made the lives of the rural society more miserable

On the other hand Malayala Manorama, especially in the initial days of Demonetization widely welcomed the move and appreciated the central government for showing courage to battle against the prevailing parallel economy of the country. Malayala Manorama regarded the move as a surgical strike against the black money holders and as a continuation of central governments fight against the money launders. Malayala Manorama emphasized the possible boom in electronic transaction all over the country. And they stated that this kind of E-transactions further improve the economic strength of the country. In the very next day of the Demonetization, Malayala Manorama published a total of 16 news stories on their editorial page and 12 of them was showed huge support towards the policy. Since there is no scope for tax evasion in digital transaction, Malayala Manorama regarded the Demonetization as one of the best way to implement proper collection of taxes from the people. So this will increase the revenue of the country which in turn can be used for the development of the country.

The regional daily further supported Demonetization by disclosing the statistics that only 2.89% of the total Indian citizen pay correct income taxes and Demonetization forced all the Indians to disclose their exact wealth and to pay the proportionate taxes which they managed not to pay. This again increases the revenue of the country. Malayala Manorama went to the extent of saying that Demonetization will uplift the image of India globally.

September 30, 2016 was the deadline given by the central government for the black money holders to reveal their real wealth and to pay exact amount of tax. By citing this fact, Manorama regarded the policy as a logical and effective measure in fetching huge amount of unaccounted money in to formal banking sector. Central government's decision to link bank accounts with Aadhar and introduction of Jan Dhan accounts were termed as an initial moves that are related with Demonetization that aims at a 'clean' economy.

Form this it is clear that both newspapers reported the policy agenda very broadly. But the framing of these news stories by the selected dailies showed a notable difference.

Malayala Manorama gave most importance to the political and economic aspects of Demonetization while The Hindu gave more in depth analysis on Demonetization. The Hindu reliably evaluated the Demonetization and convincingly revealed the merits and demerits of the policy. While the Hindu widely opposed Demonetization on their editorial pages, their inner pages were more diplomatic towards the policy. At the same time Malayala Manorama concentrated more to report the after effects of Demonetization in the economy both in micro and macro level and the hardships faced by common people.

Although The Hindu strongly opposed Demonetization, they gave more prominence to inform the people about the capacity of the current system and financial resources to overcome the difficulties .The national daily carefully informed the people on how to exchange their cash and how the resources of our countries are equipped to meet the requirements of the policy. It is true that The Hindu criticized the policy as not a well -executed one. They welcomed all the regulations brought in to the resources to equip with the Demonetization.

The researcher found that although Malayala Manorama published the most number of stories on Demonetization, The Hindu was more critical and provided in-depth analysis of the same. Moreover The Hindu broadly analyzed the policy on their business pages, Malayala Manorama gave a little prominence for Demonetization on their business pages. While Malayala Manorama almost equally mentioned the positive and negative aspects of Demonetization, The Hindu inclined more to the adverse effects of Demonetization on our economy. Surprisingly Malayala Manorama showed more negative bias in its politically framed stories whereas The Hindu indicated greater bias in Policy Prescription and Evaluation frame.

It is important to look out what had happened after the 50 days (December 31, 2016). Whether the cash crunch and other chaos stopped and black money was wiped out completely, whether counterfeit currency and financing for terror has been ceased effectively and India become a cashless society in all means. The whole country eagerly waited for the crucial address of Prime Minister Narendra Modi after the 50 days of Demonetization. But the address unveiled a number of relief packages for farmers, women and for senior citizens. PM did not mention how the Demonetization

helped to curb black money and counterfeit currency. All the national and local dailies widely reported all the relief packages of the government in a positive manner. But they also questioned the silence of Narendra Modi on the effectiveness of Demonetization on black money and cashless society.

Amidst all the debates supporting and opposing the Demonetization, there is a decisive revelation by the Reserve Bank of India in their annual report. On page 195 of this year's Reserve Bank of India (RBI) annual report stated that notes worth 15.28tn rupees ($242bn) had been deposited in banks up to 30 June. This means that almost 99% of the "demonetized" money was deposited into banks. Hence, almost all the black money held in the form of cash obviously made it back into the banks and wasn't really destroyed, as had been hoped.

Economic experts explained this by stating that most of the people who had black money used other people, who did not have unaccounted money, to deposit their savings into the banking system for them. In other words the black market widely used poor people accounts such as Jan Dhan accounts to convert their black money to white.

Result

- Data analysis of the study indicated that there is a crucial linkage between media agenda and policy agenda.
- The editorials of The Hindu disagreed on the policy of demonetization where editorials of Malayala Manorma maintained a positive behavior towards the policy
- The Hindu stressed on policy prescription and evaluation frame whereas Malayala Manorama gave more focused on political and economic frame.

Conclusion

The study concludes by finding that both the selected dailies, The Hindu and Malayala Manorama widely covered Demonetization. Both dailies extensively discussed the merits and demerits of Demonetization. They provided exceptional space to report Demonetization related incidents. The Hindu discussed various aspects of Demonetization more intensely and in depth manner than Malayala Manorama. Increased number of stories in

the Malayala Manorama does not implies that Manorama covered the Demonetization more widely than The Hindu. In fact Malayala Manorama were superficial in evaluating the Demonetization policy.

Qualitative analysis revealed that both selected dailies widely reported Demonetization in political frame. Malayala Manorama gave equal prominence for political frame and economic frame by publishing same number of stories in these frame. The Hindu gave remarkable significance for the policy evaluation framing of stories. In short, media played vital role in informing the Demonetization and its various aspects to their readers.

Demonetization is still an ongoing issue with many unpredictable implications affecting the entire nation. What make the policy more complex is that its outcome cannot be completely judged at present. Only the future can decide the fate of Demonetization policy.

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Impacts of New Media Technologies on Documentary Audience:
A study in the Indian Context

■ **Dr. ABDURAOOF AHMED ISMAIL***

ABSTRACT

*S*ince the arrival of film in India immediately after its invention in Europe, a category of audience has been devotedly attached to a specialized genre of the medium-documentary. Inherently associated with reality, the medium has been in use for imparting information and education mainly by governmental agencies. Independent directors, most of them activist filmmakers, also made documentaries as part of propagating their ideologies. Until a decade ago, documentary production and dissemination were difficult tasks for these filmmakers mainly because of the huge cost involved with the entire process. At the same time, accessing documentaries was also not easy for the audience because of its limited availability. With the advent of new media technologies, documentary production has gone cheaper on the one hand, while on the other dissemination of films has become easier and hassle free. In this context, this study investigates what is new about how audience receive documentaries, what new preferences new media has created for them and how far it fulfills audience-gratification.

Keywords : **New Media, Technology, Documentary Production, Computer-mediated Communication, Digital Technologies**

Introduction

Amajor revolution in the field of communication is taking place in every part of the world. The possibilities of digital technologies are redefining every kind of human communication and relation. In India too, we are witnessing a massive change in the field of communication. The growth of mass media and computer-mediated communication in the country has been tremendous in recent years, especially after the globalization and post-liberalization policies. The role mass communication in social development has been proven crucial in developing countries where empowerment of certain sections of

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the society cannot be achieved without the dissemination of proper information and minimizing the digital divide. The medium of film has been in use both by government sector and independent filmmakers to inform and educate the masses since the very beginning days of the arrival of this medium in the country. Even though there are shortcomings, the medium of documentary has been rigorously used by various government departments and independent filmmakers throughout this period.

It can be seen that at every instance of technological development, the medium of documentary has adopted it to yield better results by capturing, packaging and presenting reality in a better way, both aesthetically and technically. In India, this is evident especially after the video revolution of the 1980s when a young generation of filmmakers experimented with the newly introduced camcorders in order to capture realities of the socio historical world. The next wave of documentary revolution which started in the last decade with the advent of developments in digital communication is now creating far-reaching impacts not only in the field of documentary production but also in its dissemination and reach. A noticeable outcome of new media revolution is the democratizations of its creation, distribution and consumption.

"Films including documentary have always taken advantages of the developments in new technologies. Documentary has always responded, in an often dynamic fashion, to the possibilities afforded by new technologies (Hight, 2008)." One of these impacts, indeed, is on the reception of documentary films. New media technologies are involved not only in the documentary production process, but also in its reception. Audience now can access documentaries of their choice through different social media platforms using a variety of new media devices thanks to the advancement in digital technologies. Audience's exposure to documentaries, until a few years ago, was confined to a limited number of documentary screenings conducted during film festivals organized mainly by governmental bodies. Exclusive documentary screenings still continue to be a rare event in the country, though in states such as Kerala, a few film societies are now organizing regular documentary/short film festivals. (This too, should be viewed as a result of development in new media as it is the digital technologies which made possible the easy availability of documentary films. Right from the organizational arrangements, dissemination of the film and duplication of media text to its screening-everything is digital.) Almost until a decade ago, we see audience searching for a mass media form-in this case, documentary films-and finding it difficult to access and filmmakers striving for the

screening of their films. Now documentaries are everywhere. "On the one hand, the demand for visual production of every kind is increasing with new opportunities and platforms for creativity. Secondly, the emergence of new tools and open mind-sets is giving the story tellers the means to realize their wildest dreams" (Ohanian, 2000). The production process has become broader thanks to the digital platforms which have ushered in more direct forms of participation from the audience whose role was hitherto be considered as 'passive'. Audience's engagement with the documentary film has witnessed a remarkable shift as their involvement is not merely limited to 'watch' the media text. They are now engaged in a variety of online activities and habits including, but not limited to, sharing it, commenting on it and giving feedback to the filmmaker. This shift in the audience-behaviour can be rightly attributed to the revolution in new media technologies.

On the one hand, the new media is facilitating increased availability of documentary films for the audience, while on the other, it serves as a platform for filmmakers to reach out to their audience for the dissemination and marketing of the media texts. Thus, it can be seen that new media is functioning not only as an independent medium of communication between the audience and filmmakers but also a channel for sharing the media text, thereby enhancing the reach of documentaries. In this context, it is worthwhile to make an attempt to examine the impacts of new media technologies on the reach of documentary films and its effects on the preferences, habits and activities of documentary audience in the Indian context. It is also important to develop an understanding of the gratification the audience seek by watching documentaries, whether the new media is beneficial in fulfilling those needs and in what way the documentary audience benefit by new media technologies.

Previous research

On the academic front, only a handful of studies have been undertaken in the area of new media's impact on documentary films in the Indian context. Some studies focus on the documentary content while some others stress on film language, aesthetics etc., most studies done in the Indian context are pertaining to activist/political documentaries. For example, the study conducted at Hyderabad University tilted *Narratives of developments: A Critical Analysis of Alternative Documentaries in India*, stresses on the need for possibility of wider screening of alternative documentaries as the film makers are aware of the fact that their works are not viewed by sufficient

number of audience. It also points to the lack of organized distribution networks of Indian alternative documentaries (Mulugundam, 2002). Another study, *Oppression: Indian Independent Political Documentaries and the Ongoing Struggle for Viewership*, explores the government regulations on independent political documentaries in India. The study points out that "the domination of government on the Indian film industry has caused problems in funding for independent political documentaries" (Fischer, 2009). It also predicted that independent political documentary filmmakers would benefit from the reduced cost of digital filmmaking in the 'near future' resulting in an increase in the number of films produced.

Another study titled *The Video Turn: Documentary Film Practices in 1980s India* focusing on the documentary filmmaking technology in India and its historical transformations in the wake of video revolution of 1980 points out that the place of video technology in giving documentary practices a new turn in the Indian scenario (Battaglia, 2014). The study finds that the video technology caused new media practices throughout the country paving the way for alternative documentary production and distribution in which NGOs, media and student organizations played a pivotal role. The video technology "contributed to the enlargement of new media practices across the country… enabled filmmakers to free their filmmaking practices from state supervision". Video technology enabled film makers to reach out to the public at a more grassroots level, according to the study.

D'Souza, in the study titled *An Exploration of Reception of Political Documentary Film Among Young Mumbaikers in India* identifies lack of information and opportunities to access documentaries as one of the main obstacles in the reception of political documentary films in India (D'Souza, 2012). According to the study, young urban audience believe that internet would serve as the most viable medium to access documentary films.

Some available studies on cinema censorship in India discuss the issue of censorship in the age of new media. The study, Cinema *Censorship in the Age of Digital Communication in India,* for example, highlights the moral basis of film censorship in India in the context of changing public moral and social patterns, and the ongoing digital communication revolution (Pradhan, 2008).

Some studies conducted outside the country have their focus on the impacts of digital technologies on documentary film production practices. For example, the study *New Media Documentary: Explorations in the Changing Form, Theory and Practice of Documentary*, besides proposing a database model for documentary, maintains that new media technologies force filmmakers to rethink

the nature of the documentary form and to present new ideas to the audience (Hartwig, 2001). Yet another study tiled *Business innovation and new media practices in documentary film production and distribution: conceptual frame work and review of evidence*, found considerable scope for innovation in business practices and business models in documentary films, yet maintained that these innovations were not wide spread. The study also predicts new innovations in documentary distributions such as online distribution, D-cinema and DVD packaging and releases offers which will bring in vital scope in distribution and additional revenues for documentary film makers (Vladica, 2009). The study *New forms of documentary – Filmmaking within new media*, identifies some institutions that directly support new media documentary productions. Institutions like NFB have their own website through which we can reach new media documentary projects (Ocak, 2012). Some institutions like 'France 24' offer annual documentary prize for best documentaries. International Documentary Film Festival of Amsterdam (IDFA) contains a separate section for new media documentaries. This is called 'doclab' which has a separate website working as a nodal point where numerous new media documentary projects can be accessed. According to the study, new media documentaries serve as a new mode of storytelling for those who are born into new media. The study maintains that the conventional linear mode of storytelling will coexist along with nonlinear, new media mode documentary film making (Ocak, 2012).

Research Questions and Objectives

The study is envisaged based on the following research questions:

- RQ1. Has the new media impacted upon the reach of Indian documentaries?

- RQ2. Has the new media been beneficial for the documentary audience? If yes, what are these benefits?

- RQ4. What types of gadgets and software are preferred by the audience to access and view documentaries?

- RQ5. Does the unique feature of interactivity of new media influence the audience in selecting a documentary?

- RQ6. Which are the most preferred genres of documentary for the Indian audience?

The general objective of the study was to assess the influence of new media technologies on the documentary audience. Specifically it also attempted to assess the impact of new media on the reach of

documentary films; to assess the audience's documentary viewing habits; to understand audience preferences; and to analyze how and why the audience use new media to access documentaries.

Methodology

This study employs quantitative analysis to investigate the impact of new media on the audience of documentary films in India. For collection of data on the documentary audience belonging to different strata, a questionnaire-based survey was used. Responses were gathered in a five-point Likert-Scale. Primary data is collected in terms of frequency and scores to extract information.

Population and Sample

Study population consisted of documentary audience from all strata spread across various demographic segments of the country. Samples were drawn from a population of documentary watchers who are members of various film societies which are active in organizing documentary and short film festivals. Samples were also drawn from film and media students who are doing their bachelors, masters and research degrees in various institutions spread across the country. Reliability and validity tests were conducted in a small group of 25 respondents. As the pre-test yielded high reliability and validity, the questionnaire survey was conducted in a larger sample.

For sampling, both random and non-random techniques were employed. Three active film societies having membership from across the country were considered for drawing sample. One of them provided a list of 252 members while the remaining two provided 391 and 312 members respectively. Thus, a total of 955 members were made available. To ensure the randomness of the sample, every third member from each of the list was chosen which yielded a total of 318 film society members altogether for conducting the survey. Twelve academic institutions offering film and media courses from different areas of the country were then randomly chosen to draw a further sample which consisted only of students. Thus, 720 students doing bachelors and masters courses and 25 research scholars were identified. A total number of 745 from the student community was thus obtained. As part of ensuring randomness, 160 graduate/masters students and 18 research scholars were randomly chosen through their academic advisors and project supervisors. These processes yielded a total of 496 samples (318 film society members and 178 students) from a population of 1700 which consisted of 955 film society members and 745 film or/and media students and research scholars. Questionnaires were then distributed among these 496 samples from which 434 usable and non-faulty filled-up forms were returned.

Study Variables

The following variables are employed in quantitative survey to accomplish the objectives:

In order to identify the preferences of documentary genre, variables included are political, developmental, cultural, educational and environmental documentaries.

In order to identify the preferences of watching documentaries, variables included are film festivals, private screenings, TV channels, and new media. In order to identify the preferences of type of gadgets used to access documentaries, the variables employed are smart TV, smart phone, I-pad/Tab, Laptop, and Desktop. YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp., were used to assess the preference in using social media networks to access documentaries.

Other variables used to examine the objectives include frequency of reading viewer comments on documentaries uploaded on social media; frequency of sharing documentaries uploaded by other viewers; and frequency of giving feedback to the filmmaker through new media. The survey also employed other variables in the questionnaire to measure the response in a five point rating scale. These are listed below:

Comparative duration of spending time with new media gadgets for gathering information; comparative duration of spending time with new media gadgets for watching documentaries; change in number of documentaries being watched during the last three years; new media being the most important reason for the increase in the number of documentaries being watched; influence of viewer comment in the selection of documentaries; influence of the number of likes, comments and shares in selecting a documentary; influence of digital technology in accessing documentaries and availability of internet-based platforms for dissemination of documentaries.

Study Instrument

The survey employed a questionnaire as the instrument to understand the impacts of new media technologies on the documentary film audience. The survey instrument contained close-ended questions which were quantitative in nature. The questionnaire contained three parts. While the first part measured demographic details such as gender, age, geographical location and educational qualification etc., the second part focused on ranking questions to understand audience preferences. Questions in the third part were designed in a five-point scale (Likert Sacle) to assess the effects of new media

technologies on the audience preferences and documentary viewing as well to find out how they utilize the new media technologies as far as documentaries are concerned.

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the questionnaire survey was fed to Microsoft Excel 2010 before exporting to SPSS 20.00 for analysis, based on the study objectives. The data collected were tabulated and percentages, weighted arithmetic mean and standard deviation were mainly used for discussion. The percentage was considered for getting the proportion of respondents to the total sample of the study. This was calculated as frequency of a particular group multiplied by 100 and then dividing it by either the total number of respondents of a particular category or the total number of respondents.

Findings

Descriptives

Among the 434 participants surveyed, 59.7% were males and the 40.3% were females. The highest number of respondents belonged to 18-28 years age group comprising of 43.1%. This is followed by 29-39 age group (29.0%), 40-50 age group (17.0 %), 51-60 years of age group (8.10%) and above 60- age group (2.8%) respectively. Respondents at graduate level of education constitute the highest number (42.4%) in terms of educational qualification. 95.6% of the respondents are highly educated at graduate, post graduate and research levels. Among the audiences, students constituted 39.9%. 41.47% were from suburban areas while 39.63% and 18.89% of the respondents belonged to urban and rural areas respectively. 44.0% of the respondents watch films only occasionally while a considerable percentage of 41.0% watch frequently and 10.14% watch very frequently.

It was also found that 26.73% of the total respondents have been watching documentaries for a period of 1-3 years, 21.66% for a period of 3-5 years and 20.28% for a more than 10 years. Those who watch documentaries for a period of 5-10 years are 17.05% while 14.29% of the respondents are into documentary film viewing for less than a year. Most of those who watch documentaries for over a period of 10 years fall under the age group of 51-60 years (65.71%) which is followed by the 40-50 age group (55.41%) and above-60 age group (50.00%). Majority of the male respondents have been watching documentaries for over 10 years (31.27%) while majority of females are into watching documentaries for 1-3 years (48.57%). In terms of place of living, most of those who have been watching

documentary for over 10 years are those from urban area (23.84%) followed by those from suburban areas (20.56%). (See Table 1)

Of particular interest was to find out to what extend the audience relay on documentary/short film festivals to access documentaries in the wake of new media revolution. It was found that 57.14% of the respondents have never participated in any documentary film festivals (See Table 2). The audience view documentaries mainly through new media as a considerable percentage of the respondents have access to new media gadgets. 92.17% of the respondents have access to laptops, 94.70% possess smart phones, 52.53% have access to tabs, and 75.58% have access to desktop. The study also aimed at understanding the pattern of use of new media gadgets by the audience for accessing documentaries. 15.44% of the respondents frequently use mobile phones to access documentaries while 47.24% use it occasionally. New media/social media was ranked first as the favourite mode of watching documentaries (Mean= 2.05, SD=1.10) (See Table 3).

Laptop was ranked first as the most preferred gadget for watching documentaries online (Mean=2.09, SD=1.38) which was immediately followed by smart phone ((Mean=2.64, SD=1.37) and Tab (Mean=3.07, SD=1.46). 84.13% of the respondents spend more time with new media gadgets than TV sets for the purpose of watching documentaries.

Yet another focus of the study was to find out whether the new media facilitates increased availability of documentaries. 89% of the respondents reveal that there is an increase in the number of documentaries they watch in the last three years and attribute its reason to the increased availability to new media. They were also asked the reasons for preferring new media to film festivals. 85% of the respondents find that the cheapest and most convenient way to access documentaries is through online. 95.39% also find new media technologies facilitate the access of their favourite documentaries. 87.33% of the respondents have consensus that more internet-based platforms are now available for the dissemination of Indian documentaries. Majority of the respondents (95.50%) also feel that digital technologies help them to access documentaries of their choice.

The study also aimed at finding out why people watch documentaries and whether new media has been helpful in gratifying those needs. It was found that the most important reason for watching documentaries for majority of respondents is the fact that documentaries are the best modes of representing reality. The second most important reason is that documentaries can support the life-long

learning process. Regarding whether the new media has been helpful in achieving these needs, it was found that 78.60% of the audience feel that new media technologies enable documentaries to have increased truthfulness, thus fulfilling the gratifications sought.

The study also looked into the audience preferences in terms of documentary genres, social media platforms, type of gadgets, duration of documentary for online watching, and mode of accessing of documentaries. It was found that cultural documentary was ranked first by majority of the audience which was immediately followed by educational documentaries. Most of the respondents ranked YouTube as the most preferred social media site for accessing documentaries online. It is followed by Facebook and WhatsApp respectively (See Table 4). Irrespective of the difference in age, gender, educational level and location, majority of the respondents ranked 10-20 minutes as their most preferred duration of a documentary film when they watch it online. Of the 434 respondents 63.13% prefer 10-20 minutes of duration to be most convenient for watching documentaries online while 21.66% opine that the most preferred duration is less than 10 minutes (See Table 5). Majority of respondents prefer to access documentaries by downloading and watching it at their own convenience. It was found that the preferred mode of accessing documentaries for 72.58% of respondents is 'download and watch' later. This is almost three times more than those who prefer live streaming (See Tables 6).

The study also looked at how do the audience use new media for documentary related activities apart from watching it. It was found that a considerable percentage of the audience devote time to read viewer comments and share documentaries online. 49.77% of the audience occasionally read viewer comments while 20.28% share documentaries frequently. It was also found that 49.80% share documentaries occasionally. Another noted online activity is in giving feedback to filmmakers. 32.72% of the audience give feedback occasionally to the filmmaker. (See Tables 7, 8, & 9)

The study also investigated whether the audience are influenced by the viewer comments and number of shares to select a documentary for watching. It was revealed that majority of the respondents are influenced by the comment of other viewers uploaded in the social media in watching a documentary. 53.00% of respondents agree to this variable while 10.14% of them strongly agree. Similarly, majority of the respondents find that the number of likes, comments and shares influences them in selecting documentary films to watch. 54.84% of the respondents agree to this variable while 9.22% of them strongly agree. (See Table 10 & 11).

Table: 1. Duration of watching documentaries

Charact-eristics	<1 yrs	%	1-3 yrs	%	3-5 yrs	%	5-10 yrs	%	>10 yrs	%	Total
Age groups											
18-28 yrs	48	25.67	99	52.94	31	16.58	7	3.74	2	1.07	187
29-39 yrs	3	2.38	6	4.76	54	42.86	47	37.30	16	12.70	126
40-50 yrs	7	9.46	5	6.76	6	8.11	15	20.27	41	55.41	74
51-60 yrs	1	2.86	4	11.43	3	8.57	4	11.43	23	65.71	35
Above 60 yrs	3	25.00	2	16.67	0	0.00	1	8.33	6	50.00	12
Gender											
Male	19	7.34	31	11.97	65	25.10	63	24.32	81	31.27	259
Female	43	24.57	85	48.57	29	16.57	11	6.29	7	4.00	175
Education level											
Inter-mediate	7	36.84	7	36.84	3	15.79	0	0.00	2	10.53	19
Graduate	37	20.11	65	35.33	57	30.98	9	4.89	16	8.70	184
Post-graduate	13	8.84	30	20.41	23	15.65	35	23.81	46	31.29	147
MPhil/ PhD	5	5.95	14	16.67	11	13.10	30	35.71	24	28.57	84
Place of living											
Urban	22	12.79	43	25.00	26	15.12	40	23.26	41	23.84	172
Sub-urban	14	7.78	44	24.44	55	30.56	30	16.67	37	20.56	180
Rural	26	31.71	29	35.37	13	15.85	4	4.88	10	12.20	82
Total	62	14.29	116	26.73	94	21.66	74	17.05	88	20.28	434

Table: 2. Film festival participation of respondents

Characteristics	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Gender					
Male	152	58.69	107	41.31	259
Female	34	19.43	141	80.57	175
Total	**186**	**42.86**	**248**	**57.14**	**434**

Table: 3. Mode of accessing documentaries

Characteristics	Film festivals		Private screenings		TV channels		New media /Social media		Others	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age groups										
18-28 yrs	3.16	1.13	3.27	1.03	2.21	1.12	1.93	1.15	4.86	0.59
29-39 yrs	1.84	1.32	3.52	0.90	2.75	0.79	2.17	0.93	4.92	0.48
40-50 yrs	2.66	1.46	3.20	1.02	2.59	0.99	2.08	1.22	4.93	0.48
51-60 yrs	2.31	1.37	3.86	1.17	2.37	0.91	2.17	1.12	4.74	0.44
Above 60 yrs	2.08	1.51	3.58	0.90	2.42	0.79	2.25	1.22	4.83	0.39
Gender										
Male	2.20	1.39	3.36	1.04	2.66	0.84	2.12	1.07	4.90	0.46
Female	3.17	1.17	3.43	0.97	2.14	1.16	1.96	1.14	4.85	0.61
Total	2.59	1.39	3.39	1.02	2.45	1.01	2.05	1.10	4.88	0.53

Table: 4. Preference of social media form to watch documentary

Chara-cteristics	YouTube		Facebook		Twitter		WhatsApp		Others	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age groups										
18-28 yrs	1.53	1.09	2.55	0.96	3.82	0.82	2.70	1.04	4.95	0.28
29-39 yrs	1.33	0.79	2.44	0.73	3.84	0.60	2.79	1.09	4.91	0.57
40-50 yrs	1.31	0.89	2.46	0.94	3.89	0.93	3.22	1.04	4.93	0.30
51-60 yrs	1.23	0.84	2.40	0.81	3.83	0.79	3.17	0.79	4.86	0.69
Above 60 yrs	1.42	0.90	2.08	1.00	3.67	0.65	3.33	0.98	5.00	0.00
Gender										
Male	1.32	0.81	2.41	0.76	3.84	0.73	2.91	1.04	4.92	0.48
Female	1.55	1.12	2.58	1.03	3.83	0.83	2.81	1.07	4.95	0.33
Total	1.41	0.96	2.48	0.88	3.84	0.77	2.87	1.05	4.93	0.42

Table: 5. Preference in length of documentaries for watching it online

Characteristics	<10 mts	%	10-20 mts	%	20-30 mts	%	Others	%	Total
Age groups									
18-28 yrs	61	32.62	94	50.27	31	16.58	1	0.53	187
29-39 yrs	13	10.32	99	78.57	13	10.32	1	0.79	126
40-50 yrs	14	18.92	47	63.51	11	14.86	2	2.70	74
51-60 yrs	5	14.29	25	71.43	4	11.43	1	2.86	35
Above 60 yrs	1	8.33	9	75.00	2	16.67	0	0.00	12
Gender									
Male	30	11.58	191	73.75	34	13.13	4	1.54	259
Female	64	36.57	83	47.43	27	15.43	1	0.57	175
Total	**94**	**21.66**	**274**	**63.13**	**61**	**14.06**	**5**	**1.15**	**434**

Table: 6. Mode of accessing documentaries online

Characteristics	On the go	%	Download & watch offline	%	I don't access	%	Total
Gender							
Male	66	25.48	188	72.59	5	1.93	259
Female	32	18.29	127	72.57	16	9.14	175
Total	**98**	**22.58**	**315**	**72.58**	**21**	**4.84**	**434**

Table: 7. Frequency of reading viewer comments on documentaries on social media

Characteristics	Very frequently	%	Frequently	%	Occasionally	%	Rarely	%	Never	%	Total
Gender											
Male	45	17.37	46	17.76	143	55.21	20	7.72	5	1.93	259
Female	6	3.43	20	11.43	73	41.71	62	35.43	14	8.00	175
Total	**51**	**11.75**	**66**	**15.21**	**216**	**49.77**	**82**	**18.89**	**19**	**4.38**	**434**

Table: 8. Frequency of sharing documentaries online

Charact-eristics	Very freq-uently	%	Freq-uently	%	Occa-sionally	%	Rarely	%	Never	%	Total
Gender											
Male	13	5.02	68	26.25	150	57.92	25	9.65	3	1.16	259
Female	6	3.43	19	10.86	66	37.71	63	36.00	21	12.00	175
Total	**19**	**4.38**	**87**	**20.05**	**216**	**49.77**	**88**	**20.28**	**24**	**5.53**	**434**

Table: 9. Frequency of using new media to give feedback to filmmakers

Chara-cteristics	Very freq-uently	%	Freq-uently	%	Occa-sionally	%	Rarely	%	Never	%	Total
Gender											
Male	3	1.16	15	5.79	121	46.72	92	35.52	28	10.81	259
Female	0	0.00	9	5.14	21	12.00	78	44.57	67	38.29	175
Total	**3**	**0.69**	**24**	**5.53**	**142**	**32.72**	**170**	**39.17**	**95**	**21.89**	**434**

Table: 10. Influence of viewer comments in watching documentaries

Chara-cteristics	Strongly disagree	%	Disagree	%	No opinion	%	Agree	%	Strongly agree	%	Total
Gender											
Male	2	0.77	58	22.39	36	13.90	136	52.51	27	10.42	259
Female	4	2.29	19	10.86	41	23.43	94	53.71	17	9.71	175
Total	**6**	**1.38**	**77**	**17.74**	**77**	**17.74**	**230**	**53.00**	**44**	**10.14**	**434**

Table: 11. Influence of likes, shares and comments in selecting documentaries

Chara-cteristics	Strongly disagree	%	Dis-agree	%	No opinion	%	Agree	%	Strongly agree	%	Total
Gender											
Male	11	4.25	51	19.69	28	10.81	147	56.76	22	8.49	259
Female	1	0.57	20	11.43	45	25.71	91	52.00	18	10.29	175
Total	**12**	**2.76**	**71**	**16.36**	**73**	**16.82**	**238**	**54.84**	**40**	**9.22**	**434**

Discussion and Conclusion

The study attempted to explore the effects of new media technologies on the reach of documentary films in the Indian context. It also tried to find out new media impact on documentary audience preferences and habits besides exploring the benefits that the audience derive from new media technologies. While doing so, the study also attempted to seek answers to questions such as what are the gratification audience seek while watching documentaries, do they find new media helpful in fulfilling these gratifications, what genres of documentaries do they prefer, does the new media serve as a channel of communication with filmmakers as well as with fellow audience groups, and how far new media features influence audience in selecting a documentary to watch.

The findings of this study confirm that the new media has enhanced the reach of Indian documentaries and created new preferences and habits among documentary viewers. Documentary viewers are a specialized category of film audience. Globally, it has less number of devoted audience than feature films have. It is clear from this study that majority of audience are watching it for just 1-3 years. Amongst them, majority fall under the age of group of 18-28 (the youngest category), female and rural dwellers. The reason for these groups watching more documentaries in a short period of time is attributed to the increased availability of documentary films through new media which indicates the increased reach and penetration of documentaries facilitated by digital media technologies. It should also be noted that majority of the respondents (57.14%) have not participated as delegates in any documentary/short film festival while new media/social media remain the most preferred mode of accessing documentaries for them. The study also proves that majority of the respondents, irrespective of gender spend more time with new media gadgets than with traditional TV sets for the purpose of accessing documentaries. This is true among all age groups except the above-60 category. While watching documentaries online, majority do not prefer live streaming. Instead, they prefer to download and watch it at their own convenience. The reveals that the respondents ranked YouTube as the most preferred social media site for accessing documentaries online in all age groups. It is followed by Facebook and WhatsApp respectively. The same ranking holds good in all other categorization namely gender, education and place of living/ geographical location.

Another interesting feature developed out of new media is in the preference in the length of documentary films. The analysis re-

veals that irrespective of the difference in age, gender, educational level, occupation and location, majority of the respondents ranked 10-20 minutes as their most preferred duration of a documentary film when they watch it online-a vital piece of information for filmmakers who intend to disseminate it online. The most important reason for watching documentaries for majority of respondents is the fact that documentaries are the best modes of representing realities. The second most important reason is that documentaries can support the life-long learning process. Almost all definitions of documentary stress that the medium of is inherently bound to two concepts: reality and education. This fact has been reinforced from the current study.

Regarding the genre of documentaries, the analysis shows that cultural documentary was ranked first and educational documentary was ranked second. It should also be seen that political documentary does not figure at the top in the list of preferred genre for majority of the audience despite its increased online dissemination.

There is adequate evidence of new media creating new routines which include commenting on and sharing of documentaries online. Audience members are also influenced by the number of likes and shares as well as the content of comments in selecting or omitting a documentary to watch. Audience also make use of the new media for giving feedback to the filmmakers thus creating and maintaining a relationship with them. Thus new media serves as a channel of communication between the audience and the auteur.

The study shows that the new media technologies have been instrumental in enhancing the reach of documentary films in the country. It also indicates that the audience are benefitted by way of increased availability of films through online. New media also has caused comparatively easier availability of documentaries of audience-choice than it used to be in the past. New media also serves as the cheapest and most convenient way of accessing documentaries. Audience also find it beneficial as it offers a more relaxed and personal viewing experience. Besides serving as a medium of communication among the audience as well as with the filmmakers, new media enable audience to share films thus enhancing the reach of documentary films.

New media has democratized film production including documentary filmmaking. Everyone today can be a filmmaker not only because of the affordability of filmmaking gadgets but also the increased film literacy brought in by the social media platforms. In the absence of a prior study addressing this issue in the Indian context, the findings of the present study offer a modest idea into the oppor-

tunities and challenges that can be addressed by documentary film-makers in meeting the audience needs and expectations.

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Feminist Sensitivity in Satyajit Ray's films

■ **Dr. LAKSHMI PRADEEP***

ABSTRACT

Ray's portrayal of women and women centric issues in his films is a journey of celebration of true feminism. Satyajit Ray embarked on a series of women centred films in which he traced with remarkable feminist sensitivity and historical insight the troublesome *yatra* or journey the trapped Bengali/Indian woman had to make under the patriarchal gazes. The protagonists of Ray's earlier films (Apu trilogy) have been men. The female protagonists are shadows to their men. They do not live by their own free will. But his later three films *Mahanagar* (1963), *Charulata* (1964), *Kapurush O Mahapurush* (1965) portray a concern for women not as a shadow of man, but as an individual; reflecting the assertiveness of women. In *Mahanagar* she finds and keeps her economic independence in her employment. *Charulata* speaks up for her right to love and be loved. Ray gives a subtle message on the intellectual needs of woman, the urge for freedom to love, her right for companionship from her spouse, not mere loyalty and fidelity alone.

*Keywords : **Feminist sensitivity, Patriarchal gaze, Visual pleasure, Transformative power, Assertiveness of women***

Introduction

Legends never die; their voices echo in the corridors of time forever. Revisiting the world of Satyajit Ray twenty five years after he passed away in 1992 gives us the perspective to see how his iconic works continue to remain relevant in our postmodern

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society. His films still retain the spark to rekindle old passions. In his films Ray has always focused on social issues and emphasized the importance of placing the 'have nots' at the centre of our concern (Pradeep, 2015). Ray is among a select group of sixteen global icons who have been recognized by the United Nations for their contribution to the common good of mankind and their support for the most vulnerable and marginalised. The exhibition at the UN featured artists from around the world who stood up for the most vulnerable. The transformative power of art is both a challenge and a miracle of human creativity that can be translated into a common language of artistic inspiration. (Niyogi, 2015).

Celebration of Feminism

Ray's portrayal of women and women centric issues in his films is a celebration of true feminism. An exploration of Ray's portrayal of the feminine identity is a journey depicting his empathy. The women characters in Satyajit Ray's films are not perfect women of unquestioned and unquestioning virtue and this one quality makes his wide range of women. This was a filmmaker who understood his women characters and his characterization went far beyond any cursory lip service. His female characters were not competing, but walking abreast, with their male counterparts. This is all the more notable when comparatively evaluating the position of women in contemporary Indian cinema, where women are routinely presented as an object of male desire and potential possession. As Laura Mulvey (1999) said in her seminal article 'visual pleasure and narrative cinema'; in their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed for strong visual and erotic impact. Narrative film is made for the pleasure of the male spectator alone, who seeks to control and indirectly possess the female figure through the male gaze.

Satyajit Ray embarked on a series of women centred films in which he traced with remarkable feminist sensitivity and historical insight the troublesome yatra or journey the trapped Bengali/ Indian woman had to make under the patriarchal gazes and threat of a conspicuously Bengali/Indian masculinity (Cooper,2000).

The protagonists of Ray's earlier films have been men. In Apu trilogy Sarbhajaya (Apu's mother) is heroic in her husband's

absence, in Apur Sansar, Aparna (Apu's wife) becomes for a while the centre of Apu's existence. Nonetheless they are shadows to their men. They do not live by their own free will. The wife in Parash Pathar finds joy or sorrow in accordance with her husband's action. Devi depicts her as a plaything, an object of psychological tussle between father and son, a sacrificial victim.

But his later three films Mahanagar (1963), Charulata (1964), Kapurush O Mahapurush (1965) portray a concern for women not as a shadow of man, but as an individual; reflecting the assertiveness of women. Charulata speaks up for her right to love and be loved. In Mahanagar she finds and keeps her economic independence in her employment. Kapurush O Mahapurush reflects the failure of the female protagonist to find either. She initially gets both but eventually loses it (Dasgupta, 2001). The versatile Madhabi Mukherjee plays the lead role in all three films.

Mahanagar portrays a woman who awakens to the possibility of determining the course of her own life. Typically the awakening touch comes from the husband, for men have traditionally liberated just as they have enslaved women. And traditionally too they have retracted when they have seen the consequences of their actions. It is the husband who suggests to his somewhat timid wife the possibility of her working for a while due to financial difficulties. Aarti rises to the challenge and makes a success of her job. It is her own sense of independence that gives her the strength to resign when her Anglo Indian friend, Edith is eased out by her boss with a show of contemptuous disapproval of the supposed immorality of all girls of that community. Edith is a victim of racism and race and gender are intrinsically linked (Chakrabarti, 2009). Mahanagar boldly brings together two women from two different communities and Aparna makes the supreme sacrifice for her friend. As an essay on the emergence of the new woman in India, Mahanagar is a work of a very subtle and delicate perception, guided by a fine sense of identity with the female protagonist. The ending suggests a surge of optimism, that with all their gentle charm, traditional Indian women have a great deal of strength and resilience and can cope better with change than men. Ray seems to have learnt this from his exploration of Aarti's mind and the unraveling of her behavior prepares him for his next venture deeper into that territory in Charulata.

Charulata, his Masterpiece

Ray's masterpiece was Charulata (The lonely wife). Based on a novel with autobiographical elements by Rabindranath Tagore 'Nastanirh' (The broken home). The story of Charulata is set in 1879, at a time when the Bengal renaissance is nearing its peak and ruffling the age old calm of a feudal society. In Charulata, Ray finds the embodiment of the Indian woman poised between tradition and modernity.

Here Ray looks closely at women, her rights, her position, and her changing attitudes and aspirations in a society in transition. The story of Charulata revolves around Charu- a lonely, intelligent, literary and cultured woman. Her emotions are analysed strand by strand. At times she is pulled in opposite directions, towards her husband, her lover. Ray gives a subtle message on the intellectual needs of woman, the urge for freedom to love, her right for companionship from her spouse, not mere loyalty and fidelity alone. In his short story Nastanirh Tagore writes that Bhupati, "the husband had the usual notion that the right to one's own wife's affection does not have to be acquired. The light of her love shines automatically, without fuel, and never goes out in the wind" (Dasgupta, 2001, p.83).

'Calm without, fire within'

Charulata's husband, the suited, bearded Bhupati, is inspired by the gospels of Mill and Bentham, by ideas of freedom and equality. But the winds of change are not only stirring him; unknown to herself, his good wife, conveniently childless is no longer capable of treading the beaten path of the ideal wife who wants nothing of life but her husband's happiness. She longs for his company, yet she is denied. Later she is drawn into a relationship with his cousin Amal. Ray had misgivings about the subject while making the film. How would society take this transgression? But Ray's triumph came in the form of the enormous critical and box office success of the film. One was not surprised either by the Catholic award at Berlin for a film on a woman's movement towards adultery, or the sight of old women coming out of the theatre wiping their tears. The secret of their identification lay

in the state of innocence of the characters caught in the web of forces greater than themselves. It is in their awakening that their tragedy lies. Amal, Charu and Bhupati wake up as it were into the twentieth century, the age of self-consciousness. Ray's "Calm without, fire within" concept of eastern art is most serene outside and smoulders most inside Charu herself (Dasgupta, 2001). She is the only one of the three who has no crisis of conscience. Bhupati feels guilty for not having devoted enough time for her; Amal realizes that he was about to betray the trust of his cousin and beats a hasty retreat. Charu alone never turns back on her passion. In her reconciliation with her husband there is no sense of guilt, only a recognition of reality.

Each of Ray's films is an exploration of human relationships where he tries to portray the inner feelings of women, their passion, agony and suffering; with tenderness, understanding, humour and irony.

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Canons of Heteropatriarchy on the Screen: While Rereading *Mumbai Police*

■ **PARVATHI CHANDRAN**[*]

ABSTRACT

Gender is a cataloguing tool and operates as a determinant of socio political positioning. It is high time to reread the gender specificity and its socio cultural implications proposed by the popular Malayalam cinema. Homo and hetero sociality have been widely used in Cinema of Malayalam but, it allots a very little space to discuss on alternative sexuality and transgender identity. Rather, the cinema of Malayalam is blindly obliged to the norms of the heteropatriarchy and goes in hand with the ideology of the capital forces. This article reviews how Mumbai Police, a popular fiction having gay subtext redefines the notions of heterosexuality and gender essentialism in its cinematic space in accordance with the patriarchal sensibility.

Keywords : **Gender, transgender, queer, identity, patriarchy, transsexuality, homosociality, cultural normativity, heteropartiarchy**

Introduction

In cinema of Malayalam, critical attention on gender representation is mainly focused on objectification of female body and its multitudes. The discourses on gender identity and sexuality are habitually addressed by captivating female body as a visual trope. Critical acclamations on gay, lesbian and transsexual relations and its representations have received a little attention in the cinematic space of Malayalam as the periodicity of such visual depictions are rare when compared to the other aesthetic nuances put forth on the Malayalam cine screen from the very beginning itself. Both the art house and the popular cinema experiments preserve a 'representational apartheid' towards the questions which discuss on homosexuality

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and the like. Though the fundamental premise for the political social cultural emotional and intellectual magnitudes of transgender identity have been acquired multidimensional vicissitudes worldwide, the perceptibility of the Malayalam cine screen has not attempted to break the traditional shackles. On the other hand, delineation of homo and hetero sociality has become a widely solidified thematic substance in Malayalam cinema, especially in the popular narratives. Hence, it is instrumental to reread the gender essentialism and its socio cultural implications proposed by the popular Malayalam crime thriller *Mumbai Police.* Moreover, it is indispensable to scrutinize how the nexus between gender and homosociality is made use an agenda to vindicate the missing threads in the plot and how the notion of homosexuality is redefined. This is an attempt to point out the play of patriarchal sensibility which leads to fortify the acceptability of the norms of heterosexism by figuringout the protagonist in *Mumbai Police*, a young gay police officer.

Discourses on Gender and Sexuality

Gender, the socio cultural construct tie up ideologically an individual with the traditional dichotomy,male and female based on the canons of biological sex. The ethical function of gender is to construct one's identity in line with the binary opposition of male and female. Kuhn opines: The ideological function of gender 'has been to set up a heterogeneous and determinate set of biological, physical, social, psychological, and psychic constructs as unitary, fixed and unproblematic attribute of human subjectivity(Kuhn,1985). It is evident from the statement that gender hinges not only on biological difference but also on the social, psychological and psychic factors. Ideological design of gender is in accordance with the political standpoints of the patriarchal society. Codes of gender are developed directly from the socio cultural practices and these codes in turn, indirectly influence the cultural representations like language, literature, cinema and the like.

The customized binary division of gender disdains the practiceof alternative sexuality or it questions the identity of the transgender. In other words, transgender identity challenges the notions of socio culturally constructed gender dichotomy. The categories of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals are come under the rubric of the umbrella term 'transgender'. Sally Hines comments: The term 'transgender' denotes a range of gender experiences, subjectivities and presentations that fall across, between or beyond stable categories

of 'man' and 'woman.' 'Transgender' includes gender identities that have, more traditionally, been described as 'transsexual,' and a diversity of genders that call into question an assumed relationship between gender identity and presentation and the 'sexed' body (Hines and Sanger,2010). The term 'transgenderist' was first appeared in a magazine published by Virginia Prince in 1969. She used the term 'transgenderist' to represent one who like to lead a life of woman even though having male reproductive organs. Later, this term was used to refer those people who go beyond the conventionality of gender dichotomy. 'Usage of the umbrella sense of the term 'transgender' gained prominence within the 'transgender community' quite quickly. To take just one example, if we look through the US transgender subcultural newsletter *RenaissanceNews*, we can trace the inception and consolidation of the use of 'transgendered' and 'transgender'. The August 1987 issue (Vol. 1, No. 1) refers to *Renaissance* as providing information about 'transgendered behavior' (p. 3).The December 1987 (Vol. 1, No 5) issue includes a reprint of an interview with Richard Ekins about the 'Transgender Archive' (pp. 4–5) throughout which the term is used extensively in the 'transgender community' sense' (Ekins and King, 2006). Andrew Sharp, the author of *'Transgender Jurisprudence'* opined that 'transgender' is not a term of unlimited scope but, a term of self-description.

It is in fact, the transgender desires and practices have claimed a trans-historical existence. The debates on transgender identity began in the first half of 19th century under the domain of sexology and the authenticity of transgender identity was subjected to medical scrutiny. The early sexological interpretations on transgender widened up discussions on gender, sexuality and its interrelations. Sally Hinesopines: Alongside homosexuality—and a range of other non-normative sexual acts—practices that we now discuss as transgendered were separated from heterosexuality and classified as deviant. The 'naming' of gender diverse practices during the first half of the nineteenth century produced distinct ways of thinking about gender diverse individuals. Prior to this, cross-dressing and cross-living practices had been understood as fetishistic behaviors and described through the terms 'sexual inversion' or 'contrary sexual feeling'... (Hines and Sanger, 2010).At the very beginning, authenticity of one's gender and its biases were tested and proved by medical examinations. The studies conducted by Hirschfeld and Ellis and the works done by Harry Benjamin enhance the practice of segregating gender diversity from sexuality.

The researches on transsexuality gained new dimensions when suchstudies started reducing dependency on surgical techniques and medical developments and extended the area of enquiry into the fields of Psychology and Psychiatry in the late 1960s. As a result, gender has been conceived as a separate entity independent of one's biological sex. 'Throughout the 1970s the term 'gender dysphoria' replaced that of 'transsexuality' in medical and psychological writing. Locked into the notion of 'gender dysphoria' is the idea of the 'wrong body,' which suggests a state of discord between 'sex' (the body) and gender identity (the mind). In matching the gendered body and the gendered mind, surgery was (and still is) positioned as a route to gendered harmony' (Hines and Sanger, 2010). The concept of 'accurate gender identity' associated with the concept of 'gender dysphoria' is later questioned by the revelations of Garfinkel's study on Agnes, a woman having both male and female reproductive organs. His research findings brought about an idea that applicability of gender management is possible not only to intersex people but also to all other gendered subjects.

Gender debates put forward by Feminist movements in the late 1970s tried to differentiate gender and sex. And such discourses collectively proposed the idea that gender is a socially construct entity and sex on the other hand, is biologically determined. Radical Feminists measured sexuality as a vital element to conceptualizing gender and they suggested that one's gender is determined on the basis of his/her experiments with sexuality. The poststructuralist feminist theoretical interpretations questioned the binary division of gender (male/female) and relocated transgender identity beyond the binary division. Judith Butler observes: Gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time and instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts. The effects of gender is produced through the stylization of body, and ,hence must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (Butler,Judith,1990).Gender, according to the poststructuralist viewpoint is a cataloguing tool and acts as the determinant of socio political positioning.

The AIDS activism, debates on hetero hierarchy and the movement against gender essentialism led to the theoretical formation Queer theory in mid 1980s. Queer theory advocates multiple and unstable gender identities by shattering the naturalization of dominant identity categories. Likewise, transgender practices are

conceived as a deconstructive tool to challenge the naturalization of binary opposition and the concept of transgender is positioned in relation with the Queer theory's notion of 'politics of difference'. Susan Hayward opines: Queer theory is arguably one of the first truly postmodern theories. It is a concept that embraces all non-straight approachesto living practice –including, within our context, film and popular culture. As a politics, it seeks to confuse binary essentialism around gender and sexual identity (Hayward, 2004). Queer reading of any text would help one to go deep by subverting the denotative meanings associated with gender, sexuality and identity and enable one to find the hidden codes of homosocial preferences of patriarchy. The scope for queer reading thus exists in *Mumbai Police* as it justifies the homsocial relationships while positioning its protagonist, a gay police officer.

Gender, Identity and Representation

In fact**,** Western Cinemas which discuss on gender and sexuality have been in existence since 1930s and most of such cinematic experiments are included under the title 'avant-grade' in early years. It is found that the homosexual charactersof early cinema appeared on screen as fugitives, psychopaths or comic figures. The films like *Different from Others,Morocco, QueenChristina, I was a Male War Bride, Irene, Sylvia Scarlett, Some Like It Hot, It's love I'm After, Rome Open City, La Docle Vita, From Russia with Love, Red River, Only Angels have Wings, Glen or Glenda,* and *The Killing of Sister George* are the examples of early onscreen experiments on gender and identity. The indications of homosexual relationship between the killers can be seen in both Hitch Cock's *Rope* and Fleischer's *Compulsion*. The theoretical discussions on representation of gender and sexuality started with Parker Tyler's work titled 'Screening the Sexes: Homosexuality in the Movies'. An alternative attempt to redefine gender identity on screen was done by Vito Russo through his famous work '*The Celluloid Closet'* in 1981. AnnekeSmelik writes: *The Celluloid Closet* was closely linked to the rise of the gay and lesbian movement which prompted lesbians and gay men to look differently at film and film history...*The Celluloid Closet* is invaluable not only for the political dimension that it gives to films, but also for writing a history of a hitherto oppressed group (Smelik135).

The stereotyped characterizations of lesbians and gay men were common and dominant in early cinemas of Hollywood and they failed

to represent the real plight of the transgender identity. AnnekeSmelik identified the stereotypical representation of transgender in early productions as sissy, sad young man, gay psychopath, seductive androgyne, the unnatural woman and lesbian vampire. The early films promoted unethical characterization of transgender and such unfavorable and unreal portrayals developed hatred among the heterosexuals towards the transgender. Richard Dyer argued that the stereotyped images of transgender in cinema would help to establish and maintain the hegemony of the heterosexual white men on screen and to exclude and marginalize the homosexual groups as they moved beyond the heterosexual norms. The early attempts on screen were hooked to make the sexual identity of the characters visible through dress codes, unusual gestures and body positioning, artificial rendition, melodramatic facial expressions, unnatural eye movements and the like. These constructs and conventional codes allied with lesbians and gays sculptured the spectators' perceptual reality on sexually oppressed groups to a great extent.

The concept of Queer cinema was first introduced at Toronto Film Festivals in 1991. The films like *Paris Burning, Tongues United, Poison, Young Soul Rebels, The Living End* and *Swoon* were exhibited at the festival and they opened up a non-normative, 'politically incorrect' demonstration of gender and sexuality .These films were received by both the mainstream and the gay audience as 'New Queer Cinema'. This movement developed as an expansion of non-straight expression of gender and sexuality and as an extension of lesbian and gay cinema. Alexander Doty adds: Ultimately the theories, criticism, and film and popular culture texts produced within the definition of 'queer' would seek to examine, challenge, and confuses sexual and gender categories (Doty 150). Queer representation is unconcerned with the positive images of gay and lesbians but it negates the essentialism of fixed gender identity and believes in producing sexual multiplicity. The codes of the Queer demolish the notions of stereotypes in straight cinema and challenges the values attributed to the gayness and lesbianism. To name a few, the films such as *The Silence of the Lambs, Dressed to Kill, Normal Love, The Crying games, Dallas Buyers Club, Boys don't Cry, City of Lost Souls, In a Year of 13 Moons, The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of Desert, Law of Desire,* and *All about My Mother* have made successful attempt to redefined the norms of onscreen gendered heterosexuality.

Like Hollywood, onscreen experiments on transgender can

be visible in Indian silver screen too. Both the Bollywood and the regional cinemas of India have mirrored the issues of gender and identity in different angles. Representations on transgender in Indian screen started in reaction to the gay right movements of 1970s. It is visible that, at the very beginning the popular Bollywood fictions centered on homosociality and operate within the frame of masculinity, portray transgender subtext in its plot to induce humor, to evoke erotic pleasure or to justify crimes. Hijra (eunuch), the intersex icon of India often visits Indian screen as 'filler' in order to fill the gaps in the plot. And those stereotyped characters are established as advocates of immorality to a great extent. Thomas Waugh remarks: The groundwork for a modern proliferation of explicit erotic iconography- including the homoerotic- has been laid over the last decade: the "liberalization" of the Indian economy and the trans- nationalization of media have stepped up the cross-border importation of Northern erotic commodities and identity ideologies among the elites. The Indian cinema has not developed a recognizable domestic queer vector to the extent of, say, even Taiwan or the Philippines – at least recognizable to Northern eyes. (Waugh 280).

Unlike the mainstream cinemas, the recent parallel and bridge cinematic endeavors in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil and Kannada have attempted to address the different dimensions of transgender on celluloid. The films like *Tamanna, ShabnamMausi, Daayra, Mast Kalandar, Jogwa, Flesh and Paper, Welcome to Sajjanpur, Umbratha, Girl Friend, Fire, Kamasutra, Uttara, Split Wide Open, MitrachiGoshta, Queens Destiny of Dance, Natrang, ArektiPremerGolpo, Chitrangatha, Love, Kapoornd Sons , My Brother Nikhil, I am Omar, Fashion, Page Three, Mango Soufflé, Aligarh, NaanuAvanalla..Avalu, Kachana, NavarasaNarthaki, Viruthagiri, Vaanam* and *My Son is a Gay* have tried to personify the multiplicity of transgender on Indian Screen. Interestingly, Indian docudramas, docufictions and short films also offer ample space to visualize the life of the sexually oppressed groups in a very realistic way. For instance, *Something Like a War, Mitraa, Yours Emotionally, Bombgay, AanPoove, Myths, a Dialogue on AIDS* and *Summer in My Veins* are the tangible representation of the real plight of the transgender.

Conversely, it is found that the male dominated market oriented film industry in India keep an urge to ponder more on non-normative female sexual desires when compared to that of the male. Many of

the popular features document transgender as an urban miracle and tie it up with the conventional class consciousness. On the other side, the mainstream cinema is commoditizing its homosexual subtext and homoerotic visuals to invade the market. The representations on gender and sexual identity found in mainstream Indian cinema are seemed to be falsifying the reality to a very great extent. SubhanHabib says: The emergence of the third sex and their inclusion in the mainstream cultural system appeared to be a threat to the age old usurper of power as it tends to destroy the power monopoly or fixity. The heterosexuals have gained the upper position at the cost of powerlessness of the non-heterosexual people because power as Foucault has said operates from the below (Subhan 34-42). However, the empirical consideration on the issues of transgender by the popular medium like cinema is a prerequisite for understanding the gender roles of the socially excluded groups.

Indeed, the concept of transgender is entwined deeply in the social psyche as well as cultural lineage of the South. For instance, the annual three day long KuthandavarAravan festival of transwomen in Tamilnadu; the Jogappa cult and Yellamma Devi worship in Karnataka and men dressed up as women at Chamayavilakku festival in Kerala illustrate that lineage. When compared to that of the other states in India, Transgenders' collectives in Tamilnadu are forerunner in protecting the rights of the sexual minorities. But, reflectiveness on transgender in the public sphere of Kerala even today is seemed to be very limited. They live on the fringes of the mainstream society and mass media including cinema are reluctant to address the real trauma and agony of the sexually oppressed people in Kerala. It is a fact that cinematic representations on transgender identity issues are very few in South India especially in Malayalam

Generally speaking, Kerala is one of the foremost states in India in terms of development. It is unfortunate to experience the fact that the mainstream Kerala society has not even started conversing with the issues of the alternative sexuality openly. Social grooming in Kerala is obsessed with the norms of heteropatriarchy and every individual is groomed in such a way to be identified as sexually normative or heterosexual. MeenaPillai comments: Kerala's culture industry is written over by male desires, both economic and libidinal, and has become a super structural expression of a reified capitalist patriarchy (Pillai 2017). Venkatesan and James observes: A host of other Malayalam films released after *Neelakuyil* reiterated the same logic of Dalit denial, irrespective of the art/commercial status of the

film. Such continued absences not only signify the entrenched caste and gender biases in Malayalam cinema but also the interpellation by hegemonic structures within the film industry (Venkatesanand James 2017).Obviously, idioms of patriarchy and aesthetics of cultural normativity are explicitly perceptible in Kerala's art and literature. Hence, the desires and aspirations of the gender variant citizens, the Dalits and the other marginalized sections are excluded from the mainstream cultural products.

Moreover, being a popular mass communication medium, the Cinema of Malayalam speaks less off the transgender identity issues. Onscreen deliberations on alternative sexuality have happened on cinematic space of Malayalam through the films like *Sancharam, RanduPenkuttikal, Ardhanari, Rithu, DesadanakkiliKarayarilla, Chanthupottu, Swapanam,Mumbai Police,* and *My Life Partner.* Most of these films which entrap gender essentialism came up as an off shoot of parallel cinema and thus, they were denied public screening and persisted as abortive attempts. The *Mumbai Police,* on the other hand, was a box office hit with popular stardom. However, the unique selling proposition of the *Mumbai Police* is the challenge to put its protagonist in a gay's shoe and that phenomenon has occurred, the very first time in the history of cinema of Malayalam.

Canons of Heterosexism in *Mumbai Police*

The makers of *Mumbai Police* came up with a claim that it tells the story of true friendship among three cops. The title 'Mumbai police' was assigned to their friendship by media with respect to their togetherness, daring performances and notorious deeds, when the trio had worked together in the Mumbai city. This crime thriller perpetuates the story of friendship among three Police Officers, Antony Moses, Farhan Ashraf and Aaryan John Jacob. Aaryan was shot dead during a gallantry award ceremony.Farhan Ashraf, the Commissioner of Police recruited Antony Moses as the head of the investigation team to find the murderer of their intimate friend. Antony completes his investigation but, before passing the information regarding the culprit to Farhan, he meets with an accident and loses his memory. Soon after the accident, Antony who affects with memory loss continues the investigation as insisted by Farhan, the superior officer. The film records the reinvestigation of Antony as a journey from the present to the past; that is from the hetero normative Antony 'B' to the homosexual Antony 'A'. It is in fact, the hetero normative self of Antony investigates the murder case of his bosom friend and reaches

the conclusion that his homosexual self is the real culprit behind the murder.

On the surface level, theme of *Mumbai Police* is centered on the friendship of the trio. But when we look into the characterizations, it is obvious that the entire theme is structured in such a way to reinforce the essentials of the power structure of the patriarchy. The three cops belong to the upper level in the hierarchy of power and their profession is entwined to the upper class consciousness. They are obliged to the power structure and to act as apparatus to materialize the commands of the superstructure. Enough cinematic space is given deliberately to demonstrate the intensity of homosocial relationship among the trio. For example, Antony even exhibits kindness to give Aaryan the credit of an encounter as Aaryan's family considers his bravery, a matter of pride. Susan Hayward observes: In the western world, we live not only on a patriarchal world but also a homosocial world. Power is invested in the masculine… (Hayward,2004). The linguistic norm of masculinity and philosophies of homophobia and homo sociality of the patriarchy are satisfied through the intense friendship among the trio in *Mumbai Police.*

Other than Antony (the lead), the other two are mounted on marriage and family, the two established social institutions in our society. Farhan married Antony's sister and Aaryon is engaged in a relation that is to be ended up in marriage. They both epitomize heterosexism and cultural normativity. On the contrary, Antony is portrayed as a bachelor and as a victim of broken family. He is positioned in a way that he is liberated himself from the social institutions such as marriage and family. It is a known fact that the lineage of patriarchy is established in society primarily through these two social institutions. Obviously, being a non-normative gay, Antony cannot lead a straight-life mounted on social institutions like marriage and family. However, the bachelorhood of Antony is used as a tool to conceal the sexual identity and there by convincing logically the spectators' anxiety on the gay sub text.

Among the trio, Antony Moses is characterized as an uncompromising dare-devil who wishes to do things out of ways. He is nick named as 'Rascal Moses'. It is found that he radiantly express the hyper masculine features in order to tie up his gender identity with the normative society and its power structure. For instance, Antony brutally thrashes a woman in front of her husband accusing him as a culprit during the investigation of the murder case; in which Antony, himself is the real culprit. The misogyny exhibited in his

character is compromising with the male dominated power structure of patriarchy. MeenaPillai argues: The sabotaging and silencing of the feminine has also become a prerequisite of hegemonic masculinity in Kerala. (Pillai,Meena 2017). Likewise, Antony's fight with his attackers at the premises of his residence and his encounter with the Navy officers fortify the hyper masculinity of the hero.

As gender and sexuality defines one's status quo in the normative society, Antony strongly desires to be identified as a normative sexual male. In order to hide his queer sex identity, he has planned to finish off Aaryan,his intimate friend. In a historic juncture, when Aaryan eye witnessed the homosexual relationship of Antony with a secret partner, he reacted like a preacher of heterosexism and a custodian of the cannons of cultural normativity. Aaryan pinpointedthat the bravery and virility exhibited by Antony was to conceal his homosexual identity. He demolished Antony's ego construct emotionally and frightened him that he is going to unmask Antony's gayness to the heteronormative society. Raj Rao observes: Gay bashing, which is a universal phenomenon all over the world, including the West, is a direct consequences of homophobia that permeates all layers of society… But the paradox is that in the eyes of the law it is gay men who are criminals, while gay bashers may be seen as those who wish to cleanse society… (Raoxxvii).

In order to unveils his aversion towards non-normative sexual desires, Aaryan sarcastically christened Antony, 'a gay police officer'. His sarcasm is highly dogmatic and it points out that gayness (non-normative sexuality) cannot go in hand with the power structure and it explicitly states that gays are out of the spectrum of power. Paradoxically, the police are conceived as established gay bashers in our society. Aaryan performs here as an apparatus to administer the cannons of heteropatriarchy and he thus, attempts to remind the spectators that gayness is a social transgression and gender intertwined with sexuality decides one's social identity and acceptance. Michel Foucault comments: Power is essentially what dictates its law to sex. Which means first of all that sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden. Secondly, power prescribes an "order" for sex that operates at the same time as a form of intelligibility: sex is to be deciphered on the basis of its relation to the law (Foucault, 1978). Antony's intention to conceal his homosexual inclination is rooted on the fear of exclusion from the hierarchy of the power structure of normative society around him. He wished to keep his sexuality a secret desire as the power and sex are interrelated.

Because of the fear of isolation from the normative society, Antony plans to murder his close friend when his sexual identity is revealed in front of him. The act of murder committed by Antony justifies the patriarchal notion of 'gay outlaw'. The intervention of power structure dissects the sexual self of Antony and recounts it as the ideal, dutiful heteronormative Antony B (after accident) and the rude gay Antony A (before accident). The act of murder is committed by an apparatus of power in order to continue in the power hierarchy and to conceal the 'politically incorrect' sexual identity. It is explicit that the filmic text of *Mumbai Police* is structured in relation to justify the normative notion, 'criminality is inbuilt in gender variant citizens'.

Discussion and Conclusion

In sum, it is obvious that characterizations and the narrative structure of *Mumbai Police* are intentionally prearranged to personify the cannons of heterosexism and the norms of the patriarchal power system. It is a known fact that gender variant citizens are out of the homophobic social systems. They are entitled as outlaws or psychopaths. They are even denied to open up their sexual inclinations. Cinema of Malayalam, even today blindly obliged to the norms of the male dominated patriarchal system. The defensiveness to heteropatriarchy is rarely visible in its narratives. Not alone *Mumbai Police*, the clutches of heteronormativity can be seen in *My life Partner,* another film which released recently. It also came up with a discussion on gayness. Ironically, the makers of *My life Partner* display the righteousness of the norms of social institutions such as marriage and family in a culturally normative society like Kerala. 'One assumption of the prevailing ideological system is that cinema reproduces, 'reality' but, in fact, it only reproduces the world of dominant ideology' (Braudy and Cohen, 2004). Hence, as a result, though the discourses on gender and sexuality have changed its dimensions worldwide, Cinema of Malayalam can advocate onscreen experiments only on culturally normative homosocial themes.

In other words, unlike any other art form, cinema banks very much on its economic sources, so it has to go in hand with the dominant ideology put forward by the capital forces or its strong ally, the patriarchy. 'The majority of films in all categories are the unconscious instruments of the ideology which produces them' (Narboni 815).Cinema speaks to its spectators through images.

The images whether they are real or unreal affect the spectator's assumptions and approaches. It is a known fact that our experience on alternative sexuality is not always through the real life practices, it largely depends on the perceptual reality developed from the images of the popular medium like cinema. This is true even today that the stereotyped depictions on transgender affect the receptivity of the viewers to a great extent, if not, the homophobic trial on RamachandraSiras (an acclaimed Marathi linguist worked at Aligarh Muslim University) which led to his tragic death would not have materialized.

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Television as Politics Tutor:
Analysing the Influence of Television on Political Learning

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ABSTRACT

Informed citizens are a vital component of a healthy democracy. The role of mass media in building an informed society is a widely accepted and still draws much scholarship. This article analyses the perceived influence of television on political learning of its viewers and its various dimensions. It also tries to compare television with its counterparts tracking their specific role in enhancing political knowledge during election and non-election periods. Both earlier and recent studies are extensively and rigorously reviewed for this purpose. The findings clearly show that television contributes to political knowledge more than newspapers or other media. People depend more on television news for acquiring knowledge about political parties, leaders, stands on issues and campaign information. The study also looks at the cognitive, affective and behavioural effects of political news on viewers.

Keywords : ***Political Learning, Political Information, Political Knowledge Acquisition, Televised Political Learning***

Introduction

Learning is a process in which individuals actively involve. And it is a deliberate and painful effort as well. People actively collect, store, change, assimilate, interpret, and incorporate new information with what they already know about their surroundings (Sotirovic; and McLeod, 2004). According to Dan D. Nimmo (1978) It involves re-molding and reshaping behaviour, including one's perceptions and the beliefs, values, attitudes and expectations related with them. Lachman *et al.*, (1979) suggest that learning activity proceeds

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according to their goals and gratifications. Newell (1990) sees learning in a different way. To him, learning is not limited to mere gathering of pieces of information but also consists of understanding, or learning the gist of communication.

Information and Democracy

Information plays a major role in a democracy. Informed citizens are the vital component of a healthy democratic society. At the heart of modern democratic theory, in fact, is the principle that a liberal society is best guaranteed by an unblocked flow of news and information (Tewksbury and Althaus, 2000). The strength of democracy is its educated and informed citizens. Referring to Gerbner (1956), Kraus and Davis (1976) recollect American statesmen who wrote the First Amendment to the US constitution, which ensures free speech and freedom of the press. They foresaw an open "market place of ideas" in which every individual could take part and become informed. One very notion beneath this idea was that in the "marketplace" good ideas would be more likely to prevail.

Political Information and Mass Media

Despite the earlier hunches of "minimal effects" (Klapper, 1960), research on the question of whether media educate people? has increased recently. In spite of the fact that communication scholars and theorists rarely agree on what constitutes a definitive list of the social functions of the mass media, the role of informing citizens about important events and issues is often considered central (Graber, 1997; Gurevitch and Blumler, 1990).

According to this view, the mass media particularly news media performs a watchdog/surveillance function, observing activities of government and other social authorities and providing citizens with useful information about the state of the nation and the world (Tewksbury and Althaus, 2000). Nimmo (1978) argues that people are not born with political beliefs, values and biases; rather, they acquire them in ongoing ways when exposed to political stimuli. He adds that political learning goes on throughout the life of the normal human being, through a process called political socialization. We rarely witness political events, decisions/actions and dramas first hand. So our dependence on media for news about them is virtually complete. Research regarding the role of the mass media in educating and informing the public is, therefore, vital for understanding

voter rationality and behaviour in democratic systems (Miller, and Asp,1985).

Creation, organization, processing and dissemination of news and information by mass media are also of increasing importance to the political learning and behaviour of adults (Kraus and Davis, 1976). Some other scholars also emphasized the very role of media in political socialization in different words. For instance, Mira Sotirovic (2008) holds the view that the main role of media is to impart political information rather than directly change individuals' political attitudes and preferences. James N. Druckman (2005)'s differentiation between informed and less-informed people comes handy here. Those that know more about politics differ from those that know less with the concomitant assumption (which is implicit at times) that those who know more are "better off".

Political Information and Polls

The media transmits huge quantities of political information during election times. And as a result, the public understanding of politics will increase during these periods. But not many buy this logic straight. For instance, Lowery and Defleur (1988) raises some questions about the attendance, consumption and comprehension of political information printed or broadcast by various media. They put forth the big question: was the media exposure more or less evenly spread through the population or was it revolved around more among some kinds of people?. Gathering and storage of political information leave important influence on individuals' capacity to shape opinions and make decisions in a representative democracy (Althaus, 1998). Unfortunately, empirical research conducted in the last five decades left the notion that voters have little volume of information on politics, and a limited understanding about the functioning of democracy and a limited awareness of how government decisions and actions affect them (Popkin, 1991).

Political Knowledge Acquisition

Political knowledge is treated as one of the most important yard sticks of individuals' ability to govern in a representative democracy. The concept political knowledge covers information on electioneering process, issue awareness and understanding of politics that may help citizens cast a vote according to their political stances and preferences, and involve in political process that affect

government (political participation). Sotirovic (2008) defined knowledge as a belief that can be justified as true. Meanwhile, political knowledge is considered as the main interceder between information gathering and political activity. Knowing basic facts about politics helps citizens mould their political preferences and stances (Zaller, 1992). It is usually difficult to prove the effects of political news on mass audience empirically. The effects of political news on the mass audience are usually difficult to prove empirically. Creeping of extraneous variables are the main obstacles. However, recent models of mass communication effects have maintained that political knowledge is a better predictor of media reception than traditional indicators of media exposure (Lee and Capella, 2001).

The role of news media in providing information that help people perform their political duties and responsibilities has well been investigated. Doris A Graber (2005) argues that this research area is highly controversial and because there is no agreement among researchers about the dependent and independent variables of the aforesaid research area, that are, requirements of political citizenship and the findings about citizens' political knowledge. Further, there is disagreement about the way political messages should be crafted so as to make people understandable. Graber adds that recent progresses in brain imaging have given opportunity to researchers to consider the neurobiological and psychological properties of human brains when analyzing how people receive and decode political information. The electronic and magnetic brain scans of human beings engaged in complex cognitive activities have thrown new light on various aspects of political learning and opinion shaping.

From a theoretical perspective, it is crystal clear that political news can enhance political knowledge. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) underlines this common notion that greater amount of political knowledge one acquires is not from class rooms but, at least initially, from the mass media. Citizens could acquire basic civics knowledge from class rooms but, news media provide current information about the then elections and the major political issues of the day (Eveland Jr.; Hayes; Shah; and Kwak, 2005). Moreover, majority of the studies on political learning focus on cognition (the dimensions of political information, knowledge, and beliefs) rather than on attitudes (the dimensions of affective or emotional orientation towards politics) and behaviour (Leighley, 2004). Further, there are several other factors, such as, the type of medium exposed to, the mental capacity and psychological setting of the receiver, and the socio-cultural setting

that affect the magnitude of mediated political learning (Miller, and Asp, 1985).

Political Information on Television, Other Media

In mediated political learning, the newspaper is widely accepted as a major source of political information, particularly about political parties, leaders, electoral issues and candidates. Through survey research during the 1992 US presidential campaign, several investigators concluded that newspaper reading and attention were the two important predictors of party-issue changes and differences, in a study that included television viewing, debates watching, radio listening, and magazine reading as other variables (Chaffee *et al.*, 1994, Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997). Though mass media other than newspapers and television also contribute to political knowledge acquisition, their influence is invariably reduced. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s news magazines were assumed to have greater contribution in political knowledge acquisition (Chaffee *et al.*, 1994, Chaffee, and Kanihan, 1997).

More recent findings conclude that the situation is drastically changed. No recent study is found the influence of radio news on political learning, which was once a major contributor to political knowledge, particularly after the advent of television (Kraus & Davis, 1976). Mira Sotirovic (2008) argues that newspaper reading contributes more to political knowledge than television news viewing. But, there are other studies which clearly show the dominance of television. They argue that television news is becoming a major source of political knowledge and information that beats the newspaper in some aspects (Chaffee, and Kanihan, 1997). Some scholars move a step ahead by stating the fact that frequent viewing of televised political news and campaign programs has more impact on acquiring political knowledge among the lower educated and least interested individuals than among the highly educated and more interested people (Miller, and Asp, 1985).

Review of Research on Television and Political Learning

For most people across the globe, news coverage of politics and election campaigns on television is the most crucial and readily available source of information (Gulati, Just & Crigler 2004; De Vreese, 2008). Evidently, exposure to information sources such as television would have an influence on cognitive (awareness,

knowledge, images about politics, etc.), affective (interest, attitude towards political leaders, issues and attachment to the political system in general, etc.), behavioural (interpersonal discussion, political participation and so on) aspects and, of course, on voting preferences of the audience (Atkin, 1981). An important area within the domain of political behaviour that has received much attention is that of processing of political messages, which often leads to political learning and political socialization.

Early Studies

Several scholars have studied the influence of print and broadcast media on political learning at different times. Robinson in his study, "Television and the Wallace Vote in 1968: Are there Implications for 1976?", investigated the American Independent party candidate George Wallace vote in the 1968 US presidential election that witnessed a triangular contest between Wallace, Richard Nixon (Republican), and Hubert Humphrey (Democrat). Using Michigan University Survey Research Center data, he investigated the importance of television as a critical variable and found that those who followed politics principally through television showed a greater affinity for Wallace than those who did not. This bond between reliance on television for political information and support for Wallace was significant even when controls for education, age, and socioeconomic status were added (Robinson cited in Kraus and Davis, 1976). Examining the campaigns of the same election, Prisuta (1973) found television to be "the most important medium; although its impact may be less (than newspapers'), its reach is by far the greatest" (p. 169). Of his sample, 75 per cent felt that television provided them with the most information exposure to the campaign, while 48 per cent reported obtaining campaign information from newspapers. Likewise, television was the most important source of information during the 1972 election campaigns.

In a pilot survey of Illinois voters' evaluations of the 1972 presidential campaign, Swanson (1973) found that 69 per cent of the public received most of their political information from the mass media as opposed to 7.6 per cent who depended on interpersonal communication sources for political information. Further, 54 per cent of the respondents found television news their most important source of information, while 23 per cent listed newspapers.

Beck (1977) while examining the role of media in political

socialization had noted that rather than changing individuals' attitudes on specific political issues, media would contribute to political information. Blumler et al (1978) in their book *The Challenges of Election Broadcasting* specifically highlighted the role of television in campaigns by pointing out that modern election campaigns have to a considerable extent become fully and truly 'television campaigns.' Such an assertion was also evident in subsequent studies. In a 1980 panel analysis, Chaffee and Schleuder (1986) noted that television rivalled newspapers as a knowledge predictor, particularly when the question asked about 'attention' to news on television. Becker and Dunwoody (1982) in their study "Media Use, Public Affairs Knowledge and Voting in a Local Election" found that (after education was controlled) television news use predicted knowledge in a local election. Miller (1991) study however showed that the press and television had distinctive strengths as sources of information. To examine the effects of media on British voters during 1987 elections, he conducted content analysis and panel surveys. His analysis showed that television and newspapers had different effects: while television was the source of information for the British electorate as the polling days neared, the press mobilized voters and reinforced partisanship.

During 1992 US presidential election various dimensions of televised political learning were investigated by researchers. Chaffee et al (1994) studied the relationship between media and political knowledge. Their study demonstrated that television news was the most important correlate of knowledge of issue differences between the three candidates: Bill Clinton (Democrat), George W. Bush (Republican), and Ross Perot (Independent). Further, attention to television news and viewing of the televised party conventions, was a predictor of biographical knowledge about the presidential candidates. Their major finding was that among twelve media factors and seven demographic variables, television news exposure was the only significant predictor of knowledge of Bush-Clinton issue differences, apart from a general interest in campaigns. The findings of Chaffee et al (1994) found support in the studies of Sue (1994) and Weaver and Drew (1995). Sue (1994) also found that reliance of television news predicted personal knowledge about the candidates, even after party-issue information was controlled.

That television contributes to political learning during election has also been detected in several other studies such as those of Zhao and Chaffee (1995). Likewise, Leshner and McKean (1997) found that exposure to television news coverage of a senatorial campaign

predicted post-election knowledge about the candidates; at the same time newspaper reading did not. In a study of the Eurobarometer surveys conducted in the 15 EU member states, most with a strong public service television sector, Norris (2000) found regular television news viewers knew as much about politics as regular newspaper readers.

Not just the adults, but adolescents too learn from television news. This was evidenced in Atkin and Gantz's (1978) study, which explored the relationship between television news and political socialization among school students. The major finding was that news viewing mildly influenced political knowledge and public affairs interest in older children, but younger viewers learned little.

After five years, Garramone (1983) pursued a similar line of enquiry. She probed the relationship between television news and adolescent political socialization and found that news media exposure indeed had a positive impact on being opinionated. In particular, she found adolescents who watched television news more often were more likely to form stronger opinions on political issues. In another study, Weaver and Drew (1995) found that exposure to television news was significantly linked to respondents' knowledge about candidates and their positions on issues in the 1992 presidential election.

Whitney & Goldman, (1985) and Hurley & Wilson, (1987) have pointed out that processing of campaign information and decision making during elections is influenced by several factors such as the level of campaign, climate of the election, phase of the campaign, and characteristics of voters. In a study on the schema used in political information processing, Lodge and Hamill (1986) suggested that voters use various schema for processing political information. Persons who are generally more interested and have more knowledge about the campaign issues and policy differences among candidates use a partisan schema. That the politically informed are more adept at processing and using specific information about campaign issues in their voting preferences has been borne out in the studies of Neumann, 1986; Sniderman, Glaser, & Griffin, 1990.

Recent Studies

Some scholars however found that political learning from newspapers and television is by-and-large similar. For example, Price and Zaller (1993) examined effects of media exposure (such as national and local newspaper and television exposure, and exposure

to talk radio) versus "general political knowledge" as predictors of citizen's learning from the news appearing in the US national news agenda. They found that once they add a statistical control for general political knowledge, newspaper and television exposure has little or, in many cases, no effect on information acquisition. Similar findings have emerged from a study conducted during 1997 British election by Norris et.al (1999). Their analysis showed that both regular newspaper readers and television news viewers had shown higher than average understanding of party politics and awareness of parliamentary candidates.

Support to the finding that messages matter, not the medium, has also come from an experimental study of Norris and Sanders (2003) conducted during 2001 British General Election to probe several interrelated aspects. For the experiment, they had drawn a quota sample of 919 from Greater London electorate. Reporting the results of a part of their experiment relating to learning from media, Norris and Sanders in their publication, "Message or Medium? Campaign learning during the 2001 British General Election", have highlighted three broad conclusions. First, there was significant campaign learning. Following exposure to campaigns, British voters' awareness of prospective party policies had significantly increased. Second, the amount of learning from television news was not higher as compared to from other media. This finding doubted the "print superiority hypothesis" (p. 234). Third, the strength of learning was not similar among the voters. Those who were least aware of party policies showed the greatest gains. As these findings were in contrast to the findings in the United States, Norris and Sanders have pointed out that the differences arise from the structural features of television broadcasting in the two countries. In Britain, broadcasting follows the tradition of "public service" structure, while network TV in the United States follow "commercial ethos" (p. 234).

Papathanassopoulos (2000) in his paper "Election Campaigning in the Television Age: The Case of Contemporary Greece" has delineated the centrality of television in contemporary Greek election campaigns and politics. He notes that a combination of political and media dynamics have created a situation whereby the electronic media, mainly television, have become central to contemporary political communication in Greece.

In other countries too, the public receives election news and information through the medium of television. In the words of Stromback and Kaid (2008) who have edited a comprehensive

volume on media coverage of polls across the globe: "in almost all countries, television is the most dominant medium, although more so in some countries than others. In Sweden, for example, newspapers remain very important, whereas in the United States, television is significantly more important than newspapers particularly with respect to the influence over public opinion (pp. 421-422)."

Most of above cited reviews, with the exception of a few, broadly indicate to the importance of television in political learning during election campaigns.

Conclusion

Political knowledge is considered as one of the most important criteria of individuals' competence to govern and be governed in an effective democratic setting. In spite of the fact that communication scholars and theorists rarely agree on what constitutes a definitive list of the social functions of the mass media, the role of informing citizens about important events and issues is often considered central. In mediated political learning, both newspaper and television are widely accepted as major sources of political information, particularly about political parties, leaders, electoral issues and candidates.

Though several scholars have studied the influence of print and broadcast media on political learning at different times, television has got a slight upper hand in this regard. Many studies underline the 'television superiority hypotheses' by postulating that television news is becoming a major source of political knowledge and information that beats the newspaper in some respects. Both earlier and recent studies substantiate this argument.

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CSR Communication in Corporate Sector: A Case Study of Corporate Social Responsibility Initiatives in a leading IT firm

■ **K S RAGINI**[*]

ABSTRACT

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is emerging as a new field in the management research. In India, many firms have taken the initiatives of CSR practices which have met with varying needs of the society. The present study has made an attempt to understand the status, progress and initiatives made by a leading IT firm in India in context to CSR policy framing and implementation. The need for and the benefits of proactive and transparent communication about corporate social responsibility is widely acknowledged. The study examines CSR communication undertaken by a leading IT firm in India. The objective of the study is to investigate the CSR practice of Wipro, a renowned IT firm in India. This firm was chosen carefully keeping in view that this firm takes in to active and effective CSR initiatives, experiencing CSR practices in the health, education and environment sector. According to the literature in modern era of CSR, the business social responsibility starts when the business determines their act in economic and social obligation. The result of the study shows that the business CSR initiative has changed from altruistic to its core competency. Furthermore, its revised CSR agenda has contributed to the state socio-economic development.

Keywords : **Corporate Social Responsibility, CSR Communication, Annual Reports, Content Analysis, Information and Technology Sector, Corporate websites.**

Introduction

Corporate Social Responsibility is considered as an important instrument that pushes the competitive advantages, the creativity and innovation, improves the business reputation to the

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society with the employees, state institutions and nongovernmental organizations. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a concept whereby companies integrate social, environmental and health concerns in their business strategy (policy) and operations and in their interactions with stakeholders on a voluntary basis. The social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time (Carroll, 1979).

Bowen (1953) in his seminal book title Social Responsibility of Businessman has proposed alternative names for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) namely "public responsibility", "social obligations" and "business morality". He suggested that all of those synonyms have to include the impacts of business activities to the state and stakeholders (Bowen, 1953).He explain the word impact as how much the environment; employee, consumer, community and others affected by the business activities (Epstein, 1987). His conception explains that the fundamental idea of CSR is the businesses have to assume full responsibility in their economic and non-economic activities to the stakeholders. In other word, CSR is one of the efforts made by them to achieve their economic, environmental, and social activity; while at the same time they have an ability to satisfy stakeholder demands and expectations (Archie B. Carroll, 1979; Archie B Carroll & Shabana, 2010)

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is also a different instrument in the market. It's innovative and creative in a business world where innovation is considered one of the most competitive key instruments. All of these positive things take to a generally improved benefit based on the best talents, on faithful relations, competitive advantages, and on the trade of the programmes and strategies' importance. There has in recent times, been an increasing interest in understanding CSR and in particular, CSR reporting in developing countries. Corporate Social Responsibility has become an essential component in the management of companies around the globe. By engaging in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities, companies can not only generate favourable stakeholder attitudes and better support behaviours, but also, over the long run, build corporate image, strengthen stakeholder –company relationships and enhance stakeholders 'advocacy behaviours.

Methodology

As suggested by the prominent authors in qualitative research (Stake, 2006, 2010; Yin, 2009, 2011) the case study is employed. The definition by Yin (1994) explains the objective of the case study research is to describe, understand and predict the subject under study (i.e. process, persons, organization, industry etc.). As for data collection procedure, the study used interviews, documents analysis and observations. Management and stakeholders were interviewed under this method. 15 corporate communication professionals who are directly related to business CSR agenda were interviewed for the purpose. In this research, the data was collected from multiple sources, which assisted in reaching a holistic understanding on business CSR agenda. The study used content analysis method to identify and describe social responsibility measures and patterns in corporate website, in annual reports of two years ie, 2015 , 2016 and CSR reports of last five years of the organization were chosen and analyzed giving emphasis on areas such as education, health, environment policy and business sustainability. Annual reports, CSR reports are used as a medium of communication and content analysis is employed to analyze the focus and intensity of CSR communication.

Analysis and Findings

Wipro's CSR Policy

Wipro's engagement with social and ecological issues goes back a long time. The central tenets of their approach have been the emphasis on strong, meaningful work on systemic social issues. CSR activities include the sectors of health care, education, environment preservation and social rehabilitation.

Governance and Management

The Board Committee on CSR will be the apex body that will oversee CSR policy and programmes. The CSR Policy is approved by the Board and is available on the website of the Company. The Committee is consisting of three members of the Board and is headed by nonexecutive director. The CSR plan and spend will be discussed and approved by the CSR Committee at the beginning of each year.

CSR Committee:

i.   The Committee will meet at least twice a year.

ii.   All strategic decisions are considered by the Board in their meetings; once the decisions are taken, the operational details are handled by the CSR Committee.

Domains of engagement

Wipro's social and sustainability initiatives center on Education, Ecology, Health and Community Care. The driving principles of these programs are summarized below:

- Education: Engaging in deep and meaningful systemic work in the area of school and college education.

- Community Ecology and Health Care: Engaging with the community on issues of Health Care, Ecology and Education for the underprivileged.

- Business Sustainability: Reducing and minimizing the environmental footprint of our operations and enhancing the biodiversity quotient of facilities.

- Diversity: Encouraging and enhancing diversity at the workplace and outside on gender, nationality and persons with disability.

- Business Sustainability.

- Education for children with disability: There has been inadequate focus on education for children with disability, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, started in 2014.

- Mission10X, a countrywide program seeks to improve engineering education in India through faculty capacity development and curricular improvement.

- Primary Health Care: Primary health care touches the lives of 50000 people in 45 village communities in India. Apart from this, they have engaged in a number of significant post-disaster rehabilitation projects, most notable of which have been the Gujarat earthquake, the Tamil Nadu tsunami and the Karnataka floods.

- WIPRO: The women of Wipro (WOW), council of the company have taken various initiatives to empower women.

- Three main CSR activities include environment sector, education sector and energy conservation. Basic motive of the company is 'we live in the community and the community lives in us'.

- Wipro Cares: Focus area of Wipro cares is on taking educational and health care initiatives for migrated communities, environmental issues and disaster rehabilitation.

Over the past several years, they have established a strong foundational framework for social and environmental initiatives both, within the organization as well as outside. The corporate website too plays a crucial role in communicating CSR programs and initiatives. The corporate website has the following unique features, resulting in better CSR communication and well executed CSR projects.

- Fully functioning CSR website.

- CSR interactive features.

- Website had items addressing community involvement, environmental concerns and education.

- Presentational features were more common portraying CSR activities.

- They also used their web pages to monitor public opinion on issues.

- Social media is a great resource for CSR communication.

Education

Wipro has contributed to school education in India through a network of partner organizations. Over the past 14 years, they have associated with 60 organizations at different levels and have worked closely with 35 organizations working in improvement of school education. This organization has in turn contributed to systemic improvements at multiple levels including state and central government level educational reforms in addition to reaching out directly to schools and teachers.

- Education for children with disability: There has been inadequate focus on education for children with disability, especially those

from disadvantaged backgrounds.

- Sustainability Education: Started in 2011, this program brings together two of key concerns: school education and sustainability. This is national level program through which they reached out to more than 3000 schools, 3500 educators and 15000 students.

- School Education outside India: Contribute to improve Science and Math education in schools primarily serving disadvantaged communities in US cities. The program is currently active in Chicago, in New Jersey, New York and in Boston

- Engineering Education: Developing workplace relevant engineering and technology skills that is also up-to-date and relevant is critical for a country like India where the IT Services industry contributes to nearly 8% of the GDP. Efforts in this direction go back several years and address two important dimensions   a) Skills development for students that is based on a comprehensive framework of postgraduate level education (WASE/WISTA) and   (b) Capacity building among the faculty of engineering colleges (Mission10X)

The Wipro Academy of Software Excellence (WASE) program that helps Science graduates to study for a Master's degree in Software Engineering (M.Tech). Run in partnership with the Birla Institute of Technology & Science (BITS), Pilani, India, this unique program blends rigorous academic exposure with practical professional learning at the workplace, also run a similar program called WISTA in collaboration with Vellore Institute of Technology (VIT) for science graduates without a mathematics background.

Service provided for Children

- Academic development through trainings in schools.
- Latent Talent Development through sports, singing, dancing, music and literary activities.
- Life skill development through training, classes, seminars and special session.
- Psychological/emotional maturity- through counseling, group therapies, dealing, teaching and relationship building
- Health care

Health

Along with education, access to primary health is a key determinant of an individual's life. Policy on Health and Safety well-being forms the core component of Wipro's success. Well-being refers to a state characterized by good health, happiness and prosperity. Wipro is committed in providing a safe and healthy work environment to all employees, associates and community through a suitable management system. To accomplish the same, they perform the following on a regular basis:

- Assess and manage the health & safety development programmes.

- Wipro Cares works with partners delivering good quality primary health care services to disadvantaged communities covering more than 75000 people in 53 villages across Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

- Provide preventive and curative health services with specific focus on malnutrition and infant mortality rate.

- Initiates disaster rehabilitation projects in various states in response to environmental disasters.

- Provide leadership and medical resources to communities that will enable them to meet their medical needs.

- Encourage employee involvement in medical aid activities and provide an impetus through training to augment their ability to work productively in cementing community health care initiatives.

- Conduct health awareness classes and medical camps for community development.

- Periodic reviews of conformance to health, safety management systems and performance.

Environmental Policy

A well-articulated policy serves as a lighthouse and catalyst for change. Wipro's environmental policy has been articulated with this

vision in mind. The backbone of the policy is Wipro's comprehensive Environmental Management System (EMS).The policy is applicable to all divisions and units of the IT business, including any new operation that gets initiated.

Environmental custodianship and Corporate Citizenship are an integral part of the "Spirit of Wipro", a set of values which define its core aspirations. The three cornerstones of their policy are "Compliance, Stewardship and Commitment" implying (i) compliance with environmental regulations (ii) responsible stewardship that extends to customers, suppliers, investors and employees and (iii) commitment to the principles of the triple bottom-line - Planet, People and Profit-through actions, both within and outside Wipro. These are explained in detail in the following principles:

- Wipro believes that environmental regulations have a critical role to play in sustainable development.

- Wipro strive to reduce and minimize the ecological footprint of its internal operations. Their focus is on four dimensions: reduction in Energy and GHG (Greenhouse Gas) footprint, increase in Water Efficiency, Sustainable Waste management, and preservation and enhancement of Biodiversity in campuses. They do this through a three pronged approach of

- (i) Instituting robust processes in measuring and monitoring project impacts.

- (ii) Deploying appropriate solutions and technologies.

- (iii)Engaging all Wipro employees in continuous green improvements at the workplace.

- Integration with business strategy: They integrate internal ecological programs into their core business strategy and corresponding processes of planning, goal setting, measurement and continuous review.

- Customer Stewardship: Engaging collaboratively with customers in identifying and providing appropriate 'Sustainable' products, solutions and services, which will help customers.

- Stakeholder Inclusiveness: Wipro recognizes, achieving ecological sustainability requires collective effort. A cornerstone of sustainability process is to partner and collaborate with multiple stakeholders on common programs: (i) Working with suppliers towards a responsible and sustainable supply chain (ii) Engaging with government in influencing environmental policies and regulations and (iii) Partnering with academia, NGOs and communities on larger goals pertaining to sustainable communities, cities and regions.

- Initiated the Participatory Community Water Program which is completely dependent on ground water.

- Effective and efficient management of urban solid waste.

- Supports programs in social forestry in rural areas of various states.

- Transparency: Wipro commits itself to being transparent, about its goals and progress on sustainability, with all its stakeholders through multiple forums of reporting and disclosure such as annual sustainability reports, the carbon disclosure project, and on- demand requirements from stakeholders.

- Leadership Commitment: Wipro's leadership commits itself to the principles and demands of being an ecologically sustainable organization by provisioning adequately for the investment of necessary resources and by engaging employees continuously in the realization of ecological vision.

- Implementation of policy through widespread awareness and concrete actions, while being open to continual improvement. The policy serves as a strong foundation for seamless integration of marketplace, workplace, environment, and community concerns with Wipro's business operations in order to support the larger goal of sustainable development.

Business Sustainability

Wipro's work on business sustainability focuses on a range of ecological and workplace initiatives, the principal ones of which center around Energy and Carbon, Water, Waste, Biodiversity, Product Stewardship, Supply Chain Responsibility, People Diversity on the aspects of Gender, Disability and Nationality, Employee health, wellness and safety, Employee empowerment through continuous learning and advocacy forums and a framework of comprehensive public reporting.

Working with communities everywhere

Wipro has a presence in more than 57 countries around the world; workforce of more than 145,000 employees. The organization tries to expand and strengthen community programs, CSR policies and other welfare schemes. It is important to point out the organization's contribution to rural communities. Issues of healthcare, education, access to energy, water and sanitation and livelihoods are addressed which had an impact on the larger canvas of community development. For example, the work they do for long term rehabilitation after natural disasters helps strengthen the resilience of the affected communities in different ways e.g. intervention in livelihoods, access to education. Wipro identifies and manages human rights impacts; risks and opportunities that continuously help strengthen workplace policies, practices and programs. It is thus a constant endeavor to stand by commitment and build frameworks to support Wipro in implementing human rights standards.

Discussion and Conclusion

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is gaining more and more importance day by day. CSR is not only drawing the corporate magnates into its circumference, but is also luring educationists, social activists, reformists, from all over the world to delve deeper into it. The business CSR implementations and process is multi faceted as it involves many departments and subsidiaries. Wipro recognizes social and ecological challenges that face humanity today, integral to business as the economic drivers. Hence the triple bottom lines of Economic, Environmental and Social good are essential part of

their approach to responsible Corporate Citizenship. Results suggest that CSR oriented organizational values reinforces CSR strategies of company which in turn brings added value strengthening beyond finance. The firm has established a strong foundational framework for social and environmental initiatives both, within the organization as well as outside. The coming together of business, government and civil society to address society's biggest challenges holds great promise. Added values become more prominent in internal dimensions such as human resources and operations, and the external dimension such as reputation and external interest groups. By keeping in mind the changing market scenario business firms have to change their work culture as per the market demands. As per the changing market demands need of the hour is the development of CSR policies with strong framework that can contribute to better corporate environment.

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Mediatisation of India's Demonetisation: Social Constructs and Perceptions

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ABSTRACT

*M*odifying information based on the presentation styles appropriate for media- mediatisation- was pronounced in the media texts of demonetisation. Similarly representations relied on social norms, cultural values and dominant ideology could carry audience along with these texts for a considerable period. The context in which an indignant society lived with the injustice and inequality born out of systemic failures was attributed as one of the factors of success of the processes of mediatisation and representation of demonetisation. Even bitter real world experiences could not dissuade the favourable public perception of this exercise. This paper was an attempt to make sense of this dichotomous social phenomenon with the help of an empirical study of public perception in the prevalent concepts of mediatisation and representation. The feeling of being suppressed and denied in an unequal society where some privileged class is more equal and the urge to hang on an accepted popular counter narrative to escape from this notion was more forceful than the hardships of demonetisation for people according to this study.

Keywords : **Demonetisation, Mediatisation, Representation, Public perception, Socio-cultural effects**

Introduction

India's demonetisation exercise has been approached not just as a mere monetary policy derivative but as a socio-political and even cultural conundrum in the scholarly arena. In the absence of an eclectic outlook and contextual reading, it is an arduous task to make sense of this complex news event which had a long-standing impact on the lives of the citizens. Ex post facto dividends of demonetisation are still at large in dissimilar ways. Collapse and gradual revival of GDP growth rates, stagnation in manufacturing and trading, chaos in services and unorganised sectors were attributed to the November

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8,2016 withdrawal of high value currencies of Rs.500 and Rs.1000. On the other hand, unearthing of illegal deposits of shell companies, infusion of large amount of unaccounted money into the formal banking system and deterrent effect on illegal money transactions were portrayed as some brighteners in the stock-taking of this process. However, an analysis of the impact of demonetisation was beyond the scope of this paper and it was not an attempt to judge the rights or wrongs of demonetisation. It approached some aspects of India's demonetisation such as mediatisation of the process, how realities were constructed for people by super structures and media systems and how these constructed realities were perceived by ordinary people and how they synthesised this knowledge with real world experiences.

The communication pattern of the demonetisation decision through mass and social media was remarkable in many respects. In a techno centric information era there is every chance for a metamorphosis of news in its myriad forms to a customised module in consonance with the medium through which it is getting disseminated. And it is also curious to note that inhumane nature of technology which is perceived to be logical and scientific and its multi faceted role in forming rationality is not immune to the influence of dominant ideologies such as patriotism and nationalism, ethnic and religious identity affirmation and other sub-cultural strands. Thus the technological deterministic approach to mass media which postulates social change through technology (Hartley, 2004) is insufficient to explain the reception of media messages of demonetisation. In this case, despite having suffered the physical, mental and financial troubles, the rhetorical campaign of projecting demonetisation as a panacea to 'fight against the menace of black money, corruption and terror funding' and the content reproduced by media from the campaign could sway the public opinion in its favour at least to post decisive victory in the 2017 Assembly Elections of India (UP, Goa, Utharakhand and Manipur) except Punjab.

Indian Mass Media has been globalised in its style, presentation and content. It was not in the direction of movement of technology, expertise, capital or labour. Global media ownership and its control over content is no longer an alien concept for Indian context. Monopolisation has paved the way for cultural homogeneity, new forms of politico-economic interests and control. These macro and micro level changes have influenced the news journalism in India. The peripheral changes which are obvious in Indian media post-globalisation are not innocent or sanguine.

With the advent of internet, print media has been resorting more on to analysis, interpretation, and off-beat and in-depth coverage to

survive. Narrative journalism has been reinvented and stories have been told not only to 'infotain' but to initiate public reaction through its cyber arms. Although it looks quite nice and 'intellectual', it has also opened up avenues to depart from objectivity and to embrace subjectivities. As a corollary to this development, it is quite natural to expect the creeping-in of capital interests and monolithic cultural norms.

Visual media in India has been facing the homogenisation of content, personification of events rather than its massive impact, news judgment on the basis of individual tastes of larger-than-life anchors instead of matured gate keeping exercise, reductionism of complex issues and predictability of formats. It has often produced illusion of rational public spheres but in fact smuggled in distorted facts, concocted dialogues and veiled pictures of reality.

The forms of democratainment in print and visual media have been amplified in Internet media and social networking sites through its inherent characteristics of multimediality, hypertextuality and interactivity. Although celebrated as 'new media' which opens up skies for individual manifestations and involvement in public issues and an impregnable platform for free speech and expressions, internet media has slowly been converted into a propagandist tool of powerful elites and organised cyber groups with subjective interests.

Mass media content of Indian demonetisation and the perceptions it might have been produced could be discerned only by acquiring a sense of the political economy in which it operated and the cultural values it imbibed from the original messages.

Guiding Theories and Literature

Mediatisation and Representation of Demonetisation:

Mediatisation is a process of modification of message in accordance with the media requirements. Communicators conform to a set of media practices in presentation and media in turn favour such acts as it simplifies their job. This process gain acceptance from audience as it makes the message more accessible, easy-to-understand and entertaining. Mediatisation is primarily concerned with the source and medium and not necessarily audience. Mediatisation is a structural analysis of media and source induced socio-cultural transformation in society. Mediatisation is also derived from media logic which follows the maximisation of public appeal and impact.

Presentation of certain ideas through some culturally accepted signifiers may ensure subjugation. Such representations often have high emotional layers attached to it and it act as an influential factor

in getting positive treatment. The monotonous rationality is often discarded by people as it is difficult to comprehend because of its engagement with mundane facts. Thus representations which are amenable to human cognition receive wider popularity. However it may bury the actual issues and concerns for a while until the real world experiences overpower the temporary illusions.

Demonetisation messages have been modified with much theatrics. Trumping the US president Elections, bolt from the announcement had enough drama and rhetoric to strike the chords of taxonomy of news values. Its far, wide and deep impact on daily life of people, fear appeal and immediacy were the riveting elements of audience to the source. Representation of the decision in the frames of nationalism, puritanism, battle against corruption and revolution of common mass complemented this intent attention. The sources of demonetisation including Prime Minister, Governments, financial and monetary institutions who were aware of the extreme hardships that may eventually cause after the implementation has hidden behind such ideological walls and tried to camouflage the reality. They invoked representations such as righteousness, national interest, causes of poverty, integrity and honesty and even religious texts such as *yagna* for purification to covertly push in the agenda. Mediatisation was another strategy employed by them in an invincible manner as they readily produced a chain of news events and created an ambience which conforms to the interests and practices of globalised Indian media. However, it is also important to note the subsequent media presentation of ground reality when the consequences have slowly unravelled and sufferings of people protracted.

The representation and mediatisation processes involved in the images and texts of demonetisation have constructed a social reality or rather deconstructed the realities as per the conveniences of superstructures and media. The narratives of demonetisation harped on binary opposites and ignored the sufferings of invisible masses. It has demonstrated the hyper-ritualised representation (Goffman, 1979) such as combat of 'sinner versus saint' and the victorious emergence of 'good guys'. The socio-cultural variations in the representation of the process had its bearing in the attention and perception of public and differential amplification of related news and images had drawn people's outlook from reality to the new norms of social reality. The simplified notion of media- distorts of reality is not sound enough to explain this complex case. From a post modern perspective, media has become the reality (Baudillard, 1988) itself.

The theoretical picture presented above may give insights on the construction of social realities of demonestisation. However, when the hardships of the process or 'real world experiences' have become

extreme enough to force people to pause and look back on what happened, a grinding halt was unavoidable for the superstructures and media system as well. The slew of remedial measures followed and the panic campaign initiated to legitimise the decision were signs of the fallacies of constructed realities and synthetic representations. Naturally one can expect public perceptions based on the synthesis of 'real world experiences' and its somewhat objective presentations in media. However this study has revealed some interesting aspects of public perceptions which lingered more on representations and mediatised content of demonetisation. This intriguing phenomenon has called for further epistemological enquiry and comprehensive understanding of realities of demonetisation.

Text and context of demonetisation:

Powerful elite, who often acted as the sources of news shape, construct and package frames for news and information which may be useful for building consensus in favour of them. An unwritten agreement between powerful elite sources and news outlets can be visible in cases such as military aggression along the borders of the country, national security, terrorism etc. Evidences of human rights violations and facts of the locale occasionally contested such frames with no success. Identities based on nationhood, territorial integrity, ethnicity and culture which are deeply ingrained in societies help reinforcing the frames built by the powerful elite. When real world events are in conformity with such frames it is easy for them to segregate water tight compartments of binary opposites where plurality and multitude of ideas and opinions has no place in the formation of a dynamic public sphere. In this process the merit of the elements in the frames propagated by the powerful elite remain unscrutinised; thereby fizzling out the chances of putting out relevant issues which weaken the structures of power. In the case of demonetisation drive, the process was framed as a crusade against illegal money making and this has sometimes-not always-pushed the media away from objective understanding and reporting of the news event.

India was ranked 79th out of 176 countries in corruption perception index in a study conducted by Transparency International in 2016. They estimated that Rs. 21,000 Crore is being paid as bribes every year by Indians to receive government services (Sukhtankar S.,& Vaishnav M., 2016). It is estimated that the size of illicit economy in India was 50% of GDP i.e. $640 billion based on a GDP of $1.28 trillion in 2008 (Devkar, 2008). According to this estimate 72.2% of illicit money was held overseas. Estimates on corruption practices in India have been reached on the basis of 'big cases' which involve

prominent politicians, bureaucrats and institutions. The ground reality is far worse than the statistics. Corruption has been routinised in many grass root level offices and 'extra payment' out of the books has become common, natural and a way of life. In his November 8 speech of demonetisation announcement Prime Minister Narendra Modi framed this issue with these words.

'The magnitude of cash in circulation is directly linked to the level of corruption.   Inflation becomes worse through the deployment of cash earned in corrupt ways. The poor have to bear the brunt of this.' (Modi, 2016).

National Election Watch, an NGO conducted an analysis of funds received by six national parties during 31 elections held between 2008 and 2012. Their analysis was based on the declaration submitted by these parties to the Election Commission of India. This study revealed that 65.5% (Rs.1667.16 Crores) of the total funds (Rs 2545.36 Crores) received by these parties was in the form of cash. However it has been widely reported that the declaration of funds is miniscule and the real cash spent in elections is many fold higher than the figures quoted above. This data implies that the cash in circulation fuels the growth of political corruption. Every election is the beginning of the corruption cycle which lasts for five years. Since the issue is perceived as ubiquitous and mundane, Prime Minister, in his demonetisation speech, has merely said 'debate on the role of black money in elections has been going on for years'. Since November 8, 2016 PM and the spokespersons of the Government of India has used the term 'black money' interchangeably with 'unaccounted money' which was not taxed.

In almost all speeches on demonetisation, Modi has presented an abstract view about corruption through generic terms. Responsibility has not been fixed on individuals or institutions. Steps to preserve institutional integrity were absent in these narratives. Efforts were deliberately made to divide the entire society as 'corrupt' and 'honest' classes. Those who were forced to succumb to the unaccounted money transactions due to the lack of financial inclusion, cumbersome and hefty tax procedures, under valuation of properties, digital divide and many other reasons were also categorised in the latter class. This type of 'us' (honest) versus 'them' (corrupt) narrative made the complex issue of menace of black money of India easily understandable to the common people and clothed legitimacy on extreme steps to tackle with this issue.

Apart from that, it is also pertinent to make sense of the context in which demonetisation drive was taken off. Institutional and political corruption has become so common and rampant in the last two decades of globalisation of India. Innumerable scams

were unearthed by constitutional bodies, whistle blowers, media and activists and 'crony capitalism' has become the buzzword in media discourses. The scale and magnitude of corruption was aghast and it fuelled public actions such as movement for Jan Lokpal bill by Anna Hazare. Losing faith in the conventional political parties, people were even ready to experiment with parties such Aam Aadmi which was launched solely on the platform of anti corruption movement. Public anger was so deep and it was obvious in the mandate for BJP in 2014 general elections. Although the BJP could secure only 31% of the votes the majority for NDA (336 seats out of 545) was overwhelming and unexpected. Political observers attributed anti incumbency factor due to corruption and institutional failure and subsequent negative voting by the public to this whopping majority. In sum, disenchantment with the political leadership, public institutions, bureaucracy and other establishments is growing, taking shape and bursting out on several occasions due to lack of transparency and widespread corruption among Indian psyche. This has created a conducive atmosphere for framing extreme steps such as demonetisation for the government.

In the backdrop of this context and subsequent texts of demonetisation, this paper has ventured into discern the public perceptions of demonetisation both in terms of media depictions and real world experiences.

Objectives

The broad objective of the study was to ascertain the public perception of India's demonetisation and to discern the role of mass media coverage in shaping up such perceptions. In this process the study has also ventured into the analysis of public perception of demonetisation on the basis of real world experiences of people.

The specific objectives were to

- evaluate the public perception of representation of India's demonetisation drive as 'crusade against corruption and terrorism' and 'purification *mahayagna* to clean money and nation' by its proponents

- explore the public perception of mass media coverage of such representations

- analyse the public perception of demonetisation exercise based on real life experiences of people

and

- evaluate the factors which contributed to the public perception of representations and real life experiences
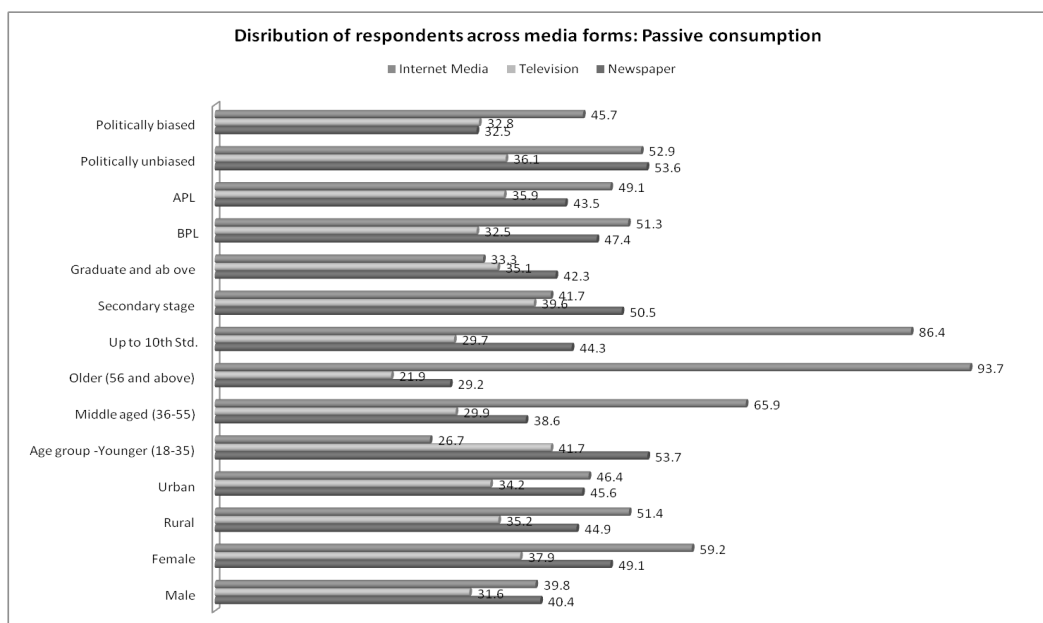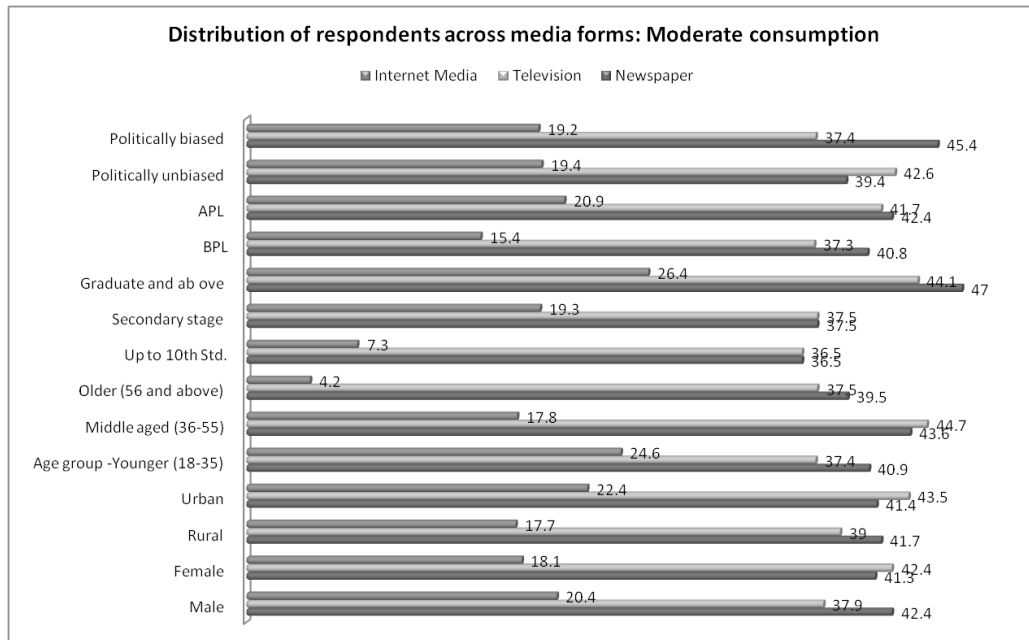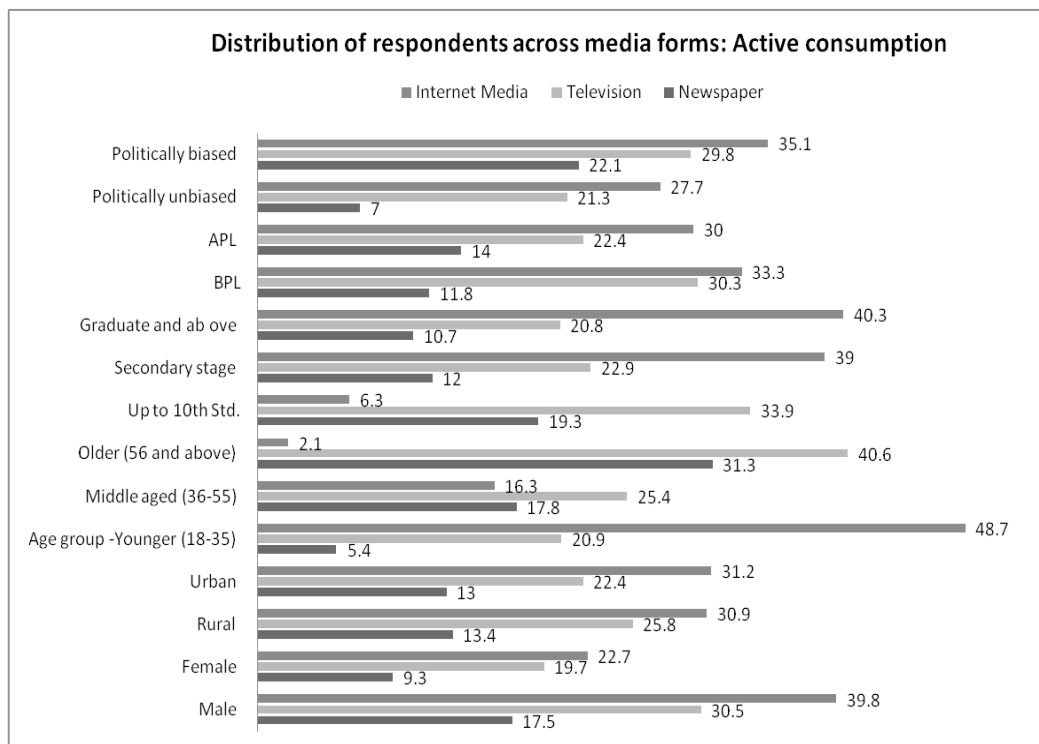
Research design

The research design of this study comprised exploratory analysis of secondary data and field study of Thiruvananthapuram District, Kerala. The research instrument prepared for the study included 15 questions which were to be answered in a summated rating scale. The measurement of perception or attitudes towards various aspects of the demonetisation drive was achieved through the data collected in this format. Three rural and three urban clusters of Thiruvananthapuram district were selected to constitute a sample size of 729. Systematic sampling method with an interval width of seven was used to choose the sample. The study was conducted during January-February 2017 and the respondents had higher remembrance of issues in relation to demonetisation. Triangulating the results of analysis of data obtained from exploratory study with the results of the field study has broadened the scope of the study.

Findings and Analysis

The profile of the respondents was tabulated on the basis of media consumption pattern and the demographic variables. Although the media consumption levels are high in the state of Kerala owing to high literacy and exposure to the external world, the data revealed moderate and passive media use among the majority of respondents across different socio-economic categories (See figures 1,2 and 3).

Figure 1

Disribution of respondents across media forms: Passive consumption

■ Internet Media   ■ Television   ■ Newspaper

Figure 2

Distribution of respondents across media forms: Moderate consumption

■ Internet Media ■ Television ■ Newspaper

Category	Internet Media	Television	Newspaper
Politically biased	19.2	37.4	45.4
Politically unbiased	19.4	39.4	42.6
APL	20.9	41.7	42.4
BPL	15.4	37.3	40.8
Graduate and above	26.4	44.1	47
Secondary stage	19.3	37.5	37.5
Up to 10th Std.	7.3	36.5	36.5
Older (56 and above)	4.2	37.5	39.5
Middle aged (36-55)	17.8	44.7	43.6
Age group -Younger (18-35)	24.6	37.4	40.9
Urban	22.4	41.4	43.5
Rural	17.7	39	41.7
Female	18.1	42.4	41.3
Male	20.4	37.9	42.4

Figure 3

Distribution of respondents across media forms: Active consumption

■ Internet Media ■ Television ■ Newspaper

Category	Internet Media	Television	Newspaper
Politically biased	35.1	29.8	22.1
Politically unbiased	27.7	21.3	7
APL	30	22.4	14
BPL	33.3	30.3	11.8
Graduate and above	40.3	20.8	10.7
Secondary stage	39	22.9	12
Up to 10th Std.	33.9	19.3	6.3
Older (56 and above)	40.6	31.3	2.1
Middle aged (36-55)	25.4	17.8	16.3
Age group -Younger (18-35)	48.7	20.9	5.4
Urban	31.2	22.4	13
Rural	30.9	25.8	13.4
Female	22.7	19.7	9.3
Male	39.8	30.5	17.5

Perceptions of demonetisation representations by media and authority

The statements put forth among respondents sought their perceptions on the intended aims of demonetisation such as curbing of black or unaccounted money, checking fake currency circulation and a bold step to stop illegal investments in gold and real estate. Majority of the respondents favoured these representations as shown in Figure 4. The mean score analysis had shown that respondents were in agreement with the proposition that demonetisation could stop black money hoarding altogether (M= 3.58, S.D.=1.231). They almost agreed to the claim that it could prevent counterfeit currencies (M=3.48, S.D.= 1.27). However they were neutral in stating that the process could halt illegal investments (M=3.19, S.D.= 1.222).

Figure 4
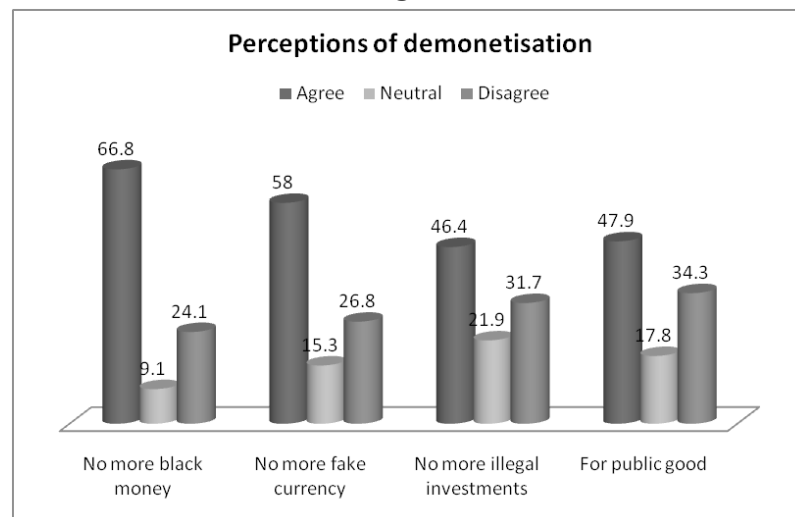
Public perception of Mass Media coverage of demonetisation

Mass media coverage of demonetisation after its initial 'awe' picked up momentum of unfolding events and they presented versions, opinions, events and analysis of the event throughout the demonetisation drive. The editorial positioning of media in general cannot be attributed either as the role of supporter or opponent since the actors of each camp was vehement in their public engagement. The interpreted facts by the sources itself had affected the objectivity of the coverage. However people could discern the pros and cons of the decision based on their interactions and experiences. The statements put forth to know the public perception about the media coverage yielded the following responses (Table 1.0). Although there is an emphatic agreement among the majority (40.3%) on the

supporting role of traditional media the response was neutral in this regard. Similar results were obtained for the standpoint of traditional media criticism on the implementation of the decision. Majority agreed that traditional media were somewhat critical in its ways of implementation. The cult status enjoyed by the PM since 2014 has been continuing at least in media discourses. However respondents from this part of the country were almost evenly distributed in their opinion on the relation between PM and media in this regard.

Table 1.0 Descriptive statistics

Perception towards media coverage of demonetisation; N=729					
Statements	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Agree (%)**	**Neutral (%)**	**Disagree (%)**
Newspapers and TV news channels have supported demonetisation exercise in principle	3.22	1.106	40.3	32.4	27.3
Newspapers and TV news channels have opposed the way in which demonetisation was implemented.	3.16	1.14	42.5	28.1	29.4
Newspapers and TV news channels have supported PM Narendra Modi in their demonetisation coverage	3.04	1.043	33	36.5	30.5

Public perception of real life experiences of demonetisation

A substantial majority of respondents acknowledged their personal difficulties and their fear of economic down turn due to demonetisation (See table 1.1). A clear agreement was also visible in mean score analysis (M=3.7 and M= 3.65). They were critical about government's hasty moves and unpreparedness for dealing with the after effects of this exercise. 71.6% of the respondents were of this view. This data revealed the real life experiences were bitter and hard to deal with for common people. However the respondents were neutral (M= 3.2) to the statement which alleged political motives

behind demonetisation of PM and his party. But a closer look revealed that majority (41.6%) found such interests in this exercise. Although majority of them (47.2%) feared destruction of cooperative sector which caters to the rural economy in a big way, overall response was neutral (M= 3.38).

Table 1.1 Descriptive statistics

Public perception after real life experiences of demonetisation N=729					
Statements	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Agree (%)**	**Neutral (%)**	**Disagree (%)**
The cash crunch after demonetisation has adversely impacted the economy	3.7	1.088	64.2	20.4	15.4
I had to suffer extreme difficulties due to demonetisation	3.65	1.289	63.8	11	25.2
Government was not prepared to deal with the issues of demonetisation	3.88	1.192	71.6	16.5	11.9
PM and the government have political motives behind this decision	3.2	1.209	41.6	32.4	26
Demonetisation will destroy the cooperatives in the state.	3.38	1.051	47.2	18.3	34.5

Conclusion

The reality of demonetisation was bleak for common people according to this study as their real life experiences were bitter and hard to survive. They expressed their displeasure by concurring to the allegation of political motives. They found mass media not as an opponent of demonetisation but as a critic of its implementation. In Kerala, PM could not garner unequivocal support from media for this extreme monetary step. Although the reality is depressing, representations and social constructs such as puritanism and

nationalism could gain substantial attention and acceptance. This observation demanded further explanations.

The context in which demonetisation was exercised and the texts used for its presentation has more significance while explaining this dichotomous relation. The menace of corruption and money laundering in India is nauseating for many. Everyone wants to be on the side of righteousness if at all they engage in illegal and unethical practices and they blame the 'system' for their wrong doings. This moral dilemma might have created a conducive atmosphere for the reception of social constructs and hyper reality. Mediatisation was the central player in this process.

Notes:

- Corruption Perception Index 2016. https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016

- Sukhtankar, Sandip & Vaishnav, Milan. 2016. Tackling Corruption In India. livemint.com/opinion.

- http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/9FkwZiJYmcGAMpSMFUOW1I/Tackling-corruption-in-India.html

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Noise Reduction of Sound Signals for Communication Applications

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ABSTRACT

*S*ound noise is a prevalent barrier to many communication contexts. Noise in communication systems can corrupt or make the message unintelligible. Advancement in technology has made a lot of progress in smartphones and personal computers. This along with the development of open source software have reduced the cost of many audio experiments. These gadgets along with free software can be used for removing noise in many communication scenarios. Here in this paper, we take you through noise reduction techniques and guidelines which anyone with basic computer skills can use. With these tools better noise reduction and communication is possible.

*Keywords : **Noise control, Communication Systems, Audio
          Measurements, Noise Removal***

Introduction

According to Communication theories, noise refers to anything that interferes with the communication process between a speaker and an audience. It is also called interference.

Noise can be external (a physical sound) or internal (a mental disturbance), and it can disrupt the communication process at any

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point. Another way to think of noise, says Alan Jay Zaremba, is as a "factor that reduces the chances of successful communication but does not guarantee failure." ("Crisis Communication: Theory and Practice," 2010)

"Noise is like second-hand smoke," says Craig E. Carroll, "having negative impacts on people without anyone's consent." ("The Handbook of Communication and Corporate Reputation," 2015)

"External noises are sights, sounds and other stimuli that draw people's attention away from the message. For instance, a pop-up advertisement may draw your attention away from a web page or blog. Likewise, static or service interruptions can play havoc in cell phone conversations, the sound of a fire engine may distract you from a professor's lecture or the smell of donuts may interfere with your train of thought during a conversation with a friend." (Kathleen Verderber, Rudolph Verderber, and Deanna Sellnows, "Communicate!" 14th ed. Wadsworth Cengage 2014)

"There are four kinds of noise. Physiological noise is distraction caused by hunger, fatigue, headaches, medication and other factors that affect how we feel and think.

Physical noise is interference in our environments, such as noises made by others, overly dim or bright lights, spam and pop-up ads, extreme temperatures and crowded conditions. Psychological noise refers to qualities in us that affect how we communicate and interpret others. For instance, if you are preoccupied with a problem, you may be inattentive at a team meeting.

Likewise, prejudice and defensive feelings can interfere with communication. Finally, semantic noise exists when words themselves are not mutually understood. Authors sometimes create semantic noise by using jargon or unnecessarily technical language." (Julia T. Wood, "Interpersonal Communication: Everyday Encounters," 6th ed. Wadsworth 2010).

In the present study, the researchers try to minimize the physical noise (Sound) in Communication applications in an experimental set up using the latest tools available.

All communication systems are susceptible to noise and ideally must be robust enough to handle it. Figure 1 below shows the well-known Shannon and weaver model of communication[1].

Fig. 1 Shannon and weaver model of communication
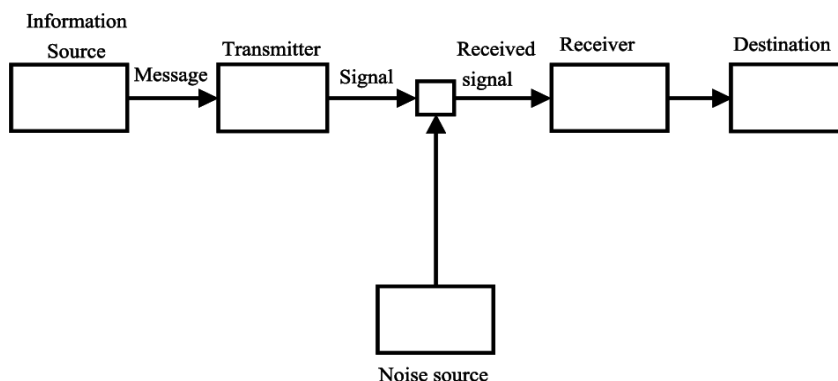
Here we have the signal produced by a source and transmitted by the transmitter. At the other end, it is received and decoded by the receiver to the destination. The noise gets introduced in between, often compromising the signal quality and intelligibility. Techniques to deal with such noise is an active area of research. However, the problems with noise and performance degradation of communication systems due to this still prevails. As with industrialization and urbanization, the problems with auditory noise are rising day by day. With the present state of noise pollution and industrial noise, it's our responsibility to maintain the sound levels to healthy standards. Long exposure to high decibels of sound can cause temporary or permanent hearing loss[2]. Techniques to deal with such auditory noise is the need of the century. A better communication system must be resistant enough to tackle such unwanted noise.

Sound is produced by vibrating objects in the air which creates a pressure disturbance. This disturbance is propagated, as small volumes of air is compressed and expanded which in turn does the same to another nearby air particles. These oscillations are functions of time and space. In principle, no particle is traveling from one end to another end but the energy gets transferred. These sound waves can be thought of as pressure fluctuations from static atmospheric pressure. The lowest level of sound pressure-change that human ear can detect is 20μPa and is called the threshold of detection. Since human ear is non-linear in perceiving these pressure changes, the common measure used is Sound Pressure Level (SPL) in decibels. An SPL value of 0 dB represents the faintest sound an average human ear can detect and the threshold of pain corresponds to 120 dB.

In acoustics scenarios, with closed enclosures like office space, classrooms, living room etc., sound received at a point of interest can be represented as a sum of delayed and scaled versions of the original signal. Figure 2 shows a diagrammatic representation of sound received at a point of interest for an arbitrary room.

Fig. 2 Diagrammatic representation of sound as a direct component along with its reflections
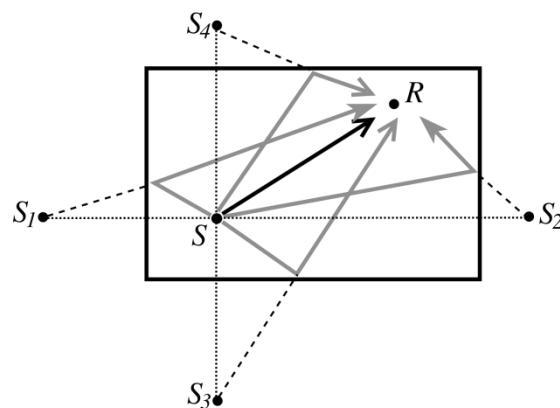
The air particle vibration reaching the microphone membrane will cause the membrane to vibrate with respect to the acoustic signal. This causes an electrical signal with respect to the audio signal to be produced which is picked up by a pre-amplifier. The captured analog signal is then sampled and digitized at regular intervals of time and logged for later use.

The development of high-performance computing hardware has made processing of digital signals very fast and efficient. This, along with the progress in signal processing domain has made possible the design of robust signal processing systems. The open source movement has created so many tools and software for easy processing of audio signals. Techniques to deal with noise in audio signals is an active area of research.

Objectives of the Study

Here in this study, the general objective is to remove noise from the recorded audio signals.

The Specific Objective is the removal of noise from recorded or captured signals and Active Noise Cancellation (ANC) in enclosed spaces.

Study method

Sound Pressure Level Measurement

As a first step, we take sound pressure levels of various acoustics scenarios like office space, garden, roadways etc., to get an idea about different noise levels at various conditions. Monitoring of acoustic noise levels is a first step one would require towards noise control. Sound level meters are typically used for noise level monitoring in scientific experiments. Though a large number and variety of such devices are available in the market, awareness among the common public about these devices is less. On the other hand, smart-phone devices are widely accepted among the public for various purposes. With present day's technology, these smart-phone devices contain various applications including personal assistance, navigation, communication, entertainment etc. We have used a smart phone with SLA Litei OS app by Toon, LLC for sound pressure level measurement. A recent comparative study of SLA Lite with various other competitors can be found here[3]. This paper suggests, SLA Lite as having good performance with a good accuracy.

Noise Removal

Noise removal of the recorded audio signals is done using the software Audacity 2.1.2, which is a free and open-source software. It has ways to load the recorded audio signals in various popular formats like mp3 and wav. A wide range of pre-built functions is available with the software which can be applied to the loaded audio signal. Figure 3 below shows a screenshot of audio signal loaded in the software Audacity. The set of pre-built functions include functions to change pitch, speed, tempo, click removal, echo, equalization etc. Using these functions available, we can examine individual signals and perform the noise removal and the processed audio signal can be saved thereafter.

Fig. 3 Screenshot of an audio signal loaded in Audacity
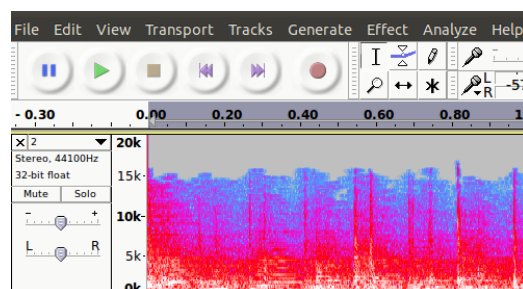
Results and Discussion

Figure 4 below shows the measurement screenshot of the application in a typical office environment. The table 1 below shows the sound pressure levels in Leq(dB) at five various acoustics conditions measured.
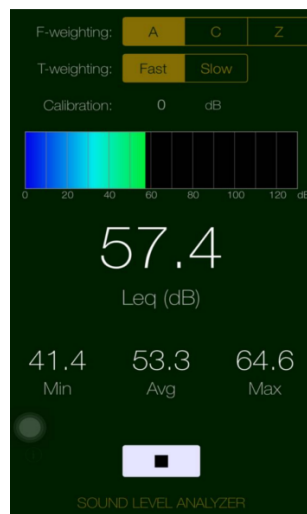
**Table 1. Sound pressure levels measured at various environments**

No	Scenario	Leq (dB)
1	Office	57.4
2	Garden	53.4
3	Lab	51.7
4	Road Side	79.9
5	Living Room	44.5

From the measured data, it is evident that the ambient sound pressure levels in various acoustic scenarios are different and care must be taken while recording audio at such locations.

We have recorded the audio of a male saying the Harward sentence[4] "It's easy to tell the depth of a well" at five of these locations. These audio signals were loaded into audacity and normalized with maximum amplitude to -1.0 dB as a pre-processing

step. Each of these signals was further analyzed for removing the background noise and for a better quality of the speech signal. As a first step, the recorded signals were loaded and visualized with its Spectrogram. Figure 5 below shows the first few seconds of a sound signal recorded at an office. Here a horizontal line around 15 KHz is a measurement noise hum which can be reduced by using a notch filter. It also shows before and after background noise removal of the audio signal.

Fig 5 (a). Recoded audio signal before noise reduction (b) after noise reduction
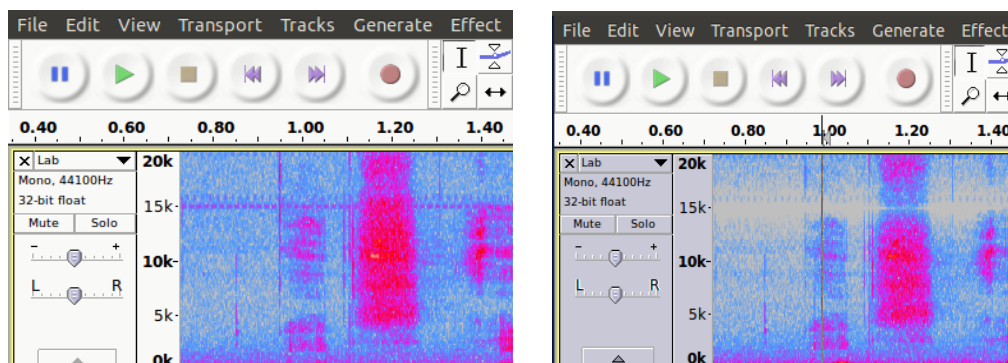
We have used the option to automatically get noise profile from audio signals and remove it. At any stage, we have the option to preview the change and make sure no information loss or signal quality is compromised. We have performed the same set of prebuilt operations on each of the audio signal and exported the processed signal as output. The different parameters used for the processing of all the audio signals are given in the table 2 below.

Table 2. Parameter setting used for the noise reduction of audio signals

No	Parameter	Value
1	Noise reduction(dB)	25
2	Sensitivity	10
3	Frequency smoothing bands	3

We have asked ten people from our lab to volunteer and grade the noise reduction improvement from 0 to 9. Here a grade of zero represents no improvement in the reduction of background noise. The average noise reduction improvement for each of the environment

graded by test subjects are given in the table 3 below.

Table 3. Average value of perceived noise reduction graded by test subjects for various acoustic environments

No	Scenario	Noise reduction (a.u)
1	Garden	4.05
2	Lab	6.80
3	Living Room	7.60
4	Office	7.30
5	Roadway	4.70
Average reduction		**6.09**

From the result, we could infer that average noise reduction perception of 6.09 (a.u.) could be made for different acoustic scenarios. This reduction in noise shall significantly enhance the efficiency of message delivery in any communication context.

Conclusion

Using open source software and free smart phone applications, we have showed that noise monitoring and noise removal from recorded audio signals can be done without any costly hardware or software. Our results show average noise reduction perception of 6.09 (a.u.) for different acoustic scenarios. This sets an example for usage of open source software and general purpose hardware for noise reduction in communication applications. We hope these examples will be helpful to motivate researchers and technicians who work with audio but don't directly have an expertise in audio signal processing.

Acknowledgement

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