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From the Chief Editor's Desk



Prof. Sanjay Dwivedi Director General, Indian Institute of Mass Communication

The Indian freedom struggle and journalism have a very close relationship. During that time, journalism and service to the country went hand in hand. Countless journalists, editors and writers have sacrificed all their personal ambitions to ensure the future generations of this country have access to fresh air. As a result of the tortures of the British government, many journalists, writers and editors died in oblivion. Although they could have saved their lives by apologizing to the British government, they decided not to, because it would have blunted the edge of freedom. As the freedom movement was in its early stages, it was journalists and writers who kept the flames of the struggle burning.

Since 1780, the British government has used every means to strangle journalism by imposing censorship, enacting strangulation laws, imprisoning journalists and editors, imposing ridiculous requirements on advertisements, banning newspapers and books, and penalizing writers and journalists. Many journalists and editors were tortured in Andaman prisons and their replacements were always ready to go to jail in their place.

The linguistic journalism of that era had a big impact on national consciousness. Unlike the English language newspapers, which were basically the mouthpiece of the British government, Indian language publications were openly critical of the British government. Due to varied media, the spark of independence emerged in different forms across the country and the flame that arose from it led to the rise of the sun of *Swaraj* in 1947.

The Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav is an initiative of the Government of India to celebrate and commemorate 75 years of independence and the glorious history of its people, culture and achievements. The official journey of Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav commenced on 12th March 2021 which started with a 75-week countdown to our 75th anniversary of independence and will end on 15th August 2023.

Considering the importance of this initiative, the Department of Publications at the Indian Institute of Mass Communication intended to publish a special issue of its flagship journal *Communicator* on *Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav*. Our call for papers led to a substantial number of submissions from media experts, communication specialists, academicians, and scholars. Out of many papers included in the issue, a paper examines the evolution of human interest by looking at themes, styles, placement and sources of stories during the past century. In a quantitative content analysis of the Indian centenarian

newspapers from pre-independence to the present day. This paper also examines how socio-political conditions influences human-interest stories in Indian print media.

Another paper examines the news coverage on August 15, 1947 of India's Independence in select English newspapers. It explores, how news about India's independence was reported on the front page of the four newspapers - The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Chicago Daily Tribune, and The Irish Times, on August 15, 1947.

This issue also traces the journey of Marathi Daily *Kesari* and its impact on Indian Journalism in the context of Indian nationalism. According to the authors, *Kesari* laid the foundation for the revolution in Indian journalism and set up a new definition that was followed not only in the pre-independence era, but also in the post-independence period. Another paper attempts to study how the broadcasting from the BBC countered the voice of *Azad Hind Radio*. It suggests that during India's war of independence, radio emerged as a compelling platform for the BBC and Subhas Chandra Bose's *Azad Hind Radio*.

The paper on the contribution of Gopabandhu Das and *The Samaja* to Odisha's nationalist movement focused on the role of regional press in the Indian freedom movement and the authors believe the role is inextricably linked to the nationalism of the press. Likewise, a paper about evading censorship and comparing Ghose brothers' *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, 1878, received space as well. It aims to illuminate the circumstances leading to the introduction of the Vernacular Press Act and its consequences afterwards, with a special focus on *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

This issue carries many papers on a wide range of topics, including Assamese print media and its struggle, J&K media in the post-independence era, conceptualizing Ojapali's role as a folk media during the Indian independence struggle, and an overview of Indian print media.

I hope that the topics covered in this special issue of *Azadi ka Amrit Mahostav* will be of interest to the readers. Finally, I would like want to thank the editorial team, the entire editorial board, and the reviewers for their continuous support. I also urge readers to send their valuable suggestions to further improve upon.





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Is Digital Media Posing a Serious Challenge to Print Media?

SANJAY DWIVEDI1

ABSTRACT

Information is pouring in from all the progressive countries of the world that the print media is in crisis. It is said that very soon the newspapers will disappear. The 2008 J. Gomez's book 'Print is Dead' emphasizes this very concept. Writing about this book in Library Review Literary Review, Anthony Cheetham wrote—
"This is a wake-up call for anyone in the print media who has not yet grasped or embraced the realities of the digital world created by the Internet." Despite this, is the danger inevitable? The print media has undergone drastic changes in the US and other western countries. Will the same incidents be repeated in the Indian market? On the one hand, there have been reports of closure of many newspapers in India, but on the other hand, publication of many newspapers has also started. Amidst such a mixed scenario, it is necessary to overview this subject thoroughly.

Keywords: Print media, Digital media, Newspaper, New media, Social media, Internet

Introduction

The Indian market is still buoyed by the news of the progress of print media. Every year there is an increase in the circulation of newspapers. New editions of newspapers are being brought out daily. Many newspapers are again knocking in the same cities where they had once stopped their journey. Newspapers in Indian languages are enjoying huge popularity. Be it readership surveys or circulation statistics, it is clear that the newspapers are still growing in the Indian market. Newspapers are by far the most popular way of getting news in India. According to the 2011 Census of India, about 68% of Indians live in villages, where the print medium is still the most preferred media product. (Aneez *et al.*, 2016).

The story of the newspapers in India began in the year 1780, when James Augustus Hickey published the first newspaper 'Bengal Gazette'. This newspaper, published from Calcutta, was built on the foundation of Hickey's persistence, passion, and standing by the truth. Later, the first newspaper in Hindi was published in 1826, which was named 'Udant Martand'. It was started by a Kanpur resident Yugal Kishore Shukla living in Calcutta. In this way, Calcutta became the center of Indian journalism. Many famous Bengali, English, and Hindi publications were published here and were read across the country. Till independence, Indian journalism had seen only a phase of

development. After independence, it further developed in technology, printing, newsprint, and content, that is, an all-round development of its quality.

Post globalization newspapers became colored

Newspapers not only in Hindi and English but also in other Indian languages made remarkable progress. As literacy and economy progressed, the circulation of newspapers also enhanced. Newspapers such as 'Malayala Manorama' and 'Matrubhumi' in Kerala have achieved astonishing circulation levels. To understand correctly, the study of Jeffrey (2008) should be referred. During this period, newspapers in all Indian languages expanded and developed unprecedentedly. Many editions were started at the district level and after 1980, almost every major newspaper insisted on being a multi-edition. After 1991, this growth rate accelerated after the acceptance of globalization and free market policies. Capital, technology, speed, and reach changed everything. In a true sense, three decades were of media revolution. Different media were competing and giving power to each other; there was a flood of TV channels; and there was a rapid development of web media. Foreign machines were landing on Indian soil to print newspapers. Newspapers were being printed on foreign newsprint (Jeffrey, 2008).

This was the period when black and white newspapers suddenly became colored. In the 1990s,

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the industrialists of Indian newspapers were entering into agreements with foreign companies. With the advent of foreign capital, newspapers had seen more growth. Liberalization, literacy, and economic progress together gave power to Indian newspapers. In India, printed words have a lot of value. Newspapers are like 'status symbols' for Indians. Breaking social relations, hesitancy to ask for reading, and the spread of nuclear families also increased the growth of newspapers. In this era, a variety of consumer goods had entered the Indian market, which had to reach every household by carrying themselves on the shoulders of media. The newspapers of the country were the most suitable media for this, because they were, and are, trusted by the people.

Challenges of digital media

It has been recognized that the Internet has opened up immense possibilities for the existing media industry. It has influenced the print media industry in a big way due to the rapidly increasing number of Internet users across the world. In the 1930s, it took the newspapers more than a hundred years to reach their peak; in contrast, the Internet took less than 15 years to achieve this status. According to the Pew Research Project, in late 2010, it was found for the first time that people used the Internet more than newspapers to get news (Rosenstiel & Mitchell, 2011). This vast change in the news media landscape has raised fresh questions about the reader's engagement with news as well as the impact of the web on them. Newspapers in India are also changing their modus-operandi and are passing through a phase of digital transformation. News organizations around the world are witnessing viewers and advertisers move from traditional platforms such as print and television to digital, mobile, and social media. The use of digital news and social media is increasing and mobile devices have become the most common way of receiving news in the US (Newman et al., 2016).

This is now visible in India as well. It is being realized that the advent of digital media and influence of social media has challenged the print media. In the era of newspapers closure, the English newspaper 'Daily News and Analysis' (DNA) of the Zee Group has stopped its print edition. The newspaper 'DLA' published from Agra and the evening tabloid 'The Afternoon Dispatch' published from Mumbai have also stopped their publication. The last issue of this newspaper came out on December 29, 2018. Zee Group's newspaper 'DNA' is now available in online edition only. As per their notice, the print edition of this newspaper in Mumbai and Ahmedabad has been

discontinued from October 10, 2019. The 'DNA' newspaper, which started in the year 2005, closed its Delhi edition in early 2019, while in Pune and Bengaluru, the editions were discontinued in the year 2014.

The publication of Agra newspaper 'DLA' was stopped from October 1, 2019. It is worth mentioning that the closure of this daily newspaper published from many cities of Uttar Pradesh including Agra was indeed a shocking event for the print media industry. Ajay Agarwal, who was originally one of the owners of 'Amar Ujala' newspaper, founded 'DLA' after the late Dori Lal Agarwal, the founder of 'Amar Ujala'. The newspaper performed well in the initial phase, but the momentum came to a halt after the expansion of the newspaper in many cities of Uttar Pradesh. Gradually, the newspaper was once again confined to Agra. The newspaper started the 'Midday' tabloid and changed its publication to a broadsheet after a while. Simultaneously, this media group also launched an English newspaper. All efforts were ultimately proving to be fruitless. In such a situation, the management decided to close it in the midst of continuing financial losses. Similarly, Tamil Media Group 'Vikatan' stopped the printing of its four magazines. These include 'Chhuti Vikatan', 'Doctor Vikatan', 'Vikatan Thadam', and 'Aval Manmagal'. They can only be read online now. It is worth mentioning that this media group, established in 1926, is a well-known magazine group of Tamil Nadu. Fifteen magazines were brought out by this group. The group started making its print editions available to the readers online in 1997 itself. In 2005, it started following an online subscription model (Samachar4Media Bureau, 2019a).

Essential discussion on reasons

Newspapers in India being a thriving industry, newspaper organizations and journalists are adopting innovative technology to stay relevant in the rapidly changing environment. Digital technology, Internet, and liberalization have transformed the landscape of Indian newspapers publishing (Chattopadhyay, 2012). Keeping in view the reasons for the closure of newspaper, attention should be paid to the words and reason used in the notice issued while closing the newspaper 'DNA' of the Zee Group. It said, "We are entering in a new and challenging phase. DNA is now going digital. 'DNA' has come a long way in the digital space during the last few months. Looking at the current trend, we are coming to know that our readers, especially the youth, prefer to read on digital rather than print. Apart from the news portal, a mobile app of 'DNA' will also be launched soon, with more

focus on video-based original content. Please note, only the medium is changing, not us, we will not come to your home in the form of a newspaper but will be with you everywhere in the form of a mobile" (Samachar4MediaBureau, 2019b). This single statement helps us to understand the whole scenario.

On the other hand the owner of 'DLA', Agra, who helped transform a newspaper like 'Amar Ujala' into a big one, wrote on the last day of his newspaper "Change is the law of nature and also of the journey of development. In today's digital age of information explosion, printed words on paper are not enough. Now the need of the hour is to make information–news reach the people in the blink of an eye. For this purpose, the publication of 'DLA' print edition has been stopped from October 1, 2019" (Samachar4Media Bureau, 2019c).

With nearly 700 million Internet users and a growth rate of 7%–8%, India has become a digital economy with the largest market potential for companies across the world. The advent of digital technology along with advances in telecommunications has had a detrimental effect on the news industry across the world (Guha, 2017). Wan-Infra in its report state that at least 40% of Internet users around the world read newspapers online and in most developed countries, the number of readers on digital platforms has exceeded print (2016). The report also mentions that for those trying to find a sustainable revenue model for digital news, it may be helpful to note that in 2015, revenue from paid digital circulation increased by 30% (Wan-Infra, 2016).

The report also points to the immense potential for growth on mobile, citing more than 70% of readers in countries such as the US, UK, Australia, and Canada read news via mobile devices. A similar trend is seen in India as well, as mobile growth is increasingly affecting Internet usage. This is reflective of the fact that many digital news sites adopt a mobile-first strategy (Sen & Nielsen, 2016). For example, Hindustan Times hired a mobile editor to build a mobile journalism team of over 700 journalists (Guha, 2017).

Sen and Nielsen (2016) examined digital-born news start-ups in India prominently. In their study, it was concluded that there have been extensive experiments related to quality journalism and online news in India. The study also found that news publishers are adopting a more 'mobile-first' approach in view of the increasing internet usage through mobile devices in India. However, the optimism of Alok Mehta, a senior journalist and editor of several newspapers, should also be seen in this context. In the

media conclave organized to commemorate the 35th anniversary of Hindi newspaper 'Prabhat Khabar', he said, "For a quality newspaper, it is necessary to have strong content. It is not that due to advent of technology or TV and social media; the future of newspapers is in danger. If this was the case, newspapers would not be printed in Japan, because their technology is also far ahead of us and there are too many mobiles there. Newspapers should work on the content which is not available on website or TV channel. The future of print media has always been and will continue to be" (Samachar4MediaBureau, 2019d).

The potential for the growth of online media has been realized in India and even regional news organizations have started online editions of their newspapers. Apart from online newspapers, the increasing use of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and blogs on mobile phones are also posing a tremendous challenge to the traditional newspaper industry, but some statistics of print media compared to online media also present certain facts. Indians still value reading hard copies of newspapers despite having access to online news (Pichandy *et al.*, 2014).

Conclusion

Advances in digital technology have affected traditional journalism in a big way, culminating in the emergence of a new situation where almost all newspapers and TV channels and even radio stations have been compelled to have their presence on the online platforms. The time to come may be more difficult for print media. With the abundance of content coming on e-media, social media, and smart mobiles, people will have less leisure to read. The hunger for news and knowledge is there and will remain in the society, but changing the medium is not a big deal. It is possible that this danger will increase in front of the print media amidst the changing technology of use of media. It is also possible that the way media convergence is being used, our news media may remain volatile in print, but remain dominant in e-media, mobile news app, web media, and social media due to their brand value, authenticity, and credibility. It's too early to make any direct comments, but there are signs of danger, there is no doubt about it.

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Evolution of Human-Interest in Indian Print Media: A Trend Study of Feature Stories in Centenarian Newspapers

BHAVNEET BHATTI¹

ABSTRACT

Evolution of Indian Print Media is intertwined with the journey of India under the British rule and the Indian struggle for freedom. The socio-political conditions of the era had a dominant impact on the soul and spirit of Indian Print Media. One of the significant aspects of this evolution was the element of human-interest, showcased through the feature stories. The present paper is an attempt to analyse this evolution over a span of a century vis-à-vis the dominant themes, writing style, placement, and source of stories. With a quantitative content analysis of the Indian centenarian newspapers, spanning 80 years, from pre-independence to the present era, the paper highlights how the socio-political situations serve as a context in which the human-interest stories evolve in the Indian Print Media. The findings of the study reveal that the change in subject matter and presentation of feature stories is steep in the pre-independence to post-independence era and becomes gradual, thereafter. In terms of prominent themes, news features and lifestyle features emerge as being most popular, analytical style of writing is most favoured in the pre-independence era, and thereafter, descriptive style of writing is dominant. The placement of feature stories undergoes a change and in terms of sources, there is a decline in agency and anonymous sources from pre-independence era to staff reporters bringing more credible feature content. The socio-political conditions act as a context which influences the way feature stories evolve in the Indian Print Media.

Keywords: Feature stories, Indian print media, Human-interest element, Trend analysis

Introduction

Over the centuries, mass media content has undergone a transformation and given rise to various forms of news content. While the heart of media content is said to be the news story that relates to 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'why', and 'how' of the current events; the soul of mass media content is believed to lie in the feature stories that explore the emotional and humane ramifications of the reality. According to Lord Northcliffe (as cited in Harrower, 2003, p.113), "It is hard news that catches the readers. Features hold them." For McKay (2013) while hard news is much the same wherever you read, features create a unique tone and character, and thus, satiate the need of the reader to understand and relate to the event. Metzler (1986) believes that a good feature story is a creative work of art. According to him, what makes the feature story stand out is the fact that a feature writer controls the facts by selection, structure, and interpretation rather than facts controlling the writer as in the case of a news story.

Over the course of time, feature stories have grown from being seen as a 'non-serious news', 'fillers', 'entertainment pieces', or even 'sensational journalism', to an essential part of the newspaper content. Having carved a niche for themselves, feature stories are today seen as an indispensable and quintessential ingredient of any successful mass media content. Moreover, feature stories are an intimate form of journalism, reflective of the humane face of society and responsive to social and cultural developments, and thus, become a significant subject for research.

The present paper is a trend study of feature stories in the Indian Print Media from pre-independence era. A quantitative content analysis of the centenarian newspapers: *The Tribune* and *The Times of India* for a period of 80 years has been undertaken to understand how the socio-political conditions of the country have an impact on the evolution of mass media content. From analysing the trends in subject matter, writing style, and readability to looking at the changes that occurred in positioning, typography, and verbal-visual presentation of feature stories, besides the changes in their source. The present study traces the trends in the content, presentation, and sources of journalistic features.

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Journalistic features in Indian print media: Pre-Independence to present era

Feature stories as we see them today with elements of novelistic techniques, emotional appeals, and engaging format are a product of centuries of change and transformation. Reed (1931) traces the journey of feature stories and points at their elements in man's earliest utterances. The initial appearance of the text with a feature stamp upon it antedates printed newspapers by many centuries. The ancient folk tales, the episodes of heroic poetry, philosophical conversations of the Greeks, parable of the Bible, all bear an unmistakable earmark of feature compositions. (Reed, 1931, p.2). The evolution of journalistic features is also intertwined with the evolution of mass media. Acta Diurna in Rome in 59 B.C. and Ti Pao in China in 618 A.D., that are considered amongst the very first evidences of written periodicals showed an inclination to present news beyond the political concerns and present information about the daily lives of the readers. Acta Diurna, for instance, had a special feature story on the election news and everything done by the imperial family was chronicled faithfully (Lee, 1923).

In India, the 18th century marks the beginning of journalism with the first ever newspaper. It was on 29 January, 1780 that James Augustus Hicky came out with his weekly called the *Bengal Gazette* which used sensational forms of writing; the reasons for which were believed to be personal attacks on selected individuals (Naqvi, 2007). The first ever newspaper in India had content that was tailored to the needs of its readers, the European community in India. There were extracts from English newspapers in Britain, belated accounts of debates in the British Parliament, letters from local readers, items of gossip and scandal of interest to the European community.

The 19th century in India saw social and political developments in the form of the rise of national consciousness. Although newspapers in India were still at a growing stage, the social context continued to influence the newspaper text and often, long features that spoke at length about the social conditions and situation in India, or which promoted a certain religion or faith were a part of the newspaper text. A perfect example of how newspaper text was inspired by the social conditions and reader context was the rise of reformist publications in the early years of the 19th century. Pioneered by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, these publications had a mission of educating the population about the social reforms. According to Mathur (2006), the content of these publications, specifically the Sambad Kaumudi prepared the native mind for the abolition of *Sati*, a rampant social evil. Another publication by Roy that showcases a strong connection between the newspaper text and readers was the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*. The purpose of the publication, as quoted by Roy in Natrajan (1955), was to communicate to the rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers.

As the social and political conditions of the country became more focused around the freedom struggle, journalism in India could be seen taking the shape of a crusade and the newspaper text became a weapon to promote the ideas of patriotism. This spirit of nationalism became a social context that made feature-like stories on the subject of patriotism and nationalist spirit an integral part of the newspaper text and this content in turn influenced and inspired the readers. Although mass illiteracy of the Indian readers, poverty, and press restrictions proved hurdles in the flourishing of newspapers in India, the spirit of nationalism and patriotism became the most prominent element of the social context that governed the newspaper content.

This century also saw the rise of many English language Indian newspapers that made their mark later by becoming centenarian newspapers of the country. Most prominent amongst them being *The Times of India* in 1838, *The Hindu* in 1878, and *The Tribune* in 1881. *The Times of India* had a reputation of being a pro-British rule newspaper and had news from Britain and the Indian subcontinent. *The Tribune* started by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia explained the reasons of starting the publication in its very first editorial. The editorial voiced the reasons in these words, "Our appearance in the field of journalism is to meet a crying want of this part of India, namely an English journal for the representation of 'native' opinion", (Ananda, 1986).

The 20th century saw the feature story take proper shape and form in the Indian Print Media. The British rule, the freedom struggle, and then the triumph to mark the end of this struggle were the political and social developments in which the feature story grew during the first half of the century. The socio-political situation of the country divided the Press into two sections; the native Press that supported the boycott movement against the British and the Anglo-Indian Press that supported the move for co-operation. The divide created by the socio-political context was reflected in the feature stories that appeared in the newspapers as the two sections of the Press catered to a different set of readers. On the one hand, there

were feature articles that included fashion notes from Paris every week, gossipy accounts of alleged amorous liaisons, personal experience features, reprints of articles from the British newspapers, that catered to the readers from elite British and Indian class. On the other hand, there were feature stories in the form of long human-interest accounts that voiced the concerns of nationalism. In either case, the reader interest decided the newspaper text.

As the struggle for freedom intensified, the national sentiments started reflecting in the newspaper content and the subject matter for feature articles was usually inclined towards the current political happenings in the country. An excerpt from the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi (as cited in Natrajan, 1955) throws light on the impact of the freedom struggle on humaninterest content in a newspaper. "...One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is to fearlessly expose the popular defects ..." (p.154).

Driven by this ideology, the native Press in the country used the newspaper content as a tool to spread the message of the freedom struggle. Human-interest account of the atrocities being inflicted upon the freedom fighters, in-depth articles on the agitations – local and national across the country was ventilated through the newspaper text.

After independence, the genre of journalistic features saw diversification in themes and subject matter but it took a while for the Indian journalists to break away from the mould of political subjects. Indian newspapers for years followed the beaten track and stuck to catering to the scanty class of readers who were concerned only about political developments of the country. But as the country evolved and progressed socially and economically, a new class of readers evolved and newspaper content began to change.

Review of literature

The literature review for the paper brings together the early works that explore the form of journalistic features and the contemporary trend studies that bring out the trend in newspapers.

Bleyer (1916) in his book, "Types of News Writing" discusses the types of newspaper content. Besides the hard news stories, the author discusses at length, the content that goes beyond the regular news. He comes close to the subject matter of present-day features in the sections where he discusses the society and entertainment news. According to him, "interest in social and personal news is so great that practically

every newspaper maintains a society department" (p.221), thus, laying stress on the significance of subject matter that has a human touch or emotional appeals going beyond the cut and dry routine news. Steigleman (1950) in his book, "Writing the Feature Article," provides an in-depth and step-by-step guide to building a feature article. The book explains in detail the process of idea generation, the importance of visual element, organising the feature article from the lead to conclusion, and also selling the article. An important conclusion of Steigleman's work being establishing a connection with the reader and the context in which the reader lives. Nicholls (1972) in his book, "Features with a Flair" explains the form of journalistic features and differentiates it from other forms of journalistic writing. The author also suggests that it is the feature writer who plays a major role in showing the paper's emotion.

While there are studies that look at the evolution of text in yesteryears, Peers and Nesbitt (2004) look at trends in text in the present century. In a content analysis of 52 daily U.S. newspapers divided on the basis of circulation, the data revealed that major topics that dominate the news content include Politics, Government and Sports. Stories about ordinary people, obituaries and community announcements together comprise only 5% of the content. The most common writing approach is straight news. While few stories address the reader directly, most of them are written in third person. The various forms of visual aids photos, graphics and emphasised text are a part of less than half of the stories on weekdays. More attention is paid to the visual aspects on Sundays. Front-page stories on an average are more likely to have photos, graphics, and emphasised text. About one-fifth of the stories provide contact information. The study of how the text is presented, i.e., the typography and design and its relevance in newspapers is equally important. Jacobson (2006) discusses the newspaper design and its significance in readership of newspaper. Citing examples of newspaper circulations, author explains how the same are affected by a change in design of the newspaper.

Rao (2009) in his study focuses on the theoretical framework of glocalisation as a foundation to understand the changes that have occurred in Indian journalism in recent years. The author offers a new line of thinking as he says that the impact of globalisation in Indian news content when analysed with respect to glocalisation can be seen as a set of practices where local media absorb the global and gives a new life to the local content.

Research objectives

- 1. To study the trends in the subject matter or dominant themes of feature stories from pre-independence era to the present era.
- 2. To analyse the trends and changes, if any, in style of writing of feature stories in a span of 80 years.
- To determine the trends in readability ease of feature stories during the time span under consideration.
- 4. To study the trends in placement, positioning, and presentation of feature stories.
- 5. To determine trends and changes, if any, in the source of the feature stories over time.

Research methodology

Research method: A quantitative content analysis was undertaken to determine the trends in feature stories.

Sampling Procedure: The non-probability sampling procedure was used for content analysis of feature stories in centenarian newspapers. Judgement sampling was used under the non-probability sampling as the study required content analysis of centenarian newspapers.

Sample: Two newspapers were chosen for the study, The Times of India and The Tribune. The Times of India was established in 1838 as The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce as a bi-weekly and became a daily newspaper in 1850 and came to be known as The Times of India in 1861. The Tribune was established in 1881. It started as a weekly and became a daily newspaper in 1906.

Sampling of Time: The time period chosen for the content analysis was from the year 1930 to the year 2009.

Sampling of Content: Six issues per year were chosen for each newspaper by using a constructed week method. One issue from alternate months was chosen i.e. first Monday of January, first Tuesday of March, and so on in order to guard against skews in data that might arise from day of the week or time of the year. Keeping in mind the feasibility factor, issues from alternate years were picked up for the span of 80 years.

Findings and analysis

The content analysis brings to the forefront the impact of socio-political conditions on the content of mass media. In this particular study, it points out how the British rule, the rise of national consciousness, the freedom struggle, and thereafter the socio-cultural and political conditions have an impact on the subject matter, presentation and sources of feature stories

in the Indian centenarian newspapers. The major findings of the study have been presented vis-à-vis the research objectives.

Trends in the subject matter or dominant themes of feature stories from pre-independence era to the present era

Based on subject matter, feature stories were classified into various types of features like News features, Utility features, Lifestyle features etc. Major trends in subject matter of feature stories in *The Tribune* and *The Times of India* show that News features were dominant in all decades. While these were restricted to more political subjects in *The Tribune*, subjects the for News features in *The Times of India* were more varied. Lifestyle features form the next prominent category in both newspapers. Besides these while Review features were popular in *The Times of India*, Art and Culture features were popular in *The Tribune*.

Another interesting finding is the comparison of subject matter from pre-independence to post-independence. Although a number of categories show a dip from pre-independence to post-independence era, but Lifestyle features deserve a special mention as these were in big percentage in the pre-independence era and see a dip for several decades after independence before resurfacing in the last few decades. The subjects-relationships, sensitive issues, sexual relationships, homosexuality, sensational stories on celebrities, among others were prominent in the pre-independence era.

Although all types of features do vary during the span of eight decades, in some categories the change is statistically significant, while in others it is not. Using the chi-square test, the statistical significance of change in all types of features over the span of eight decades was calculated. News features, Problem features, Review features, Personality/Biographical features and Middle were the types of features that show a statistically significant change over the span of 80 years at p-value <0.01. Science/Technology features and Culture features show a statistically significant change at p-value <0.05. In the case of Utility features, Personal Experience features, Lifestyle features, Health features, Business/Economy features, and Commemorative features and Others (including Historical features, Philosophical features, Photo features, Astrological features) the change was not found to be statistically significant.

In the pre-independence era (1930–39), News features were the most prominent. Most of the News features appearing in this decade based on news on

freedom fighters, British officers visiting India or important political events. For example, in the year 1930, a News feature, 'Prisoner Bursts into Tears' is written with the news peg of the court case but provides an emotional account of how the accused who was brought to the courtroom on a stretcher broke down on his miserable state as half his body was paralysed. Another example, is a feature story that appears along the news report on Irwin's return to London giving a comprehensive description of the royal welcome extended to him. The Second World War and the Indian freedom struggle were the major news events that form the themes for News features in the decade 1940–49. In the Indian context, News features before independence include a number of reaction pieces on various peace movements.

Trends and changes: Style of writing of feature stories in the span of 80 years

The objective analysed the trends in writing style

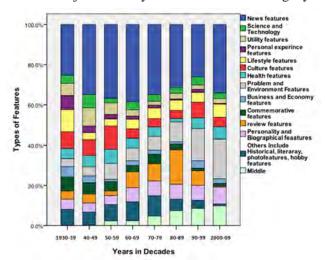


Figure 1.1 Types of features during the span of eight decades in the main edition of *The Tribune*.

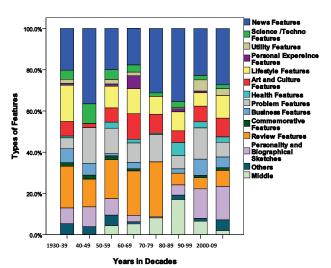


Figure 1.2 Types of features during the span of eight decades in *The Times of India*.



Illustration 1.1: A News feature with an impressive illustration that appeared on the front page of *The Tribune* Magazine Section (1987).



Illustration 1.2: A feature on relationships and institution of marriage (1937).

of the feature stories. The popular styles of writing feature stories include Informative, Descriptive, Analytical, and Argumentative. While some styles prominent in the earlier decades and show a decline during the course of time, others emerge as popular styles only in recent decades. 'Major trends' in writing style of feature stories in both *The Times of India* and *The Tribune* show Descriptive style of writing being the most prominent. While the Informative style was popular in the pre-independence era

and Analytical style was gaining ground in recent decades, Descriptive style continues to dominate throughout. An interesting finding is that the styles of writing are also influenced by the socio-political context of the time that drives the subject matter of the feature stories. While social issues use more of Analytical style, the Lifestyle features, Art and Culture, Personality features use Descriptive style; and Informative style is majorly used by a section of News features and Utility features.

Trends in readability ease of feature stories

This objective entails the study of readability ease of the feature stories. Along with the changing style of writing and the subject matter, the readability ease of the feature stories also undergoes change over time. The ease of readability measured in terms of Flesch Reading Ease (FRE). Major Trends in both newspapers show that the readability ease of feature stories increases in the course of time. From difficult to fairly difficult ease in the pre-independence era, the post-independence era sees the feature stories written with standard readability ease.

Table 1.1 Flesch Readability Ease of feature stories in *The Tribune*.

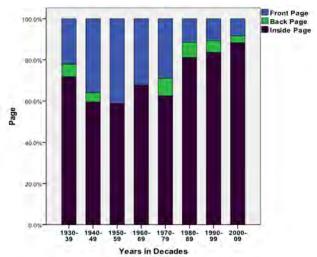
Years in Decades	FRE	Implication of FRE
1930- 39	46.56	Difficult
1940- 49	58.80	Fairly Difficult
1950-59	60.20	Standard
1960-69	61.20	Standard
1970-79	63.60	Standard
1980-89	61.90	Standard
1990-99	62.00	Standard
2000-09	66.00	Standard

Table 1.2 Flesch Readability Ease of feature stories in *The Times of India*.

Years in Decades	110001111011119	
1930- 39	50.66	Fairly Difficult
1940- 49	53.35	Fairly Difficult
1950-59	58. 53	Fairly Difficult
1960-69	62.32	Standard
1970-79	61.13	Standard
1980-89	63.33	Standard
1990-99	63.23	Standard
2000-09	65.73	Standard

Placement, positioning and presentation of feature stories

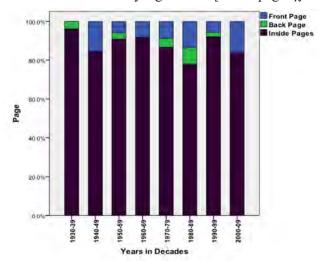
Major trends in placement of the feature stories in *The Tribune* and *The Times of India* show a change in terms of increase in the variety of subject matter on the front pages; random trends in back pages, and emergence and growth of special theme pages in



the inside pages. The special theme pages carry the maximum number of feature stories and make the readers' job easy.

Figure 2.1 Change in placement of the feature stories visà-vis the page on which they appear in *The Tribune*.

Change in the number of features appearing on front page, back page, and any other page of *The Tribune* was calculated using Chi-square test and found to be statistically significant. [Front page: χ^2 =



21.96, df = 7, p-value < 0.01], [Back page: χ^2 = 32.12 and, p-value < 0.01], [Inside pages: χ^2 = 228.25, df = 7, p-value < 0.01].

Figure 2.2 Change in placement of the feature stories visà-vis the page on which they appear in *The Times of India*.

The change in the number of stories appearing on front page, back page, and inside pages was measured using the Chi-square test and change in all three categories was found to be statistically significant. [Front page: $\chi^2 = 21.96$, df = 7, p-value < 0.01], [Back page: $\chi^2 = 32.12$, df = 7, p-value < 0.01], [Any other page: $\chi^2 = 228.25$, df = 7, p-value < 0.01].

Trends and changes in the source of feature stories

Along with the content and presentation of feature stories, another factor that contributes to the changing trend of the feature story is its source. The study of source becomes important as it is closely associated with the credibility of the story. With the change in the whole set up of the newspaper and emergence of various other mass media over eight decades, many new sources emerge and some old sources are discontinued.

The major trends in sources of feature stories, can thus, be summed up in three significant findings. First, the staff reports and feature writers as a source of feature stories show an increase during the span of time in both newspapers. The terminology used to identify the source undergoes a change and becomes more systematic that helps the readers identify the staff writers, freelancers, and the experts. Second, News Agencies show a steep decline in both newspapers but in The Times of India, there is a mild increase in the last three decades. Third, the miscellaneous sources in both newspapers see a downward trend, and within this, while associations with international publications still act as a source of features, the use of generic and pseudo names decline. Besides these, the number of feature stories without a source in both newspapers and in all editions see a decline.

Overall the feature stories appear as an editorial content sourced from authentic and credible sources. The increase in staff reporters reflected an addition of local flavour and additional detailing to the feature stories besides adding a variety of subjects and credibility to the content.

Conclusion

The major findings of content analysis of feature stories show change in content, presentation and source of feature stories. The change in almost all the parameters is steep in the first two decades, i.e., the pre-independence and the post-independence era. Thereafter, the changes become gradual and dominant themes emerge in the span of 80 years. The major trends and the connect between the trends in text and

reader preferences are discussed as under.

The trends with respect to subject matter in *The Tribune* and *The Times of India* are dominance of News features in all decades. While these are restricted to more political subjects in *The Tribune*, the subjects for News features in *The Times of India* are more varied. Lifestyle features form the next prominent category in both newspapers.

Major trends in writing style of feature stories in both *The Times of India* and *The Tribune* show dominance of Descriptive style of writing. While the Informative style is popular in the pre-independence era and Analytical style is gaining ground in recent decades; Descriptive style continues to dominate throughout. While social issues use more of Analytical style, the Lifestyle features, Art and Culture, Personality features use Descriptive style; and Informative style is majorly used by a section of News features and Utility features.

Major trends in ease of readability show an increase in FRE score which in turn implies an increased ease of readability of the text, both in *The Tribune* and *The Times of India*. Thus, one can conclude that the ease of readability shows an upward trend during the time under analysis.

Major trends in the placement of feature stories in *The Tribune* and *The Times of India* show a change in terms of increase in variety of subject matter on the front pages; varied subjects with no patterns of back pages, and emergence and growth of special theme pages in the inside pages. The special theme pages, carry the maximum number of feature stories and make the readers' job easy as a reader interested in a particular subject matter can skip to the special theme page of his/her choice.

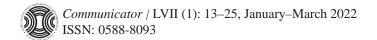
Major trends in sources of feature stories show — an increase in staff reporters and change of terminology to identify the staff reporters. A decline in use of news agencies as a source and decline in miscellaneous source and no source stories. The content analysis of two centenarian newspapers brings forth the trends in text, i.e., content, presentation and source of feature stories. The trend observed in text are neither linear nor sudden, they are gradual and show random walk.

The socio-political conditions act as a context in which the text of mass media unfolds. The freedom struggle has a great bearing on the human-interest element in the Indian Print Media. The feature stories present the poignant tale of the Indian struggle for freedom and the humane treatment of subject goes a long way in further raising the sentiment of patriotism and national consciousness amongst the people.

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Analysis of the News Coverage of India's Independence in Selected English Newspapers on August 15, 1947

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ABSTRACT

Newspapers may both serve and reflect an issue by drawing attention of people to important matters. This study examines how the news related to India's independence was covered on the front page of the selected newspapers—The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Chicago Daily Tribune, and The Irish Times on August 15, 1947. The coverage of social and political issues, choice of words and the rhetoric used in the texts of the news stories, representation of headlines, and the quantity of space dedicated to news on the front page are examined. Analytical methods such as textual analysis, critical discourse analysis, and quantitative analysis were adopted to fulfil the objectives. The study also analysed the different frames in which each news related to independence is covered. Results show that the four selected Indian and foreign newspapers had a significant role in portraying news on India's independence on August 15, 1947.

Keywords: Independence of India, Discourse analysis, Textual analysis, Quantitative analysis, Newspapers

Introduction

Newspapers convey information to the public's attention and can both serve and reflect an issue. The importance of an article in a newspaper is determined by its length, the presence of pictures, the position of the article, the headline and its presentation (Granner *et al.*, 2009). For more than half a century, scholars have researched how media coverage impacts the public (Schooler et *al.*, 1996). According to Saraisky (2015), media content analysis is one of the most effective approaches for comprehending certain issues presented in the news media. The researcher outlines how content analysis is related to other textual analysis methods, particularly discourse analysis, and defines it as a technique for examining a collection of information (Saraisky, 2015).

Gaining independence from the British Raj is perhaps the most significant event in India's history. This was the period when newspapers came out with many aspects related to the birth of the Indian nation (Khan, 2006). Different studies have analysed the newspaper coverage from different political perspectives to see how they analysed the quality and accuracy of events related to India's independence (Ahanchi, 2009). Kaul (2008) in her study examined how British media portrayed India's independence and also focused on how Indian politicians were portrayed in the press.

Furthermore, it is important to investigate how diverse media texts portray specific issues, especially issues of national importance. This is essentially one of the aims of the present study, which focuses on the coverage of news related to Indian independence on the front page of the selected newspapers on August 15, 1947. The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Chicago Daily Tribune, and The Irish Times are selected in an attempt to study the coverage of news on their front pages. The Times of India, an English daily newspaper headquartered in Mumbai, is one of the most significant publications in India. Previously known as 'The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce', was formed in 1838. At that time the main aim of the newspaper was to serve western India's British residents. The paper began as a twiceweekly publication before becoming a daily in 1851. In 1861, the name of the daily was changed to The Times of India.

Hindustan Times was founded by Sunder Singh Lyallpuri in 1924. Hindustan Times was a then pro-Congress daily that played a major role in the Indian independence movement (Pandey, 2002). The Chicago Tribune is a daily newspaper based in Chicago, USA. It is one of the most widely circulated newspapers in the United States and has long been the authoritative and vehement sound of the Midwest (Gasoline alley | Comic strip by king, 2017). The Irish

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Times have more than a passing interest in the Indian resistance to the British and they also have a special bond with India (Venkatesh, 2016). As former British colonies, India and Ireland faced a similar struggle against Britain, and there were numerous similarities between independent movements of the two nations (Silvestri, 2000).

There are many studies on one or more aspects of the newspaper coverage, and the majority of them deal with distinct topics. The goal of this study is to evaluate the qualitative and quantitative aspects of Independence Day news coverage on August 15, 1947.

Review of literature

The people, the leaders and the press had fought a long war against the British administration during the period of Indian independence and almost every newspaper in India had news related to freedom on the front page (D.H. Web Desk, 2020). The press continued to resist the British by different publications and the pattern of publishing different events as a symbol of resistance continued till the British withdrew from India (D.H. Web Desk, 2020). Gaining independence is regarded as the nation's biggest event and the news related to independence published in the newspapers revolutionised the movement and generated public interest (Khan, 2006).

In media research one of the most important techniques for understanding how meaning is extracted from media texts is the textual analysis method and it is also an effective technique of examining, comparing, and interpreting media texts (Ayoub et al., 2016). Many studies have examined the political and social dimensions of processing news stories in an attempt to consider how events are reported but only a few have analysed the news from a linguistic or discourse standpoint (Fang, 2001). In his study, Wang (1992) explores foreign news coverage trends by identifying different elements that influence the extent and the direction of news coverage including political ideology, government interest, cultural affinity, and geographical proximity in media from various nations. The study was designed to determine the factors responsible for differences in media coverage of the 1989 Chinese student demonstrations (Wang, 1992).

Scholars have focused their emphasis on the reporter or the media organisation to discover the patterns of topics regarding an issue (Dunwoody & Shields, 1986). Just like the topics, headlines of different newspapers might reflect the importance each newspaper ascribed to an issue during a particular

time. The social and cultural images prevailing in a community during a particular period are most evident in headlines used in the news stories (Develotte & Rechniewski, 2001).

Critical discourse analysis takes a critical perspective toward media discourse and it focuses on the use of the different types of texts to exhibit certain meanings. This method of analysis focuses on the use of various text types to show meanings and relate them with the events (Ayoub et al., 2016). Huckin et al. (2012) observed critical discourse analysis as a holistic approach to textual analysis that considers linguistic details of the texts in the social and political settings in which those texts disseminate. Rhetoric has long been concerned with the persuasive power of spoken and written discourse, especially how words can be used to influence audiences regarding significant public matters. The concern of rhetoric lies in the power of the spoken or written text, especially how words can be used to persuade the audience or reader on significant public matters (Huckin et al., 2012).

Objectives

This research aims to understand how the news related to Indian independence was covered on the front page of The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Chicago Daily Tribune, and The Irish Times on August 15, 1947. Accordingly, the following objectives are formulated:

- 1. To study the news coverage of social and political issues in context to India's independence in the selected newspapers on August 15, 1947.
- 2. To examine the texts of the news stories from the selected newspapers concerning their relations with the event of India's independence.
- To analyse the headlines of news stories in connection with India's independence as published in the selected newspapers.
- 4. To assess the quantitative aspects of news stories related to Indian independence in the selected newspapers.

Research questions

It is essential to realise how the media portrays matters of national importance in their entirety. As a result, in addition to the existing literature on newspaper coverage, the current study intends to provide light on the significance of newspapers in informing the general public about India's independence from the British rule. To analyse the same, a set of research questions were framed:

RQ1: How the social and political issues were

covered in context to India's independence on the first page of the selected newspapers on August 15, 1947?

RQ2: What are the choice of words and the rhetoric used in the texts of the news stories concerning the event of India's independence on the first page of the selected newspapers?

RQ3: How are the headlines represented on the front page of the selected newspapers?

RQ4: How did the quantity of space dedicated to news of India's independence covered on the chosen newspaper's front page on August 15, 1947?

Theoretical framework

In a research based on the 1968 US Presidential election, Max McCombs and Donald formulated an agenda-setting theory. The theory was formulated to examine the interrelated factors that influence people's perceptions, knowledge, and opinions toward public issues (Ninkovic-Slavnic, 2016). According to this theory, the impact or significance of a public issue can be influenced by mass media (Schooler et al., 1996). There is a link between the importance of a topic in the minds of the people among the audience and the amount of coverage it receives in the media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The media emphasises specific news issues or incidents that are more important to the general public, and agenda-setting theory is relevant because it changes people's perceptions on the issues that are more important (Branton & Dunaway, 2009). Media focus their attention on selecting and publishing news frequently about the most critical issues faced by the country. This power of media to affect the importance of topics before the public has come to be known as the agenda-setting role of news media (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). As a result, the current research aims to determine which selected newspaper's front page covered more news on India's Independence Day on August 15, 1947.

Erving Goffman first proposed the framing theory, which is a comprehensive theoretical framework that has been used in mass communication, journalism, politics, and social movements. The way information is framed has an impact on how people comprehend and digest it (Framing Theory, 2014). Framing theory is an altered version of agenda-setting theory because both theories discuss how media diverts public attention from the significance of an issue to what it wants to convey (Bajracharya, 2018). The technique of influencing people and their opinion through media coverage is known as framing (Schooler *et al.*, 1996). People rely on media for political information, there is no greater platform for evaluating political framing

effects than media news presentations (Iyengar, 1987). Indeed, news framing can have a significant impact on the audience's ideas, attitudes, and behaviours so, it is not unusual that they seem to be interconnected to other important news consumption processes (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2019). Thus, this study also tries to analyse the different frames in which each news related to independence is covered.

Research methodology

This research aims to analyse the coverage of news related to Indian independence on the front page of selected newspapers on August 15, 1947. Scanned copies of several English newspapers published in India on August 15, 1947 were available online; however, only Times of India, Indian Express, and The Hindu were readable. Therefore, these three Indian newspapers were considered for the study. Since all the pages of these three newspapers (digital versions) were unavailable without financial resources, it was decided to limit the study to the front page only. The front page of The Hindu contained only advertisements and the next main page was missing. Therefore, The Hindu was excluded from the study. The search of foreign English newspapers that covered independence of India on their front pages on August 15, 1947, got us 6 newspapers including The New York Times (US), The Washington Post (US), The Chicago Daily Tribune (US), The Guardian (UK), Irish Times (Ireland, UK) and The Daily Telegraph (UK). Out of these, it was decided to select only two newspapers to keep evenness between the number of Indian and foreign newspapers in the study. Chicago Tribune and Irish Times were selected mainly based on the amount of space allocated for the news about Indian independence on their front pages and the pro-British and anti-British stance. The final sample included two Indian newspapers (Times of India and The Hindustan Times) and two foreign newspapers (Chicago Daily Tribune and Irish Times). All four newspapers were chosen for their political significance and historical value.

The Times of India and the Hindustan Times are regarded as the cornerstones of Indian journalism, having a strong reputation and a proven track record (Raj *et al*, 2021). To study the news coverage of social and political issues in context to India's independence in the selected newspapers, factors like topic and categories, tones and frames used in the selected newspapers are analysed. To find the topic and topic categories textual analysis has been applied. The written texts of all the news stories on the front page were analysed. This analytical method helps to find

the topic and theme within the texts. Events related to Independence Day, important appointments, meaning of the entire passage, the major people represented in the news, and the glimpse of sentiment seen in the news stories were the major categories of topics that the researchers were able to find in the texts. Once the researchers found the pattern of the topics used in the selected newspapers, further importance was given to the theme of each topic. The representation of headlines of the news stories is also analysed using this method. Hence, a textual analysis method is used to analyse the meaning of the coverage of socio-political issues in context to India's independence.

To determine the specific tones and frames used in the news, all news stories on the front page of the selected newspapers are analysed using quantitative content analysis method and the results are presented statistically. Examining the texts of the news stories from the selected newspapers concerning their relations with the event of India's independence is accrued throughout the critical discourse analysis method. The choice of words and rhetoric like the sentence structure and mainly highlighted words are analysed. This analytical method helps to interpret the meanings of the texts used in the news stories of the selected newspapers.

As the digital copies of the newspaper are used in this study, the measurement of the amount of space allocated to a news block or image is calculated in terms of percentage with respect to the total print area of the first page. For example, a photograph that covered the entire bottom half would be considered as 50% of the total print area of the page. This gives an idea of how much space out of the total space on the front page was given to a particular content block. This method helps to understand the relative importance each newspaper gave to various issues related to India's Independence.

Analysis

Coverage of social and political issues

The primary objective of this research is to study the news coverage of social and political issues in context to India's independence in the selected newspapers on August 15, 1947. The researchers attempted to study how the social and political issues were covered on the front page of the selected newspapers. Specifically, that particular coverage is analysed using the topic, tones and frames that are used in the news stories presented on the front pages. The researchers tried to analyse and identify a few patterns and components in the news coverage by looking into topics, tones and frames.

Topics can be defined as the most essential idea

underlying the meanings of a set of sentences used in a specific text and news stories themes and topics convey what is more significant in the reportage (Fang, 2001). The stories related to the topic of Independence convey a myriad of information to the general public. The socio-political atmosphere portrayed in the news stories, especially in the front pages of the selected ones during that period, are analysed to get an idea about how different elements fit together within the news story. While analysing, researchers found a pattern of components that those newspapers used in the coverage of independence. Those were mainly events, appointments, context, actors involved, and glimpse of sentiment. The events in the news reports talked about the major happenings that took place concerning the Independence Day of India. Appointments here represent the major appointments of leaders, ministers and constituent assembly representatives; whereas, the topic context is about the background and circumstances presented in the news story. Meanwhile, the topic actors involved is about the members including political leaders, ministers, students who were involved in strikes, foreign representatives, Governors, etc. mentioned in the news stories. Finally, the topic sentiment is about how the news reports presented the story with a touch of sentimental value. The difference in theme of each category is analysed.

Then the major tones used in the news articles of the selected newspaper are analysed. In the research titled "The Content and Tone of the Media Coverage with Regard to the Refugee Crisis in Dutch Popular and Quality Newspapers over Time" (2016); it is said that the tone of news coverage can have an impact on public perceptions of a matter. The tone of the news conveys the audience not only the news but also conveys the viewpoint of the reporter and analysing the use of tone in print media offers scholars the powerful mechanism that media adopt to influence public opinion (Brunken, 2006). Pro-national, neutral and anti-national tones used in the coverage of news articles of the selected newspapers are examined for the study. Pro-national indicates the tone in which the news that supports the events of Indian independence as a representation of victory and anti-national tone denotes the news articles which do not favour or portray the events of Indian independence as a representation of victory.

Finally, the frames used in the news stories of the selected newspapers are analysed. Framing is a technique that enables the understanding of the effects of media on its consumers (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Framing theory has a crucial role in understanding the selection and interpretation of news stories (Brunken, 2006). Frames in news stories attempt to persuade the

audience to observe information in a specific view (Lawlor, 2015). The way an issue is framed can have a significant impact on how it is addressed (McCombs, 2004). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), in their study, 'Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news' identifies inductive and deductive techniques to analyse frames in the news. They describe the inductive approach as time-consuming and the deductive approach as appropriate for analysing news contents since the latter offers a complete understanding of the types of frames that are likely to be found in the news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). While analysing the news stories on the front page of the selected newspapers including The Times of India, Hindustan Times, Chicago Daily Tribune and The Irish Times on the day of Indian independence, frames like political frame, conflict frame, attribution of responsibility frame, public opinion frame, diagnostic frame, and descriptive frame were found.

The political frame indicates the involvement of political parties or members of political parties regarding independence as mentioned in the news stories. The conflict frame on the other hand specifies the representation of strikes, student movements, and hunger strikes in the news stories. The attribution of responsibility frame shows the actors who are responsible for the issue related to independence. The public opinion frame assesses the opinions and views of different individuals mentioned in the news stories regarding Indian independence. The diagnostic frame is related to the cause of the situation or referring to past events concerning the day of independence. Descriptive frames deal with the descriptive nature of every news story presented on the front page.

The analysis of topics, tones and frames are presented in the following tables and figures.

Table 1: Categories and themes; The Times of India

The Times of India				
Topic categories Themes of the topic				
• Events	 Events on moments of joy and celebration in Delhi and Bombay. News reports focus on a range of events from cabinet formation to the celebration of people Texts and images of leaders found prominence on the front page. 			
• Appointments • Focuses on cabinet formation and appointment of Mountbatten.				
• Context	The Times of India proclaims India's freedom with a banner headline that runs across the front page.			
Actors involved	News reports on messages from British PM and Bombay Governor, statements of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and B. R. Ambedkar.			
Sentiment	 News reports focusing on the emotion of joy and happiness among the people in Delhi and Bombay. Words 'historic event', 'tranquillity and prosperity', and 'festive mood' are used to express the sentiments of people for the independence of India. 			

Table 2: Categories and themes; Hindustan Times

Hindustan Times					
Topic categories Themes of the topic					
• Events	• The front page covered a wide range of events, from the swearing-in ceremony of the Governors to 'homage to Mahatma Gandhi', on the day of India's independence.				
Appointments	 The first news on the top left side reports about the appointment of Mount Batten as the governor-general. The report focuses on the appointment of chosen representatives in the Constituent Assembly. News on the appointment of new governors of Indian provinces occupies the centre of the front page. 				
Context	 Reports covered in a verbatim model in context to India's Independence. Capitalised five words formed the lead headline, primarily focusing on the end of British rule. 				

• Actors involved	• Hindustan Times reportage mentions the Governor, Constituent assembly representatives, the Prime Minister, the President, the Father of the Nation and also the British Prime Minister in the news stories presented on the front page.
• Sentiment	• Instead of just informing the readers about the range of events, the news reports are narrated with a touch of tenderness.

Table 3: Categories and themes; Chicago Daily Tribune

Chicago Daily Tribune				
Topic categories	Themes of the topic			
• Events	• The oath of the Governor-general, Punjab riots and the number of people who die and most importantly a cartoon of Mahatma Gandhi along with a farmer and other with animals in the reportage of India's independence.			
Appointments	Focus on Lord MountBatten taking oath as the first Governor-general of India.			
• Context	• Centred on reporting on the rising death toll in Punjab and the celebration of Gandhi's involvement in independence.			
• Actors involved	• Chicago Daily Tribune's reportage mentions the presence of prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and President Dr Rajendra Prasad in the constituent assembly.			
• Sentiment	• No report of sentiment or emotion around India's independence side of the people of India is not mentioned in the reports. The reports described the newly formed nations as "Hindu India" and "Moslim Pakistan".			

Table 4: Categories and themes; The Irish Times

The Irish Times				
Topic categories Themes of the topic				
• Events	• The Irish Times centred its coverage on India's accomplishment of independence in the two news stories on the first page itself.			
• Appointments	 Governor-Generalship of Mount Batten, the appointment of Mr. Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan. Announcements of a new cabinet of India including the appointment of Ministers of different sectors mentioned in the news story of the Irish daily. 			
• Context	 Britain's handover of control to India was emphasised in the news stories. Text comprising the portrayal of the entire event and images related to Indian independence in the back seat. 			
Actors involved	 Mentioned the people related to this particular day including Mount Batten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Ministers of different sectors. News mentioning the students who went on strike in New Delhi. 			
Sentiment	News reports are narrated compassionately reflecting the bond between India and Ireland.			

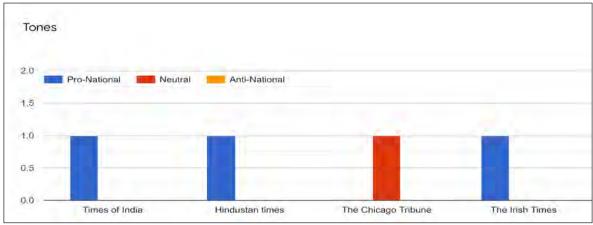


Figure 1: Tones used in the news articles of the selected newspaper

The Figure 1 shows that most of the newspapers used Pro-national tones in the news stories related to Indian independence. Only the events reported by the American news daily, Chicago Daily Tribune used a neutral tone, that represented the events of Indian independence as it is.

People can create their views and make their perceptions by interpreting the tone of news articles (Brunken, 2006). It is evident from the analysis that The Times of India, Hindustan Times, and The Irish Times utilized a pro-national tone and anti-national tones are used by none.

Figure 2 shows the different frames used in each newspaper. The Times of India used most frames, including the political frame, attribution of responsibility frame, public opinion frame, diagnostic frame, and descriptive frame. The frames used by Hindustan Times are only the political frame, attribution of responsibility frame, and descriptive frame. Also in Chicago Daily Tribune, frames like conflict, attribution of responsibility and diagnostic frame took the front seat and finally in The Irish Times attribution of responsibility, public opinion, diagnostic and descriptive frames were mostly used.

Choice of words and the rhetoric used in the texts

Evaluating the linguistic characters of the texts used in the news stories gives a picture of how the social and political actors are depicted distinctively. The wording of a piece of material is just as important as the content itself because reading positive words or negative words in the sentences of news articles can make the reader feel positive or negative (Gandhi, 2018). The way a news story is conveyed to a reader is likely to have a significant impact on how they react to it and the adoption of specific words and phrases usually elicits distinct responses from readers

(Bechtel, 2015).

In the research titled 'A Linguistic-Stylistic Analysis of Newspaper Reportage,' Agu (2015) observes the study of style in newspaper reportage that involves the writer's use of word choice and the way they're used to achieve the best aesthetic results. The choice of the words for the headline and the news by both the Indian and foreign newspapers are remarkable to notice because the depth in which they reported the story varies as Indian newspapers. The Times of India and the Hindustan Times, utilised complete part of their front pages to underline the historic moment.

In *The Times of India*, words like 'frenzied enthusiasm', 'wakes to new life', 'jubilation', 'festive mood' in various headlines on the front page reveal the brightness of the joy that can be seen throughout the country. Every word used in the news story associated with independence is used as the symbol of glory and victory. Importance is also given to the portrayal of serious political decisions and its representation is visible through the words 'solemn pledge', 'may Bombay prosper', 'dead pact', and 'incessant striving'.

Hindustan Times entirely dedicated its front page for the independence day reportage. In the first news story itself, quotes by major leaders are quoted directly. "We end today a period of all fortune and India discovers herself again," by Jawaharlal Nehru and "To all we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease to abolish distinctions and exploitation, and to ensure decent conditions of living" by Dr. Rajendra Prasad (India independent: British rule ends, 1947). Both of the quotations in the news article underline a point and reflect the source's aim regarding the purpose of the issue, which is independence and new beginnings.

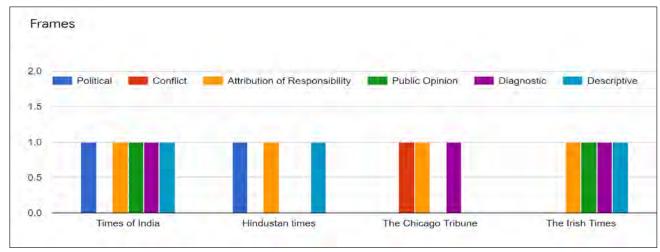


Figure 2: Frames used in the news articles in selected newspapers

The Chicago Daily Tribune just presents the events as it is. The news story regarding Indian independence just focuses on the oath of Governor-General, the presence of Jawaharlal Nehru, and about Punjab riots. The usage of the words "Hindu India" and "Moslim Pakistan" is noteworthy because while comparing the other selected newspapers for the present study, only this daily used such words.

"The last stroke of midnight, booming from the dome of New Delhi's Parliament buildings, set off the highest, noisiest, and most joyful celebrations ever experienced in the East," wrote The Irish Times (India celebrates as Britain hands over control, 1947).

Indian Independence in Headlines

Across the front page of *The Times of India* had a banner headline saying: "BIRTH OF INDIA'S FREEDOM" (Birth of India's freedom, 1947). All the words are capitalised in the headline and it shows the remarkable moment of Indian independence. Different headlines on the front page of the newspaper used different fonts and mostly capitalised words are used. The details of the celebration of independence in Bombay are visible in the headline of the news itself as it reads "FRENZIED ENTHUSIASM IN BOMBAY" on the top right side of the front page. The then British Prime Minister Clement Atlee's words themselves are used as the headline for a news story that says "Go Forward in Tranquillity and Prosperity" and it is italicised.

Another selected English-language daily Hindustan Times adopted the capitalised style of



Figure 3: Front page of The Times of India Photo credits: Times Now (2019)

presentation of information in the headline. "INDIA INDEPENDENT: BRITISH RULE ENDS," read a two-deck headline in the Hindustan Times (Hindustan Times, 1947). The only news on India's independence appeared on the front page, which emphasized the vibrant jubilation. Different font styles are adopted by the headlines of this daily also. This newspaper also utilised the entire front page to portray the events of independence.



Figure 4: Front page of The Hindustan Times Photo credits: Times Now (2019)

The American news daily *Chicago Daily Tribune* also capitalised the headline as "MOUNT BATTEN NEW GOVERNOR OF HINDU INDIA" that is placed on the top right side of the front page (Mountbatten new governor of Hindu India, 1947).

The front page of The *Irish Times* also focused on India's achievement of independence and it wrote "INDIA CELEBRATES AS BRITAIN HANDS OVER CONTROL" (The Irish Times, 1947).

Quality of space dedicated to news of Indian Independence

The names of various leaders related to India and Indian independence were mentioned on the front page, but only the content blocks with a leader's name in the headline or photograph were considered. So the names identified are Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord MountBatten, Muhammed Ali Jinnah, Lord Colville, Clement Attlee, Sarojini Naidu,



Figure 5: Front page of Chicago Daily Tribune Photo credits: The Indian Express (2018)

Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Mountbatten, and Habib Ibrahim. The amount of space featuring these leaders was measured in percentage with respect to the total print area of the page. The results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Percentage of space for each category in each newspaper

		Newsp		
Categories	TOI	HT	CDT	IT
Actors	,			
Mahatma Gandhi	1.54%	8.28%	1.52%	
Jawaharlal Nehru	1.46%			
Lord Mountbatten	7.85%	3.37%		0.56%
Muhammad Ali Jinnah	1.03%		0.60%	
John Colville	4.29%			
Clement Attlee	4.05%	3.29%		
Sarojini Naidu	0.96%			
Archbishop of Canterbury	1.97%			



Figure 6: Front page of The Irish Times Photo credits: The Indian Express (2018)

		Newsp	apers	
Categories	TOI	НТ	CDT	IT
Lady		2.32%		
MountBatten				
Habib Ibrahim				1.78%
State of affairs				
Indian cabinet	5.11%	2.71%		
Pakistan cabinet	4.00%			
International relations	14.71%			9.88%
Interim government			3.37%	
Prisoners				2.85%
States/provinces	2.25%	5.61%		
Illustrations/photo	graphs			
Jawaharlal Nehru	2.00%	1.45%		
Lord MountBatten	3.42%	1.45%		
John Colville	0.62%			
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan	0.62%			
Mahatma Gandhi		2.71%	9.14%	
Clement Attlee		0.62%		

	Newspapers			
Categories	TOI	нт	CDT	IT
Dr Rajendra Prasad		1.45%		
Flag of Pakistan				3.65%
Habib Ibrahim (Ibrahim)				1.31%
Sentiment				
Positive	18.48%			
Negative	1.54%		4.57%	

TOI-Times of India, HT-Hindustan Times, CDT- Chicago daily Tribune, IT-Irish Times.

In Times of India, Lord MountBatten (7.85%) was the most prominent figure as he was given more space than any other leaders including Gandhi (1.54%) and Nehru (1.46%). However, when it comes to Hindustan Times, Gandhi (8.28%) got the maximum prominence. The second most prominent leader featured on the

front page was Lord MountBatten (3.37%). The name of Nehru was not mentioned in any headlines on the front page of *the Hindustan Times*. When it comes to the foreign newspapers, *Chicago Daily Tribune* featured Gandhi (1.52%) and Jinnah (0.6%) while Irish Times featured Lord MountBatten (0.56%) and Habib Ibrahim (1.78%) who was the Pakistan High Commissioner to London.

Similarly, the amount of space on the front page featuring various things related to the state of affairs was also calculated in terms of respect to the total print area of the page. It showed that the *Times of India* covered a wide range of content related to the state of affairs. The most prominent category was international relations (14.71%). On the other hand, the other Indian newspaper *Hindustan Times* emphasised to matters related to princely states and provinces (5.61%). Apart from that, the news about the Indian cabinet (2.71%) was the only other state of affairs related content. Among the foreign newspapers,

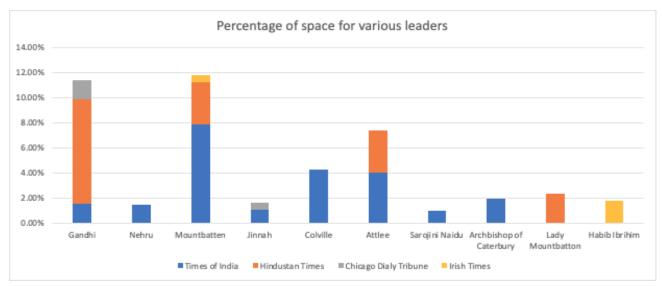


Figure 7: Percentage of space covering content about various leaders

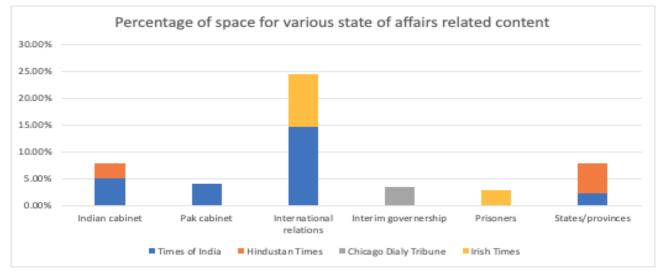


Figure 8: Percentage of space for various state of affairs related content

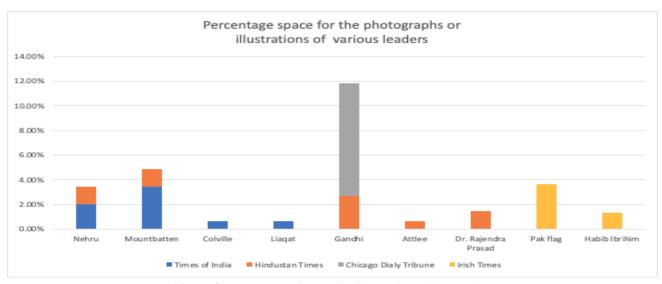


Figure 9: Percentage of space for illustrations/photographs

the US newspaper Chicago Daily Tribune emphasized MountBatten being appointed as the Governor-General for the interim period (3.37%), while Irish Times largely covered international relations (9.88%). Among the four newspapers, the Irish was the only one that addressed the future of prisoners (2.85%) who were imprisoned by the British colonial government in India.

When it comes to the photographs, *Times of India* included the photographs of Mountbatten (3.42%), Nehru (2%), Bombay Governor Coville (0.62%), and Pakistan leader Liaqat A Khan (0.62%). There was no photograph of Gandhi in the *Times of India*. On the other hand, the most prominent photograph in *Hindustan Times* was of Gandhi (2.71%). Apart from Gandhi, Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, MountBatten, and Attlee also found space in *Hindustan Times*.

Conclusion

The study has come up with various interesting results. The analysis of the themes and topics, prominent tones, and the frames used in the news reports show the depth of coverage of the social and political issues in context of India's independence on the first page of the selected newspapers on August 15, 1947. The textual analysis method used to examine the headlines demonstrates how well the significance of news on the front pages are influenced by linguistic characteristics and word choice. Measuring the amount of space on the front page featuring things related to the state of affairs, the names of various leaders and the photographs on the front page emphasised the gravity of issues relating to Indian independence.

The events related to the portrayal of Indian independence in the selected four Indian and foreign newspapers vary, obviously, Indian newspapers

covered the issue the most. Thus, it can be concluded that the newspaper played a major role in disseminating the news events related to Indian independence on August 15, 1947.

The present study has certain limitations as well. The analysis through digital copies instead of the real newspapers made it not possible to further examine more newspapers. As a result, future studies that examine a larger number of newspapers may be able to draw more substantial results. Future researchers could also gain a different perspective by examining the coverage of Independence Day events in regional newspapers.

Limitations

- The small sample and restricting the analysis only to the front page is a major limitation of the study. But given the practical constraints in collecting more data, it was decided to proceed with the study with this small representative sample.
- The digital version of certain newspapers was unavailable without financial resources and the study was conducted entirely without financial assistance so it was decided to proceed with limited available resources.

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Tracing the Journey of Marathi Daily *Kesari* and its Impact on Indian Journalism

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ABSTRACT

Indian journalism has a legacy of forthright journalism. In the glorious history of journalism in India, several newspapers from various prosperous languages have contributed not only to the development of the society but also to education, awareness, and building a united nation. Many different eminent social reformers, leaders in the Indian freedom struggle, with their journalistic approach have helped Indians to grow and to build the feeling of nationalism. Amongst all those newspapers and publications, *Kesari*, as the name suggests, the Lion, stands tall as it is published till the date. Hence, it becomes crucial to look back at 75 years of independence. It is significant to trace the journey of *Kesari* and to understand its impact on Indian journalism. The researchers have employed the qualitative research method using secondary data. It is found that *Kesari* constructed a base for the revolution of Indian journalism. It delivered the new definition of journalism which was not only followed in the pre-independence era but also in the post independence. The most essential aspects of nationalism that were brought to Indian journalism was by *Kesari*.

Keywords: Kesari, Lokmanya Tilak, Nationalism, Indian journalism, Marathi press

Introduction

The birth of journalism in India and its growth is a very interesting case. The historical facts clearly express that the advent of Indian journalism, like several other establishments in India, should be credited to the British rule. Newspapers came to India as a foreign idea — something that was started by the foreigners for the foreigners. The newspapers spoke the language that was not 'ours'. However, these early newspapers made the Indian leaders recognize the power of this almost forced medium. They realized that the medium can be used as an instrument to make Indians aware of their rights, to change their minds concerning inhuman Indian traditions and rituals, and to change the Indian society into a modern developed society. British rule brought self-realization to the Indian people. Along with the introduction to the English language, the press introduced Indians to the values of rights, equality, and social justice, which were inherent to the western world.

Indian press grew because of varied interests of the owners or the editors. These interests ranged from the spread of religion to the spread of knowledge and from expressing opinions to commercial interests. Some also had a motive of creating awareness and overall development of the society.

Anglo-Indian and non Marathi newspapers

The era began with a newspaper called Bengal

Gazette also known as 'Hickey's Gazette' in the year 1780 in Calcutta. Hickey's journalistic perspective was to fight back against the East India Company using this newspaper as a weapon.

The history of Indian journalism is divided into three phases. The first phase (from the year 1780–1826) talks about the emergence of newspapers in India (Shareef, 2021). During the same era, James Silk Buckingham started *Calcutta Journal* in the year 1786. His opinion about newspapers was "newspapers deliver knowledge about the culture of different countries across the world. Newspapers must make the government aware of its flaws and to state the bitter truth" (Lele, 1984, p. 32).

The initiatives about Indian language newspapers were taken by Serampore missionaries led by William Carey by publishing the first Bengali Newspaper, *Samachar Darpan*. Mondal (2014) states,

"In 1818, Serampore Mission published Dig Darshan, a magazine for youths, to circulate some scientific and geographical knowledge among the youths. The main aim of this magazine was to secure the improvement of the youth's mind and to prevent youths' minds from getting filled with idle or injurious. The Third Report of the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools in India notified that 1818 onwards, *Samachar Darpan* and *Dig Darshan* were sent to every school. These Serampore Missionaries used this Bengali newspaper and

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journal, namely, *Samachar Darpan* and *Dig Darshan* as a textbook in their schools. With the expansion of schooling network outside of Bengal they translated the first two volumes of *Dig Darshan* in Hindi and published them in 'Devnagari' character with the same view." (p.81).

Following Buckingham, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a social reformer and advocate of freedom of the press, filed a suit in the Supreme Court to support the Indian language newspapers in India. He published newspapers in the Indian language with the objective of social development (Kumar, 1981, p.78). He stated, "Newspapers in the Indian language are needed and useful for the development of Indian society. Without Indian language newspapers, it is impossible for Indians to gain knowledge and to express their opinion and complaints to the government" (Lele, 1984, p. 32-33). This appeal was approved by the king of England which led to the journey of Indian language newspapers.

Urdu newspapers were mainly published from Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Aligarh, and Meerut. While the newspapers in Kannada, Tamil, and Malayalam were emerging in the south Indian parts of the nation, Gujarati newspapers were published first by Parsis in Mumbai in the year 1822 (Lele, 1984, p. 39-48).

Pre Kesari Marathi newspapers

The emergence of the Marathi newspapers dates back to the early 19th century. Parsis started Gujarati newspapers in Mumbai which used to publish Marathi advertisements. Along with the Gujarati publications, Mumbai became the center of an educational revolution in the country. Britishers brought western educational culture to India and made Mumbai a hub to spread knowledge and to employ the system across

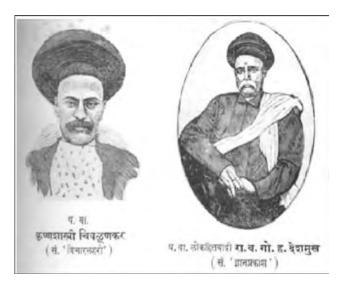


Fig. 1: Krushnashastri Chiplunkar and Lokahitvadi G. H. Deshmukh. (Mone (Tilak), 2011)

the nation (Lele, 1984, p.49-50).

Krushnashastri Chiplunkar on newspapers publication said "if the concept of the printing press did not emerge, if newspapers, books did not emerge, if we had to write the pages we are printing daily, then it would have required millions of humans to perform it. May the excellent innovations of God, such as knowledge, independence, and wealth increase gradually" (Chiplunkar, 1861). Thus, with the purpose of dissemination of knowledge, communicating about education, and to get the motivation to spread the knowledge, Marathi newspapers came to the fore. (Lele, 1984, p.53)

The first known Marathi newspaper *Darpan* was edited by Balshastri Jambhekar. The publication started in the year 1832. The editor mentioned the motive of the newspaper was for the development of Indians, "this newspaper publication will spread the western educational system, it will disseminate their knowledge, culture, and language". The editor of the newspaper became the thread to connect the citizens of India and the British government. Balshashtri Jambhekar did criticize the Britishers, his writings and his criticism had candor and directness but it was not very hard-hitting (Lele, 1984, p.61).

After *Darpan*, the second popular pre-Kesari Marathi newspaper was *Prabhakar* which emerged in the year 1841. The editor Govind Vitthal (Bhau Mahajan) forthrightly expressed his opinions about the British government through *Prabhakar*. The landmark in the history of *Prabhakar* was that it published the popular *Shatapatre* written by Lokhitvadi Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh. The newspaper did not have a clear agenda though. The editor made sure that there is a balance between the grievances of citizens and government policies. Due to the personal reasons of the editor, the newspaper was ceased in the year 1961 (Lele, 1984, p.81).

During the *Darpan—Prabhakar* era, the three newspapers, namely, *Dnyanoday*, *Dnyansindhu*, and *Dnyanprakash*, emerged with an inspiration of spreading knowledge and education. From 1840 to 1860, Indian society experienced a radical transformation in the field of journalism. The newspapers were focused on the dissemination of knowledge and religion. Very few newspapers in this epoch spoke about nationalism and patriotism. This standpoint of newspapers is seen to be changed with the awareness about nationalism and patriotism (Lele, 1984, p.83).

The moderate leaders Lokhitvadi Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh with the help of Mahadev Govind Ranade, Janardan Gadgil, and Vishnushastri Pandit started a newspaper in Mumbai named *Induprakash* in the year 1861. Instead of focusing on political events, *Induprakash* focused on the societal and religious development of the society. Similar to *Induprakash*, several other newspapers came on the canvas of Marathi press but none of them lasted for long and neither did they create any significant impact (Lele, 1984, p.143)

While all these newspapers were subjected to societal development, very few of them concentrated on nation building and creating the feeling of nationalism in the minds of the Indians. This role was performed by the Marathi newspaper *Kesari*. Bhagwat and Pradhan (2015) stated, "There were in Maharashtra three or four newspapers at the time; but none of them could boost of a mission. They were commercial enterprises and there was hardly any editorial policy".

Birth of Kesari

Kesari, a publication in Marathi language, was started by leaders who considered pen and paper as their weapon to fight for the rights of Indians. The first issue of Kesari was published on January 04, 1881. In its first issue, Kesari declared that it will serve the needs of those who are unaware of the surroundings and their rights, with the help of news and articles subjecting to literature, politics, economics, and moral interests of the masses at large (Bhagwat & Pradhan, 2015). Kesari began as a weekly publication and later turned into a daily. It was amongst the first few newspapers that had a clear objective and agenda for publication.

Purpose of the study

Indian journalism has always given preference to nation building, social development, and constructive changes in the socio—political—economical fabric of the country. Unlike western journalism, where the mediums started as the voice of the government or the powerful people in society, in India, journalism has always been the voice of the common people.

Kesari, the Marathi newspaper started by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others, is a very significant newspaper in the illustrious list of papers that gave a new direction to the citizens. *Kesari* was a leading newspaper in the pre-independence time that gave a solid political vision. Because of Tilak's persona associated with it, *Kesari* gained the trust of the people as well.

In addition to motivating people to fight against the British, *Kesari* became a hope for everyone who wanted to enter the field of journalism. The baton of nationalist—patriotist journalism that *Kesari* had lifted became a source of inspiration for many other newspapers. The present research paper talks about the impact of the newspaper on Indian journalism. The researchers have also attempted to trace the journey of *Kesari* from the beginning to post independence, as it is noteworthy to look at the newspaper's position after Tilak.

Review of literature

While tracing the journey of *Kesari*, it is also important to understand the contribution of Lokmanya Tilak throughout the journey of *Kesari*. Thus, researchers studied and reviewed a few research papers and books that talk about the journalism of Lokmanya Tilak and *Kesari*.

Tilak and Tilak (2019) stated, "It is the responsibility and duty of the media to help society and people to form their opinion, to use their rights of freedom of speech and expression, and to educate the masses".

Chatterjee (2015) stated, "with time, *Kesari* became an expansion of Lokmanya Tilak's personality and identity. He also said that with the help of *Kesari*, Lokmanya Tilak initiated and promoted reform movements like *Swadeshi*, *Swaraj*, Boycott, and National Education". Through *Kesari*, Tilak placed a new aspect of political consciousness in front of people at large. The author says, "Kesari was a harbinger of change in all forms. From its inception, it had tried to keep pace with time. It introduced changes in its content, presentation and also in technology commensurate with the need and demand of the time".

In the literature on the History of Indian Press, Kesari's contribution to Indian journalism is not accurately documented; it is only available in bits and pieces. There is abundant written work on Lokmanya Tilak's effort in India's freedom struggle, but Kesari as a stand-alone newspaper is not studied for its role in shaping the Indian press. Therefore, the present research paper attempts to fill that gap and comment on *Kesari's* impact on the Indian press.

Research objectives

- 1. To trace the journey of Marathi newspaper *Kesari* since the beginning to a few years post independence.
- 2. To assess the impact of *Kesari* on pre independence journalism in India.
- 3. To analyse the contribution of *Kesari* for development of Indian journalism after independence.

Research questions

- 1. What is the journey of Marathi newspaper Kesari since the beginning to a few years post independence?
- 2. What is the impact of Kesari on pre independence journalism in India?
- 3. What is the contribution of *Kesari* to the development of Indian journalism after independence?

Research methodology

The present research uses qualitative research method to find answers to the research questions. The researchers have used only secondary data for which included research papers, books, newspaper/news website articles, etc. Only the available data has been studied for the analysis.

Findings and analysis

The journey of Kesari from the birth

The Indian history is non linear. Several ideologies exist in the country since the very beginning. There are a lot of factors that create divisions in the country as well. However, it is important to note that in the pre independence times, the press in India was serving one common purpose of creating awareness among



Fig. 2: First Issue of Kesari. (Mone (Tilak), 2011)

the people of the country, on a range of issues.

Kesari propagated a thought of political freedom and gave a substantial program of opposing the British rule. The newspapers served as a tool to create new aspirations and inspirations which were essentially political. The credit for raising overall political awareness of the common people, at least among the citizens of Maharashtra, has to be given to the solid agenda of Kesari.

Researchers feel that it is necessary to note that the nationalist agenda of achieving political freedom was not the only agenda that *Kesari* had from the very beginning. Similar to the first generation of Indian newspapers, *Kesari* had a more liberal perspective. However, unlike other contemporaries, *Kesari* had a clear mission which was clearly published in its first declaration. Drafted by Lokmanya Tilak, the announcement stated

"..The newspaper will contain the usual features—news of political events, commercial information, etc—and besides there would be articles on the condition of the people, reviews of newly published books and such other topics. It is also intended to give summary of the political happenings discussed in England, as it is necessary that people here should understand them. It may be said that the three above mentioned topics, viz. conditions in this country, books in our language, and political events in England, have not been adequately discussed in any other newspaper so far. We have decided to make good of this deficiency..." (Bhagwat & Pradhan, 2015).

The newspaper made it clear that it is set out to do something different, something which has not been attempted by anyone until then. The name of the newspaper was the indicator of the newspaper's mission and agenda to awaken the snoozing society, to break the political dilemma in the society, and to also warn the British regime about their ill-doings.

Mahratta, the English newspaper, was also started by Tilak with the same spirit. Both the newspapers, through their hard-hitting commentary on the socio—political scenario in the country, gave a new direction to the people of the country. These newspapers became a medium to unite people for a common cause.

Kesari is often discussed in the current times for the editorials written by Lokmanya Tilak. However, another significant point about the newspaper was also the news coverage. Kesari often published pieces about the movements and protests against the Britishers from across the country. At the same time, Kesari, being a Marathi newspaper, was absolutely wellconnected to the local regional issues and happenings.



Fig. 3: *Kesari* and Lokmanya Tilak. Lokmanya Tilak, (Jewane & Vahalkar, 2021)

Tilak never let the newspaper distance itself from the local connect which made the readers believe in it. The editorials in *Kesari* had a huge impact on the society and on the British regime as well. Written in a simple and direct style, these writings never lost sight of the main purpose of shaping people's opinions. *Kesari* editorials never hesitated in asking difficult questions to the British rulers, even if it meant taking on legal charges by the regime. It made trenchant remarks on the British government and made them aware of the accountability and duties towards the citizens.

Every piece by Tilak had a systematic design where he made his points by narrating the issue. He touched almost all subjects on the earth which were of paramount importance to Indian citizens. He profoundly wrote on religion, society, economics, taxation, governance, farmers, workers, agricultural technology, education, health and hygiene, indology, etc. (Sathaye, 2020). The key emphasis of all the writings in Kesari was always on nationalist sentiments.

The style of writing was also a significant selling point for the paper. Often the radical expose would take the form of advice and warning to the Government as if from a well-wisher, as if the writer's main purpose was to save the authorities from their own follies (Chandra et al., 2016). In a very short period of time, Kesari had become one of the leading newspapers in Western India. Kesari made history and became popular even among the illiterates in rural areas. Tilak eventually took complete control over the newspaper which made the paper stronger than before. He openly condemned and questioned the policies of rulers. During the great famine and plague epidemic in India, Lokmanya fearlessly reported the careless and indifferent attitude of the government towards the sufferings of the people (Chakravorty, 2020).

Kesari's stand amidst various streams of thoughts in pre-independence India

Bal Gangadhar Tilak had started Kesari and

Mahratta with four other members in the founding team. His friend and colleague Gopal Ganesh Agarkar was one of them. Though working together, Tilak and Agarkar had different bent of mind (Karandikar, 1957). It is a well-established historical fact that Tilak had a clear emphasis on *Swarajya*—the political freedom, whereas Agarkar viewed social reforms of more prominence. For instance, in an issue about Child Marriage Prohibition Bill, Agarkar spoke in favour of the legislation opposing child marriage. Tilak opposed this legislative interference vehemently, whereas *Kesari* remained non-committal on the issue.

Because of these differences of opinion, Agarkar quit *Kesari* and started a new newspaper in 1887 with the name *Sudharak* which meant a reformer. Even though the clash between Tilak and Agarkar is viewed as the struggle between tradition and modernity (Khengai & Satya, 2019), it is necessary to point that *Kesari* as the newspaper always advocated the nationalist sentiment above everything. The newspaper stood by its position, which resonated with Tilak's stance, that freedom from foreign rule is of the topmost priority and everything else can be discussed after that.

Similar to Agarkar's *Sudharak*, many other newspapers had started that focused on social reforms and criticised Tilak's *Kesari* for its orthodox ideological position. However, what makes *Kesari* stand out is its uninfluenced and undeterred belief in its own political stand.

The nationalist ideals that Indian National Congress worked with in later years was anticipated by Kesari earlier. Kesari did great service in helping the process of dissemination and propagation of the ideals of patriotism. The choice was to be made again about the precedence of political as against social reforms. Kesari served this purpose with its own clear position again and paved the way for the upcoming mass mobilisation against the British rule (Bhagwat & Pradhan, 2015). Amidst all other streams of thoughts present in other press outlets, the trust for the freedom struggle and the leaders of the movement was built by Kesari. The credit of this goes to Tilak's unparalleled arguments, clear rationale and strong uninfluenced opinions which percolated in the writings published in Kesari, that had a strength of mobilising the common people.

Tilak considered it a duty to work for awakening the people, to teach them sincerity and the sense of unity. "We write not for the rulers but in order that the readers might imbibe our spirit and understand our thoughts, our agonies and our indignation" (Bhutia, 2019).

Kesari post-Tilak

Kesari had reached its peak popularity when Tilak was the editor of the paper. It is interesting to note that the publication's popularity grew further when Tilak was sent to the Mandalay jail by the Britishers. K. P. Khadilkar and N. C. Kelkar, Tilak's trusted companions took the legacy of the newspaper forward and kept its popularity intact. The main issue in this task was the strict regulation on the press by British Government. However, Kelkar and Khadilkar tried their best to write on the burning issues like the press sanctions and wrote some strong articles on some other important issues like education, politics, religion, etc.

After Tilak's death in 1920, N. C. Kelkar continued as the editor and Khadilkar took over the responsibility of writing the editorials. N. C. Kelkar, Tilak's confidant who later served as the Kesari's editor, is quoted as having said, "It is impossible to consider the *Kesari* exclusive of Lokmanya Tilak and Tilak apart from the *Kesari*. For all purposes, the paper became him, and he, the paper" (Bhutia, 2019). However, in their reign, *Kesari* continued to publish writings with unity and complete freedom of the nation as the central idea. The unswayed position continued so much so that in later years, the newspaper even criticised the Indian National Congress (Lele, 1984).

The unaltered position and vision of the newspaper was welcomed by people at almost all instances and the business of the newspaper continued with similar, if not more, fervour after Tilak's death.

Impact of *Kesari* on pre-independence newspapers

Kesari created an effect on the next generation of newspapers. These newspapers and editors were motivated, encouraged by the journalism initiated and nurtured by *Kesari*. Several newspapers followed the ideology of *Kesari* and gained popularity.

The *Kal* newspaper was published by Shivam Paranjape on March 25, 1898. While talking about the publication, he said *Kal* has been born for the eradication of many entrenched political ideas.

Another newspaper that was largely impacted by *Kesari* was *Gurakhi*. This publication earned popularity by the writings, articles, editorials published in it during the events like the Plague pandemic, oppression by Rand, Sedition suit on Tilak in the year 1897. During the 1900s Lokmanya Tilak encouraged Gangadharrao Deshpande to publish a newspaper. Soon after, with editor Sitaram Keshav Damle, the first issue of daily *Rashtramat* was published on June 29, 1908. It can be said that *Kesari* and *Rashtramat* were sister publications. It is evident that, within a



Fig. 4 Gurakhi (Lele, 1984)

year, *Rashtramat* played an path breaking role in the field of journalism, *Kesari* on the first anniversary of Rashtramat, praised it.

A few non-Marathi newspapers were also started because of the influence of Kesari. Those included—*Vande Mataram*, *Hindi Kesari*, and a Sanskrit newspaper called *Sunrutvadini*.

Impact of *Kesari* on journalism post independence

Indian newspapers always played a key role in building of the nation—may it be by the way of advocating social reforms or like *Kesari*, advocating political reforms. Post independent India also saw the similar trend in the journalistic ideals. Dealing with the difficulties after independence was not only the state's responsibility. The newspapers took it upon themselves to help in the same and speak on the issues like making of the constitution, stressing on the unity of the nation, reorganisation of states, etc.

This political focus of the newspapers is, in a way, a legacy of *Kesari*. The tradition of giving people a substantial programme beyond just published words is the gift that *Kesari* gave to the Indian press. Post Independence newspapers continued with the tradition and made people aware of the need of civic participation in the process of nation-building. The feeling of oneness among the citizens was given paramount importance by the newspapers; exactly similar to what *Kesari* had done in the pre independence time.

Another significant contribution of *Kesari*, according to the researchers, is the participation of the press in the *Samyukta Maharashtra Movement*. It was probably the first political movement in India post-independence which was led by newspapers. The newspapers like *Navakal*, *Navshakti*, *Navyug*, *Prabhat* and of course *Kesari*, by staying true to the local regional sentiments, shaped the *Samyukta*

Maharashtra Movement.

In fact, the contribution of *Kesari* can even be traced to the time until profit making was not the sole motive of journalism. Until the press was associated with the movements of socio—political importance, Kesari's legacy was very much visible in Indian journalism.

Conclusion

Kesari, which is a golden leaf in the illustrious book of Indian journalism, has had an immense impact on journalism. From its very beginning, Kesari stood out from other newspapers because of its clear political vision. Bal Gangadhar Tilak's ideas were never mere ideas that retained their life only on the pages. He shaped them into concrete programmes which made readers active participants. The newspaper and all the writings were not temporary in nature. Those had values which transcended towards wider perspectives, timeless ideals, and creation of universal morals which included clear vision about freedom, rights, self-reliance, and self-governance.

Kesari did not just shape Marathi journalism but had an overall impact on Indian journalism as well. The ideas and values that *Kesari* gave were even visible in the press after independence. Therefore *Kesari*, the newspaper that continues to be in print even today, with decent circulation numbers, is an exemplary name in Indian journalism.

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Counter-Media Forces Construct Dominant Discourse: Case Study of *Azad Hind Radio* in the context of George Orwell's BBC Broadcasts

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ABSTRACT

The impact of media has existed more lively in the presence of countering forces. During the period of India's war of independence, radio emerged as the compelling stage for the world's leading broadcasting company the BBC and Subhas Chandra Bose's *Azad Hind Radio*. This research attempts to study how the broadcasting from the BBC under the guidance of George Orwell countered the voice of *Azad Hind Radio*. The case study of transcripts of radio programs, researched material on George Orwell and Bose along with factual statements observed in various books published by their contemporaries have been analysed. Preference for case study material has been purposively given to authorised websites like the BBC, All India Radio (Prasar Bharati), and the Orwell Foundation. Based on the case study being carried out, it can be construed that the radio war changed the discourse of international politics during the early 1940s. It brought India on the face of the world map during the Second World War. It can also be said with fair evidence that the appointment of George Orwell was intended to counter the broadcasts by *Azad Hind Radio*.

Keywords: Countering forces, Azad Hind Radio, George Orwell, Radio, the BBC, Discourse

Introduction

The twentieth century saw an extensive use of the media during world wars and freedom movements in the western colonies. India, burning in the flames of freedom struggle was not unaffected by such developments taking place around the world. Among media wars fought and resisted by counter forces in British-controlled India, there was a war that touched millions around the globe, the war of words.

In general, the messages received from media are considered in a single context of their construction but it may be noted here that most of the messages exist within a frame of active countering forces. To understand the working of countering forces in media, it is beneficial to use the concept of discourse that rests on knowledge, power and truth.

The aim of this paper is not to comment on the morality of the acts performed by the BBC and Azad Hind Radio (AHR) during the Second World War (IIWW); rather it is to throw light on the active existence of countering forces that facilitates both simple and complex communication. As well as the construction of dominant discourse that comes to take the center stage in the presence of battles fought by marginalised discourses. This paper aims to position the war of words fought between the BBC and AHR, at the centre of this discourse as notable here is the way this war shaped the battle arena for Germany, Britain, and Japan. Discourse is constructed by the powers constructing knowledge, shaping it on different levels, and redefining truth and meanings that people come to agree on about varied aspects of their lives. It equally establishes power for those who are able to dominate the discourse and in a subtle way influence what people know, what they acquire of this knowledge, and how they use it.

Foucault has clearly explained the way construction of discourse is ordered in the world humans inhabit. He has also talked about the construction and exclusion processes involved while exhibiting how discourse is both the tool and the end, in the equation. He writes, "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is a struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (Foucault, 1981).

Both Britain and Germany were at war for power and India, surfacing as the new stage for this power, triggered their interest. Before the setting of the Free India Centre in Germany, India was merely a pawn

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used by the British as means of raw material and soldiers to fight the IIWW. India became the centre of War when Subhas Chandra Bose reached Berlin in hope of securing help from Hitler in India's fight against the British. This, still, was one side of the exchange, the picture turned global when the BBC started its services for the sub-continent through the Indian section and Bose shifted his base from Berlin to Tokyo. Allied and axis, both dominant powers were forced to consider the case of India's freedom struggle. The discourse of world war came to be reshaped by the war of words fought between the BBC and AHR. Both the parties, engaging in war-time propaganda activities fought for the attention of the listeners. Soon, radio broadcasting changed into countering broadcasting, each constructing content to counter the other. It is in this reference the case of the BBC and AHR has been analysed emphasising George Orwell's role in it.

Literature review

In an attempt to study the colonial countering of AHR, it is imperative to do a thorough analysis of the literature available concerning Subhas Chandra Bose's work in exile, his philosophies and relations with Nazi Germany, BBC's Empire Service, and the significance of radio in India's freedom struggle.

Bose's work in exile: Berlin to Tokyo

Being an activist, Bose carved out a framework for reaching out to his countrymen while he prepared for an armed struggle against the British. Leaving Indian soil and traveling in challenging situations, he arrived in Berlin in April 1941 (Bose, 1997). In his book, Ganpuley (1959) offered a vivid account of how Subhas Chandra Bose prepared for the radio war in Berlin. With ardent support from the internal Anti-Nazi struggle's adherents including Dr. Adam von Trott Solz, Bose managed to setup Free India Centre, an administrative office in Berlin, on November 2, 1941 (Arya, 2008). It was critical to have a tool to reach out to Indians and nothing could have served better than radio. Hence, the main functions of this centre included operating AHR while arranging funds and mobilising Indians abroad to join Azad Hind Fauj (Ganpuley, 1959). Bose did not miss a single opportunity to show his support for the revolutions/protests being carried out in India. Often considered the strong-headed rebel leader, Bose was pragmatic, determined, courageous, and persuasive in his manners. His reappearance in Berlin was a fresh wave of enthusiasm, and hope for Indians. Listeners tuned in to hear his fiery speeches across the continent. Jha (2020) in an article studied the impact of AHR and mentioned the survey done by All

India Radio in 1940 and quoted Maharaja of Jodhpur, to affirm the reach Bose's voice had in India: "German radio soon took over British broadcasts, described by Fielden as being 'swallowed by the masses like a patent medicine advertisement'. "Almost every owner of a wireless receiving set in his city would tune into broadcasts from Berlin".

Following operation Barbarossa, Bose was alarmed to amend his plan and head towards the southeast. For him, the chance to launch an armed battle against the British had to be initiated at all costs. On invitation from Japanese authority, Bose moved to Tokyo to take up the leadership of the former 'Indian Independence League' started by revolutionary Shri Rash Behari Bose (Bose, 1986). It was on June 21, 1943, when Bose spoke from Tokyo for the first time (Ayer, 1951). Later, Bose reorganised the Indian National Army (INA) naming it Azad Hind Fauj, and formed a provisional government. AHR came to act as the driving force in uniting Indians settled across South-East Asia and war prisoners, forming a strong front at the eastern border. Following the unfortunate surrender of Japanese troops in August 1945, Bose was forced to restructure his plans. Bose took a plane from Saigon which crashed over Taiwan. The plane crash in which Bose was believed to have died, sparked a lot of speculations in the decades that followed.

Throughout this, the colonial forces were not sitting idle. As the BBC has recorded in its list of anniversaries, BBC's Empire service started in 1932 intending to stand in solidarity with fellow Englishmen serving the empire in distant colonies. With the initiation of the IIWW, the whole flow shifted towards answering axis propaganda and silencing the cries of Indians for freedom. In accordance, the BBC recruited George Orwell, a famous author, critic, and socialist, to broadcast radio programs in 1941. Eric Arthur Blair, known as George Orwell, was an exceptional person to be employed considering his views as published in his work, "Burmese Days". Thus, the assessment of Azad Hind Fauj Radio's role in the freedom struggle requires one to take into consideration the counter-voice of the BBC under the guidance of Orwell.

Bose's philosophies

Roy (2004) in the article published in Orissa Review, has discussed in detail the philosophies of Netaji and given ample insight into his actions. His research work aims at the delineation of the presence of a holistic approach towards freedom in the actions of Netaji. He writes,

".....his social, economic and political concepts were empirically formulated for an objective

observance and ramification with the sole objective of emancipation of Mother India from the British rule of exploitation and oppression and reconstruction of Free India".

Roy's account of Netaji's letters to his friends, speeches at various platforms, and statements issued from AHR, along with Bose's descriptions by his fellow members from *Azad Hind Fauj* has sketched a galactic picture of Netaji's work on the path to achieving India's freedom.

Mody (2000) has given a detailed account of the Rani Jhansi Regiment of Azad Hind Fauj, Netaji's faith in women's power, his sheer belief in the equal treatment of women, and their key role in India's freedom struggle. Dr. Lakshmi Sahgal was the female guard of Honour and in charge of the Rani Jhansi Regiment. Shenith (1945) offered a peek into the brave story of Lakshmi Sahgal;

"Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was not at all arrogant in trying to force his opinion on others. He acted all the time in a very level-headed, persuasive, and rational manner ...We do not have a one-man dictatorship; we are fellow-fingers in the same field".

Several accounts of his stand in front of Japanese authorities, and time and again in his addresses suffice to do this enough. Published works by many including Khan (1946), Chatterji (1947), Ghosh (1969) and others, confirm the above claims. However, Bose's action of seeking support from Germany in hope of receiving military help from Hitler is highly refuted. He has been criticised by many on this ground. Duncan (1991) has openly discussed the dreadful position of Bose in aligning with Germany, though never concluding it as fascist, "Despite his penchant for militarism, Bose does not seem to have been a fascist: he turned to Germany as his enemy's enemy (Duncan, 1991)".

The Bose-Germany alliance is exceedingly questionable. And there are arguments enough to support both sides. But it is pertinent to note here that the battle meant to fight through the military was more rigorously fought with words echoing from the radio.

Role of radio

The radio played a major role in the freedom struggle as a medium for reaching out to millions and influencing their opinions. Gupta (2019) has thrown light on the war fought between allied and axis powers during IIWW and how broadcasting in India took its centre stage. Her work opened up the scope to study further in detail the particular work of the BBC Empire Service about AHR.

Pointing towards the role of radio in the freedom struggle, an article published by the BBC Gujarati on August 15, 2020, remembered Usha Mehta as the "young student", who went underground to run a secret radio station. The article quoted the opening lines of the radio broadcasts that started on 14 August 1942; "This is the Congress Radio calling on 42.34 from somewhere in India". The touch-and-go chase with British police vans and the struggle to continue sending messages on radio ended in November 1942 with the arrest of Usha Mehta.

The Empire Service

The BBC Empire Services started in 1932 with a sole purpose of reaching out to the British diaspora in colonies ruled by English. In his research, Hill (2010) talked about the Empire Service and how it aimed to serve imperial interests, "In seeking to sustain and strengthen the ties or linkages between the Empire (or at least an element of its population), the Empire Service served to reproduce the primary vector of imperial politics (Hill, 2010)."

But Empire Service could not keep itself limited to the British population living in distant colonies for long. Soon it had to pick up with the AHR that worked in support of axis powers and echoed the fiery voice of Bose igniting new flames of freedom struggles. Bainbridge and Stadtler (2013) commented, "The Indian section began broadcasting on May 11, 1940 as part of the BBC's Overseas Service Under Orwell's guidance, the unit rapidly increased its output. By 1943, the BBC was producing programs in English and five subcontinental languages".

George Orwell who was and is still believed by many to be the critic of imperialism became the key broadcaster during the early 1950s. His appointment by BBC raised many questions which are pertinent to be analysed concerning his ability to mobilise the literate Indian force in London and the presence of AHR.

Research questions

- 1. How media is used by countering forces as a tool to shape the prevalent discourse?
- 2. What kind of content was aired on AHR as well as the counter-content delivered by the BBC?
- 3. How did Radio become a catalyst in the struggle for freedom?

Research objectives

- To understand the ways counter media forces work in the construction of discourse.
- 2. To understand George Orwell's stand in BBC's broadcasting.
- 3. To assess the impact of AHR and the BBC concerning India's freedom struggle.

Research methodology

This research work critically analyses the case of AHR in the background of countering BBC broadcasting by George Orwell during the IIWW. The material used for the case study is the secondary data that is published and made available for public access on the internet by authentic organisations and journals/books. The preference has been given to content available on the websites like the BBC, the Orwell Foundation and All India Radio along with published reports by The Print and several books. Particular data has been analysed in the context of research objectives and questions stated above.

Findings and analysis

The goal of this research is to understand the working of countering forces that co-exist or to say actively exist within the communication taking place around the world. These forces shape the discourse while continuously making efforts to construct knowledge, assign meanings, and build power. Foucault (1980) summed up how the discussion of discourse connects the dots of power, knowledge, and truth. He writes,

"Power, knowledge, and truth are connected through discourses and texts...Discourses are everywhere. They are the very stuff of society and mediate all aspects of life...Discourse functions at the level of things said".

Juxtaposing these words from Foucault with the radio words people heard during the IIWW from the BBC and AHR, it may be noted that the discourse of world politics did receive the impact from these two radios. And, it is crucial as well as interesting to see what other discourses fought for dominance and how these together shaped the structure of power at the global level. Gupta (2019) has talked at length about radio broadcasting in India during the IIWW. She writes,

"However, the onset of war and India being declared a belligerent by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, without consulting the burgeoning Indian political leadership in the Indian National Congress, changed the significance of listening to the radio and highlighted how broadcasting was used as a tool of transnational propaganda during the Second World War".

Bose intended to seek more military support from Hitler given the circumstances the world was witnessing during the IIWW. In his addresses to the countrymen through radio, he gave an account of events taking place around the world to establish that support of axis powers should be sought to free India from the clutches of colonial rule. His expectations rested on the cordial relationship that existed between Germany and Soviets

until the operation Barbarossa took place in 1941. Not only his demands were declined in his meeting with Under Secretary of State Woermann at the German Foreign Office; Hitler's remark on racial superiority shattered his hopes, "Europe's white races had the right to snatch colonies and wealth from anywhere and that "the English went to India to teach the Indians how to walk" (Barooah, 2019). Radio was not on the list of agendas that he anticipated from Germany. Barooah in his article has provided an overview of the demands made by Bose:

"Bose pressed for many things in his meeting with Woermann and in his later meeting with Ribbentrop in Vienna on April 19: setting up an Indian Government-in-exile; building an army with Indian prisoners from North Africa; a declaration of support for Indian Independence after the war; launching an attack on India; and, of course, an interview with the Führer".

Bose has received critical remarks for siding with Nazi Germany but as noted in various reports published online he has never been given the tag of a fascist. He has been rebuked for his decisions, condemned and by others, admired for his ferocity, but never regarded as a Hitler like fascist. As for Furtwängler, he disliked Bose's fondness for Hitler but unlike many Western writers, he never considered Bose a fascist" (Barooah, 2019). The official website of West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education has mentioned his philosophy behind this, "Working on the maxim that 'an enemy's enemy is a friend', he sought the cooperation of Germany and Japan against British Empire" (West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education, n.d.) Even in his message from Berlin on Free India Radio, he addressed this and concluded it by saying all he has done is in the service of Mother India.

Bose and Radio might have never come together if Adam von Trott zu Solz wasn't involved. An anti-Nazi German officer who was secretly fighting his war to save his country from the actions of Hitler was assigned the responsibility of looking after Bose. It due to him that India got a chance to gather support and resource material from Germany to run Free India Radio. Trott and Bose's relationship as defined by the former himself was professional to an extent to call it cool. Trott did understand the situation of India and considered Bose as "gifted". There was underlined patriotism that was common among both but the means to serve the country varied immensely. Trott's brilliance carved the ground for radio broadcasting for Bose who used it diligently after reaching Japan. Though his determination to build an army continued and found stability in the Japanese goal to head towards undivided British controlled India.

The war of words

August 1941, as the findings suggest has to be considered as a turning point in the history of War of Words. While on one side Bose-Trott was working on to give public broadcasting from Germany to India a formal shape under the authority of Wilhelm Keppler (Trott's boss at German Foreign Office), on the other side, George Orwell, was appointed by the BBC as the English-language broadcaster to India (Barooah, 2019; Bainbridge & Stadtler, 2013). This rationalises the reference this paper makes to George Orwell's role in war of words and thus, in countering the AHR. There are many instances in which George Orwell himself has claimed to be a propagandist working for the BBC. In the war archives retrieved by West (1986) there found to be notable sections from Orwell's diary where he has bitterly commented on his time at the BBC. His most notable of all was his comment when he resigned from the BBC, "just an orange that's been trodden on by a very dirty boot" (Watson, 1985). London-based independent charity organisation "The Orwell Foundation" is dedicated to the work of George Orwell as well as encouraging creative writing skills among youth. Director of the organisation, Professor Jean Seaton's spoke about Orwell on the occasion of unveiling of his statue and considerably noted the impact the BBC and Orwell had on each other:

"He learned the innards of propaganda—all of this goes into Nineteen Eighty-four. In many ways, the BBC also found itself in during the Second World War: perhaps these two national institutions Orwell and the BBC come out of that moment".

George Orwell's appointment at the BBC changed the course of discourse construction as he was able to bring South-Asian writers and intellectuals at the table of the Indian section at the BBC. "Orwell succeeded, for example, in recruiting novelist and critic, Mulk Raj Anand, well known in 1930s literary London for his novels Untouchable (1935) and The Coolie (1936), to collaborate with him in producing anti-fascist propaganda" (Bainbridge & Stadtler, 2013). The presence of Asians provided the needed impetus; however, it certainly could not match the axis propaganda that thrived on the voice of Netaji. Yet, it did confirm that the focus was now centred on India and the most used weapon in the arsenal was radio. Gupta (2019) has noted the counterworking of both the BBC and AHR:

"While images of Indian soldiers recording messages for home transform into useful material for allied propaganda, the literary portrayal of Bengali servicemen finding inspiration from communist Russia to overthrow colonialism rather than fascism becomes subversive to the British Empire—precisely the target of Axis transmissions".

The battle soon reached Japan and Bose waged the war on the British from the East. Prime Minister Tojo provided much-needed encouragement and support to Bose-led INA. Japanese atrocities on Chinese people turn out to be the most successful attempt by Orwell in hampering the influence Bose had on Indians, "There is something a bit scruffy about George Orwell's ordering up a script on Japanese atrocities in China for broadcast by the BBC's Indian section in 1942" (Watson, 1985). Gandhi remarked on the Japanese actions following its reporting by the BBC and requested Indians to sever any connection with Japan. The loss in the Battle of Imphal (1944) crafted the stamp of failure in the achievement of the targets set by the axis propagandists. It concerned the British so much. Despite established radio organisation in the country, All India Radio, they handed over the command of the BBC Indian section to Z. A. Bokhari and George Orwell, encouraging them to recruit Asian voices and utilise the work of T. S. Eliot and E. M. Forster. The war fought by words to win over the minds of the Indians was of concern for axis and allied powers battling in the IIWW for the hold of power.

Conclusion

In attempting this case study, the researcher has made a effort to throw light on how counter-forces work in the media. The initiation of AHR created required reasons for Empire Service to change its course and begin countering the echoes of freedom from Far East Asia. It is imperative to note that the war of words fought between the BBC and AHR not only brought India's freedom struggle to a whole lot different global platform but it changed the course of lives for Bose and Orwell. After all the findings and analysis done above, it may be noted that the course of communication, as well as the construction of discourse, are largely affected by the interplay of countering forces rather than the structure of any entity involved. Orwell himself noted and was disappointed in British broadcasting aimed at countering axis propaganda rather than clarifying Britain's stand on India's future (Crick, 1981).

As noted above, in the review of the literature and again reaffirmed in the analysis, radio played an influential role in the Indian freedom struggle, IIWW, and the lives of George Orwell and Subhas Chandra Bose. Orwell, had the faith of East Asians in him owing to his critical assessment of imperialism in Burmese days and Bose, was admired as the ferocious freedom fighter and leader he was for the country.

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Contribution of Gopabandhu Das and *The Samaja* towards Nationalistic Movement in Odisha

SANJAYA KUMAR SAHOO¹ AND SURESH CHANDRA NAYAK²

ABSTRACT

The history of the Indian freedom movement is incomplete without mention of the nationalistic role played by the regional press across the country. Mahatma Gandhi and other national movement leaders were actively associated with different media and used the news publications to strengthen the fight for independence. Gopabandhu Das has been one of the prominent figures in Odisha during the pre-independent era. With a multifaceted role, he substantially impacted Odisha's politics, social work, the effort to unify Odia speaking region, education, literature, journalism, and various other fields. Multiple scholars have highlighted his selfless service and dedication to the cause of social development and national awakening. He considered journalism as an instrument for socialservice and founded Odia newspaper 'The Samaja' in 1919. The present study is explorative in nature and attempts to have an overview of the contribution of The Samaja and Gopabandhu Das to freedom movement in Odisha, based on secondary data gathered from published literature. The study finds that Gopabandhu Das and Samaja made a significant contribution to the freedom movement in the state by highlighting various issues, criticising the government's oppressive policies, spreading the messages of leaders of national movement, and promoting nationalism. The Samaja had been mass focused since its inception and Gopabandhu as its Editor focused on reaching to the common people in villages with simple language. With the robust foundation laid by Gopabandhu, The Samaja also continued to work for the social and national cause, even after his death.

Keywords: Gopabandhu Das, Language press, Odia journalism, The Samaja, Freedom struggle

Introduction

Indian journalism had a deep root during the pre-independence era. It played a pivotal role in fuelling the national movement for independence and promoting social reforms. Indian newspapers carried out major tasks of political propaganda, social sensitisation, promoting the nationalistic ideology, and building public opinion to support the freedom struggle and eradicate social evils. In addition, the Indian press during this time acted as the opposition to the Government with sharp criticism of the acts and policies of the colonial Government (Chandra *et al.*, 2016).

Several leading newspapers emerged and acted as catalysts to the independence movements. With the active involvement of various nationalist leaders and journalists, the language press spread the messages of independence, democracy, patriotism, and equality. The newspapers were instrumental in rallying the masses against the British Raj (Iyengar, 2017). They also played an active role in creating awareness about the propaganda and barbarism of the colonial rule. Awakening Indian nationalism was a significant motive of the regional media (Hussain, 2017).

The colonial Government also made various attempts to suppress the voice of the Indian press, especially language news publications. The Government enacted different Press Laws and restrictions to curb the language press in India. The memorandum on the operation of the Press Act of 1910, submitted by the Press Association of India, said, "Nearly 1,000 papers had been prosecuted under the Act. The total amount of securities and forfeitures which went into the hands of the Government during the first 5 years of the Act was nearly Rs. 5 lakhs, according to another official return made in 1918. Over 500 publications were proscribed under the Act" (Chaudhuri, 1955, p. 348).

Despite all the hurdles and difficulties, the Indian nationalist press continued its political and social awakening mission. Mahatma Gandhi has been a strong advocate of language press and promoted regional media to reach out to the masses (Bhattacharyya, 1966; Chatterjee, 2013). In the early 20th century, the rapid expansion of newspapers, particularly vernacular media, challenged the English rulers with their tone and actions (Joseph, 2021). These media played a significant role in

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the Indian freedom movement and fought with the independence movement leaders. They made many sacrifices and braved cruel oppression by the British Raj.

Odisha had its first newspaper in 1865 with the publication of the weekly *Utkal Deepika*. With increased printing facilities, Odisha news media, especially in local languages, continued to grow. Like their national counterparts, Odisha media during the pre-independent era made a significant contribution to social reforms and the promotion of nationalistic ideas. In addition to this, the Odisha newspaper had a substantial role in advancing the Odia language and unification of Odia speaking people to form modern Odisha (Chatterjee, 2013).

Among various leaders and news publications, Gopabandhu Das and *The Samaja* had considerable influence and power over the masses in Odisha during pre-independence times. Born on 9 October, 1877 in a small village called Suando in the Puri district, he first completed his schooling from a rural school near his village and later from Puri Zilla School. He joined Ravenshaw College at Cuttack to complete his graduation and joined Calcutta University to complete his MA and Law degree. After a brief stint as a teacher in Balasore District's Nilagiri, he became a lawyer and was appointed as the State Pleader for the princely State of Mayurbhanj (Choudhury, 2009; Misra, 2006; Satapathy, 2007).

From his student days, Gopabandhu was actively involved in Utkal Union Conference (Utkal Sammilani), which spearheaded the unification of Odia speaking regions into a separate province. He started Odia weekly *The Samaja* in October 1919 from Puri District and later shifted to Cuttack. Though he started writing for newspapers much before establishing the weekly, *The Samaja* had a significant impact on his work to mobilise Odia people for the formation of a separate Odisha province and driving the national movement in Odisha.

Review of literature

Barik (1978) find Gopabandhu as a nationalist intellectual who belonged to the middle class in the Odisha. His idea of nationality was inclusive in nature and was not against the idea of India as a nation. He was instrumental in developing Odia nationality, which included any person residing in Odisha and considering it as their own land, irrespective of linguistic differences. This prompted many non-Odia speaking people settled in the State to join the movement for the formation of Odisha as a separate State on the basis of language. He

played a key role in persuading the Congress leadership to support the demand for linguistically homogenous states (Barik, 1978).

According to Pati (1983), Gopabandhu Das played a crucial role in spreading non-cooperation movement in Odisha. The Satyabadi School established by Gopabandhu in 1909 played a key role in the non-cooperation movement in Odisha. The author commented:

"It had established a trend in Oriya Literature which is characterised as being nationalistic. Through the Samaj (established in 1919) attempts had been made to infuse this spirit into the educated sections of society; side-by-side, the necessity of primary and scientific education, women's education, and reforming Brahmin society had been emphasised, which explain the influence of the Satyabadi School and of Gopabandhu on the urban mind." (Pati, 1983, p. 26).

The emergence of Pandit Gopabandhu Das, also famous as *Utkalmani* (jewel of Utkal or Odisha), brought a far-reaching influence on Odisha's social and political scenario. He was a crusader against social and political evils, an ultra-nationalist, a politician, a poet, an essayist, a prolific writer, a journalist, and an editor (Bahinipati, 2012; Choudhury, 2009).

Encouraged by one of the tallest leaders in Odisha Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu became a legislator of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in 1917. During his tenure as a legislator, he focused on bringing Oriya-speaking regions of Bengal, Madras, Bihar, and Orissa and Central Provinces into one administrative unit, eradication of floods and famine in Odisha, restoring the rights to manufacture salt without any excise duty, and promotion of education (Misra, 2006; Satapathy, 2007). For his involvement in national movement of Odisha, Subhas Chandra Bose described him as, 'The Father of the National Movement in Orissa and Lala Lajpat Rai called him, 'The Uncrowned king of Orissa' (Kuanr, 2000; Samantaray, 2012).

Gopabandhu along with others was instrumental in spearheading the non-coopeation movement in Odisha. *The Samaja* acted as a voice of non-cooperation movement leaders by spreading their messages among people (Acharya, 2015). Language newspapers have a significant impact on people in the State. Gopabandhu established *The Samaja* for highlighting the problems faced by Odia people. The newspaper supported the cause of Odisha's unification through several articles and feature stories (Prasad, 2014).

Research objectives and research questions

The present study aims to explore and present various contributions of Gopabandhu Das, especially as a journalist, and *The Samaja* in social awakening and freedom struggle in the State of Odisha. The questions this paper aims to address are:

- 1. What are the important contributions of Gopadandhu Das as a journalist in Odisha?
- 2. What are the critical roles played by *The Samaja* in freedom struggle in Odisha?

Research methodology

The study is exploratory in nature and has adopted a secondary research method, which "is defined as the summary, collation and/or synthesis of existing data" (Jugenheimer *et al.*, 2015, p. 29). The study gathered and analysed data from various published works during the first two decades of the 21st century. Total four books, two newspaper articles, seven articles published in journals *Odisha Review* (a publication by the Government of Odisha), two theses, and two articles published in reputed online news outlets have been covered in the study.

Thematic analysis approach, is a familiar method in qualitative data analysis (Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Xiao & Watson, 2019), has been used to synthesise and present the data gathered to arrive at the answers to the research questions. The researchers extracted important information from the published works and grouped them into various themes with mutual discussion and agreement.

Findings and discussion

Gopabandhu and *The Samaja* have been covered by various scholars, considering their contribution to Odisha. The history of the nationalist struggle in Odisha would be incomplete without the mention of Gopabandhu Das and also *The Samaja*. The newspaper holds a special place in the history of Odisha media. Among various Odia newspapers published in the preindependent era, only three newspapers – *The Samaja*, *The Prajatantra*, and *The Asha* - survive. While the condition of *The Prajatantra* and *The Asha* cannot be said to be very good, *The Samaja* is still popular and enjoys enormous credibility and readership across the length and breadth of Odisha.

Birth of Gopabandhu, the journalist and *The Samaja*

Gopabandhu Das had dedicated his life to the service of the poor and downtrodden. His stories of selfless social work are now legends in Odisha. As a journalist, Gopabandhu Das made a significant impact on Odia media, like Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian language press.

Gopabandhu Das, in his political and social life, has recognised the power of journalism to reach out to the masses and promote the efforts of social reforms and national movements. He realised the need for a newspaper for successfully communicating the people's concerns to the Government and informing the public about the activities of the Government. Educating the rural people was his priority. However, he neither had adequate resources nor time to run a newspaper. He encouraged Sasibhusan Rath, another noted freedom fighter of Odisha, to start an Odia newspaper. In 1913, Odia newspaper Asha began to be published from Berhampur. Gopabandhu Das served also served as its Editor and regularly contributed columns to this newspaper (Bahinipati, 2012; Samantaray, 2012).

"Unaware of any party-political or social, Gopabandhu was overwhelmed with only one idea, that is – nation. To educate the large illiterate mass, he felt the need of a proper newspaper. But due to the absence of adequate resources he could not proceed in that direction. For that reason, while staying at Satyabadi, he accepted the editorship of *Asha* newspaper published from Berhampur. But by seeing that he could not pursue and achieve his ambition, he started the weekly '*The Samaja*' with a little principal sum" (Mishra, 1956 as cited by Bahinipati, 2012, p. 21).

Pandit Gopabandhu established *The Samaja*, as an Odia weekly, in October 1919 from Satyabadi. It was shifted to Puri in 1925 and later to Cuttack in 1927 and continues to be one of the dominant news organisations in the State (Chatterjee, 2013).

The newspaper, along with Gopabandhu, had a significant role in the socio-political life of Odisha since its beginning. Gopabandhu Das served as its editor till his death. Before starting *The Samaja*, Gopabandhu started *Satyabadi*, a literary magazine promoting Odia language and literature.

Prior to *The Samaja*, there were few other weeklies that laid the foundation of journalism in Odisha. However, "Gopabandhu's '*Samaj*' with its string nationalistic outlook, free and fearless journalism and simple, lucid and forceful prose style marked a new phase of journalism in Orissa" (Kuanr, 2000, p. 44). Chatterjee (2020) also viewed beginning of *The Samaja* as a new phase of Odia journalism.

Journalism as social service

The Samaja mirrored the political and social ideologies of Gopabandhu, who dedicated this

newspaper as an instrument for social service. With the superb journalistic skill of Gopabandhu, *The Samaja* played an active role in the reconstruction of Odisha's social order and India's struggle for independence. Gopabandhu made all efforts to make this newspaper as reader-friendly as possible. *The Samaja* used simple style and diction to be easily understandable for rural people (Pradhan, 2005).

Since its beginning, *The Samaja* was mass focused. The idea behind *Samaja* was clarified by Gopabandhu in one of the editorials in early days of the newspaper. He wrote:

"It contains discussion on the real state of the country, especially the problems faced by the people living in villages. It objectively publishes the problems and complaints of the people, which the administration should know. It also explains the policies and actions of the Government to people. It takes special interest on issues related to people living in villages like health, primary education, religious discourses, panchayat, cooperative societies social situation, agriculture, and cottage industry. Language of *The Samaja* is simple. One, who is barely literate can also understand it. One who is not literate also can understand it by listening" (Mahapatra, 1993 as cited by Chatterjee, 2013).

Like Mahatma Gandhi, for Gopabandhu journalism was a mean to inform and educate the public (Chatterjee, 2020). He believed "journalism could serve as a medium of educating the masses often neglected by the society due to illiteracy" (Aranha, 2018).

Gopabandhu and The Samaja fought for the development of Odisha by bringing out important issues. One such example was his fight for higher education in Odisha and his persistent columns in The Samaja to justify his argument (Sahu, 2006). At that time, there was no university in Odisha. Students completing graduation had to go to Calcutta or other cities for higher education. Many students were forced to leave their ambition to study master degree. Realising the problem, Gopabandhu made a case of the establishment of the university in Odisha. Like any professional journalist today, he researched the establishment of universities in Europe and made a similar case for Orissa. He wrote a piece in The Samaja "forcefully pleading the cause of a University for the State and sensitising people and seeking their active support in achieving it in practice" (Sahu, 2006, p. 24). He continued to write in The Samaja, making a solid case for establishing a university in Odisha.

Role in Non-cooperation Movement

The Non-cooperation Movement, under the

leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, was the first countrywide public protest in India's independence history. In Odisha, Gopabandhu and other leaders spearheaded the national movement arousing great enthusiasm among the masses (Acharya, 2015). He travelled to different parts of the region, addressing meetings and delivering Gandhi's messages. Hundreds of students walked out of their classrooms in protest. Many people left their government jobs to join the freedom movement. Gopabandhu was instrumental in making Odisha join the mainstream of the nationalist movement (Choudhury, 2009).

Pattanaik (2021) considered Gopabandhu Das as the pioneer of the congress movement in Odisha. With the entry of Gopabandhu, there was a radical change in Odisha's political scenario. He made a systematic approach to propagate the ideals of congress in Odisha. *The Samaja*, founded by him to carry the messages of Congress ideals and activities, was 'a vehicle for his political ideas' (Pattanaik, 2021).

The Samaja became an influential voice of Gopabandhu and other non-cooperation movement leaders to the people (Acharya, 2015). The newspaper became the mouthpiece of the leaders and delivered their targeted messages to every nook and corner of the Odisha (Chatterjee, 2013).

Spreading the messages of Gandhi

Gopabandhu was instrumental in bringing Mahatma Gandhi to Odisha and spearheading the non-cooperation movement in the State. "By the invitation of Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Mahatma Gandhi visited Orissa in March 1921. His visit gave a tremendous fillip to the non-cooperation movement, besides popularising the Congress Party" (Choudhury, 2009, p. 22).

During the subsequent visit of Gandhi to Odisha, *The Samaja* covered every news related to his visits. Not only that, *The Samaja* regularly published reports on Mahatma Gandhi's programmes and speeches in other parts of the country. The newspaper sourced the news from press agencies, though they were costly at that time. The efforts of *The Samaja* and other publications in the pre-independence era had a huge role in making Mahatma Gandhi, a mass leader among the Odia people.

The Samaja after Gopabandhu

In addition to Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai also had a significant influence on Gopabandhu. With his insistence, he joined Servants of the People Society in 1927 and became its vice president in April 1928. He visited Lahore to attend the society's meeting and

fell ill, from which he could never recover. He died on 17th June, 1928, at the age of 51 (Misra, 2006). Before his death, he handed over *The Samaja* to the Servants of the People Society, which is currently running the newspaper.

Even after the death of Gopabandhu, *The Samaja* continued its efforts of working for the cause of the freedom movement and development of Odisha. After Gopabandhu, Pandit Nilakantha Das became the Editor of *The Samaja* for a brief time. Pandit Godavarish Mishra succeeded him. Pandit Lingaraj Mishra became Editor of this illustrious newspaper in 1930 and continued till 1957. *Samaja* became a daily newspaper on 6th April, 1930, on the day Mahatma Gandhi started his famous 'Dandi Yatra' (Gopabandhu Academy of Administration, 2016).

Joining Gandhi's civil disobedience movement, salt satyagraha was organised in Odisha's Inchudi in the Balasore district in 1930. The Samaja not only supported this movement but also helped in making this a mass movement. The editorial published in The Samaja during the salt satyagraha evoked nationalism and a sense of sensitivity towards the people. The editorial highlighted the unjust taxation and revenue policies, especially the Salt Law by the colonial government.

Gopabandhu's idea to make *The Samaja* a mean of social service is still intact. Presently, the newspaper is often associated with the idea of service. A major part of the profit from *The Samaja* is spent on various social welfare activities (Martineau, 2014).

Suppressed but not silenced

Gopabandhu and *The Samaja* fought valiantly against the colonial power. He "continued his relentless struggle against the British rulers through the columns of the paper and never yielded to any pressure and temptations of the British Government" (Shastry, 2005, p. 47).

In 1921, *The Samaja* published news related to the alleged molestation of a woman by two constables of Begunia police station. The colonial Government filed a defamation case and arrested Gopabandhu. When he was produced in court, he was granted bail. Suresh Chandra Bose, brother of Subhas Bose, was the magistrate. However, being a non-cooperation movement activist, he refused the bail and defend himself. On the final day of the hearing, about 30,000 people were gathered (Acharya, 2008). Later, Suresh Chandra Bose wrote, "I was amazed. What charismatic influence does Pandit Gopabandhu have over lakhs and lakhs of people there! What great love and respect people have for him!" (Acharya, 2008, p.

76).

Though the Government failed to put Gopabandhu behind bars, "He became a nightmare for the local administration for his role in the non-cooperation movement. His active support and encouragement to the resistance movement in Kanika and advocacy of its cause through the columns of The Samaja perturbed the administration" (Bahinipati, 2012, p. 22). He was arrested in 1922 for his alleged role in organising Swaraj Volunteer's Corps and violating the prohibitory orders at Bhadrak. He was sentenced to 2 years of simple imprisonment. His imprisonment gave a fresh impetus to the freedom-fighting movement in Odisha. He actively pursued his literary work during his imprisonment and produced some magnificent poetry in Odia language (Kuanr, 2000; Pradhan, 2005).

As *The Samaj* played a key role spearheading the civil disobedience movement in 1930, it attracted the ire of colonial power. As a result, it was repeatedly suspended and suffered from repression for publication of news related to nationalism and support for the freedom movement.

It is *The Samaj*, which has preached the message of freedom movement in the State. Due to support towards the freedom struggle, its course was not smooth. It earned the wrath of the British Government. As a result of which it was closed for a period of 11 months. British Government failed to capture the *Samaj* and could not silence its voiced (Gopabandhu Academy of Administration, 2016, p. 368).

Discussion and conclusion

Gopabandhu Das was always concerned about the plights of the underprivileged and downtrodden in Odisha. His mission was to work for the poor. His foray into journalism was aimed at a bigger goal serving the people of Odisha and strengthen his nationalism efforts. His strong feelings and concern for the emancipation of Odisha's people and social development persuaded him for the journalistic venture. He used journalism and The Samaja to reach out to the masses and express his ideas and thoughts regarding freedom struggle and eliminating social evils. His concern for the development of Odisha and Odia people was reflected through his writings in the pages of *The Samaja*. The journalistic practice by Gopabandhu was in line with the revolutionary and reformative qualities of journalism practiced by freedom fighters like Mahatama Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Walking on the path laid by Gopabandhu, various editors of *The Samaja*, such as Godabarish

Mishra, Lingaraj Mishra, Udayanath Sadangi, and Dr. Radhanath Rath all have focused on free, fair, and fearless journalism. Since its beginning, the newspaper has been in the forefront in serving the society. The newspaper had a significant role in the development of Odia literature and language. During pre-independence times, it has been instrumental in ushering in social reforms, motivating the public for the cause of freedom struggle, and advancing the campaign for the formation of a separate Odisha State. Post-independence, the newspaper is continuing to play an important role in instilling societal values and facilitating the nation-building process, in line with the ideals of Gopabandhu Das.

Since its beginning, *The Samaja* had drawn the attention of both the elites and ordinary people in Odisha. It evolved and developed through time and became synonymous with the freedom struggle in Odisha by spreading the message of national movements throughout the region and inspiring patriotism among the Odia people. Moreover, *The Samaja*'s success garnered respect for the journalistic profession and inspired several new publications to come up in the State. Gopabandhu and *The Samaja* would always be remembered as pioneers of modern journalism in Odisha.

Limitations and scope for further research

The study is explorative in nature and is based on the published literature in English Languages. However, as Pandit Gopabandhu Das and *The Samaja* impacted Odisha's history during pre-independence times, much work has been published in Odia language. Therefore, the inclusion of published work in Odia would have given a more comprehensive perspective. Because of limited resources and time, the study did not cover how *The Samaja* covered different issues related to the freedom movement and social development in Odisha before 1947. A content analysis of news coverage in the newspaper during this time can divulge more information about the role of *The Samaja* in India's freedom struggle.

These limitations of the study, as highlighted above, indicate that future research can be conducted in the following areas:

- What are the contributions of *The Samaja* during different movements of freedom struggle?
- What are the key journalistic philosophies of Gopabandhu and how he used journalism and The Samaja as a tool for social development and national awakening?
- What are the similarities and differences between journalism practiced by Gopabandhu Das,

- Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders?
- How has *The Samaja* influenced other news publications in Odisha?

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Evading Censorship: Putting Ghose brothers' Amrita Bazar Patrika against Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, 1878

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ABSTRACT

Freedom of speech and expression is equally important as the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. However, when such freedom is threatened, it is the duty of every responsible being to stand up and fight against such injustice. During India's freedom struggle against the British Empire, the press played a crucial role in educating and stirring the masses. As a matter of fact, it was colonial authorities who systematically introduced school and college education, which vastly increased literacy rates among Indians. Realising the influence and imminent threat posed by Indian newspapers, colonial authorities introduced several repressive measures and ordinances from time to time. Among them, the most discriminatory of all was, the Vernacular Press Act, introduced by Lord Lytton in 1878. Like the previous regulations, the Vernacular Press Act receives huge criticism and opposition from Indian editors and publishers. While the normal rule of opposition was criticism and legal appeals, the way how the publishers of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* responded to the act and in turn evaded it, was utterly smart and clever. This paper intends to bring into light the circumstances leading to the introduction of the act and its consequences thereafter with special reference to the Ghose brothers, the publishers of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Keywords: Colonial India, Indian press, Censorship, Ghose brothers, Amrita Bazar Patrika

Introduction

After the revolt of 1857, the government of British India viewed the press suspiciously and feared it as an agent that can anytime lead to greater chaos. To effectively check the growing influence of liberal ideologies imparted through newspapers and periodicals, the government of British India introduced several repressive measures to contain such influence. The immediate outcome of the revolt was the introduction of *Licensing Act 1857*, similar to the ones introduced in 1835. The provision empowers the government, the right to stop publication and circulation of books, newspapers, or any printed matter deemed affecting the interest and image of the authority (Pal, 2019, p. 20).

In fact, the act of 'censoring' dated long back to 1799 when the Lord Wellesley introduced an ordinance to prevent the rival French from acquiring or leaking information that is distasteful to British authorities in India and back at home (Kumar, 2017, p. 425). In the course of about 200 years, there are laws introduced to censor freedom of press from time to time. The Licensing Regulation, 1823; Press Act or Metcalfe Act, 1835; Licensing Act, 1857; Registration Act, 1867; Vernacular Press Act, 1878; Newspaper Act, 1908; Indian Press Act, 1910, and

The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 are few worth mentioning in this regard. The very intent of promulgating these laws are perhaps the control of freedom of thought and expression of Indians. On the other hand, the relentless pursuit of nationalist Indians, however, does not let the media succumb to such petty pressures of British authorities.

Among many acts introduced by the authority, one that caught special attention has been the *Vernacular Press Act* of 1878. When Lord Lytton became the Governor General of British India he began to quickly understand the relationship the authority maintains with the press. He saw press freedom as a threat to autonomy and existence of the empire. On the other hand, provinces such as Bengal and Madras began to enjoy special taste of newspapers published in the vernacular languages. To him, this was never a positive sign (Singh, 1949, p. 30).

As a measure to contain what is termed 'seditious writings', Lytton passed the infamous *Vernacular Press Act* in 1878. The act further eroded the relationship between Indians and the establishment; broadened India's consciousness of its national identity. In this study, an attempt has been made to establish the circumstances leading to the act and its impact on the language press. This study intends

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to put *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the role played by Ghose brothers.

Education, literacy and consciousness

Education for Indians was neither a subject nor was taken seriously by the East India Company till the third decade of the 19th century. Even after its realisation, the sole and general intention of educating Indians, according to *Maculay's Minute* of 1835, was to "form a class of people who may be interpreters between us (the British) and the millions whom we (they) govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect" (See Macaulay's Minute, 1835).

In the initial stages, there have been two schools of thought on the teaching-learning of Indians: the 'Orientalists' prefer the indigenous mode of learning, whereas the 'Anglicists' viewed the oriental way of learning to be inappropriate to teach western ideas and philosophies (Gowda, 1956, p. 40). When Thomas Macaulay was nominated as the first law member in the Governor General's Council, he profoundly promoted the English language as the medium of instruction, for educating the people on western thoughts and ideals in schools and colleges (Meena, 2015, p. 87). In the later days, English began to be accepted widely as a medium of learning in schools and colleges.

However, till the first half of the 19th century, there exists no specific framework or education policies in India. It was only with the "Wood's Despatch" of 1854, that the first ever document on the framework of western education began in India. This in fact was the *Bible* of widespread, inclusive and unified education in the country. The war-footing initiative of the government began to see its results within a few decades. By 1882, there were four universities and 67 colleges spread over the entire country. By 1890, around 60,000 Indians passed matriculation. By 1881, the literacy rate of the country stood at 3.2%, a good number for the period (Chongloi, 2018, p. 471).

The introduction of modern education and the gradual increase in literacy rate of the Indians increased the reading habit considerably. Young Indians in great numbers learned and adopted western philosophies, art, governance, medicine, to mention in the process. The idea of freedom, equality and fraternity which was the main slogan of the French Revolution aspired many youths to take up the cause of Indian masses. Few who recognised the importance of mass media eventually launch their own papers to propagate ideas of Indian consciousness.

Intellectuals, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Bipin Chandra were deeply impressed by the writings of John Locke, John Milton, John Stuart Mill, and others on the role – press should play in the society. The contention of Edmund Burke that of press as the "fourth pillar of democracy" has brought upon them the courage to stand against the misdeeds of those in power; for the press itself is the only weapon that exists as a check and balance to the colonial government.

In fact, it was the increase in literacy rate which considerably fuelled circulation of printed publications, thus, resulting in the growth and survival of Indian newspapers. Though western education initiated by colonial authority was with the motive of better hold of the country, in the later days it proved beneficial for both, more so to the Indian population. In this way, colonial government played the role of the development of print journalism through the introduction of western education, partly in collaboration with European missionaries working in their respective areas (Chongloi, 2021, p. 159).

Rise of Intelligentsia, press, and censorship

Till the middle of the 19th century, press and publication houses were largely owned by the disgruntled employees of the British Empire. Therefore, reporting was largely done against certain leadership and has no bearing effect on Indian mass and the Indian national movement. In fact, the first newspaper of India, Bengal Gazette, edited and published by James Augustus Hickey happened to be a disgruntled employee of the company. Such was the character of several newspapers published by the Anglo-Indians. Personal enmity, jealousy and favoritism were the driving force behind such journalism. Similarly, editors, such as William Duane of Bengal Journal/Indian World; Charles Maclean of Bengal Hurkaru; James Silk Buckingham of Calcutta Journal and CJ Fair of Bombay Gazette were few notable editors falling in line with Hickey (Sonwalkar, 2015, p. 628).

However, since the latter half of the 19th century, there has been a huge change in the media landscape in the country. The educated Indians who were once readers of British edited papers began to fill the void which were largely neglected by the British editors and publishers. Thus, another phase of Indian freedom struggle emerges. During this phase, the educated Indians realising the power of press began editing and publishing newspapers to cater the reading need of the Indian masses. Besides English medium publications, the period also saw an exponential rise of the vernacular newspapers in towns and provinces.

By 1870, there were about 62 such papers in the Bombay Presidency; about 60 in the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces; some 28 in Bengal; about 19 in Madras. Their circulations were, of a necessity, restricted but they were nevertheless expanding. It was computed that there were probably 100,000 readers of such papers and that the highest circulation of any one paper was in the neighbourhood of 3,000 (Singh, 1949, p. 30).

Again in 1873, Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, ordered an enquiry into the state of the Indian-owned press of Bengal, and the result showed 38 papers to be in existence (Barns, 1940, p. 276). One enumeration showed 62 Indian-language papers in the Bombay presidency and 19 in Madras (Griffiths, 1952, p. 272). The growth of language press and its wide acceptance by the public rather became alarming for the authority.

While literary status is one driving force for publishers going vernacular press, there are multiple benefits in the venture. First, vernacular press communicates wider masses as many Indians still managed to read and write their own script and language. Secondly, it is more profitable from an economic perspective by selling more copies. Thirdly, it better communicates ideas and policies in and clear, lucid and intelligent way. Fourthly, and perhaps more importantly, it successfully managed to evade many news items which would deemed libelous to the authority.

To specifically check the growing popularity of vernacular newspapers and its stealthy dissemination of information, precisely, the government of British India promulgated the infamous Vernacular Press Act in March, 1878. The Act introduced by Lord Lytton, the Governor General of British India, was in fact the first ordinance introduced to primarily target vernacular editions of the Indian newspapers. Security deposits, seizure of equipments, proof reading by police are few that are included in the provision. Besides, another critical provision is that in case of disputes, the decision of the magistrate shall be final and binding and no appeal shall be entertained by the court.

Of the many provisions, one that attracts huge attention and perhaps the basis of the whole provision lies is the provision to undertake certain commitment by printers and publishers. The provision stated:

 Any magistrate, within the local limits of whose jurisdiction any newspaper is printed or published, may, with the previous sanction of the local government and subject to the provisions of section 2, call upon the printer and publisher of such newspaper to enter into a joint and several bond, or when the printer and publisher of such newspaper are the same person, call upon such person to enter into a bond, binding themselves or himself, as the case may be, in such as the local government thinks fit, not:

- (a) Print or publish in such newspaper any words, signs, or visible representations likely to excite disaffection to the government established by law in British India, or antipathy between any persons of different races, castes, religions, or sects in British India;
- 2. When any publisher or printer is called upon by a magistrate to execute a bond under this Act in respect of any newspaper, the publisher of such newspaper may deliver to such magistrate an undertaking in writing to the effect that no words, signs, or visible representations shall, during the year next following the date of such undertaking, be printed or published in such newspaper which have not previously been submitted to such officer as the local government may appoint in this behalf, by name or in virtue of his office, or which on being so submitted have been objected to by such officer (See Singh, 1949, p. 35).

The above provisions (Section 1 & 2) have been different from any other previous ordinances. First, it is discriminatory. The Act does not include English language newspapers. Secondly, the act intends to blackmail editors and publishers. Vernacular publishers and editors have to sign a bond that it agrees to print news items only after approval by the authority or anything that incite violence or defame the authority. When interpreted in its essence, vernacular publishers have to surrender its independence in its editorial and decision making.

Lord Lytton, however, defended the introduction of the Act and blamed the language press for all the lawlessness in the country. Lytton believes "the very existence of British rule in India was jeopardized by the Indian papers published in Indian languages, not by those published in English". He specifically charged vernacular press "because they were addressed solely to an ignorant, excitable, helpless class, who had no other means of information about the actions and motives of their rulers" (O'Malley, 1968, p. 216).

Similarly, London's Fortnightly Review (1880) in its editorial wrote:

That the vernacular journalism of India is for the most part a tool in the hands of an irresponsible, vulgar, and unscrupulous body of men who instead of giving vent to public feeling or expression to public opinion, use it to eke out a miserable livelihood by a persistent misrepresentation of the motives and measures of our rule (p. 62–63).

Further, The Nineteen Century of London (1908, p. 203) publishes a piece in defense of Lord Lytton that, "certain publications in Oriental languages printed or circulated in British India contained, of late, materials that were likely to excite disaffection to the government". The writing further warned "such publications were read by and disseminated among large numbers of ignorant and unintelligent persons. So the government was scared that another rebellion might break out".

Lytton proposals were not without doubts among members back there at London. Arthur Hobhouse (1878), a legal member who reviewed the bill doubted, "whether it was wise to let the criminal articles of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* pass with impunity". However, he cautioned that, "If such a prosecution succeeded, it would be a salutary lesson. If it failed – it would then afford some ground for fresh legislation. He could not perceive how a well selected case could result in any discredit to Government".

The Bengalee in its editorial, dated 16th March, 1878, remarked: "The day before the ideas of March will henceforth be a day of mourning for the Vernacular Press of India. For, on this day it has been deprived of the boon of liberty, which Sir Charles Metcalfe conferred it 43 years ago" (See Gujral, 1958, p. 428).

The Times of India in its editorial, dated 19th March 1878, wrote that in spite of his 'temperament', his 'convictions', and his 'associations', Lytton had "chosen to fix an indelible blot on the fair page of his Indian career". It further added, A Council of state such as that established by the first Napoleon would be a much more appropriate instrument for work of the kind to which Lord Lytton is now devoting himself, than a Legislative Council with idle stimulation of the forms of free discussion (See Gujral, 1958, p. 428).

The *Bombay Native Opinion* in its editorial, dated 24th March, 1878 wrote, "View it as you will, this *Press Gagging Act* is a blow to liberty of speech, to judicial administration, and an invitation to fulsome flattery, and servile criticism done to order by the licensed vendors of oriental news (See Gujral, 1958, p. 429).

Pheroz Shah Mehta writing in *The Times of India*, dated 19th March, 1878, observed that it was a most "melancholy spectacle" to see a statesman of "such generous promise as Lytton, dealing in his deluded weakness, a most cruel and most fatal blow to one of the noblest experiments that history had ever

unfolded". He appealed to "each and every educated Native, from every corner of India, to come forward to point out with might and main" the disastrous blunder into which the Government of India were falling (See Gujral, 1958, p. 430).

Amrita Bazar Patrika

Of the many newspapers, one that gave sleepless nights to colonial authorities was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. It was started wholly by three brothers Hemanta Kumar Ghose, Shishir Kumar Ghose and Motilal Kumar Ghose, also known as Ghose brothers. In fact, the paper they started was not the first venture for the family. Years before, their elder brother Basanta Kumar Ghose started a fortnightly Bengali called *Amrita Prabahini*. However, after the sudden death of Basanta Kumar, founder of the *Prabahini*, the Ghose brothers gave up their respective position, ganged up and started what was going to be one of the most widely read newspaper during India's free struggle (Dutt, 1935, p. 36).

In preface to Anath Nath Basu's biography 'Mahatma Shishir Kumar Ghose' (1920), Motilal wrote that Amrita Bazar Patrika (ABP) was started as a weekly in the Bengali language in March 1868. According to Motilal, they named it Amrita Bazar Patrika- amrita meaning 'nectar', bazar denotes 'market', and patrika signifies 'journal'. That is to say, the ABP was a paper which distributed nectar or honey". Motilal also describe the paper to have different meaning for different people. He added that, "Amrita has, however, another significance, namely, aconite or poison. So the Amrita Bazar Patrika was a paper which in the position of its proprietors purveyed both nectar and poison: nectar to the right minded and poison to the wrong-headed people".

Within a few months of its publication the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* came to enjoy a circulation of 500. Its fearless tone and exposure of official abuses, however, offended the local authorities, though it earned a seat for itself in the hearts of the people (Dutt, 1935, p. 12). Within four months from its launch, *Patrika* found itself involved in prosecution. A criminal defamation case was brought upon by Mr. Wright, Sub Divisional Officer, for publishing few items distasteful to the administration. The case took 8 months completely draining the exchequer of the publication. However, the brothers came out victorious (Dutt, 1935, p. 13).

When 'Amrita' bazar where the newspaper stationed was severely hit by plague in 1871, the newspaper was shifted to Calcutta. There it started functioning as a bilingual weekly. After 3 years, in 1874, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* shifted its location and

started printing from Premises-2, Ananda Chaterjee Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. Till that time, the paper was still bilingual with columns in Bengali and English to cater the reading needs of non-Bengali public in other provinces. This in fact provided better exposure for Ghose brothers and the newspaper. Within few years, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* became a household name of Indians.

The influence of *Patrika* had gone beyond India. As cited by Dutt (1935, p. 34), *Pall Mall Gazette* of London published a piece and described the enormous influence *Patrika* enjoys: "Motilal Ghose publishes his paper in a huge rambling warren of a house in north Calcutta where he lives with a swarm of relatives and dependents in patriarchal fashion. Babies cling about the editor's bare legs as clad in a scanty piece of linen, he writes torrents of fierce abuse with a most benevolent smile."

In 1872, Babu Girija Sanker Sen of England made an appeal to the proprietors of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to send their paper to the East India Association (London). Sen also claims that, "many people here (in London) may subscribe to the paper" and that he has "seen many extracts from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in London papers" (See Dutt, 1935, p. 30). Such was the reach and influence of *Patrika* even in foreign countries.

On the other hand, the colonial authorities viewed it suspiciously. The *Bengal Administration Report* of 1872 accounts: "The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is believed by some to be more extensively read than others. The language in its articles is occasionally rough, but it has the merit of discussing social and agrarian subjects both from the tenants as well as from the landlord's point of view."

With its growing circulation and influence, the colonial administration viewed the paper as an existential threat to their survival. To Lytton and his government, the vernacular papers wrote for the half-educated and ill-educated village people, who were naturally more inflammable than the educated and intelligent persons who read the newspapers written in English. Hence, greater care and caution ought to be taken so far as the vernaculars papers were concerned and a special law was required for them – more stringent than the then existing laws which governed newspapers in general (Dutt, 1935, p. 47).

Singh (1949) in his work noted that it was the attitude of the conductors of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which led to the passing of the Vernacular Press Act. He stated that, "It is even now widely believed that the Act was mainly directed against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was critical of the government actions.

But there was bitter resentment and widespread reaction against the Act throughout the country"(p. 38).

One of the strategies adopted by the British authorities to check such publications was to bring editors and publishers into negotiations. Few months before the passing of the Act, Ashley Eden who was then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal approached Shishir Kumar Ghose, the editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to come to terms with the government using 'carrot and stick' policy. However, the bold editor turned down the offers made to him but thanked the official and insisted with a remark "Your honour, there ought to be at least one honest journalist in the land". This greatly angered Eden who insisted on the immediate passing of the Act in one sitting (Dutt, 1935, p. 48). The *Vernacular Press Act* owned its origin to this incident (See Tulzaparkar, 1918, p. 48).

Here is the purport of Ashley Eden's proposal to Shishir Kumar Ghose, the editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*:

Let us three, I, you and Kristo Das govern the province. Kristo Das has agreed to conduct his paper according to my direction. You will have to do the same thing. I shall contribute to your paper as I do to the *Hindoo Patriot*. And when you write an article criticising the Government, you will have to submit the manuscript to me before publication. In return the Government will subscribe to a considerable number of your paper, and I shall consult you as I consult Kristo Das in carrying on the administration of the Province (Natarajan, 2017, p.106).

The stance made by Shishir Kumar Ghose was appreciated by one and all. Motilal Ghose in the book *A Step in the Steamer* describes Shishir:

Babu Sishir Kumar was at the time a poor man. His position in Calcutta society was not high. The tempting offer came from the ruler of the province. Any another man in his circumstances would be succumbed to his temptation. But he was made of a different stuff. He resisted and did something more. (See Tulzaparkar, 1918, p. 47).

Natarajan (2017) also believed the Act to be a measure intended to penalise *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He stated that the Act was Eden's policy "aimed mainly at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was then an Anglo-Vernacular paper and fell within the scope of the Act" (p. 106). Motilal Ghose's wrote: "Sir Ashley sought to rule Bengal with an iron hand. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was, however, a thorn in this side. He, therefore, conceived the idea of winning over Babu Shishir Kumar partly by kindness and partly by threats" (See Natarajan, 2017, p. 105).

Ashley Eden's speech in the Legislative Council suggests that Motilal Ghose's reading of Eden's intentions was substantially correct and that the Bill was aimed at the *Amrita Bazar*. Ashley Eden said: "What Government does object to is the sedition, and gross disloyalty of some of the Vernacular papers, and their attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection to the British rule in the minds of ignorant people" (Natarajan, 2017, p. 107). This in fact is a testament that the primary target of the Act was *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the most influential paper of the period in Bengal.

Had Ashley Eden succeeded in winning Shishir Ghose, history could be a different one. However, with the failure to negotiate 'terms' with Bengal's most influential editor, the most discriminatory of all, the *Vernacular Press Act* came into being in 1878. Till that time *Amrita Bazar Patrika* appears partly in English and partly in Bengali and hence it came under the purview of the *Vernacular Press Act*. With the *Act* coming into force, it simply added fear and confusion among editors and publishers.

Realising that Lord Lytton and Ashley Eden have special interest in prosecuting the most influential publication of the time, the Ghose brothers act smarter by switching the medium of publication to English overnight; evading the ordinance comfortably. Thus, the smarter and more clever Ghose brothers rendered the most discriminatory Act useless. As the government failed to bring Ghose brothers into prosecution, the Act remained more or less paperwork for other publications.

So, when the Ghose brothers printed the next issue on the 21st March, 1878, Amrita Bazar Patrika sprang a surprise upon the government just as the government had sprung a surprise upon them. They bought out their paper wholly of English, so that the government looked on agape and the newspaper reading public of the day laughed a hearty laugh. Its editorial on the 21st March, 1878 notes: "Whether this change will benefit our country or not, Heaven alone knows, but we think an absolutely independent paper, conducted in the English language, is just now a great necessity".

The swift decision taken by *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was described by WS Caine as truly remarkable. Caine wrote:

"When Lord Lytton's *Press Gagging Act* was first broached, and it became evident that journals, published in the vernacular, would be more or less heavily shackled, the brothers Ghose, believing that the Act was specially aimed at their journal,

determined that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which at that time was printed in both vernacular and English should in future be published in the English language alone; and the change was effected in a single day, with the help of borrowed type, a very remarkable feat of journalism" (See Ghose, 1930, p. 29).

Ashley Eden was known to have been a very outspoken man and he did not conceal his intentions to his Bengali friends over the adoption of the Act. Natarajan (2017) writes, "He told them (Bengali friends) that if there had been only one week's delay on the part of the proprietors to convert the *Patrika* into English, he would have dealt a deadly blow at it by demanding a heavy bail-bond from them" (p. 106). Such was Eden's position over Bengal's most influential newspaper – *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

While the Vernacular Press Act has been adjudged as the most discriminatory of all other previous ordinances, it is rather surprising that *Som Prakash* is the only publication to be prosecuted during its entire 3 years of its existence. *Som Prakash* was another newspaper edited by Babu Dwarka Nath Bidyabhushan from Changripota. Other than that, nothing substantial was achieved with the Act (Singh, 1940, p. 38). This could be an indication that after the conversion of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* into English, there appears no newspapers of such influence deserving the magnitude of punishment with such repressive laws as the Vernacular Press Act.

While the Act failed to check vernacular press, it gave exponential rise to English newspapers in the country. By 1879, there were 20 papers published in English, which had become the lingua franca of the educated classes, and about 200 in Indian languages. The voice of the vernacular press became more united and clamant, and it affected not only Indian opinion, but also, with the added influence of the English press, opinion in England. Indian opinion had begun to be recognised as a power with which government had to reckon (O' Malley, 1968, p. 89).

The Vernacular Press Act, 1878 survived for barely 3 years. During this period, it received torrents of criticisms from the natives and the rulers alike. In fact, Lytton spent his last 3 years bearing the attacks from Indians and parliamentarians from England. With the dissolution of the House of Commons in 1880 and its replacement by the liberals, Lord Lytton was subsequently replaced by Lord Ripon as Governor-General of British India. In the following year, the *Vernacular Press Act* got repealed.

Conclusion

One of the most potent tools of the British authority to control the press was the introduction of several repressive laws targeting editors, printers and publishers. This happens in the form of issuing licenses, disclosure of editors and publisher's addresses, verification of news items deemed fit for printing and imposing huge fines, and even jail terms for publishing news items that are against the interest of the colonial authority.

Among many, Lord Lytton has been notoriously known for his introduction of the most discriminatory laws against the vernacular press. Lytton, clenched with immense power, thought it will be smart to bring vernacular press into submission. In reality, however, Indians were proven smarter. While few fell under the clutch of the law, the voice of the vernacular act press became more united and clamant.

The Act itself and the manner in which newspapers such as the Amrit Bazar Patrika evaded by switching over to English medium gave other editors and prospective publishers the courage to launch English editions. It thus, ushered the era of English medium press by Indians. *The Hindu* by G. Subramanian Iyer is an excellent example in this regard. With the increasing scene of English newspapers owned by the Indians, the voice of the Indian masses no longer remained secluded but reached farther, wider and higher.

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Assamese Print Media and Freedom Struggle—An Insight

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ABSTRACT

Assamese media, that is print during the preindependence period, contributed substantially toward enriching the national freedom struggle facing the odds more often than not. This paper explores the courageous stand taken by these newspapers against the oppressive measures of the British government for suppressing the voice of protest by all possible means. Several newspapers stood against the powers of the State even at a personal and financial cost. The study of these aspects reveals several notable developments in the process. They strongly establish the fact that Assamese newspapers have a rich legacy of facing the harassment head-on despite being fully aware of the serious fallout in terms of material costs. Several newspapers had to pay fines or suffer losses of thousands of rupees. Media made its entry in Assam rather at a later stage (1846) unlike some regions of the country. Nevertheless, its contributions to people from all walks of life, more so towards strengthening the freedom struggle is monumental. A few of these newspapers were not in a stronger position in terms of circulation figures enriching their financial strength. But they were highly successful in setting the agenda in their chosen field—freedom struggle. This was carried out because of a strong sense of social responsibility towards the very society of which they were a part of. They never wavered from their position at any point of time in the history of freedom struggle. This research paper concludes that these few newspapers that have stood the test of time can always be regarded as 'role models' for such endeavours.

Keywords: Assamese newspapers, Arunodoy, Press Act, Freedom struggle, Censorship

Introduction

History books across India are filled with grand stories of the Indian freedom struggle. But there is another facet of this struggle, the press that is not spoken of as much as it should. The contributions of Payam-e-Azadi, Samachar Sudhavarashan, etc. around the time of the First War of Independence—the Sepoys' Mutiny in 1857—are testimony to this fact (Deccan Herald, August 14, 2020). The importance of vernacular media, specially the print remains very high even in the present day. Thus, the significance of it can only be imagined during the days of the national movement when it was one of the major agents of mass mobilization. It was Hicky who pioneered the media in the initial days of British India. But it is the newspapers, mainly in Indian languages in different parts of this vast country that helped the movement to gain momentum in an unprecedented way. It is interesting to note that despite a low level of literacy during all those years, the press mattered to a high degree in informing and enlightening people about the national movement. The spirit of those people who established these newspapers, also need to be commended upon because of their sheer philanthropic and patriotic spirit in the overall success of the movement. It was in the 19th century that the people of the then Assam were introduced to the world of 'newspapers' from which the state never looked back.

Brief history of Assamese print media

Print media made its foray in Assam way back in January, 1846 in Sivasagar town in the eastern part of the state with the newspaper 'Arunodoy Sambadpatra'—a monthly. Since then media in Assam has completed a considerably high legacy of 175 long years with rich contributions in every field of Assamese society. Thereafter, in a matter of a few decades, several newspapers in Assamese language followed suit and started serving the masses. However, majority of them were short-lived and published mostly as monthly or some even once or twice in a year.

This was an initiative of the American Baptist missionaries who setup base in Sivasagar in the 1930s. The initiative was driven by two major objectives: First, spreading of Christianity among the inhabitants of the region which was even distinctly printed in the newspaper. Second, launch a campaign for reintroduction of Assamese as the official language of the British Assam again as it was replaced

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by Bengali in 1836, a decade before *Arunodoy* was started. This was because the missionaries realized that preaching and spreading of religion would be much more effective only if it was done in the local prominent language. Thus, even though religion was the primary interest of the publishers, it also helped in reviving and re-establishing Assamese as the official language in 1873. In this regard, the contribution of this newspaper and the publishers were considerable.

Apart from being the first ever newspaper of Assam, Arunodoy's importance is far more crucial from another aspect. That is, it had formally accepted that Assamese language was an independent fullfledged one rather than being a corrupted version of Bengali. It also made it their crusade to establish the language properly in its modern form. Earlier, the British administration was convinced that Bengali should be introduced as an 'official language' rather than Assamese which happened in 1836. However, the Baptist missionaries worked dedicatedly to develop the language for reintroducing it as the official language of the State. Their efforts along with sincere interests of a few statesmen of the period led by Anundoram Borooah finally resulted in Assamese being reinstated as official language in 1873. Arunodoy was followed by a good number of newspapers including monthlies, weeklies, and few dailies though many of them could not survive. This was because of many factors, primarily financial issues and also to a large extent repressive policies of the British government of not tolerating dissent.

One prominent newspaper *Asam Bilasini* was published in 1871. This newspaper enjoys the distinction of contributing the most towards national freedom movement. This was not the case during its first edition, but only during the second edition between 1913 and 1924 under a different owner-cum-editor and different place of publication—Jorhat (Barua, 1998).

Other notable ones include Asam Mihir, Asam Darpana, Asam Dipak, Assam News, Asam Bandhu, Mou, Jonaki, Bijuli, Times of Assam, Awahan, Ramdhenu, Banhi, Asom Bonti, etc. A few of them were in circulation for several decades. Besides, The Assam Tribune (daily from Guwahati) which was launched in 1939 initially as a weekly from Dibrugarh has been publishing as in the 82nd year (2021). Besides, there are at least three newspapers in Assamese which have completed more than 60 years of continuous publication till date. These include Dainik Asom from The Assam Tribune group, Dainik Janambhumi, and Asom Bani.

It is important to note that several newspapers

and magazines during the pre-independence period in Assam had such widespread influence and impact on Assamese language, literature, and culture that 'literary ages' have been named after them. Prominent among them are *Ramdhenu*, *Abahan*, and *Banhi*. Among these, *Abahan* was an effort of the Assamese students doing their studies in various educational institutions in Kolkata during the late 1890s and early 1990s. These magazines and newspapers were significant for Assam as they shaped the Assamese language in its formative years. They also introduced distinctive new styles and genres in the language which went on to enrich it to a great extent in later years. They also set the basis of development and evolution of Assamese language.

Review of literature

The literature dealing with the theme here is very less in number with just a few of them available. Charvak (2015) notes that while the region was served by newspapers from Kolkata (former capital of British India), it was quite some time before a media establishment to be considered as from this landmass. There was a gap of more than six decades between the publication of Hicky's Gazette in 1780 and Arunodoy in 1846. Charvak further refers to G. Bhargava's writing that "getting information about Assamese publication is a tiring task. In the pre-1970 publications, there was no mention at all of Assamese newspaper, although there was reportedly an English publication entitled 150 years of Assamese journalism. My most diligent attempts did not get me a glimpse of it".

Besides, Dwivedi (2021) says that since 1846, Assamese media has travelled a long way and its growth in various stages has been enriched by several personalities. Barua (1998) termed *Arunodoy* not only as a newspaper but also a revolution that introduced the region on an international platform and setting of a renaissance in the then society of Assam. He also stressed on the fact that introduction of vernacular media had led the British government to enact several stringent acts for suppressing the voice of media. It is important to note that the growth of media in vernacular language like Assamese had a major contribution towards making people aware of the need for protesting against the foreign government (Barua, 1998).

Further, Saikia (2019) says that *Arunodoy* heralded in a new era in the world of Assamese print media and literature, a galaxy of Assamese writers were born, creating a new society of literary connoisseurs. Notable among the literary contributors

to Arundoi who had lasting impact on Assamese newspaper and literature were Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, Hemchandra Barua, Gunabhiram Barua, and Nidhi Levi Farwell.

Objectives

Objectives of this paper are to explore:

- 1. The contribution of Assamese print media towards the national freedom struggle.
- How the newspapers and magazines carried out their crusade inspite of the repressive measures from the British India government.
- How the newspapers employed innovative techniques to take the public into confidence and continue their journey as crusaders.

Theoretical framework

The study would be looked at through the parameters of social responsibility and agenda-setting theories of mass media. It is found that the activities of the Assamese media during those days tried their best to set the agenda for inculcating a deep-rooted awareness among the masses for a hard-core awakening against the foreign rulers. And thereby trying to live up to it to the best of their capabilities against a harsh and vindictive State power with barely any recourse to legal remedies or financial resources.

Research methodology

The study is based on secondary historical resources accessed through various available sources. Literature for this theme is very less unlike a few other languages including Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, etc. Yet, efforts have been made for retrieving all possible data from any available source. Four newspapers are selected out of more than a hundred solely based on the volume of their contribution to freedom struggle in different aspects. From the literature review and study of the history of Assamese print media, it was found that these were the only newspapers most prominently known for their strong role in creating awareness about fighting against an alien government. They continued the crusade in a steadfast manner despite facing stiff penal action from time-to-time.

Finding and analysis

I. Asam Bilasini

First edition—mainly religious: The first edition of this newspaper between 1871 and 1883 was also launched by Dharma Prakash press mainly for spreading various sermons of Hindu religion. This,

after the publishers realized that this was a novel way of doing so as pioneered by *Arunodoy* as a counter to the latter's efforts to spread Christianity.

Second edition: It was during its second edition between 1913 and 1924 that it indulged in supporting the freedom struggle. A government official Krishna Kanta Bhattacharyya of Jorhat who was employed with the district judge's court there was dedicated to the cause of expanding the nationalistic mindset. He was foresighted enough to realize that newspaper was the most convenient tool for the purpose. Soon, he became aware of the printing press of Asam Bilasini lying idle. He procured it in 1912 on the condition that the name of the newspaper and also the press would remain the same even for the second edition from Jorhat as a weekly venture without the motive for profit. A shrewd and conscious person, Bhattacharyya knew that sooner or later he would have to confront the government. So he took several precautions. These included never printing his name as an editor and displaying only the names of his brothers as printer and publisher. He even did not write the editorials in his own hand writing to evade scope of dissatisfaction by government authorities. Also, more often than not, it was sent to the readers not through the conventional hawker-delivery system but through unconventional modes like vegetable vendors or any other clandestine modes whichever could be adopted as and when demanded by the situation (Barua, 1998).

Thus, there grew the completely new edition of Asam Bilasini that was strongly anti-establishment. Besides, it was also a strong political and nationalistic platform for the people of the state. Initially, the government did not pay much attention to its crusade and in some cases, even appreciated its enthusiasm of openly going for negative developments in public governance. But, soon enough, its activities became a source of serious irritation to government. So the latter tried its best to curb such endeavours with mild warnings and strictures which did not bear much result, of course. So, in about five years' time, it had to face strong displeasure from the government and was forced to stop publication for two years in 1918. It resurfaced in 1920 with a new and renewed vigour (Barua, 1998).

The suppression begins: Further, in 1916, Bhattacharyya was forcibly made to accept premature retirement with a meagre monthly pension of Rs. 13 and 75 paise. He was made a victim for continuing his crusade without caring for the government's threats as a true journalist in spirit (Barua, 1998). This did

not deter the publisher to step back from his strong opposition to faulty government policies and never relented to any concession or lenient view of those issues. Thereby making himself and the newspaper further antagonistic to the government which led to a lot of harassment of all possible kinds. But, rather than bowing to the oppressive government's wishes, Bhattacharyya, being free from government service restrictions now, officially took over as the editor and mounted his crusade with more zeal.

In the year 1921 the newspaper had to suddenly cease publication because of the oppressive Press Act of the government. Further, that the government was highly vindictive was reflected by a fact, that is, an appeal by the publisher refuting all charges levelled against it was not accepted by the authorities concerned forcing it to go off the stands. This adequately focuses about the ulterior motives of the government's various laws which primarily aimed at suppressing any voice that was critical of the all-powerful British India government. The editor strongly criticized and pointed out the repressive policies of the government. He also felt it to be his earnest duty and responsibility to try the best for inculcating the sense of good practices among the people. More so for the popular elected representatives of various civic and public bodies.

For example, in the 15th issue of ninth year of its publication there was an editorial on local boards and municipal bodies. Bhattacharyya in a lucid language explained that these two departments were setup by the government for carrying out locally oriented developmental works through peoples' participation. He emphasized on the fact that it was actually a testing ground of the peoples' capacities for self-governance and the government would be closely watching their performance. In due process of time, if the government was convinced that the people did a good job, it would also pave the way for introducing Swaraj (self-rule). On the other hand, in case the representatives failed to do a good job, the scope for Swaraj would be a thing of the past. In the editorial, he had painted a detailed picture of the various shortcomings of the work of the civic bodies. The December 16, 1920 issue editorial strongly urged the people of Assam to abandon jobs with government and take up entrepreneurship so as to not be a subject to government's discriminatory policies.

Even as the years passed on, the high enthusiasm of the newspaper in creating public opinion against the British government never relented not even a bit. As a consequence, the editor's meagre pension was also stopped causing severe crisis for his livelihood and also the survival of the newspaper which was

published regularly as a weekly till 1924. The press had to be sold off in that year to repay the loans taken for keeping the newspaper alive. Thus, came a sad end to the 'most vocal and active' newspaper dedicated fully to the cause of creating awareness among the people against an oppressive government.

Heavy fines imposed: Bhuyan and De (1978) aptly describe the situation as, "Asam Bilasini used to carry Congress news of Upper Assam and articles written by Congress workers. The government felt annoyed at the tone of the paper. The editor, who was a government pensioner, was warned not to dabble in 'objectionable' politics. However, the editor continued writing in the same vain; consequently, the government ordered discontinuation of his pension, and asked him in April, 1921 to furnish a security of Rs. 2 000 under the Indian Press Act I of 1914. The paper deposited that amount, but, thereafter, it could not continue its publication, most probably for economic reasons" (Barua, 1998).

II. Asomiya

This is another newspaper which has historic importance for Assamese society for more than one reason. Published from Dibrugarh in 1918, it pioneered a 'new era' in the world of Assamese journalism. Second, it has a record of being in publication for 40 long years till 1958 with many ups and downs on the way. Though it was initially published as a weekly, it was converted to a bi-weekly for about 10 years.

However, in keeping with the main theme of this discussion, *Asomiya* also had to suffer serious repercussions for its earnest service and uncompromising attitude towards freedom struggle (Barua, 1998).

Heavy fines imposed: In the words of Harendra Nath Barua, its former editor (1934–1942) and a prominent statesman-cum-journalist, "Under the provisions of the India Press Act, 1930, a substantially high amount of Rs. 260,000 were to have been collected as penalty from Indian newspapers across the country. Out of these, 131 decided to pay the penal amount and continue publication. But, sending a strong message of resistance to an unjustified demand, Asomiya resolutely remained firm on not paying the amount and was among the only nine such newspapers to do so. As a result, publication had to be suspended for two-and-a-half months to resume again from July 19, 1930.

Legal roadblocks: Even during its fourth year of circulation (1922), a senior police officer of Barpeta civil subdivision filed a 'libel' case against the

newspaper for a news item. This incidentally was the first ever such case in the state. The consequent legal fight along with the penalty for losing the case caused a severe financial stress on the publishers. It was thought that it would cease publication thereafter. However, the newspaper strongly protested against the discriminatory policy of different sets of rules applicable for white-skinned people and Indians for which its editor was imposed with a fine of Rs. 1,000 and six months' imprisonment in case of non-payment of fine. Also, a fine of Rs. 300 was imposed on the printer and one month's imprisonment in case of failure to pay the amount (Bhattacharjya, 1998).

The early initiative in crowdfunding/public-private partnership: At this point, the newspaper came up with a unique and unprecedented idea for keeping itself afloat. Publisher Chandra Kumar Agarwala, also a prominent Assamese litterateur, came up with the novel idea of making a public appeal to the readers and other well-wishers to contribute whatever they could manage. Names of such donors were also published. He had sent representatives to established citizens, specially businessman and tea estate owners to try to collect money for the purpose of the newspaper. Further, he had published an advertisement offering shares of the publishing concern in return of payment of certain amounts of money. It was seen that both the techniques did prove to be successful to a big extent. At least for the newspaper's immediate requirements and it also made a historic point in the world of journalism in Assam.

The marketing or popularization technique can be termed as the modern day 'crowd-funding of business ventures' or the public—private partnership model even at such an early age. This required a high sense of foresight and rare business acumen to beat the odds against which it had to fight constantly during those days. The list of editors of this milestone newspaper in Assamese journalism includes several prominent litterateurs and journalists of repute of the times.

It can be said that *Asam Bilasini* was basically a media outlet for criticizing government's faulty policies and awakening of the people for freedom movement. But *Asomiya* was a proper full-fledged newspaper combining all the above aspects in its stride, a pioneer in journalism as well as relentlessly pursuing the cause of freedom movement.

III. Chetana

This magazine was published by Assam Kesari Ambikagiri Raichoudhury from Guwahati in September, 1919. The primary objective of the

magazine was to inculcate and awaken the sense of Assamese nationalism in keeping with the Indian nationalistic movement. The publisher-cum-editor Roychoudhury was so dedicated and vocal for this cause that later on the people of Assam conferred on him the title Assam Kesari (Pride of Assam) to his name. He himself was also an active freedom fighter and was jailed for about seven months for participating in the Non Cooperation Movement. The magazine became popular among the people. It was making a mark in the field of journalism as well as literature. And above all, its prime focus was in creating a nationalistic sentiment among the people of Assam. However, when Raichoudhury had to undergo jail term it suffered significant losses amounting to about Rs. 2,200, a substantial sum during those days, almost a century back.

After *Chetana*, Roychoudhury launched another newspaper *Deka Asom* (Young Assam) initially as a weekly in 1935 from Guwahati. This newspaper also had its primary objective in formation of a strong Assamese nation with prosperity in all walks of life without any discrimination on caste, creed, wealth, etc. It pledged to try its best to agree with the overall Indian nationalistic aspirations and also maintain a special watch on the fulfilment of the broader Assamese nationalistic mind-set. This was informed to the public in its first editorial.

Not a conventional newspaper—A new experiment: It is interesting that this newspaper many a times did not have conventional news items in its pages. Most of the times, its pages were filled with just the editorial writing of Raichoudhury with sub headings highlighting on different important aspects of the society and nation-building. At times, even only a few issues in a year were published because of either the financial stress or the busy schedule of the editor, due to his active participation in freedom movement.

Roychoudhury also deeply realized the necessity and responsibility of the people anywhere in the globe for expressing their solidarity with oppressed masses of the world defying geographical or political borders. Hence, one of the prime objectives of his crusade was also to make people understand and actively pursue the demand for freedom of the people as a whole around the world, more so in Indonesia, Indo–China, erstwhile Burma, etc. (Barua, 1998).

IV. Asom Sevak

Launched in 1937 from Guwahati by a freedom fighter, the weekly *Asom Sevak* was also graced by two other prominent colleagues—Debendra Nath Sarma and Bijoy Chandra Bhagawati. It had a chequered

history as its publication base was shifted to Tezpur where just before the Quit India Movement of 1942, the police had stopped its publication. Though it was revived in 1945, it went out of circulation in 1953. Although a short-lived one, it had managed to make a mark in the state's history for putting up a strong fight against the government. Bhagawati later on became a minister in the Union Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Highlights of British government's oppressive measures: It is obvious by any standard that any law, act, or ordnance by the British Indian government would be primarily an instrument of protecting their own interests—whether business or political. Thus, the Indian Press Act, Books Registration Act, etc. laws were introduced only to suppress the voice of the people reflected through the media which would be critical for various measures of the government. Beginning with mild warnings to imposing steep amounts of penalty and even seizure of the press and property to stop publication were some of the common steps undertaken in this regard.

The Press Association of India in its memorandum, submitted to the government in 1919, revealed a few highly disturbing facts about the industry. That, till 1917, the government had demanded security amount from 22 newspapers of which 18 have stopped publication rather than agreeing to insulting conditions from the government. Further, sureties and bail were asked from 961 newspapers and printing presses. Another 286 were served with strict written warnings with 705 being asked to provide bail and sureties by the civil administration. Besides, a substantial sum of Rs. 5 lakh was collected as fine from various newspapers for not complying with government regulations (Bhattacharyya, 1998).

A not so small percentage of these newspapers facing oppression belonged to Assam (more in Assamese, very few in English) which remained strongly resolute in not bowing to the then government's evil design (Bhattacharjya, 1998). In an indomitable spirit of discharging their duties for the society as a whole, they facilitated in expanding the freedom movement's reach to the masses by publishing various news items of the movement. The contents, including news and editorials were objective and to the point that they touched peoples' heart and were accurate for motivating people in the long run.

Eminent statesman and legislator of yesteryears of Assam, Gaurishankar Bhattacharjya (1998) said that harassment of the press by the government went to a new high on August 8, 1942. On this day, Gandhiji in his speech at Juhu Beach in Mumbai urged the media

to shun publication from August 16 to September 12, of that year as a strong protest against such measures. Honouring that call from the Mahatma, 17 newspapers with all-India presence and two from Assam—*Asomiya* and *Asom Sevak* (discussed above) also suspended their publication for this period.

India Defence Ordinance

August 8, 1942 is an important day because on this day, Section 41(i)(b) of India Defence Ordinance was implemented. This had far-reaching impact on Indian media because it stated that newspapers must not publish any news about the movement led by Congress and actions taken against this by government other than government press releases or those from government-recognized sources. Prior to this, on July 31, 1942, the Press Advisor of Government of British India issued a notice of 'pre-censorship' to the media. This was a warning to the media that 'any article or news item in support of any movement sought to be launched by Congress must be shown to a government official whose approval was necessary for printing the same. These measures caused Asomiya to suspend publication for some time before resuming the same in 1944.

Bhattacharjya (1998) also wrote that a good majority of the established newspapers in Assam had strongly voiced their serious concern regarding the unabated migration of people from present-day Bangladesh even during the 1940s and 1950s.

Discussion

The information discussed here broadly fulfils the objectives. It is clear how the print media strongly resisted the foreign rulers' repressive measures for publishing contents in support of the national freedom movement. Also, few examples of the so many oppressive measures mounted against the press are discussed. At times, some of them had to simply close down because of financial and mental stress. But, the most encouraging aspect of the entire situation is that those newspapers with a resolute spirit of fighting against the foreign government never relented and stood their ground in a steadfast manner against such policies and threats.

Further, it is seen that the two theories on which the premises are based are justified. This is because the press of those days in the State had succeeded to a high degree in setting the agenda among the people for coming out wholeheartedly in support of the freedom movement. And they did remain strongly dedicated to this agenda which encouraged the public to join the movement in large numbers.

Again, the social responsibility factor of media is also reflected here as it was out of this sheer sense that the media went about supporting and promoting the freedom movement, also encouraging people to do the same.

Thus, it can be said that the Assamese newspapers in the period in question have successfully established their capabilities and strength in fulfilling their duties of agenda setting and social responsibility which are expected from the media by the society at any point of time. Media is not only a vehicle of informing the people of day-to-day happening but also a leader of the very society of which it is a part of. Thus, media's responsibility is immense, specially in these two aspects and Assamese newspapers have stood tall in this test of times with adequate credit.

Conclusion

The discussions above establish that Assamese press in the preindependence era contributed in a substantial manner towards national freedom struggle in different aspects. The entry of press into Assam or in Assamese language was rather late compared to several other states or regions of the country. Most of the newspapers and periodicals had their own contribution in one way or the other. Yet, there were a few papers as discussed here which had left their mark in a profound manner in this direction thereby strengthening the national movement as it progressed over the decades culminating in freedom in 1947. The spirit of statesmanship and social responsibility are prominently reflected in the deeds of those people behind publication of these periodicals, while sustaining the same even at a great personal material sacrifice. This would not have been possible without the support of the society of that time in encouraging and motivating those stalwarts towards doing everything in their capacity to achieve the goal of freedom and emancipation from foreign masters. During the course of this study, it was found that literature in this regard is somewhat less than any other area of preindependence media situation in the State. But this is one area that needs a better focus for the times to come so that our legacy of contribution to such an important movement is documented properly for future reference and knowledge of the upcoming generations.

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J&K Media in the Post-Independence Era: The Perspective of Veteran Indian Journalists

GOVIND SINGH1 AND PRAMOD KUMAR2

ABSTRACT

A big section of the mainstream media in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) including TV channels and digital platforms, for about four decades, is being misused as a tool to misguide the people of the state and also to further the anti-India narratives. At the same time, the issues of the common men whether related to infrastructural development, education, tourism, rural population, women, displaced people, deprived sections of the society, corruption, attack on security forces, sleeper cells of terrorists, cross-border terrorism, unemployment, etc. find very scant space in the same media outlets. The media studies conducted with the support of pro-separatist outfits too have never tried to discuss the issues of common people of the state. The local media in Kashmir may have some compulsions in the form of pressure or threats from separatists and the international media too have some foreign interests, but why does the Indian national media ignore the vital issues of J&K and is seen furthering the Kashmir-centric narratives? The present study has tried to know the answers of many such questions through in-depth interviews with the eminent journalists, writers, editors, and columnists who keep a close watch on the J&K media. These media persons have raised some very pertinent questions not only on the J&K media but also on the national and international media.

Keywords: J&K media, Kashmir media, Fake narratives, Urdu press, Campaign journalism

Introduction

The media in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) is about 155-year-old. Since the beginning of the first newspaper 'Bidya Bilas' in 1867 from Jammu in Urdu and Hindi, the state in 2019–2020 had 1209 newspapers (RNI, 2019–20 report). Apart from it, there are many TV channels, radio stations, and countless YouTube channels. While most of the newspapers have their own digital platforms, there are some dedicated web portals that are operated from the state. Though J&K has been in the news since 1950s, but it is for the reasons which have nothing to do with the concerns and aspirations of the local people. Particularly after 1988, the media coverage in J&K centred around separatist activities and anti-India narratives carrying out through foreign-guided campaigns. By and large, the genuine voice of the people in J&K was grossly ignored. The coverage of the local issues including education, infrastructural development, corruption, women, rural areas, displaced people, refugees from West Pakistan, Kashmiriyat, tourism, employment, etc. was neglected. Now with the proliferation of digital media, the anti-India campaigns have become stronger. With the amendments in Article 370 and 35A and division of the state in August 2019, the administrative situation in J&K may have improved to a great extent, but the attitude of the media has not

changed. Most media studies conducted by national or international agencies (Sirohi, 2020) too have mostly focused on the anti-India narratives and separatist agenda. In this situation, it is difficult not only for the common man but also the media students to understand the media dynamics of J&K. The present study is an attempt to understand the media dynamics of the state in the post-Independence era through the eyes of the eminent media persons who have been keeping a close watch on the happenings on J&K for a long time. Some of these scholars are witness to the happenings in J&K since the 1950s. These scholars have also explained how the media scenario in J&K has changed after July 1989 when terrorism took an ugly turn in Kashmir Valley.

Methodology

The research paper is based on the primary and secondary data gathered as part of a study titled, "Conventional and New Media in J&K: An Analysis of Happenings and Contents" conducted for the ICSSR in 2018–2019. In-depth interviews with senior journalists, writers, editors, and columnists who keep a close watch on the happenings in J&K were conducted between February and August 2018. Following are the veteran journalists/writers/columnists/editors who were interviewed for the study:

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- 1. Asha Khosa, a Kashmiri journalist who, out of her 34-year career in journalism, covered J&K from Srinagar from 1989 to 1999,
- 2. Rahul Jalali, an eminent journalist who is from Kashmir and worked for many newspapers including *The Patriot*, *The Business Standard*, and *Press Trust of India* news agency,
- 3. Pushp Saraf, a senior journalist and grandson of the legendary J&K journalist Lala Mulkraj Saraf who started *Ranbir* from Jammu in 1924,
- 4. Shakeel Akhtar, an eminent journalist who particularly reported for *Navbharat Times* from Srinagar from 1989 to 1999,
- 5. Jawaharlal Kaul, a veteran Kashmiri journalist who worked with *Jansatta*, *Dinman* and *Hindusthan Samachar* for a long time,
- 6. Omkareshwar Pandey, a senior journalist who wrote two books on J&K and produced a special programme on J&K for *Sahara Samay* news channel and also headed *Rashtriya Sahara*, *ANI* news agency, *Sunday Indian* magazine, etc.,
- Narender Sehgal, an eminent writer, columnist, and senior journalist who was Bureau Chief of Dainik Bhaskar in Jammu for many years,
- 8. Dr K.N. Pandita, an eminent scholar, columnist, writer who writes regularly on J&K issues,
- 9. Abha Khanna, a senior journalist who worked with *The Hindustan Times* for many years
- 10. Prafulla Ketkar, Editor, Organiser Weekly,
- 11. K.G. Suresh, who worked in *PTI* as Chief Political Correspondent,
- Prof. Kuldip Chand Agnihotri, Vice Chancellor of the Central University of Himachal Pradesh, authored many books on J&K and worked with *Hindusthan Samachar*, multi-lingual news agency.

Media in J&K in post-independence era: An overview

After Independence, the prominent newspapers which were started from Kashmir during the 1950s were Apna Sansar, Nai Lehar, Naya Sansar, Jamhoor, Mashaal, Al-Haq, Azad, Funkar, Payam-i-Inqilab, Dehqan, Kashmir Samachar, and Mazdoor. Among them Aftab is believed to have introduced to Kashmir the offset printing technology, photo journalism, and national and international wire services in the 1950s. It also introduced cartoons and had the distinction of popularising newspaper reading through hawking and home delivery. The paper also hired trained professionals to work on desk and as reporters. Weekly Aayeena published in 1964 was very critical to the incumbent governments. Srinagar Times began on 18

June, 1969. The newspaper through its daily cartoons achieved high popularity and wide circulation both among highly and marginally educated readers.

In 1970, noted Kashmiri poet, Amin Kamil, started Urdu weekly Wadi from Srinagar (Ahmad, 2018). The decade from 1960 to 1970 was a tough time for the newspapers in J&K. G.M. Sadiq's Government (1964-71) was particularly very tough while dealing the media. As many as 11 newspapers including Hamdard, Roshni, Zamindar, Hurriyat, and Mahaz were banned in 1965. Two years later, during the Pandits' agitation over conversion and marriage of a Hindu girl with a Muslim, Martand, Roshni, and Nawa-i-Kashmir were temporarily banned. In 1970, Srinagar Times was banned for 2 months for critical writings against the failure of the state Government in arresting frequent mysterious fire incidents. In 1977, the newspaper faced a privilege motion in the State Assembly for publishing a cartoon which the members found derogatory to legislators.

The weekly *Chattan* launched in 1985 was seen as a serious effort to fill the void created by the demise of Shamim on May 1, 1980. It is now published as a daily since 2011. An English newspaper, *Samachar Post* was launched by P.N. Koul Vakil from Srinagar in 1988. *Greater Kashmir* launched by Fayaz Ahmad Kaloo as a weekly in 1987, was converted into a daily in 1993. Later papers like *Kashmir Images* (1996), *Kashmir Monitor* (1997), and *Kashmir Observer* (1997) were started. *Rising Kashmir* was started from Srinagar on 10 March, 2008. A weekly *Kashmir Life* was launched in 2009.

Many newspapers were published between 1970 and 2000 including *Uqab* (1972 as fortnightly, 1974 as weekly and 1994 as daily), Srinagar News (1977), Afaq (1985) and Nida-i-Mashriq (1992). Al-Safa, which was started as a weekly, was converted into a daily in 1989. The weekly Uzma was launched in 2003 as a sister publication of *Greater Kashmir*. The newspaper was converted into a daily in 2006. The Greater Kashmir also brings out weeklies, Kashmir Ink, and Nawa-i-Jhelum, in English and Urdu, respectively (Ahmad, 2018). There are many J&Kbased TV news channels, and five of them, KBC, Gulistan TV, Munsif TV, JK Channel and Insaaf TV were banned in 2016 by the District Magistrate of Srinagar for telecasting the programmes which had a potential of causing mental and physical harm to particular functionaries of government.

Standard norms for impartial journalism trampled under feet

Noted scholar of J&K Dr. K.N. Pandita, while

analysing the post-Independence phase of the J&K media, says that in the initial days after Partition and the State's Accession to the Indian Union, journalism in J&K was moderate and objective in its presentation. But after India took Kashmir issue to the UN Security Council and Pakistan found support from the Anglo-American bloc for its stand on Kashmir, the media in kashmir began to show signs of vacillation. "Gradually, the number of Urdu papers published from Srinagar increased and with that Pakistan found that its affairs, particularly Kashmir dispute, found reflection in their columns. Sharp criticism of India's policy in Kashmir began to appear in Kashmir newspapers after the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah from power and followed by his arrest and the case of sedition framed against him in 1953. Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad's regime did not allow Kashmir Urdu press to publish anti-India stuff, nor did he tolerate popularising religion-based journalism. This culture remained in place till the emergence of Mir Qasim on the political scene of Kashmir in the early 1970s. During his days Jamat-i-Islami re-surfaced as a strong political voice in Kashmir and ultimately it came to loggerheads with the National Conference. Most of the vernacular press in Kashmir pandered to the MUF, Jamaat, and anti-India propagandists. The press took a U-turn after 1990 and openly harboured animus against India and the Indian security forces. After that, the Kashmir press found an inexhaustible fund of anti-India stuff to write about. Overnight, Kashmir experts began appearing in the media fraternity. Through the 1990s, the Kashmir media trampled under its feet all standard norms of impartial journalism (Pandita, 2018).

Loss of credibility

Senior journalist honoured with Padmashri, Jawaharlal Kaul, feels that after 1989, the media in J&K never followed the rules and regulations or ethics necessary for an independent media. He stated,

"It happened because of two reasons. First, the media functioned under threat. It was difficult to report a murder committed in the open street and even if reported, it was very difficult for the editor to muster the courage to publish the report. Most editors had to write what was dictated by the vested interests. In the initial days of the insurgency, the terrorists dictated every newspaper. Every newspaper office had a representative of terrorist groups. So, there was no question of any independent media. In those days, the terrorists had imposed a kind of ban on the whole society including imposing purdah for all women, closure of cinema halls, banning women from working

along with men in offices, etc., and the newspapers had to publish all those orders without question. Imposing a ban is always a tricky thing because there are some violations. When there are violations, people are threatened. Those threats too were published in the media. Mafinamaas were published on a large scale. The newspapers became the conduit between the victims and the tyrant terrorists. In that situation, the newspapers in J&K lost their credibility. The media is an urban phenomenon in J&K. Most of the newspapers are published from urban centres and read by the small number of people in the urban areas only. Therefore, the tone and tenor of the newspapers, as well as the readers, are quite different in the urban areas than the rural areas. In urban areas, they act as representatives of certain groups. In journalism, we say facts are sacred. But the sacredness of facts was forgotten in Kashmir. It was exaggerated, twisted, and manufactured," (Kaul, 2018).

Mushrooming of media: Who funds it?

Senior journalist Rahul Jalali says that in post-Independence era the press in J&K assumed the role of building new Kashmir. He stated, "There was a certain element of unwritten control on media content even under the administration of Sheikh Abdullah. For example, there were allegations of huge corruption under the administration of Sheikh Abdullah, but the press did not talk about that. A local paper in those days was even banned. The Democratic National Conference started its own paper, which later on crystallised as Kashmir Post. That was the second transitory phase of Kashmir press. In those days, the national dailies started deputing correspondents in Kashmir. That was the beginning of two-pronged press in Kashmir—the national press and the local press. PTI also deputed its reporter. That was the time when people from outside Kashmir and even foreigners started coming for reporting. Non-Kashmiris were appointed as correspondents. Then local press also witnessed growth. Aftab, Srinagar Times, Altaf, and so many Urdu dailies started publication. Before 1989, correspondents from various parts of the country were freely operating from Kashmir. But post-1990s, non-Muslim reporters were not welcomed to stay there. I too was not tolerated. They even stopped talking to me. There was an element of fear of the gun. I was not allowed to report. It was difficult and impossible for me to travel. The local Kashmiri Muslim journalists started reporting what the terrorists wanted. It was the period when the newspapers in Kashmir, mainly Urdu papers, published nothing except notifications of terrorist organisations. Also, advertisements or

mafinaamas by individuals working in government establishments were published. This is what journalism was reduced to. Jammu has about 300 odd English dailies. I don't think there are 300 actual English readers there. The question is who is funding them? Similarly, Kashmir has 1000 odd Urdu and Kashmiri papers. Who is reading them and who is funding them? Is this journalism? (Jalali, 2018).

Failed to be the watchdog of democracy

Senior journalist Pushp Saraf, who belongs to the legendary Saraf family of J&K, which is credited with starting the first modern newspaper of the state *Ranbir*, recalled how Sheikh Abdullah started hounding *Ranbir* after 1947.

"In those days, the J&K newspapers started opening up a little or introducing some new experiments. For instance, cartoons were introduced in Srinagar Times. The press started coming under pressure in the Valley after the first bomb blast on 31 July, 1988. That was the beginning of militancy in the Valley. Gradually, the militants took over and started dictating all the things. Life was very tough for journalists in Kashmir in those days. I was in J&K from 1988 to 1996. The J&K media did not play the role of a watchdog of democracy. An honest appraisal of the media of that period would be that majority of the journalists, though very competent professionally, failed to apprise the country of the exact situation prevailing in J&K and the Valley in particular. The Valley was in the grip of the militants. I am witness to that because I was involved in the coverage of the Valley during that particular period. Till then, demography also changed. Kashmiri Pandits were dominating the profession, but gradually, the Kashmiri Muslims started dominating. After the 1990s, the media started playing its role in a better way. It became vocal and started reporting things as they existed on the ground. Before that, the country missed a lot of important information from the Valley. As a result, what came out after 1990 was shocking the exodus of Pandits, killings of liberal and pro-India people" (Saraf, 2018).

No place for non-Kashmiri speaking journalists

Senior journalist Shakeel Akhtar who worked as a correspondent in *Navbharat Times* at Srinagar during the critical phase of 1990s, says the media of J&K almost worked freely till the early 1980s when terrorism began. He stated,

"Prior to that, Srinagar was a very peaceful station for journalists, as not much incidents took place. But the things completely changed after

1989–90. It is normally seen that in terrorism affected areas, there is mushrooming of media. It happened in Punjab and North-Eastern states also. The national newspapers need news from such disturbed areas, but all of them cannot afford full-time correspondents there. In that situation, even those who do not know ABCD of journalism, start feeding news. They provide information on the phone. After the beginning of militancy in Kashmir, the reporters of *The Times* of India and The Hindustan Times were under acute pressure and finally both returned Delhi. Then I was in Navbharat Times. In 1990, our editor Shri Rajendra Mathur ji told me to shift to Srinagar. Following his instructions, when I landed in Srinagar, the impact of terrorism was so much that a large number of people had set their watches as per Pakistan Standard Time. Forget working, even staying there was very difficult. When the reporters of The Times of India and Hindustan Times shifted to Delhi, both the newspapers had to hire local Kashmiri knowing correspondents in Srinagar. Even the reporters of UNI and PTI left Srinagar. In that case, the operators working in their offices starting supplying news. The situation was so much critical that Doordarshan had to shift its newsroom in Jammu. The news department of All India Radio was shifted from Srinagar to Delhi. Maintaining objectivity and truthfulness in that situation required much courage. Rumours floated round the clock and it was difficult to confirm due to curfew. I worked there for 10 years. I covered the phase of militancy and also the elections of 1996. The opportunity that Farooq had got in 1996 as CM could not be used for the betterment of the state. If he had worked honestly, the atmosphere of the state would have been normalised much earlier. The people's aspirations were not fulfilled as should have been done by an elected government. However, the media tried to play a responsible role in those days to strengthen the political process. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed became CM in 2002 and he along with Vajpayeeji, implemented the healing touch policy. That proved to be very successful. Media also played a good role in combating terrorism and restoring normalcy there. There was a time in Kashmir when there was hardly any non-Kashmiri speaking journalist. Perhaps, George Joseph and I were the only non-Kashmiri journalists. But when George also shifted from Kashmir, I was the only non-Kashmiri speaking journalist in the Valley. The situation was so much pathetic that my room was ransacked at MLA hostel, the high-security zone. I had to face another critical situation in the office. One day, I was told by The Times of India staff to make any other arrangement for office. I came to Delhi and met Shri Swapan Dasgupta, who was then heading *Times of India News Service*. I discussed with him the situation. He gave me a letter making it clear that the office in Srinagar belongs to *Navbharat Times* also as much it belongs to any other publication of *Times Group*. The journalists of Jammu and Srinagar have faced that critical phase bearing different kinds of threats. The mushrooming of Kashmiri speaking journalists in the Valley in those days created a different kind of problem. Most of them had nothing to do with journalism but even the leading newspapers hired them as their stringers. Most of the time they filed baseless reports unnecessarily sensationalising the matter," said Akhtar (Akhtar, 2018).

How media surrendered before terrorists

Senior journalist, Asha Khosa, who worked with *PTI* and *The Indian Express* during the critical phase of terrorism in the 1990s, says that post-Independence, the media in the state was normal as in any other state.

"In those days, the activities of the outfits like Al Fatah and Plebiscite Front, the precursors of present terrorist organisations, were mostly ignored by the media. But things started changing amazingly after 1989. I saw with my own eyes how the media started succumbing to pressure. One day, I was sitting in an Urdu newspaper office. The editor was sitting on his chair. A fellow entered his room and gave him a handout. The editor took the handout and I saw his hands were shivering. I did not know what was written in the handout, as it was in Urdu. The editor and that fellow had a small conversation. The fellow told him in Kashmiri that you publish it on the front page. And the editor was saying yes, yes, yes... But he was literally shivering. The moment the man left the office, I asked the editor as to what happened. He turned that handout to me which was attached with two bullets. Those things started happening and the media did not resist. It was a very bad phase for the media in J&K. Many media persons were later killed. Shaban Vakil, the editor or 'Alsafa', was killed in 1991. Then Director General of 'Doordarshan' Lassa Kaul was killed in broad daylight. After Rubaiya's kidnapping, I was scared while going out on reporting. The local newspapers in Kashmir had started publishing all the handouts of terrorist outfits. Every day a new terrorist outfit was born and the newspapers were forced to give them publicity. Due to publicity, even newborn outfits became famous overnight. This is how the mushrooming of terrorist outfits took place in Kashmir. Media was under compulsion. I remember, there was a major bomb blast. I was sitting in the office of PTI. I received a call after the blast. The person calling said he was speaking from Hizbul Mujahideen and claimed the responsibility of the blast. I said, ok. After half an hour, again there was a call and the person said he was calling from the JKLF. He too claimed the responsibility of the blast. I said, just half an hour ago Hizbul Mujahideen owned the responsibility. He stopped for a while (as he was not aware of it) and swiftly changed his statement saying: "Ok, you write that it was our joint operation," Asha says (Khosa, 2018).

That terrible silence

Senior journalist Narender Sehgal, who worked for *Dainik Bhaskar* in J&K for many years feels that the media of J&K after 1947 was influenced by religious frenzy.

"Take any incident, whether rape or anything else, the media there behaved very differently. Even if we take migration of Kashmiri Pandits, the media reacted only when there was a mass exodus. Otherwise, it remained silent. Kashmiri Pandits continued to migrate in small groups almost every day since 1947. But the media ignored it because it was controlled by a section of the people who wanted that a section of the society must leave the Valley as they are a hindrance in executing their nefarious designs. The media did not inform the nation how the migration of Kashmiri Pandits began and how the entire conspiracy of ethnic cleansing was hatched and executed. The situation was so much pathetic that even prior to 1989, pamphlets were distributed and posters in Urdu were pasted outside the mosques and banks directing the Kashmiri Pandits to close their accounts forthwith and leave the Valley leaving behind their daughters and women," (Sehgal, 2018).

Terrorism survived only due to media support

Senior journalist, Omkareshwar Pandey, who worked with many newspapers in Delhi, says,

"Terrorism in Kashmir survived only due to media support. If the media presents an incident of kidnapping out of proportion, it creates more terror among the people. If an incident of a bomb blast is banner news, it naturally creates more terror among the people. This is what the terrorists want. If we cover the terror incidents in a single column on third or the fourth page, it loses value and impact, which should happen ethically. But in the case of Kashmir, even a small killing becomes big news not only in the local media but also in the national media. The national media must understand that the terrorists will continue their brutality till we continue to give them massive publicity. Unfortunately, the media in Kashmir still

follows the same policy. If Prime Minister Modi says that we would resolve Kashmir problem with dialogue and not with bullets, it has a message and it has to be disseminated properly. If Vajpayeeji spoke about 'Kashmiriyat', it had a message which touched the heart of the people. The media need to create a bridge which protects the national interest and at the same time strengthens democracy. Unfortunately, the media of J&K lacks on both these fronts today," (Pandey, 2018).

Narrative does not reflect the reality

Senior journalist K.G. Suresh and the then Director General of IIMC says; "The very unfortunate part of the entire Kashmir affairs, which still continues, is that Kashmir continued to be covered by the Kashmiri journalists even for the national and international press. That is the biggest problem, in my opinion. It is not easy for an outside journalist to work in Kashmir even today. Even if somebody wants, it is not easy for him to survive. In Kashmir, the narrative that is being given by the Kashmiri journalists does not certainly reflect the reality on the ground. I have covered Kashmir extensively. I have travelled to Kashmir several times. I feel it is always aggregated. The Kashmir media never tried to promote the original culture, tradition, and legacy of Kashmir. For example, Sufism, which is an integral part of *Kashmiryat*, was never strengthened by media as such. If that was done, the extent to which terrorism has gained influence would not have happened. Like in other parts of India, any lynching is outrightly condemned by the whole media irrespective of affiliations for ideology. But that did not happen in Kashmir. There was no unequivocal condemnation of violence as a tool to get their goals. Either you remained silent, or you supported it indirectly," (Suresh, 2018).

Shift from being voice of the people to agendadriven media

Senior journalist Abha Khanna, who worked with 'Hindustan Times', says,

"The Kashmir media underwent a sea change after 1947, as it very systematically shifted from being the voice of the people to an agenda-driven media which forced its narrative on to the people. It happened because certain vested interests realised that to create a particular narrative, media has to be organised in a manner that it works only for that narrative. So, they created a situation where the media slowly became an agenda-agent, giving out only that information which suited their narrative - in effect subduing or completely lying about facts that didn't go in favour of their agenda. The Kashmir media (both English and Urdu media) primarily promotes the separatist agenda, cloaking it cleverly in the garb of journalism. The whole problem of J&K was created through a misinformation campaign. It was in the late 1980s that slowly and steadily, the Kashmir media turned completely pro-separatist as a lot of funds were pushed into Kashmir to create fake narratives. A lot of newspapers and magazines slowly started to support the anti-India narrative. At any place, the local language is very important. But in Kashmir, it is different. One does not find any viable Kashmiri media there. Urdu newspapers have the largest circulation, followed by English media. Hindi media, of course, does not exist in Kashmir. It has presence only in Jammu. What surprises is that one does not find any activity in the Kashmiri language in Kashmir. English media, meanwhile, has its presence on online, print, and television platforms. There are many online portals which are controlled from Kashmir. They are also on Twitter, Facebook, and every possible social media platform. I have interacted with many journalists who have been to Kashmir from national dailies to cover the happenings in Kashmir. They have shared how announcements are made to tell journalists where exactly 'stone pelting is now going to happen'. The media has become such a tool! Compared to Kashmir, the media of Jammu is balanced. It appears to be a reflection of the people's sentiments. Compared to that, in Kashmir media, you find great sympathy for terrorists, for those who raise anti-India slogans and for those who are killed or injured during anti-terror operations. In Kashmir media, you will never find how the security forces are handling the situation there and how they are suffering. Media has not developed much in Ladakh. The national media do not have even full-time correspondents there. If you look at the Kashmir media for a week, you start feeling that Kashmir is not a livable place at all. But if you go to Kashmir, life seems very normal. I have been to Kashmir many times in the last 4-5 years. I have never encountered any untoward situation. The Kashmir media is so organised that it makes sure that any media person who visits Kashmir sees only one side of the picture. All media platforms in Kashmir whether print, TV, online, or social media platforms take up the same campaigns at the same time—similar issues, coverage, opinion articles, and similar news analysis. Everything seems to be like an orchestrated campaign. The Kashmir media is clearly an agendadriven media," (Khanna, 2018).

J&K MEDIA IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA: THE PERSPECTIVE OF VETERAN INDIAN

Unfair in case of the Valley too

Editor of 'Organiser Weekly', Prafulla Ketkar, feels that the main problem with J&K media post-1947 was that even in normal discourse, it could never become 'Jammu-Kashmir media' in real sense. It remained Srinagar or Valley-centric only.

"So, the larger picture of Jammu-Kashmir did not find a place anywhere. Even in normal intellectual discourse, we call it 'Kashmir'. Jammu is missing when we talk about the whole state. This is the mediadriven narrative and we are trapped in the issues created by Pakistan and carried forward by separatists of the Valley. When you have a particular agenda, you can't follow the media ethics. Kashmir media is a classic example of it. Post-1980s, the media there became more an industry to drive a certain agenda. When you have this kind of media, you can neither follow the ethics of objective reporting nor address the genuine issues of the people. Take the example of Jammu and Ladakh, they are socially and regionally being discriminated and isolated from the media discourse. The media is not fair in case of the Valley too. What is the state of education in the Valley? How far is the media addressing the concerns and aspirations of the common people of the Valley? These questions require serious attention. We listen to the discourse of 'human rights violations in Kashmir' quite often. The 'human rights' being violated by the armed forces get prominence and the human rights violations of the general public by terrorists never find space in the media discourse. Even beyond that, Jammu-Kashmir is the only state, where the fourth-class positions are reserved for the Scheduled Castes alone, which is against the basic spirit of the Constitution of India. How come this provision came into practice and why media didn't take it up? There are many groups in the Valley like West-Pakistan refugees, Gorkhas, women, etc., who are being discriminated on various grounds. Has media ever raised their concerns? It means it is driving only a certain agenda. That is why I have suspicion not only over their ownership but also over their funding sources. When media blatantly becomes just a business and forgets about basic values of journalism, then you see such deterioration. Kashmir media is a model for that," (Ketkar, 2018).

Need for thorough content analysis of J&K Media

Vice Chancellor of Himachal Pradesh Central University, Prof. Kuldip Chand Agnihotri says the polarisation in J&K media started after the regime of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

"As the number of papers from Kashmir

increased, the circulation of Jammu papers reaching Kashmir decreased. If you study some papers of those days, you will clearly find different versions of the same incident in both Kashmir and Jammu papers. Around 1989, when terrorism started rising ugly head, the role of media became very important. The biggest issue which needs investigation, and I wonder why it has not yet been investigated, is that the number of newspapers in Kashmir suddenly increased. The readership in the Valley is very limited, but even then, there are so many newspapers. Most of the papers are of four or eight pages. Since no newspaper can survive on the basis of sale and readership alone and advertisement revenue also has limitations, but these newspapers survive for years. The question is who financially supports them? It is different from the other states where if the number of readers grow, the advertisement revenue also grows. But in Kashmir, the number of readers is not increasing and the advertisement revenue too is not increasing, then how these newspapers sustain. If we have a case study of some papers for several months, we can easily find out the number of advertisements published in them. There is no increase in the advertisements, but these newspapers continue smoothly. I feel most of these newspapers are there to support and accelerate a particular thought process. The money being invested in those papers is basically for a particular purpose.

If we have a look at the content of some newspapers like 'Greater Kashmir' or others, they mostly write "Indians and Kashmiris" as if Kashmiris are not Indians. The usage of words clearly indicates what message they want to convey. The mention of India is like a foreign country. Instead of writing 'security forces' or "our own security forces", they write "the security forces of India". Their editorials and articles published on the edit page too convey the same message. There is a need to have a content analysis of all types of media of the Valley including print, television, YouTube videos, and also the content circulated in the social media.

"Another fact is that 99 per cent of the newspapers in Kashmir are in Urdu, whereas 99 per cent people in Kashmir speak Kashmiri. The Kashmiri media is absent from Kashmir itself. Hindi media also finds no place in Kashmir. The Urdu papers have their approach to urban areas only. Print media is limited to Urdu media in Kashmir. It needs to be studied why Kashmiri media is absent in Kashmir. Is it because there is no demand or there is no deliberate investment in Kashmiri language media? Whether some people fear if Kashmiri papers are started, they would reach up to the village level and then people will have a

different picture of what it is painted now. Urdu in Kashmir today is one-way traffic where the readers' opinion has no place. If there is some, it mostly confines to the urban areas, and the voice of rural people is completely missing. There is another fact. Pakistan television and radio channels have access to the Indians living in border areas. They listen to Pak TV and radio channels freely without any disturbance. It is a technical matter. Why do we not stop it? This is a fact that our newspapers do not have reach up to our border areas, people do not read Urdu papers there, Kashmiri language papers are not published, and in that case, they have no other source of information but to listen to Pak Radio or watch Pak TV. If they listen to Pakistani propaganda round the clock, it will surely start influencing them. There is a need to pay attention to it on urgent basis. It should be done in a strategic manner," (Agnihotri, 2018).

Conclusion

The journalists and writers who joined the study have raised some pertinent questions about the media of J&K. The concerns of local people like illiteracy, development, issues of migrants, women, people living in border areas, etc. do not find a place in the media. The terrorist outfits in the state have survived only because of the media publicity. Before 1990s, the country missed a lot of important information from the Valley, which resulted in the sudden exodus of Kashmiri Pandits, killings of liberal and pro-India people. The media did not inform the nation how the migration of Kashmiri Pandits began and how the entire conspiracy of ethnic cleansing was hatched and executed. Rahul Jalali raised the issue of funding to some J&K newspapers. K.G. Suresh questioned why Kashmir is continued to be covered by Kashmiri journalists only even for the national and international press. Abha Khanna argues that media has been used as a tool by anti-India forces in Kashmir. One finds great sympathy for terrorists, great sympathy for those who raise anti-India slogans and great sympathy for those who are killed or injured during anti-terror operations in Kashmir media. In Kashmir media, one never finds how the security forces are handling the situation there and how they are suffering. The national media do not have even full-time correspondents there. If one looks at the Kashmir media for a week, one starts feeling that Kashmir is not a livable place at all. But if one goes to Kashmir, the life seems to be very normal. Kashmir media behaves like an organised cartel. Post-1980s, the media in Kashmir became more like an industry to drive a certain agenda and the media is not fair in case of the Valley too. What

is the state of education in the Valley? How far is the media addressing the concerns and aspirations of the common people of the Valley? These questions require serious attention. One listens to the discourse of 'human rights violations in Kashmir' quite often. The 'human rights' being violated by the armed forces get prominence and the human rights violations of the general public by terrorists never find space in the media discourse. There are many groups in the Valley like West-Pakistan refugees, Gorkhas, women, etc., who are being discriminated on various grounds. Has media ever raised their concerns? It means it is driving only a certain agenda. Prof. Kuldip Chand Agnihotri stresses the need for content analysis of all types of media in the Valley including print, television, YouTube videos, and also the content circulated in the social media. It will expose many astonishing facts about Kashmir media. Another important issue is that about 99 per cent of the newspapers in Kashmir are in Urdu, whereas 99 per cent people in Kashmir speak Kashmiri. The Kashmiri media is absent from Kashmir itself. Is it because there is no demand or there is no deliberate investment in Kashmiri language media? Pakistan television and radio channels have access to the Indians living in border areas of J&K. There is a need to address all these issues on an urgent basis.

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Communicating Independence: Conceptualizing Ojapali's Role as a Folk Media during Indian Freedom Struggle

DEBAJIT BORA¹

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to understand the role of Ojapali performance as a folk media and its ideological as well as strategic use as a political medium during the Independence movement. Being a popular folk performance, Ojapali acquired certain space in the popular political memory in the state of Assam (especially in Darang region). This study includes reading the songs and performances based on the documented materials from the existing literature as well as researcher's fieldwork with the performers. The paper also aims to engage into the debate of lack of methodological approach to study cultural forms in media studies. Folk mediums like Ojapali, in this respect, allow to engage into the question of folk mediums and its larger cultural question.

Keywords: Folk media, Ojapali, Freedom movement, Traditional media, Assam

Introduction

India, being a land of multiple cultures, faith, beliefs, and performances, often resonates its identity through these features. Cultures are closely linked with communities and thereby form identities. Ojapali, a performance culture, represents Assam and the Darangi cultural identity in particular. 'Darangi' being a cultural identity for the undivided Darang district (today comprises of Darang, Sipajhar, Udalguri, and Tezpur districts) often recognized by the unique cultural performances (Ojapali, Khuliya Bhaoriya, Dev Dhwani, Chera Dhek, etc.). The performers bear the same uniqueness in their performance. Cover (2015) refers to the performers' identity and how it actually flourishes from the very concept of ideology. He identifies that the collective ideology of a community is also performed by the performers individually (p. 153), especially when they act or perform an art form. We find similar connotations with Ojapali as well.

In this paper, the researcher attempts to understand the role of Ojapali performances as a folk media in Indian Independence movement to attain public consciousness. It was the first time, when Ojapali performance became political in its form and content leaving behind its traditional religious structure. Probably performing for Indian independence movement also somewhere reveals the very connection of collective national ideology, which got translated into the performances of that

time. During this political event, performers came out of the religious space and travelled to perform in various remote villages. Nath (2018) remembers how his father Lalit Chandra Nath (a doyen of Ojapali culture) along with his palies had travelled miles away on foot. Few songs and performance memories could be found as evidences of these historical events which reveal Ojapali's role for informing people about the Indian independence movement. This paper aims to comprehend its larger role as a medium as well as the characteristics of performance.

Multiple academic works have been on different aspects accomplished performance form. These are largely focused on Ojapali's aesthetics, literature, and the mythical content. Sarma's (1996) iconic work is a detailed documentation of the performance form. Other on Ojapali includes Bhrigu Mohan Goswami's 'A Study on the Ojapali Art Form of Assam and Maheswar Neog's 'An Early History of Vaishnava faith and tradition' and 'Classical Dances of Assam'. All these works largely capture similar approaches emphasizing both its mythologies and performance aspects, but completely ignore its larger socio-political role as a medium. However, Sarma's book has a specific mention of an Ojapali song which was performed during the Indian independence movement. It reveals a significant chunk of historical traces and the influence of folk medium unexplored in mainstream academic

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discourse.

Objectives

- To understand the larger role of Ojapali as a folk media/medium during India's independence movement.
- 2. To unravel the lesser known performance history of the Ojapali performers and their initiatives.
- To negotiate on the methodological paths to study folk media/medium in communication studies.

Research methodology

In this paper, the researcher has taken song and performer's memory as entry points to understand Ojapali's role as a folk media and how it was used or served as a political medium during the Independence movement. The methodology includes reading of the songs and performances based on the documented materials from the existing literature as well as the fieldwork with the performers. This paper also aims to engage into the methodological debate in order to elevate the study of folk media. This methodological debate would also try to raise the issue of lack of methodological terrain to study cultural forms in media studies and overt generalization within the category of 'development communication' (Steeves & Melkote, 2015; Melkote & Singhal, 2021).

Introducing Ojapali performance

Ojapali, a performance art that belongs to the syncretic tradition of Assam, represents the mythical narrative of serpent goddess Manasha. The form, once widely popular during the rule of Koch kingdom (16th Century) in lower Assam (present day Tezpur to Koch Bihar district) later confined to the localities of Darang and thereby culminated and identified within the 'Darangi culture'. Although, Ojapali performance is often surrounded by the mythical narratives, the aesthetic expressions often pass through the social realities of contemporary society. Thus, it qualifies to be within the rubric of folk media. As scholar Ansu-Kyeremeh (1998) defines the idea of folk media as "any form of endogenous system which by virtue of its origin from and integration into a specific culture, serves as a channel for messages in a way and manner that requires the utilization of the values, symbols, institutions, and ethos of the host culture through its unique and attributes" (p. 198). Ansu-Kyeremeh's argument of folk media's integration with 'specific culture' and its 'service as channel' perfectly fits with the Ojapali performance. Specifically, as it represents the Darangi cultural identity (the cultures of undivided Darang district of Assam) and conveys messages in

response to socio-political activities.

Usually, we encounter three types of this performance: *Suknani, Biyahgoa and Ramayani*. Amongst all, *Suknani* (focus of this study) is the most popular one in Sippajhar district of Assam now. Commonly, in *Suknani Ojapali* sings the poetries from a text called 'Padmapurana', written by Sukabi Narayanadev.

The performance consists of four or five performers. The one who leads the repertoire is called *Oja* and others are considered as *palies*. They use songs, gestures and improvised dialogues to narrate a story, while prompt comical acts are an important part of the performance. Inclusions of contemporary social realities make this performance more relevant and socially grounded. Grotesque aesthetics and performers' liberty towards improvisation in an ongoing performance make it purely a social performance. Ojapali has a long history as a public and social performance which remained untold for many years. Therefore, this paper intends to reveal the untold history.

Perhaps, the Indian independence movement was the first instance, when Ojapali performance removed its rigid religious content in order to represent the collective voice of Indian nationalism. A documentary on stalwart Ojapali performer Lalit Chandra Nath's life reveals the fact that the performance during that period went beyond the religious line and many Muslim performers too got involved in the process (Hazarika, 2012). It proves how folk media often takes timely variation in order to convey the sociopolitical messages. Besides, it also proves the secular nature of the performance. Anthropologist Turner (1980) pointed out the concept of 'social drama'. He defines the role of traditional performances, customs, and rituals that helps in management of crisis through its communication of aesthetic meanings (p. 143). Ojapali's role during freedom movement can be seen as a medium which responded to the political crisis. This is what most of the socially rooted folk media does in any socio-political crisis.

Scholar Ansu-Kyeremeh argues that folk media, as traditional forms of communication, have evolved as grassroots expressions of the values and lifestyles of the people (1998, p. 2019). Similarly, cultural forms like Ojapali is so conditioned to the local cultural context that it does not require giant effort to become a media. What is fascinating is that these performances do not differentiate much between the sender and receiver of the message. Rather, it elevates a democratic process of participation where audiences or the receivers too can be a part of. Hence, it is unique

from the digitized mediums of today's world, which are not away from the market economy and capital interests.

Spreading freedom messages

Though Assam was an active participant in the Indian independence movement, however, the sense of sub nationalism was central even in the national movement. Barua (1999) wrote,

"Assam was no exception to the general mood at the moment of independence—an expectation, nurtured by years of anti-colonial political mobilization—that the end of colonial rule would inaugurate an India that was more in tune with its cultural self in some public symbolic sense. Given the role of Assamese subnationalism in the anti-colonial struggle in Assam, it is not surprising that this expectation would translate into an aspiration that Assam now have an Assamese public identity" (1999, p. 96).

'Swadhinata' is an Assamese word which can be literally translated to 'Swaraj' or 'Independence'. This word became the heart and soul of the Indian freedom movement for Assamese people. Kinaram Nath, an old performer vividly remembers those moments when he used to perform Ojapali in different corners of lower Assam to convey the message of Independence movement. He was in his 90s, when the researcher interviewed him way back in 2014 (he passed away in 2016). When he recalled the past, it felt like he had gained his performance energy back. Gradually he started revealing how he with his five-member team improvised different songs to sing in different areas during that time. He sang "Gose bone kopi uthe Swadhinatar Sur oi... Swadhinatar Sur..." (Tunes of Independence all around the trees and air) (Nath, 2014). Nath further detailed that the performance in villages during Indian independence movement was grotesque in aesthetics. As a performer, they took the liberty to remove the conventional structure of Ojapali to spread the messages of independence movement. Besides changing the contents, they were also avoiding traditional *Mudras* (gestures) and body languages as well. Performers skipped traditional Alaap and Vandanas, which are integral to the performance in order to adopt the improvised materials. Nath revealed that the performances lasted for 4-5 hours and after the performances they had long discussions on the socio-political situation (Nath, 2014). These performances were mostly presented in the public places such as Naamghor (Assamese prayer hall), courtyards, and even in the paddy fields. They used to travel to the remote villages and performed while eating and resting in the houses of the local people.

This is where Ojapali as folk media, while some senses depart from its cultural habituation, did accomplish its role as a conveyer of the messages. Probably, it was the process of politicization that allowed a departure from tradition and was important in terms of the sociology of the performance. Another performer Lalit Chandra Nath did mention in one of his interviews that it was the local freedom fighter and then congress leader Paniram Nath, who insisted them for the performance. It was him who took them to the interiors of lower Assam (Hazarika, 2012). This means that the performance was used as a medium to spread the messages related to the independence movement. In this respect, the departure seems to be intentional, while using it as media for the call for nation. In a jovial tone, Nath pointed out that songs were not part of the traditional texts anyway, and the Oja and the pali paused to observe each other while creating more improvised pieces but far removed from the usual narrative which gives directions to improvisations.

Song of independence

Sharma (1996) mentioned about Fatik Chandra Kalita Oja who belonged to Pithakhuwa para of Darang district. In his performance of *Ojapali*, he tried to explain to the audience the reason and strategies of Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement. As mentioned earlier, a song is the core of *Ojapali* performance. The song stated below is a perfect example of how *Ojapali*, being a socially attached folk media, not only responded to the movement but also attained the public consciousness. Besides, it reveals an alternative history of Indian independence movement ignored by mainstream historical discourse. The song:

Diha: Say Bande Mataram to acquire independence

Pada: Ka says; Congress is forming committees everywhere

Kho says; adopt Khaddar (Khadi cloths) for liberation

Go says; someone called 'Gandhi' appeared in Gujarat

Gho says; volunteers are loitering here and there Ngo says; volunteers should not utter inappropriate words

Cha says; let's go everyone towards the prison Sa says; give up all foreign goods Ja says; create your own and use your own Jha says; this is the path for future dawn Jna says; we all should give up foreign goods Ta says; volunteers are strolling wearing Gandhi caps

Tha says; no one has time to crack jokes Da says; legends goes to jail, in the fight for motherland

Dha says; they are accompanied by trumpets Na says; Do not give up your Nangal (plough) Ta says; let women come for non-cooperation Tha says; volunteers are there for you

Da says; they are appealing to close the market place

Dha says; let us think properly Na says; never leave fight against the British Pa says; we are dreaming of independence Fa says; Britishers are falling in the trap Ba says; the fight is gradually getting intense Bha says; between British and Indians Ma says; few suggested for an agreement Ja Says; however, we will not accept anything

other than independence Ra says; they have troubled us and became rulers

La says; there will not be any friendship with the colonizers

Wa says; they construct huge banks Sha says; but kept us in a small hole Ksha says; we have been consuming poison since then

Ha says; who will come to save the British this time?

Ha says; do not be afraid of the hartaal Kssha says; this time we will get the victory Sing the song of non-violence and work for the movement

India will get independence say Ram Ram Let's fight for independence and say Bande Mataram (Sarma, 1996).

(The song has been translated by the researcher from colloquial Assamese language of Darang district).

Ojapali as a folk media

One can see that the song narrates the story of non-cooperation movement in Assam in a very simplistic vocabulary. From the composition of the lyrics, one can assume the sense that it was just the beginning of the movement in Assam and probably most of the people were not aware of Gandhi and his ideologies. The sentence such as 'Someone called Gandhi appeared in Gujarat' is an example. It aims to introduce Gandhi and his ideologies to the common uneducated villagers of lower Assam. Historically, Assam was a late comer to the movement of noncooperation and hence Congress leaders used the popular traditional performances as a strategic path to spread messages of non-cooperation. Oja Nath

shared specific memories about his engagement with the performance during independence struggle in an interview with the All India Radio. There, he admitted that he and his group came in touch with local freedom fighter Paniram Das. It was his constant initiation that they started performing from village to village in order to inform people about the Indian freedom struggle. Nath made it very clear that his group did improvise Ojapali songs related to the struggle for freedom (Nath, 2013). This conversation opens up the point on Ojapali's strategic use for conveying movement related messages. Probably, local freedom fighters like Paniram Das realized the potential of a folk communication medium like Ojapali and hence thought of using it in a best possible way. Similar instances can be found from other areas of the state as well, where people used different other folk mediums such as Bihu and Ankiya Bhaona, to educate common people about freedom struggle (Handique, 2014; Bora, 2020).

The performance with local nomenclature and cultural symbols indeed took subversion through improvised songs and performance, but its potentiality as a folk media flourished fully at this moment. It resonated the very nature of folk media as suggested by Ansu-Kyeremeh. Ansu-Kyeremeh (1998) rightly pointed out that folk media often uses the local languages with which the people are familiar, hence it has embedded in their cultural, social, and psychologic thinking. Ojapali's vocabulary in this respect accurately echoes Ansu-Kyeremeh's argument. The language used in the songs is in the colloquial language of Darang region, which traces similarity with the lower Assam speaking accent. The words like *fatok* (jail) and *dilak* (given) are evidences that the performance is rooted to the Darangi cultural context. The vocabulary and metaphors it uses in its lyrical content are very simple and easily understood by the villagers. In this particular context, folk mediums like Ojapali can be seen through Bourdieu's (1993) concept of 'habitus', wherein he refers to "a physical embodiment of 'cultural capital', that deeply ingrained in our habits, skills, and dispositions that we possess due to our life experiences". In this case, both performers and audiences' life experiences too created a 'habitus' through performance skills and habits. Most of the time, the contents were created by uneducated Oja and Pali and hence, to some extent these performances too express their understanding about the Indian independence movement. The simplistic comical elements like "Wa says: they construct bank everywhere or Sha says: and kept us in a small hole", shows the use of simple metaphors

to maintain Ojapali's peculiarity of performance, which is often satirical as well as a social condition. However, what is noteworthy here is that the above song is divided into two parts *Pada* and *Diha*. These terminologies are basically used in the old religious and devotional Assamese songs. These are integral to the original structure of *Ojapali* songs and performance. While these remained as the basis of lyrical structure, the original mythical content has been replaced with political content under the influence of the independence movement. Somewhere, it replicates folk performance's larger role which 'embedded in their cultural, social, and psychological thinking' (Bourdieu, 1993).

Performers/communicators of change

Similarly, the performance can read as performer's commitment towards the communication process too. It was the performers who were the immediate communicators as well as the mediators for change. It was their improvisation and experiment with the form, which changed from the rigid religious contents of the performance. Before being a communicator and performer, they are also a part of the local community. They too were affected by colonial oppressors and hence they were also committed to communicate about the movement. As Oja Nath pointed out that initially they were taken by volunteers but later they themselves got involved into it (Nath, 2014). He states that somewhere it was also their individual ideology and commitment as citizens, which made them a performer as well as a communicator. This is probably increasingly marginalized in the age of digitization. Performance scholar Kershaw (1992) argues "Ideology is the source of collective ability of performers and audience to make more or less common sense of the signs used in theatre performance" (p. 304). This Ideology referred by Kershaw can also be read in the performance of *Ojapali*. The researcher argues that in the above-mentioned performance sequence; performers performed the role for a future citizenship of a post-colonial nation.

In the geographical structure of a 'Nation', a community performance also means to maintain the customs, traditions, and culture of the nation. It also replicates folk media's wider role as a platform as Ansu-Kyeremeh (1998) pointed out that by using these mediums in a way 'a culture is preserved and adapted' (p. 203). When we imagine the concept of national community then it itself defines the role of these folk mediums which are holding the identity of a community. This assumption not only includes the performance but also the performers and the

audiences. As *Ojapali* is a community practice, so the very concept of community comprises not only performers but also audiences. Anderson (1983) reiterates, "all communities bigger than primordial villages of face to face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are different, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 265). Even though Assam as a geographical region always maintained its political sub nationalism, however the imagined idea of 'independence' somewhere became a meeting point to the idea of 'nation'. Thus, the imagined notion of independence while performing the Assamese sub nationalism also played for the new nation making aspirations.

Need for methodology

The above discussion clearly points out how being a socially attached folk media *Ojapali* played its part in the freedom movement. Similarly, many other performance forms too played their part in many political movements. There are specific instances of using *Bihu* performance as a strategic tool for political messaging during the Assam movement (1979) (Bora, 2020). These examples present the fact that there is much wider scope to study the role of folk media in media and communication studies. However, there is a very limited research and methodological concern in these subject areas. There were major theorists like Ansu-Kyeremeh, who wrote from a very different cultural context and it was sometimes difficult to relate to the cultural condition of India.

In most cases, the general tendency of Indian media scholars such as Steeves (2015), and Singhal (2021) is to see this medium as a tool for development communication. Probably, it was the organizations like UNESCO and UNICEF who realized the magnitude of the medium to reach the masses, which further excelled the use of folk mediums as a medium for conveying developmental messages. As stated,

"The first significant international recognition of the traditional media in the communication and the development strategies of developing countries came in 1972 when the International Planned Parenthood Federation and UNESCO organized, in London, a series of meetings on the integrated use of the folk and the mass media in family planning communication programs. The interest generated by these meetings and the continued effort to highlight the folk media as an effective form to convey developmental messages resulted in a number of seminars and workshops around the world" (Kumar, 2006, p. 94).

However, what the researcher argues is that as

a medium of communication it has a life of its own. This needs a larger understanding not just as a tool for development but to see its role as a social actor. Here, we need more attention it terms of methodology. Mukhapadnyay's work (2017) is somewhat different in this context where he tries to define the connection to the cultural condition of the Indian societies. (p. 51) However, the arguments gradually lost its track as the debate forwarded. In this context, an assimilation process of both media and cultural studies (specifically folklore studies) can help us in developing a methodological terrain. Theoretical works of Boal's (1985) 'Theatre of the Oppressed', Turner's (1980) 'social drama', and Bourdieu's (1993) idea of 'cultural capital' and 'habitus' can help us in forwarding a methodology which could help in comprehending the reach and power of folk performances as a medium. Further, it can unravel many unexplored layers of socio-cultural and historical traces. While studying, these will help to widen the scope of media and communication studies. Equally, it will help in provincializing the knowledge system and most importantly developing a localized knowledge system by challenging the dominant European and Western discourses.

Conclusion

From regional cultural perspective, folk mediums like Ojapali could be seen through many of such socio-political events, which directly deal with rebuilding the nation and state. While independence movement dealt with the process of nation building, the regional-local movements like Assam movement started with the purpose of reaffirming Assamese identity. In both these cases, folk medium like *Ojapali* was a key medium to reach the commoners. Because of Ojapali's significant 'cultural capital' specially in lower Assam, it was thereafter used in many other such movements. It is not only just to reach the commoners but also to include them in the movement. The strategy was to make them feel the identity they were carrying whether it was regional or national. That is why

community performances were used in which they were familiar with. Through *Ojapali* performances, performers were spreading the 'ideologies' of these movements among the lay people in the far interior. From this perspective, *Ojapali* performers assert their role not only as citizens but also as activists for the nation and the state.

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Post Independence Indian English Literature: Themes and Issues

JIMMY SHARMA¹

ABSTRACT

Post Independence Indian English Literature is an amalgamation of myriad and pluralistic voices focusing on the nature, vicissitudes, identity and future of modern India. The initial period of post independence writings witnessed the development of realistic, modernistic, pessimistic representation and later it paved the way to a 'non-representational experimental self conscious and optimistic literature'. This paper attempts to give an overview of Indian English Literature as it has observed a tremendous metamorphosis in terms of writing techniques, styles, themes, and issues. It has also recorded writers' assertive perspectives on social, political, economical independence along with religion's influence and cultural pluralism on the collective conscience of Indians.

Keywords: Post independence, Indian English literature, Fiction, Poetry, Identity

Introduction

The Independence of India in 1947 paved a way for a peculiar assortment of ideals, challenges and transformation in social, economic, political, religious and cultural spheres. Indian English Literature has the attributes of specific Indian content, stories, characters, themes, landscape, issues and concerns of people living home and abroad. The introduction of English education in India since the nineteenth century and teaching of English in all major institutions and metropolitan colleges opened new avenues for new Indian students to acquaint themselves with the Western thought and philosophy. This exposure to western education and ways of life and living brought about national awareness with the passage of time.

Before Independence, many novels were written about the Gandhian struggle for freedom, ideals of the Indian struggle for freedom and socio-economic realities like K.S. Venkataramani's *Murugan, The Tiller* (1927) and Kandan's *The Patriot* (1932), Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1932) and *Coolie* (1936), Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938). The Gandhian values were captured on the literary canvas too with varying themes and tones. Writers strove to uphold the cause of nationalism and patriotic zeal prevalent in the preindependence and post-independence eras. In the 1950s, this zest and thrill converted into a new genre: literature of protest, dissent and unrest and the writers portrayed the making of a new nation merging anguish and delight, love and lust, power and wealth, courage

and cowardice, romance and retaliation and a range of such opposite issues rule the minds of the readers. K. R. S. Iyengar (1985, p.135) remarks, "After the advent of independence, the more serious novelists have shown how the joy of freedom has been more than naturalized by tragedy of 'partition', in spite of the freedom there is continuing inefficiency, poverty and cumulative misery; how, after all the mere replacement of the white Sahib cannot effect a radical cure for other challenges of society. When independence came, the serious novelist in a sense found his occupation gone, for the traditional villain of the piece — foreign rule — was no more in the picture. Making a new start as it were, the novelist shifted his lantern this side and that, made his probes, and found little to satisfy him. The old narrow loyalties were seen to wax as eloquent as ever. Linguistic, casteist passions were seen to come into the open with accelerated frequency." Indian English novelists accomplished this complicated task by portraying the society realistically with all its evils with a mission to reform and revitalize it.

A brief history of Indian English Literature

After Independence, Indian English Fiction delineated a realistic, true and natural world emphasizing the destinies of men and women. Some writers in the beginning imitated English language and style but the post independence Indian English writers wrote in English with creative incorporation, productive innovation and reinvention. Writers

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like Raja Rao acknowledged the significance of adding 'local colour' to the English language thereby maintaining Indian style and connotations without European colour where English and Indian influences are adjacent to and conflict with each other. Postcolonial literature in India of the 1960s witnessed this complexity to the extreme. Postcolonial literature is written by the people who were earlier colonized and subjugated. Some writers advocated the use of native languages in their writings because they considered their own native language could only be used to express their ancient customs, manners and traditions aptly. Whereas, there were many writers who believed writing in English was a vital tool against the colonisers. The modern Postcolonial Indian English writers are Salman Rushdie, Hanif Kureishi, Rohinton Mistry, Amitav Ghosh, Vikram Seth, Shashi Tharoor and many others. Postcolonial Indian English Literature provides tremendous possibilities for the women writers to gain universal recognition. Nayantara Sahgal, Anita Desai, Arundhati Roy, Kiran Desai, Jhumpa Lahiri are such remarkable women

The first group of Indian English Writers who asserted their presence was Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao. Anand captured the social idealist's vision of Marx in his novels; Narayan represented the comic satirist's perspective of normal life in the fictitious town of Malgudi and Raja Rao emphasized the influence of caste on the musings of a Brahmin philosopher and Indian culture. R. K. Narayan was among the earlier native voices getting worldwide recognition and fame. His fictional world was internationally acknowledged when the University of Chicago Press and Penguin reprinted his novels in the 1980s and 1990s. His novels demonstrate the influence of political and economic aspects in a human being's domestic life. He is a writer of a common person and his/her common situations but in the process, his ordinary protagonists undergo extraordinary evolution and growth (Singh, 1992).

These initial writers 'Indianized' English, used the English language with utmost ease and acquired an international fame for Indians English Literature in the 1940s. There are many other remarkable novelists in the post independence period like G.V. Desani, Sudhindra Nath Ghose, K. Nagarajan, Bhabhani Bhattacharya, Manohar Malgaonkar, Khushwant Singh, Balachandra Rajan, Kamala Markandaya, Anita Desai, Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, and Nayantara Sahgal. The subsequent novelists like Upmanyu Chatterjee, Shashi Deshpande, Namita Gokhale, Arun Joshi, Chaman Nahal, Ranga Rao, Nayantara Sahagal

and Pratap Sharma come up with their distinct voices and myriad themes along with those of the diasporic writers like Anita Desai, Amitav Ghosh, Kamala Markandaya, Salman Rushdie, and Vikaram Seth. Many poets like Dom Moraes, Nissim Ezekiel, P.Lal, Kamala Das, A.K. Ramanujan had an experimental approach, quest for creativity and newness, emphasis on individuality and they rejected all that was traditional. In the postcolonial era, the Indian English writers showed systematic access to English with the popularity of Indian diasporic literature using English language comfortably and easily. The writings demonstrate the sporadic historical course in which challenging and conflicting discourses of colonialism, nationalism and modernity collide. G.V. Desani's satiric comedy All About H.Hatter (1948) paved a new way by its dissenting treatment of British-Indian relations and the English language.

Khushwant Singh in *Train to Pakistan* (1956) and Manohar Malgaonkar in *Distant Drums* (1960) and *A Bend in the Ganges* (1964) touched upon the communal violence unleashed by the dreadful spectre of Independence and Partition. Contrastingly, Anita Desai, Kamala Markandaya and Balachandra Rajan voiced the concerns in the psychological realm where their characters struggled toward a personal, distinctive and individualistic self-awareness (Chandra, 2004, p. 1-40, 129,153).

Research methodology

Literature varies from social sciences because it is an outcome of the creative writer and literary research revolves around the research of the literary text and the writer. The present paper adopts an eclectic research methodology of biographical, textual criticism and interpretative techniques. The study investigates language used in the texts contributing to the thematic concerns of those texts. The present paper outlines the Indian English Literature through the close reading of various literary texts and is informed by background research into the context of the text under scrutiny, the context of its production, its content and consumption. For this, the original sources have been consulted.

Research objectives

The objective of the present study is to acquire knowledge through intensive study of the selected literary works of Post Independence India. It aims to focus on the overview of all the major literary genres except Indian English Drama after independence. It seeks to analyze and discuss literary works concerned and have a systematic understanding of the literary creativity, literary criticism and vision of the writers.

The present study discovers the approaches and attitude of the writers used to represent their vision in the selected texts.

Indian English women writers

Anita Desai's Cry the Peacock (1963) and Voices in the City (1965) portray deeply personal lives of middle class women and men and Kamala Markandaya's Nectar in a Sieve (1954), Some Inner Fury (1955), A Silence of Desire (1960), Possession (1963), A Handful of Rice (1966) and The Coffer Dams (1969) depict the lives of subaltern (marginalized) women against the social and political background of rural India. Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, best known for her Heat and Dust (1975), is known for her gentle irony, humour, satire and comedy. Her fiction unravels the complexities of human relationships with delicacy and skillfully.

Nayantara Sahgal has made an indelible impression in the orbit of Indian English Writing with her artistic and ethical vision. She won the Sinclair Fiction Prize (1985) and the Sahitya Akademi Award in (1986) for Rich Like Us (1985), and Commonwealth Prize in 1986 for Plans For Departure (1986). Sahgal connects with her readers determinedly and resourcefully with the public and personal lives of her characters and reveals their myriad problems of being marginalized by gender, race, age, abilities and beliefs. T.S. Eliot praised William Blake's "terrifying honesty" which is plentiful in Nayantara Sahgal. Her novels are imbued with strong plots, round characters, precise narrative form, political complexity and acute sensitivity to the gender politics of family and society. Her narratives evolve with her characters resisting and finding new life under oppression. Sahgal's selfconscious engagement with the vision of feminism, observation of state of affairs, advocacy of humanist values and writing of social documentaries, dictate her standpoint: the human person. Her narrative never whines, even when the space for resistance is stifling. Instead, there is hope in the margins, where a character manifests as a human person with inherent dignity, in whose presence stereotypes must shatter. (Sharma, 2017, p.10-26) Writers like Nayantara Sahgal, Kamala Markandaya, Santha Rama Rau, Attia Hosain, Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, Anita Desai, Bharati Mukherjee, Nergis Dalal, Githa Hariharan and Shashi Deshpande, Namita Gokhale, Geeta Mehta, Rama Mehta, Arundhati Roy, Anita Kumar, Meera Syal, Meena Alexander, Manju Kapoor and others explore various nuances of relationships in the orbit of family and also in the world at large.

The diasporic writings of Indian English

Literature articulate the bicultural background having tension inflicted ambience where the writers and their characters locate their domicile elsewhere yet continue to use India as their primary setting and want to retain their Indian colour and belongingness. The writers shift the setting from the public to the private area upholding the issues of nationalism, postcolonialism and modernity and gaining a distinctive place internationally for their novels. Their works delineate the individual's search for the self in all its diverse and complex structures along with the dilemmas and crisis. C.Paul Verghese (1971, p.124 – 25) pointed out "Most of them in their eagerness to find novel themes renounced the larger world in favour of the inner man and engaged themselves in a search for the essence of human living."

The clash between modern scientific development and the traditional rural ideals is convincingly portrayed in the novels of Kamala Markandaya's Nectar in a Sieve and The Coffer Dams. Rukmini, a peaceful and quiet countryside woman stands a temperamental foil to Kunthi, inhabitant of a town which is full of hubbub and disturbance. The speedy industrial progress and the sweeping technological advancements have created a huge gap between human beings and nature. Bhabhani Bhattacharya also depicted the struggle to reclaim Gandhian ideals considered to be losing their grip in post-independence India where the simplicity of Gandhian values and the technological callousness were in constant conflicts. He Who Rides a Tiger (1952) uncovers a plethora of themes like appearance and reality, the rich and the poor and religious hypocrisy. The post independence period witnessed the shift in the approach to women who were earlier mistreated as inferiors. Against the social and political background with the right to universal franchise, change in marital relations, they were privileged to enter the technical and industrial world, leading to the growth of a working women class thereby improving their status. The novels showed this change too where the traditional role of women as prostitutes, courtesans, maid servants were replaced with the depiction of open-minded inhabitants of clubs, councils, operas and offices (Mehrotra, 2017, pp 1-5, 26).

Some thematic concerns in Indian English fiction

Arun Joshi and Chaman Nahal are among the prominent writers of the 1960s and 1970s. M.K. Naik (1982,p.204) observes,

"Arun Joshi's recurrent theme is alienation in its different aspects, and his heroes are intensely

self-centred persons prone to self-pity and escapism. In spite of their weaknesses, they are, however, genuine seekers who strive to grope towards a purpose in life and self fulfilment."

Joshi's fiction explores existential dilemmas and presents sharp awareness of the problems of post-Independence Indian society and the repercussions of the East-West encounter. His narrative skill is exemplary that can even make a whole novel a long monologue (as in The Apprentice [1974]) without losing his grasp over the reader's attention. Chaman Nahal is a novelist of excruciating journeys presented in different contexts. Azadi (1975) is one of the most inclusive fictional descriptions of the Partition holocaust in Indian English Literature. It recounts the migration of Lala Kanshi Ram, a Sialkot grain merchant and his family to India in 1947. The episodes in the novel bear a realistic touch like the march of thrilled and ecstatic Muslims in Sialkot when Partition was announced, the peculiar spectacle of naked Hindu women in Narowal and the immolation of Niranjan Singh (Chandra, 2004, p.170-176).

The themes and concerns depicted in the fiction of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were similar to that of contemporary Indian English poetry. Indian English poets tried to remain aloof from the exaggerated and self-indulgent tenderness, sadness and nostalgia associated with earlier poets like Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Sarojini Naidu. There were poets who showed strong influence of Sri Aurobindo' Indian English romantic tradition like Dilip Kumar Roy's Eyes of Light, 1948, Themis' Poems, 1952, Rdmen's The Golden Apocalypse, 1953, Prithvi Singh Nahar's The Winds of Silence, 1954, Prithvindra N. Mukherjee's A Rose-Bud's Song, 1959 and V. Madhusudan Reddy's Sapphires of Solitude, 1960, K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar's Tryst With the Divine(1974), Mytrocosmographia Poetica (1976) and Leaves from a Log (1979 and V.K. Gokak's Song of Life and OtherPoems (1947), In Life's Temple (1965) and Kashmir and the Blind Man (1977). Some other poets of this romantic form of poetry are Adi K. Sett (The Light Above the Clouds 1948), Rain in My Heart 1954), B.D. Sastri (Tears of Faith 1950) K.R.R. Sastri (Gathered Flowers, 1956), Barjor Paymaster (The Last Farewell and other Poems, 1960); Trilok Chandra (A Hundred and One Flowers, 1961); Rai Vyas (Jai Hind, 1961); and P.V.B.Sharma (*Morning Buds*, 1964) (Naik, 1982).

Indian English poetry

Like the English modernist poets abroad (T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound), Indian English poets attempted to achieve a symbolic but realistic style. Some

renowned poets of the 1950s and 1960s are Kamala Das, Nissim Ezekiel, P.Lal, Dom Moraes, and A.K. Ramanujan. Kamala Das is one of those initial strong voices whose poems articulate confessional pulls with the poetic innovation having intense and passionate medium to discover female anxiety and sexuality. Nissim Ezekiel is one of the renowned poets of the post Independence period. His *A Time to Change* (1952), Sixty Poems (1953), The Third (1959), *The Unfinished Man* (1960), *The Exact Name* (1965) and *Hymns in Darkness* (1976) touch upon the themes of alienation, philosophy, search for incorporation, art and artist against the backdrop of his restless career of changes and experiments in journalism, publishing, advertising and finally teaching.

Dom Moraes was deeply influenced by Dylan Thomas and the surrealistic school who wrote extremely intense poetry with a constant confessional tone having themes of loneliness and insecurity. The persona of his poems either seeks escape through the erotic fantasies of his burning imagination or the self-probing of a tormented soul. His poems frequently create an eerie world where classical, Christian, medieval and fairy tale myths are blended and dragons and dwarfs, Cain and the unicorn, the tombs of Mycenae and Christ draw closer. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, some other renowned poets secured their presence; Dilip Chitre, Arun Kolatkar, Jayanta Mahapatra, Arvind Krishna Mehrotra and Pritish Nandy. Their poems illustrate a clear understanding of world literature, not confined to Eliot and Pound but expanding, instead, to French experimental poems from Rimbaud to Dadaism and surrealism. Chitre, Kolatkar and Ramanujan focus on integrating regional influences (King 1992, p. 5) .The poetry of Keki N. Daruwalla, Eunice de Souza, Adil Jussawalla, Manohar Shetty and the diasporic poems of Agha Shahid Ali strive to work on Indian content incorporating "native" regional languages into English. Their poems depict a global awareness where many poets draw heavily from North and South American and early Indian regional verse (King 1992, p.1-10).

Modern Indian English fiction

One of the most significant literary events of the 1980's was the publication of Salman Rushdie's comprehensive novel *Midnight's Children* (1981) which received a wide acclamation and the prestigious Booker Award for the year 1981. With his writings, Rushdie extended the range of the Indian English novels significantly and determined the future course of its development. Rushdie's

novel created indelible impressions which many young Indian novelists attempted to emulate and incorporate in their writing style. The contemporary writers use surrealism and symbolism instead of realism. abandoning chronology, interweaving the past and the present and employing allegory (Rushdie,1991 pp. 61-70). Among these novelists the most famous are; Amitav Ghosh, Vikram Seth, Allan Sealy, Upamanyu Chatterjee, Shashi Tharoor, Farrukh Dhondy, Rohintion Mistry and Firdaus Kanga. These novelists, as Anthony Spaeth observed, are consciously attempting to redefine English prose "with myths, humour or themes as vast as the subcontinent." Indian English Literature is widely acclaimed canon read fondly in India and abroad. Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things (1977), Kiran Desai's The Inheritance of Loss (2006) and Aravind Adiga's The White Tiger (2010) won the Booker Awards. Jhumpa Lahiri's The Interpreter of Maladies (2000) got Pulitzer Prize which evidently indicates that Indian English novels are so well received and recognized.

Amitav Ghosh: A writer of historical fiction

Amitav Ghosh's fiction concentrates on the inquisition of the dominating systems of thought which do not take into account the silent and hidden genius. The traditional dichotomies seem to be discarded in the fiction of Amitav Ghosh that brings the element of subversion to the centre. His 'politics of subversion' generates dialectics. The quest for truth is a never-ending process which entails reconstruction and retelling of stories. To reflect these phenomena, Amitav Ghosh makes use of multiple voices of multiple narrators which is a characteristic feature of polyphonic novels. The duty of the main narrator is to deduce truth from the multiple voices (Mondal, 2007).

Rohinton Mistry: A diasporic writer

Rohinton Mistry's literary oeuvre encompasses Such a Long Journey (1991), A Fine Balance (1995), Family Matters (2002), The Scream (2008) Swimming Lessons and Other Stories from Firozsha Baag. Family Matters recounts the disparities encountered by the Parsi community in India thereby touching upon the issues of identity and question of minority status. Besides the problems of identity, Mistry's writings convey the stance of a postcolonial writer who is engaged with the well-built agenda of "writing back" to the empire, thereby making his writings a means of confrontation and resistance. His uniqueness lies in the fact that he follows the realist technique in

tackling the postcolonial realities with less scope for an experimental mode of writing. But he deals with every single detail in his works with greatest precision.

Vikram Seth: A versatile writer

Vikram Seth's writing is woven with cultural hybridity teeming with varied continents and cultures of India, China, the U.S. and England reflecting upon cross cultural association. The Golden Gate (1986), A Suitable Boy (1993) and An Equal Music (1999) demonstrate his approach of cultural representation because these works emphasize the significance of family and relationships in the private and domestic areas where the contemporary international world is consistently shaped by the consumerism of the West and modernization and the changing patriarchal society of India and is mourning the loss of constant, persistent and personal relationships. Seth attempts to explore the predicament of Indians in the California of the 1980s showing the emptiness and dilemma of people caught between outer accomplishment and inner anguish (Mukherjee, 2000 pp.187–203).

Indian English short story

Indian English Short Story originated in the ancient Indian classical tradition of the Panchatantras and the fables. In the nineteenth century the first collection of short stories entitled Stories from Indian Christian Life written by Kamala Sathianandan appeared on the literary spectacle. The emphasis of the early writers of the short story, like that of fiction writers, was on the attempt to portray social evils prevalent in India then, frequently involved in engagement with the individual self and the responses of the self to the numerous social conditions. With the forties, the short story developed in the hands of Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K. Narayan. Later it underwent transformation with the advent of other writers like Ruth Pawar Jhabvala, Khushwant Singh, Bhabani Bhattacharya, Keki Daruwalla, Ruskin Bond, Arun Joshi, Manohar Malgaonkar, Upamanyu Chatterjee, Salman Rushdie, Rohinton Mistry, V.S. Naipaul, Aravind Adiga, Nayantara Sahgal and Anita Desai. Women writers also added their valuable perspectives to this genre with a keen inclination to sensitivity and perception. Mahashweta Devi's (2002) story 'Draupadi' draws the reader's attention to the conflict between the Naxalites of West Bengal and the freedom fighters of East Bengal through the story of a tribal woman named Draupadi/Dopdi. The diasporic short stories offer points to negotiate the usual discomforting divisions of ethnicity, place, race, language and nation created through displacement where the writers provide dual perspectives with clarity and precision. In Rohinton Mistry's stories, there is an essence of the Bombay of the 60's and 70's and an amalgamation of Indian and Canadian resonances with constant shifts of time frames and places woven into constructed narrative.

Dibyendu Palit's 'Alam's Own House' (2008. pp. 453–72), translated by Sarika Chaudhuri is a story set against the background of the Liberation Movement of Bangladesh and touches upon the themes of memory and nostalgia. The story revolves around the nostalgic recollection of the protagonist Alam through his earlier parental house in Kolkata. He and his family shifted to Dhaka after the partition of Bengal and the story delineates the predicament of the people who were caught between the two worlds and questioned the idea of belongingness. Manik Bandhopadhya's (2003, pp. 23-39) 'The Final Solution', translated by Rani Ray is a story about situations of West Bengal after the partition. The story revolves around a young mother, Mallika and her struggle against capitalism, hegemony and masculinity. Lalithambika Antharajanam's (2012, pp. 137-45) story 'A Leaf in the Storm', translated by K. Narayana Chandran is an account of a pregnant rape survivor portraying abuse, survival and recovery. Jyoti, the protagonist was kidnapped and raped while crossing the newly laid borders and was then placed in refugee camps. The story depicts the protagonist's change of mind when the sentiments of motherhood overwhelmed her and she decided not to throw the baby after the delivery. Salman Rushdie's story 'The Free Radio' is about a real historical event that took place in India during the Emergency period from 1975 to 1977 when Sanjay Gandhi launched a campaign propagating forced sterilisation. The story revolves around a rickshaw puller Ramani and his worlds of fantasy and reality. Rohinton Mistry's 'Swimming Lesson', and Shashi Deshpande's 'The Intrusion' are remarkable accounts of diasporic concerns and marital issues respectively.

Issues in Indian English literature

The issues of identity are consistently explored in Indian English Literature. Writers of all genres articulated certain 'truths' about Indian national identity. These become conflicting spaces in the varied discourses with wide ranging effects because none of them is true in a pure form. Women's Writing is a sphere that draws meaningful distinction between indigenous and diasporic agendas in literature. With the inclusion of Indian English Literature on the public and international fronts, these women writers got the opportunities to voice their concerns

and issues in their own established spaces. Many important anthologies of stories by Indian women were published both originally in English and translated into English from the regional languages like In Other Words, New Writing by Indian Women and The Slate of Life: An Anthology of Stories by Indian Women. The collections of critical essays were also published on the issues of feminism, colonialism and nationalism; Kumari Jayawardena's Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World and Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid's edited volume (1989, p.1-25) Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History and a much renowned comprehensive collection of writing by women, Women Writing in India: 600 B.C. to the Present (1991&1993). It has two volumes edited by Susie Tharu and K. Lalita focusing on the panorama of Indian Women's Writing against and through issues of literacy, class and caste.

Indian Women's Writing of the 1970s witnessed a radical change with women writers transforming their experience as women and femininity into their writings and literary expressions. Till 1980s, women writing drew attention to the quest for identity and inquisitive female protagonists of the upper or middle class. The geographical spaces, in such writing, were symbolic of confinement, gender discrimination, boredom and also, for some, of benevolent tradition and a refuge from the aggressive, male-dominated outer world. The writers wrote about the conflict between tradition and modernity. Indian women writers represent the journey to selfhood, and freedom from the burden of collective constraints and stereotypes. Their protagonists undergo the passage of self-exploration with a new questing status. The middle class novels of the 1980s and 1990s followed a fixed structural pattern beginning with a quest, creating a crisis and moving towards a resolution in the end. In modern women writing, the suffering of an individual is urban and globalised. Seshadri (1995, p.56-57) tries to sum up the main features of "the new women's writing" that there was a continuing shift from the external world to the inner world of the independent urban middle class individual. There was a rising intricacy and sophistication of the post-independence female protagonist and the development in quality of plot structure. There was an absence of victimized women characters. Lively, rebellious young women like Rukmini in Kamala Markandaya's Nectar in a Sieve came to the front who refused to accept endless suffering. The psychological novel arose as a new genre. Anita Desai heralded this genre and her portrayal of the hysterical mind of Maya in Cry, the Peacock showed her concern to the varying moods

of the protagonist. This form of writing possessed the extra literary inheritance, that is, the reality of Indian women merged into fiction.

Conclusion

There is a plethora of themes and issues in the Indian English Literature like new social vision, with the change in attitude, outlook and aspirations of nation committed to eradicate the complex problems of poverty, economic obstacles and orthodox social obligations, contemporary dilemmas, the peculiar alliance of multi-faceted historical vicissitudes, influence of the west, Gandhian enlightenment and reverberations of industrial progress. The ideological commitments of the authors like Mulk Raj Anand, the sympathetic approach to life as observed in R.K. Naryan's fiction, the mystic and murky outlook of Raja Rao, the feminine receptivity of Kamala Markandaya, the remarkable insight of Jhabvala, the medieval myth and wonder in Malgaonkar, the pluralistic world of characters in Arun Joshi, the retort and wordplay of Khushwant Singh, the magical realism of Rushdie, Amitav Ghosh, the distinctive diasporic voices and concerns of Mistry and Vikram Seth-all such attributes uniquely add to the galaxy of post independence Indian English Literature. Indian English Literature touches upon the issues of marital relationships gender roles, struggle for identity, women migrants, marginal sections of society, subaltern perspectives, Indianness, diasporic experiences, feelings of loss and gain, human relationships, incorporation of the real events of Indian history in fiction, postcolonial aspects, preindependence struggle, post independence ideals and confused mindsets caught between visions and realized difficult spectre, narrative techniques of reliable and unreliable narrators, duality of fact and fiction, dichotomy of illusion and clarity, portrayal of female characters and idiosyncrasies of languages and writing styles.

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An Overview of Indian Print Media from Pre-Independence to the Present

PAWAN KOUNDAL1 AND SHWETA SINGH2

ABSTRACT

Print media played a major role in the Indian freedom struggle, since it influenced the Indian people's minds greatly to attain independence from the Britishers. During the Indian independence movement, the primary aim of the press was not to make profit, but to communicate a message of freedom, nationalism, and patriotism to the people of India. A culture of nationalism had taken hold in the press in the preindependence era, and the media had a wider reach and a broader perspective. It is well known that the first newspaper printed in India was called Bengal Gazette and was published by an Englishman named James Augustus Hicky in the year 1780. Several other newspapers were published in the following years including The India, The Calcutta Gazette, The Madras Gazette Courier, and Bombay Herald, to name a few. Nevertheless, the number of newspapers that appeared in Indian languages continued to rise after the first freedom struggle of 1857. At independence, India had around 200 daily newspapers. India began to change as it gained independence, and with that change, the media began to change too. Following independence, many initiatives have been taken to establish media and press institutions and to set up press commissions. The press also faced an infamous emergency in 1975 despite these initiatives. As print media evolves into this digital age, it faces many challenges as well as experiencing an enormous amount of growth. As the internet has advanced, a new way to print media has also developed. In turn, many newspapers and magazines have created their online editions, making the whole world accessible on a reader's desktop or mobile. This study examines the print media in India over time, from its evolution to current trends.

Keywords: India's Independence, Print media, Newspapers, Press, Digital era

Introduction

News was given in inscriptions on temple walls and copper plates in ancient India, and in that time the ruler (or king) was the source of the news through victory coins and rock writing. There were officials from the government who gathered the people by drum beat and announced the policies and decisions of the king or government. In fact, at that time, news was communicated with words of mouth. Employed people with the government acting as "correspondents" moved from one royal court to another, gathering news of won or lost battles. For courtiers and merchants, they collected useful information. Like today's reporters, they also embroidered their news to make a good story.

In the first two decades of the 19th century, the Marquess of Wellesely imposed rigid control on the press and the Marquess of Hasting relaxed. Many of the newspapers owned by the company staff did not regularly take care of pre-censorship. Military information has been published and books and pamphlets have been printed, sometimes with information that is prohibited. The Indian press

grew rapidly in the nineteenth century. There was a religious and social reform movement, and among the people there was a growing political awareness.

While it may not surprise many that printing came to India in the wake of Christian missionaries' proselytization, it was some of the early British administrators who recognized an instrument of unprecedented power to disseminate knowledge among the people of India, as understood in the West. The word Mudra, meaning a seal, appears in the Arthasastra of Kautilya (Sastri, 1924, p.110). However, the evolution of this idea into the actual printing technique did not occur in India.

The origin of the printing art can be traced back to China, where the mother of this invention was the need for religious literature and pictures related to the spread of Buddhism. It is believed that block printing was used to print Buddha portraits in 650 AD. However, recent research and discoveries have suggested that since ancient times India also knew the art of reduplication and block printing, and Indians worked with the Chinese to publish important Buddhist works from wood blocks. The discovery of

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countless seals from Mohenzodaro, Harappa, Lothal and other places confirms the fact that Indians had the concept of reduplication based on printing technique since the pre-historic days (Marshal, 1931).

Print media is considered as the first form of mass communication, since the invention of typography by Gutenberg (1447) who actually revolutionized the printing technology and enabled mass production of books and other printed material. Later, in the subsequent period, the printing technology has become more globalized which empowered print media to a great extent. There are many forms of mass media present today, but print media is still important in the information industry.

Research methodology

The purpose of this study is to provide a historical overview of Indian print media from the preindependence era to the present day. In this study, the secondary data was explored through the analysis of yet written work and conducted research. Print media and its current trends were explored in this study.

Print media in pre-independent India

The influence of the Indian press on people's minds was considerable, especially the intelligentsia. A new dimension has been added to Indian journalism with the emergence of the nationalist press. The nationalist press and the Anglo Indian Press had different goals that were almost conflicting. Like English education (1830's), Railways and the Telegraph (1850's), Indian councils (1861) and cricket, during British rule the press originated in India. It was an Englishman who in 1780 released the first weekly newspaper, a weekly newspaper, on Indian soil.

Vernacular press in Bengal grew rapidly during the period from 1818 AD to 1857 AD. In addition to the newspapers and periodicals owned by the European missionaries, Bengali leaders also came forward to edit their own papers. In other parts of India, apart from Bengal, Indian-owned English newspapers and newspapers also emerged. In other parts of India, the Bengali press had a head start and reached maturity faster than the language press. The efforts of both the Christian missionaries and the Indian reformers facilitated this. As the political awareness had already struck roots in India before AD 1857, one of the striking trends of the Indian awakening was the growth of political movement. In the latter half of the 19th century, the rapid growth of the press and the growth of political consciousness were interconnected, leading to a wider nationalist movement.

The vernacular press played an important role to unite the people against the British. Initially, the response of the authorities was hampered by an overall scarcity of British officials who were able to read their content. By the 1870s, legislation specifically aimed at the vernacular press and much harsher than the English press (Athique, 2012) replaced the already stringent rules imposed in the name of public order on the Indian press. Vernacular newspapers played a very notable role in the fight against the British, thus imposing restrictions on their freedom. This included the Hindi Patriot, which was founded in 1853 by Grish Chandra Ghosh, the author and playwright. Under Harish Chandra Mukherjee's editorship, it became popular.

The Indian Mirror was the other contemporary of this paper that was highly popular among readers. Amrita Bazar Patrika, published by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, began publishing from Jessore. It was about ventilating people's grievances and educating the public and criticizing the government. Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act on March 1, 1878, a law for more stringent control of vernacular language publications as he observed that these newspapers were spreading national consciousness among the Indians.

During the pre-rebellion period (1857), the urge for socio-religious reforms and cultural advancement appears to be a more urgent and necessary precondition for Indians' social upliftment. The abusive nature of British rule was thoroughly exposed among the Indians who are educated and slowly protesting voices started against British rule and its policies. In India's fight for independence, the role of the press was even more glorious and active at that time. Between 1818 AD and 1857 AD, Bengal published numerous dailies, weeklies, two-weekly and monthly newspapers. These included Sambad Kumudi, Samachar Chandrika, Sambad Prabhakar and Jnananyesan.

The first weekly Hindi 'Oodunta Martand' (1826) and the first daily Hindi, 'Samachar Sudha Varshan' (1854), were published in Calcutta. *Jnanaruna*, the first Oriya paper, was released in 1849 AD. The first Tamil paper to be published in 1832 AD was *Tamil Magazine*. The first paper from Kannada *Karmada Samacher* was published in 1832. The newspaper *Vignayana Nikshepam* from Malayalam was published in 1840. Newspapers in most major languages such as Tamil (1831), Telugu (1893), Marathi (1832), Urdu (1836), Malayalam (1840) have been published reflecting the growing social and political awareness of Indians.

The Indian press covers about two hundred years

in which it fought social and political evils. Kumar (2010) covered a short history of Indian journalism in his book *Mass Communication in India*. Rau (1980) opined:

The over-200-year history of the Indian press, from the time of Hicky to the present day, is the history of a struggle for freedom, which has not yet ended. There have been alternating periods of freedom and of restrictions on freedom amounting to repression. The pioneering works on the Indian press, like that of Margarita Barns, were stories of arbitrariness and despotism, of reforms and relaxation. The story of the Indian press is a story of a steady expansion but also one of press laws.

The emergence of the print media's indigenous character was directly associated with the socioreligious reform movements, generally known as 'Bengal Renaissance' or 'Nineteenth Century Indian Renaissance' (Bandyopadhyay, 2004, p. 151), followed by India's national liberation struggle. Late-eighteenth-century newspapers were of interest only to British residents. News on developments in England and the East India Company were reported. They were, therefore, largely affairs of a Whiteman. Starting to report on social issues, letters to editors, advertisements and fashion notes were also made. Hickey and his newspaper were therefore pioneers in freedom of the press and scurrilous writing (Swami, 2007, p. 177).

The first newspaper of India "Bengal Gazette" was published by James Augustus Hickey in 1780. This has added a new dimension to the development of print media. This paper was published in English language and it was popularly known as the Hicky's Gazette. Many people and leaders called Hickey, the father of Indian journalism as he became the first publisher of the first newspaper of India at that time when it was impossible to launch a newspaper when the country was under British Rule.

It was believed that without the support of a powerful patron in the administration, Hickey could not have carried on his campaign against the Governor-General. However, to the first newspaper, the company decided against any freedom. As a result, Hickey's Press type-sets were seized and his newspaper was suppressed in 1782 after Philip Francis had decided to leave India (Raghavan, 1994, p. 3). This could be considered in India as the first press censorship, even as Hickey protested in vain against this arbitrary harassment, and he was imprisoned and fined INR 5000, which bankrupted the first newspaper (Swami, 2007, p. 177).

The Bengal Gazette and the India Gazette

were followed by the Calcutta Gazette, which later became the "medium for making general orders" of the government (Charlton, 1953, p.3). Together with many other rivals in Madras, the Madras Mail (Courier 1785), The Bombay Herald (1789), and The Courier (1790) represented India's metropolitan voice and people.

The Samachar Darpan in Bengali was the first newspaper in an Indian language. This daily's first issue was published on May 23, 1818 from the Serampore Mission Press. (Kumar, 2010). Bombay Samachar, the first Gujarati newspaper was published from Bombay on July 1, 1822, which is still in existence. The first Hindi newspaper, the Samachar SudhaVarshan began in 1854. Since then, Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Bengali have been the prominent Indian languages in which papers have grown over the years.

The first newspaper in Madras, the Madras Courier, came into existence in 1785 A.D. as an officially recognized newspaper founded by Richard Johnson, the Government Printer. Bombay's first newspaper, The Bombay Herald, came into being in 1789 A.D.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, regarded in India as the father of liberalism and founder of modern India (Bandyopadhyay, 2004, p.151). He himself, a multilingual, social and religious reformer and champion of civil rights and freedom of the press, started many newspapers as a carrier of liberal and rational ideas. He was the first to advocate many of the reforms that the leaders of the nationalist movement had to demand in the following decades.

Recognizing Rammohan Roy's contribution to the cause of press freedom during the Company's rule in the first quarter of the 19th century, historian Bipan Chadra said he had protested against a regulation restricting press freedom as early as 1824. He began three newspapers: Sambad Kaumudi (Bengali), Miratul Akhbaar (Persian) and Brahmanical Magazine (English). Publications by Raja Ram Mohan Roy marked the true start of Indian journalism. They were addressed to Indians, but they also appealed for a better understanding of Englishman living in India (Raghvan, 1994, p.11).

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's national awakening impulse in Bengal soon spread to other parts of India. The Indian Press was relatively free from government interference during the period from 1825 to 1857 because of Lord Bentick's liberal outlook and others. It was also at this time that basic education was spreading and English became the medium of instruction and the promotion of secular education

(Mass Media in India, 2001, p.5).

As newspapers became widespread, they acted as an indication of modernity, helping to build a national identity. The Press played a key role in the nationalist movement despite very low literacy and strict press laws introduced by successive British colonial governments.

The Indian National Press was the backbone of the end of the eighteenth century struggle for freedom. Its historical significance is linked to the public opinion's awareness that touched the country's patriotic nerve. The idea that freedom of the press was a fundamental right to be cherished and fought for as nationalism evolved. Mahatma Gandhi realized the importance of the written word and spread the message of freedom by publishing newspapers in Gujrati and English. In *Young India* in 1920, Gandhi advocated newspapers' right to protest against the laws of the press:

"We must, therefore, devise methods of circulating our ideas unless and until the whole Press becomes fearless, defies consequences and publishes ideas, even when it is in disagreement with them, just for the purpose of securing its freedom"

Mahatma Gandhi has an honorable place in modern India's history as an authentic exponent of India's non-violent tradition, as a great Indian, and as the dominant influence of Indian politics during the final phase of India's liberation struggle. It is also worth noting that Gandhiji was not only a distinguished English prose writer, but also an outstanding journalist whose ability to command the loyalty of millions of his countrymen was accomplished through the media. Gandhiji's distinction as a journalist is that he brought about a silent revolution in the world of Indian journalism. The pages of Indian Opinion, Young India, Harijan and the Gujarati Navajivan would require considerable effort to search out his writings, much less to ream them. His journalistic writings ranged from articles and commentaries to controversy and midpoints.

As Young India's editor, Gandhiji had developed a style that matched his message's substance. His articles actually conveyed a distinctive way to the Gandhian message. More importantly, his exposure's form and tone revealed his distinctive signature and accounted for his resounding success. Young India's issues of September 19, 1921, December 15, 1921 and February 23, 1922 highlighted three pieces, characteristically described by the then bureaucracy as 'seditious articles'.

In his first article entitled *Tampering with Loyalty*, Gandhiji proclaimed: "We ask for no quarter, we expect none from the Government." The

second article titled A Puzzle and its solution made the following declaration: "We want to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people, the government". And in the third article Shaking the Manes Gandhiji warned: "If the present custodians of the British Empire are not satisfied with its quiet transformation into a true Commonwealth of free nation...all the determination and vigour of the 'most determined people in the world' and 'hard fibre' will have to be spent in India in a vain effort to crush the spirit that has arisen and that will neither bend nor break".

Not only had Gandhiji perfected a style that was admirably suited to the political leader's work, he also found time to write occasional middles. In fine, Gandhiji not merely sustained a meaningful dialogue with poets and political, business and labour leaders through the pages of *Young India, Harijan, Harijan Bandhu* and *Navajivan* but also installed the people of india in the market-place of ideas in his capacity as a journalist (Ranganathan, 2016.)

Print media in India: Post-independence

Raghvan (1994) in his book *The Press in India:* A New History writes, "the emergence of the Indian press, properly so called, was at once the product and a stimulant of the process of national regeneration that began in the 19th century. The attainment of political independence in 1947 was a landmark in this process of regeneration" (p.1).

At the time of Independence, the Indian press witnessed the new era at the same time with new energy and vigour. The role which the press played before independence was mainly based to support the cause of national independence, but after the independence the role of the press became more difficult as it should now look at the issues of development and nation building. It acquired new dimensions in terms of publication and circulation, the scenario has completely changed (Natrajan, 1962).

Formation of various press commissions and institutions

In the post independence era, various institutions and commissons have been set up by the government of India for press. Some of the major institutions are listed below:

First Press Commission: To make an inquiry into the state of press in India, the first Press Commission was formed under the chairmanship of Justice J.S. Rajadhayksha in 1952 by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of Government of India. Dr. C.P.

Ramaswamy Aiyer, Acharya Narendra Deo, Dr. Zakir Hussain, and Dr. V.K.V. Rao were among the other members of the 11-member working group. The Commission advocated that a Press Council should be established in its recommendations which were submitted in 1954. Following the recommendations of the first Press Commission, a Press Council was established by an act of Parliament in 1965 (Kumar, 2010).

Second Press Commission: The second press commission was set up under Justice P.K. Goswami's chairmanship in May 1978. It was aimed to enquire into the growth and status of the Indian Press. The commission was reconstituted under the presidency of Justice K. K. Mathew in April 1980 due to resignations of other members as the new government came to power. The significant recommendation of the report was the establishment of a Newspaper Development Commission to promote Indian language newspapers (Kumar, 2010).

Press Council of India (PCI): The Press Council of India was established by the Parliament for the first time on the recommendations of the First Press Commission with the aim of preserving press freedom and maintaining and improving press standards in India. It was first established on July 4, 1966 as an autonomous, statutory, quasi-judicial body, chaired by Shri Justice J R Mudholkar, the then Supreme Court Judge. The basic objectives laid down by the Press Council were to help the newspapers maintain their independence. It also advocated the code of conduct for the newspapers so that the high professional standards can also be maintained among other objectives.

A fresh law establishing the Council was enacted in 1978 and the institution was revised in 1979 with the same aim of preserving the freedom of the press and maintaining and improving the standards of the press in India. It is made up of a president and 28 other members. The working journalists are represented by 13 of the 28 members. Of whom six are to be newspaper editors and the remaining seven are to be other than editors or working journalists. Six Among the persons who own or operate the newspaper management business. One is to be among the people who run news agencies. Three are people with special knowledge or practical experience in education and science, law, literature and culture. For parliamentarians, the remaining five are: three from Lok Sabha, and two from Rajya Sabha (presscouncil. nic.in).

Press Trust of India (PTI): PTI was established in 1947 and started to operate in 1949. PTI is well and truly proud of its legacy of job and its contribution to the construction of a free and honest press in India today. To cover almost every district and tiny town in India, over 400 reporters and 500 stringers are hired. They collectively spread over 2,000 stories and 200 photos a day to feed the expansive consumption of varied readers, mainstream media, specialized presses, study groups, companies, and governmental and non-governmental organizations. PTI currently commands 90% of India's new market share of the agency (ptinews.com).

Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI): On the recommendation of the First Press Commission in 1953 and by amending the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, the Office of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, more popularly known as RNI, was established on 1 July 1956. The RNI is responsible for the compilation of particulars like ownership and circulation of all newspapers in India.

Indian Newspaper Society (INS): The Indian Newspaper Society, commonly known as INS was established in 1939. The primary purpose of the Society was to serve as a central body for the promotion of the common interests of newspapers in India, Burma and Ceylon (www.indiannewspapersociety. org.). After independence, the INS negotiated the importation of equipment and newsprint prices and, in general, protected business and the profession from government interference (Kumar, 2010).

Audit Bureau of Circulation Ltd. (ABC): ABC was founded in 1948 and is a voluntary, non-profit organisation made up of publishers, advertisers and advertising agencies. It performs pioneering job in developing audit processes to certify ABC membership publications' circulation numbers. The primary role of ABC is to develop, create a standard and uniform audit procedure to calculate their qualifying copies for a member publisher. A company of chartered accountants who are empanelled by the Bureau checks and verifies the circulation figure thus arrived at. Every six months, the Bureau issues ABC certificates to those members of the publisher whose circulation figures confirm the Bureau's rules and regulations (http://www.auditbureau.org/about-whatis-abc.html).

Press during emergency

In June 1975, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's

government's declaration of emergency came as a shocking blow to the Indian press. The censorship was imposed on newspapers and the government disallowed any transmission of information from one place to other. More than 30 presses were seized and over 7,000 people were arrested who were in any business of publication and circulation (Kumar, 1981). It was revealed in a report presented to Parliament that Mrs. Gandhi ruthlessly distorted and manipulated the country's press, radio and television media during the emergency (Ravindran, 1997, p.47).

After the emergency, two commissions were set up by the government to investigate pressrelated excesses. According to the Das Commission Report, 253 journalists were arrested in India. In all, 51 journalists and cameramen lost accreditation, 7 foreign correspondents were expelled and 29 foreign correspondents were banned. The commission charged Ms. Gandhi of distorting the news using the press (Karkhanis, 1981, p. 137). Ravindran (1997) said that, "the press as a whole did not stand up against the emergency. It crawled during this period whereas it was expected to bend only" (p.32). The findings of the Shah Commission accused the government of Indira Gandhi with various charges.

On June 26, the day after the emergency was proclaimed, the government resorted to cutting off the electricity from newspaper offices to buy time to set up the censorship apparatus. Three days later the power supply was resumed when the censorship machine was set up. The government has ordered a study of the newspapers during the six months preceding the emergency to determine the attitude of each newspaper towards the government and to penalize it accordingly (Ravindran, 1997, pp. 32-33).

The Janata government came to power in 1977 and removed all the restrictions from the Indian press.

In the post-Independence period, it was found necessary to become self-sufficient in paper matters in order to cope with increased circulation. Newsprint shortage gave a boost to the production of newsprint in India to new industries. The high profits made it possible for many papers to build large resources used to expand and upgrade their technical equipment.

The Times of India (Bombay), Statesman (Calcutta), Hindu (Madras), Hindustan Times (New Delhi), Pioneer (Lucknow), Indian Express (Bombay & Madras), Amrita Bazaar Patrika (Calcutta), National Herald (Lucknow), Mail (Madras) & Hitavada (Nagpur) were the main English newspapers in India in 1947. During the long struggle for India's independence, the Hindu (1878), Amrita Bazaar Patrika (1868), Bombay Chronicle (1913), Free Press

Journal (1930), and Hindustan Times (1924) were the major English newspapers serving the national cause.

A new era of online newspapers began

The Internet history in India started with the launch of the Educational Research Network (ERNET) in 1986. State-owned Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited (VSNL) launched the first publicly available Internet service in India on 14 August 1995. The Department of Electronics (DoE) initiated ERNET with funding from the Government of India and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Exactly 20 years have passed since the Internet entered the e-sphere of our country and powered our lives in unimaginable ways. The main aim of The ERNET was to link the institutes of science and technology across the nation and later other teaching and research institutes were also linked with internet (Rao & Natesan, 1996).

Print media has been around for hundreds of years. The printing became mechanised after the invention of the moveable type system by Johannes Gutenberg in the fifteenth century. Over these years, print media developed as the primary source of news. Now the digital transformation has radically altered the publishing industry. The amount of Internet users globally has significantly risen over the past decade. In 2017, 46.8 percent of the global population accessed the internet. This figure was projected to grow to 53.7 percent in 2021 (Statista.com).

The Internet has made a deep impact on all information-related products and services. This has not spared the newspapers. The growing Net user population has been attracting traditional newspapers to post their editions online. Online newspapers have bridged geographical limits and transformed the whole world literally into a global village. This is a great opportunity for the print media to seize and devise means and ways to sustain and flourish.

According to Sahay (2006), the first phase of online journalism in India began around 1993 with the introduction of dotcoms. The second phase began around 2003 and is continuing to date. By mid-1998, most major Indian newspapers, magazines, publishers, political parties, business firms, and banks began to have their own websites. Most state governments, All India Radio, Doordarshan, police departments, and municipalities, as well as NGOs, had their own websites by then (Kumar, 2010).

The Hindu was the first Indian newspaper to start its website in 1995. Later on, other mainstream newspapers also started their online editions. In response to the rapid development of ICT, more and more newspapers and other media organizations in

India have begun to offer readers / viewers online content. In the early years, the websites of the newspapers only provided the information which was published in the print version. *The Times of India* launched its news website in 1999.

According to Jha (2019), when web journalism arrived in India in the 1990s, the news stories published in the print version used to be plainly uploaded on the newspaper websites. After 2005 when digital penetration in India increased, its consumption also increased significantly and the demand for online content rose rapidly among the internet users. Thus, the dynamism in uploading news on the websites also increased significantly.

In 2007, Malayala Manorama became the first regional newspaper to establish its presence in digital media through the launch of Mobile Application. In 2009-2010, newspapers such as The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Hindu and The India Express made their presence on Twitter. In 2012, TOI launched its Alive App to explore Augmented Reality. The App enables users to scan any image or graphic and then take it to the relevant multimedia content. Later 2013, android, IOS and windows mobile operating systems became very popular, thus, mobile applications too were admired among the smartphone users. Almost all the newspapers also made their presence through mobile applications which could be installed in the smartphones and consume news on the go.

Due to rapid growth of the internet in India, online journalism has become popular and people can access news through news websites, crowd-sourced citizen journalism and social networking sites etc. Since 2000, online journalism in India has exposed a number of issues such as political corruption such as Tehelka, misuse of state funds and match-fixing in professional cricket, India's favorite pastime.

The printing industry has changed its course completely; it is now a multimedia industry. This industry has been transformed in a big way by technology. Since we are living in the smart-phone age, the printing industry has also changed its nature from the printing press to news websites and now the revolutionary news apps (mobile news applications) (Koundal, 2018). Digital technology enables us to obtain newspaper information in various ways. It is now possible to access news from conventional newspaper (hard copy) through other versions – e-papers, mobile apps, news websites and social networking.

Newspapers are facing the digital transition in different contexts and from different starting points.

Digital media are now rapidly changing India's overall media environment as to how people find information, engage with public affairs, and entertain themselves, and where advertisers are investing their money. Internet use and digital advertising have only slowly grown in India for nearly 20 years, and it is only with the rise of mobile web access that the pace of change has increased, both where the audience is to be found and where advertisers are spending their money.

Conclusion

Since its evolution, Indian print media has undergone many changes. In the past, the press served the cause of the national people, in order to gain freedom from the British. Apart from folk media, print media was the first major medium to reach the masses. Its role during the national independence movement was primarily to organise masses against the British. The newspapers were originally published by British citizens to vent their anger at the government. They were subsequently used by the freedom fighters to reach out to the masses, organize revolts, dispel superstitions, and unite the nation. Newly independent India benefited tremendously from the provisions of the constitution about Freedom of Speech and Expression. It was at the time that the newspapers focused on nation building and helping the government to succeed. It went so far as to openly and fearlessly criticize government policies and actions. Many media institutions have been established in independent India.

The press has also faced many challenges. The emergency imposed in the 1970s caused irreparable damage to the press' reputation and quality. Since liberalisation began in the 90s, things have started to improve. In India, Newsprint was subsidised and outside companies were allowed to invest. In the 1990's, print media once again underwent many changes. One of the most significant was the development of online news sources.

In light of the advancement of the internet, print media has significantly changed, and almost all newspapers are now available on online platforms so that they can be read on websites and smartphones. We can conclude that the print media in India has seen many phases and, in every phase, it has served its purpose successfully of awakening the masses.

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Encountering Western Audience Theory: Indian Pre-Independence Perspective

RENU SINGH1

ABSTRACT

In media studies, the audience plays a significant role. The audience is also understood as receivers. Receivers were treated as the masses or as the receivers of one way of messages in the early communication models. The treatment of the audience has been very different in India during the pre-independence period. The newspapers published in India, came out with the intention to enlighten the public and not to fool them or treat them as a market. The mass media in the west was the tool for propaganda while in India it was the propagation of ideas and voices of national leaders. This article proposes that as different treatments were given to receivers/audiences in different countries, there should be different types of mass communication models and theories applied in these countries. The article aims to understand the concept of audience in the Indian and Western Context and derive the pre-independence Indian Model of Communication.

Keywords: Audience, Receivers, Communication, Pre-Independence

Introduction

During the freedom struggle, newspapers were used as mouthpieces by national leaders. The freedom movement and social movements were led by political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Bhimrao Ambedkar through newspapers. Mahatma Gandhi's perspective on integrating society and respecting the lower castes and poor people can be seen in his newspaper Harijan. Thus, the treatment of receivers in the Indian context has been very different from the western perspective. The readers in India were not treated as passive receivers; rather they were the group that needed enlightenmentthey needed to learn the path of leading the freedom movement. The newspapers and pamphlets were the tools of information dissemination. The pamphlets that Bhagat Singh threw in the parliament carried the messages of patriotism, courage, and sacrifice. The event soon became the inspiration for the Indian freedom struggle. The political scenario in the west was quite different from India. The British ruled India, whereas the countries in the West dominated the world. As a result of the industrial revolution, the audience was treated as a market in the West. The message receivers were also the labour class that had migrated from villages in search of employment in the industries. The labour class was mostly young, less educated, and poor. It was believed that this working class can be directly influenced by the mass media. In the West, society was divided into two distinct classes - the ruling class and the working class. Mass media were used by the ruling class to achieve hegemony and power. But in India the political scenario was different. India was ruled by the British government and Indians were fighting for their freedom. The freedom fighters of India were using mass media as a tool to spread awareness to unite for their freedom struggle. Newspapers played an important role in uniting the country for the freedom movement. The then ruling government tried to strangulate the voices of freedom fighters by bringing strict press laws, censorship guidelines, etc. The initiatives to close newspaper offices or to imprison journalists and editors ignited the flame of the freedom struggle. Unlike the West, India is divided into castes and religions, and the pre-independence press played an important role in spreading awareness about untouchability, women's rights, Sati Pratha, child marriages, and widow marriages.

Western concept of audience

According to McQuail (2005) an audience can be defined in different and overlapping ways: by place, by people, by the particular type of medium or channel involved, by the content of its messages, and by the time. McQuail (2005) explains that "there are other ways of characterizing the different kinds of audience that have emerged with changing media and changing times". The origins of media audiences lie in public theatrical and musical performances, games and spectators of public events. Blumer (1939) exemplified the audience as a new form of collectivity known as "mass" that was different from the group, the

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crowd and the public. The mass audience was large, heterogenous and widely dispersed and its members did not and could not know each-other.

In 1833, Benjamin Day founded the New York Sun and introduced the concept of Penny Press. The cheap newspaper became popular with the working class audience. It used to be filled with sensational and flashy news. An article "Yellow Journalism: The "Fake News" of the 19th Century claimed that in the west the idea of increasing newspaper circulation became popular by providing the readers with exaggerated scandalous and sensational news. The news never used to be well researched; rather the focus was to catch the attention of readers with flashy headlines. Joseph Pulitzer bought The New York World in 1884 and increased its circulation by publishing sensational stories. In 1885, Pulitzer met his competitor when William Randolph Hearst acquired The New York Journal. There was fierce competition between them, and they both published scandalous and sensational stories to win the competition. This type of journalism became a bad example as other editors also believed that readers were more interested in vulgar and exaggerated news.

When the United States decided to jump into World War I, the then President Woodrow Wilson established the Committee on Public Information on April 13, 1917. First large-scale propaganda agency of the United States, the Committee on Public Information also known as Creel Committee was named after its chairman, George Creel (Neumann, n.d.). The Committee tried to reach each and every person of the country through innumerable copies of pamphlets, newspaper releases, magazine advertisements, films, school campaigns, and the speeches. It created colourful posters that appeared in every store window, catching the attention of the passer-by for a few seconds. It trained thousands of volunteer speakers to make patriotic appeals during the four-minute. They spoke at churches, lodges, fraternal organizations, labour unions, and even logging camps. The propaganda campaign run by the Committee was a huge success and within 26 months, from April 14, 1917, to June 30, 1919, the citizens of America were enthusiastically ready to participate in the War.

Walter Lippmann, who was regarded as the most influential journalist of the 20th century, believed that even if journalists did a better job of informing the public about important issues, citizens were too self-centered to care about public policy except news related to local issues. Lippmann did not believe in the fact that news and truth were synonymous. The

news according to him was subjective. It used to be the journalist's version of truth. Thus, the truth according to Lippmann were the pictures of truth painted in the minds of citizens. Walter Lippmann was also an influential commentator on mass society theory. In his first book, Public Opinion (1922), Lippmann said that mass man functioned as a "bewildered herd" who must be governed by "a specialized class whose interests reach beyond the locality." The elite class of intellectuals and experts were to be a machinery of knowledge to circumvent the primary defect of democracy, the impossible ideal of the "omnicompetent citizen". In his second book The Phantom Public (1925), Lippmann recognized that the class of experts were also, in most respects, outsiders to any particular problem, and hence not capable of effective action. But John Dewey, who was a prominent American scholar, philosopher and education and social reformer of the first half of the 20th century, didn't accept the views of Lippmann. In his famous book The Public and its Problems (1927), he opined that if the public became educated, started taking decisions and arrived at solutions to societal problems, they could form "Great Community".

Indian perspective

In India, the first newspaper to be published was The Hicky's Gazette. Even though it was the first newspaper, it was also a voice against oppression. It opposed the then British government. James Augustus Hicky was a strong critic of the administration of the governor General Warren Hastings. The newspaper was important for its provocative writing style. It argued for the rights of the poor and the right to taxation with representation, as well as taboo subjects. It was strongly anti-war and anti-colonial, regularly mocking East India Company leaders for their expansionism and imperialism.

The next remarkable newspaper was Sambad Kaumudi. It was a Bengali newspaper published from Kolkata by Raja Rammohan Roy. The newspaper is known for its editorials written against the sati pratha in Hindu custom. It also tried to enlighten the readers against the barbaric and inhuman custom that was being practiced by the society in those days. Amrit Bazar Patrika was an English daily newspaper. It also played a major role in the evolution and growth of Indian journalism and made a striking contribution to creating and nurturing the Indian freedom struggle. The Kesari was a Marathi newspaper founded on 4th Jan 1881 by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The newspaper constantly spoke about the Indian national movement. Tilak was imprisoned by the British

government for the charges of sedition as Tilak wrote about patriotism and Swaraj.

In the pre-independence period, Dr. Ambedkar believed Indian newspapers primarily covered the upper caste of society. He expressed his views in his newspaper Mooknayak and felt the need of more newspapers that could raise the issues of the rights of community belonging to the lower castes. The demands of Dr. Ambedkar also convinced Mahatma Gandhi to start the newspaper Harijan. Gandhi also believed India cannot succeed in its freedom struggle without addressing issues like social inequalities, casteism, untouchability, child marriages, and superstitions. Mahatma Gandhi wrote about social issues along with the freedom movement in his newspapers. Experiencing and interacting with people from every caste and class of society made him realize that freedom means nothing if women and men of every caste and religion don't have respect and rights. Thus, newspapers were not only the medium for freedom from the British government, but also the medium to fight against societal evils, such as casteism, economic inequalities, untouchability, child marriage, etc.

Analyzing communication model of India and western countries

As Walter Lippmann once said, the audience is not capable of making correct judgement, so they should be assisted in making their decisions. In the west, audience theory is viewed as the hegemony model, but in India media tools play a role in revolt, expression and enlightenment. The audience in India was not deceived by popular media tools. Their freedom fighters and social workers were the ones who created popular newspapers. The way we conceptualize the communication model has to do with how we treat the audience or receivers, since the audience is the most important element in the communication process. In Western countries, the communication system during World War II was based on the hypodermic needle theory. The Hypodermic Needle theory was a linear communication theory which suggested that a media message is injected directly into the brain of a passive, homogenous audience. It states that the media has a direct and powerful influence on audiences. It was developed in the 1920s and 1930s after researchers observed the effects of propaganda during World War I, and it dominated until the 1940s.

In India's freedom fighters, the people who sent the messages were also part of the society. While they came from different castes and religions, they were all ruled by the British government. Freedom fighters experienced the same oppression and subjugation as the rest of the community. They had direct interaction with the public through their speeches, meetings and direct interaction that enlightened them further. By publishing newspapers, they enlightened and empowered the Indian society to fight for their freedom. Readers of the messages were eager to read the messages from their leaders, discussed the ideas and issues in their public spheres, and became enlightened and mobilized for revolution.

Thus, in the western model of mass communication, the sender and receiver were from different classes. Mass media were used to send messages. As in India, both the sender and the recipient of messages were part of oppressed societies under British rule. As such, in the Pre-Independence model of Mass Communication, the sender is also a member of the receiver group that can either communicate directly with them or use mass media to inform them about their message.

Conclusion

Despite claiming to be a developed nation, the west sought to persuade their readers through propaganda and persuasion. In India, the newspapers published by Indians attempted to empower and enlighten their readers by spreading messages of patriotism, nationalism, social welfare and raising voices against the brutal government. Although Indian newspapers believed in public opinion, they were not the official mouthpiece of the government. Leaders who had traveled abroad or were well read were aware of human rights and freedom movements taking place in different countries. They sought to enlighten the public about these movements. The national leaders rose from all sectors of Indian society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy opposed barbaric practices in Hinduism like Sati Pratha. Dr. Ambedkar continuously wrote about caste divisions in Mook Nayak and Bahishkrut Bharat. He believed that national consciousness cannot be developed if we ignore the problem of casteism and untouchability. Journalism was considered a service to society by Mahatma Gandhi.

There were no advertisements in his newspaper. As a journalist, he believed that journalism should not be done for money or selfish profit, but should educate and enlighten people on societal and political issues. The political and social scenery in the East and West at the time of India's pre-independence were completely different: while America and Britain fought for control and hegemony, India fought for independence. In order to gain support from other nations, America and Britain were using propaganda to justify their

war strategy. While the media in the West worked for the benefit of governments and businesses, in India the media was a tool of national and local freedom fighters. Therefore, since newspapers were the voices of the common man, they were influential in forming public opinion in support of the freedom movement, which led to India's independence from the British Empire.

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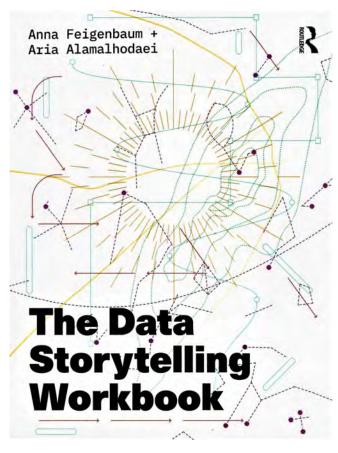
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The Data Storytelling Workbook



The Data Storytelling Workbook, 2020, 1st Edition, Publisher: Routledge (Taylor and Francis Group), New York and London, 246 pp., \$32.99 (Paperback) ISBN: 978-1-138-05211-6 Authors: Anna Feigenbaum and Aria Alamalhodaei

The Data Storytelling Workbook introduces key concepts, challenges and problem-solving strategies in the emerging field of data storytelling. This workbook offers interactive training materials for teaching and professional development that are filled with practical exercises and activities. With an approach that combines both data and storytelling in a broad sense, the book provides critical reflection and practical solutions that address challenges in the data storytelling process, from tracking down hard-to-find information, to the ethics of visualizing difficult subjects like death and human rights.

Recent developments in open and big data have opened up opportunities for re-use of information,

increased transparency, and new forms of civic participation in data analysis and communication. Alongside this, the digital transformations in communications have led to the increasing popularity of infographics, data visualizations, and the use of maps for representing data and communicating its significance. Although datasets and digital archives continue to grow and become more open, the collection, analysis, and communication of information remains challenging.

Responding to these recent changes, a wide range of industries and organizations, from academia to journalism, find themselves increasingly wanting to communicate more effectively and more empathetic with data. Therefore, more professionals are needed to engage with data in innovative ways. Likewise, an increased emphasis on visual communication techniques needed to create engaging infographics and maps has brought greater attention to the importance of visual storytelling for impacting audiences.

The earliest adopters of data storytelling today were probably journalists. It paved the way for data-driven storytelling on an international scale when the Guardian's data blog launched in 2009. As these early adopters have argued, while spreadsheets and data visualization tools allow us to discover stories, they do little to aid narrative communication of these findings to others (Segel & Heer, 2010). Another way of saying this is that a better-looking bar chart is not enough to effectively communicate information to audiences. Effective storytelling combines visual and narrative elements.

Researchers have found that storytelling is particularly important when visual presentation is used to make medical decisions. Beyond journalism, this strategy is increasingly used in health communications. Medical information is complex and dense, which makes data storytelling particularly effective.

The aim of authors is to focus on the human elements of what is in a dataset in order to be able to more clearly pinpoint what is at stake, and to communicate it effectively and empathetically to our audiences. It is also important to keep in mind that

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every dataset contains many possible stories. The main aim in this workbook is not to teach readers how to create one true story, or even how to develop the best story. But the focus of this workbook is to cultivate the mind-sets needed to become a better data storyteller.

The research steps researchers took to complete their project are often described in an academic article. The paper's structure explains how the conclusion was reached, showing the reader how it was reached. It is often likened to a recipe or road map. Writing a policy or report often involves presenting information in a convincing way, presenting the reasons for a set of proposals or guidelines.

Most often it is because the conventions of producing academic and policy documents shun writing that seems overly descriptive, evocative, or dramatic. Yet these are the essential ingredients of good storytelling. People sometimes presume that moving people must mean making stuff up or being too emotional. Reporting on research or policy is supposed to be stripped down. Most people want narratives, not just numbers. In other words, many of us want data humanism.

Among other practices, the authors advocate for visually communicating the complexity of data, sketching with data as part of the design process, capturing broader contexts and remembering that data-like people-in flawed.

A range of provisions for data storytelling development currently exist to teach students and professionals about data storytelling. There are online resources (Google tutorials, web scrapers, Stack Exchange), introductory classes (Guardian Master Classes, CIJ Summer School software training (Excel, Tableau). Even when people are able to attend training classes online and offline, skill development and retention is difficult without regular engagement. Like learning a language, without the ability to practice everyday conversation, skills get lost. Trainers find that the same people are attending their introductory classes each year (Stoneman, 2017) and people report that the daily demands of their jobs, limited support

structures, and a lack of confidence inhibit their ability to advance their data skills (Demirkoll, *et al.*, forthcoming).

In developing data storytelling education, the goal is to balance truth, accuracy, and transparency with engaging narratives. At the same time, it is crucial that we educate ourselves and the next generation not just to tell data stories, but to tell them responsibly. Similarly, in public and third sector organizations, there is often little-if any resources of time available for professional development in data storytelling.

Authors of this workbook introduce basic concepts of visual and narrative storytelling and show how they can help you communicate data in new ways. It also covers some of the foundational terminology and concepts in data and data visualization as well as mapping, highlighting our story-telling framework throughout by bringing together practitioner voices from a range of different sectors, from rural cartography to human rights advocacy. In this workbook, we explore the different practices and techniques contemporary data storytellers employ.

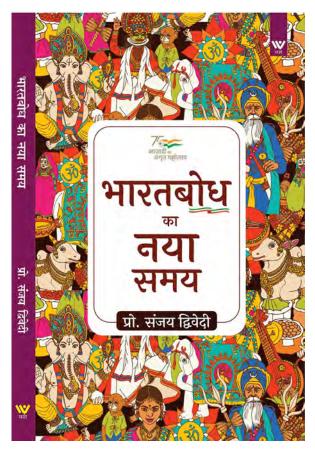
Many of the examples in this workbook are based on work produced and done by the authors with their collaborators. Health advocacy, environmental advocacy, human rights advocacy, and other community advocacy are examples. According to a practical perspective, the workbook contains three main types of content: key concepts, spotlights, and activities.

Transdisciplinary data storytelling is a field that is informed by hundreds of years of practice and theoretical reflection. The process of selecting what to include usually results in key-board paralysis after hours of staring at the content spreadsheet and hitting delete row and insert row. Overall, the workbook seems like a helpful storytelling book.

Prof. (Dr.) Virender Kumar Bharti Head, Department of Publications IIMC, New Delhi vkbharti.iimc@gmail.com 96 Communicator LVII (1)



Geographical boundaries dissolve when we talk about people



Bharatbodh ka Naya Samay 2022, 1st Edition, Publisher: Yash Publications, New Delhi, 224 pp., Rs. 399/- (Paperback) ISBN: 978-9385696893

Authors: Prof. Sanjay Dwivedi

The concept of nationhood has been the subject of much discussion and debate these days. When India celebrates 75th anniversary of its independence, it is important to reflect on the realization of India from a new perspective. Generally, a nation is not only a geographical entity, but consists of three components - Geography - Culture - People. When a nation is made up of these three elements, which is the most important? It would have to be "the people". As such, the vibration of humanity, the well-being of the people, should be the most important attribute of any nation. Geographical boundaries dissolve when we talk about people. From the perspective of spirituality, all human beings are one. All the saints, spiritual leaders and psychologists also believe that the humanity of the

whole world is bound by a particular emotion. The book titled *Bharat Bodh ka Naya Samay* by Professor Sanjay Dwivedi addresses these relevant issues.

There are 34 chapters in the book which covers different contemporary issues. Its title is also the first chapter of the book. It mentions that we are all one because of this universal unconscious. In this sense, Swami Vivekananda said that India is not a root geographical unit. It is rather an animated geographical entity that is not limited by borders or military forces. Indian nationalism is rooted in human expansion and development. In India, it is known as Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam. Indian nationalism entails understanding that the people of the whole world belong to one family. In this way, nationalism emphasizes cultural values, humanistic values, and symbolizes the expansion of cultural unity. The state-created geo-administrative units do not hold a prominent place in our Indian concept. Our culture, values, traditions, and consciousness make us a nation.

In chapter two, the author examines the idea that slavery is not an economic but rather a cultural issue. The author is concerned with the inferiority complex among people of the new age concerning their culture. According to the author, our modern ills are the result of medieval struggles, and that ancient glory should once again prevail. The renaissance is needed to decode our ancient knowledge.

On the occasion of *Amrit Mahotsav*, which celebrates 75 years since Indian independence, the author gratefully recalls the great tradition of preceptors. In this chapter, not only are some of the great men and movements featured as part of the freedom struggle, but those who were true *Lok Nayaks*, whose all battles and martyrdoms were for the country as well, have also been compared.

There is also a chapter that discusses the Supreme Court's historic decision to allow construction of the Ram temple at Ayodhya. Despite political insistence, the author believes it would have been great if this problem had been solved by mutual understanding. Other topics discussed in the book include the relationship between teachers and students, as well as the inability of technology to replace teachers.

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According to the author, there are no such things as students or teachers as consumers or service providers.

The author notes in another chapter that it is important that the media's vision be for the welfare of society. The integral human philosophy espoused by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay is the most essential philosophy for this new time. Another chapter not only propounds the global importance of *Yoga* but also draws attention to the world's need for best *Yoga Gurus*.

Further, the author discusses the contribution of India's culture, which rests on the foundation of the joint family. As he expands his family beyond his close relatives to encompass the whole environment, a concept called *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* or the Global Village becomes clearer in the mind of the readers. The author examines the quest of the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, to become a *Jannayak*, and discusses the power of his rhetoric, body language, and public discourse, in another chapter dedicated to him.

A chapter begins with the motto of the first Hindi newspaper, 'Udant Martand'. Unless there is gratitude towards our caste tradition, Hindi journalism will not have anything to be proud of, argues the author. A chapter on ethics in Journalism talks about the neglect of rural journalism and how rural journalism seems to be dwarfed by the smallest of news stories from film

actresses and actors.

In a chapter on hundred years of media education, the author has apprised about the condition and direction of media education in the last one century. In *Mission Karmayogi*, he states that it is a new experiment of its kind in the direction of capacity building of officers and employees. The country needs the best civil servants, and this is the first time that it is talking about skill development of government servants.

In addition to these chapters, the author also includes his thoughts on inspirational personalities of India such as Swami Vivekananda, Madhavrao Sapre, Mahatma Gandhi, Madanmohan Malviya, Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Vir Savarkar, and Dr. Shayam Prasad Mukherjee, to name a few.

As a whole, this book presents a summary of how Indianness is a crucial dimension of our nationalism. Thus, the idea of India is not an idea of aggression, of violence, or of totalitarianism. The culture emphasizes renunciation, praising superiors, and honoring scholars, as the author explains.

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Infuse Originality into Indian Education System: Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi

Seminar organised on birth centenary of Gandhian thinker Dharampal

"Science needs to be simplified if India wants to regain the status of *Vishwaguru*. Subjects like Science and Technology need to be connected with examples from everyday life". Former Union Minister Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi delivered these remarks at the Dharampal Centenary Seminar organised by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) and the Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai. The seminar marked the birth centenary of noted Gandhian thinker and freedom fighter Dharampal.

Dr. Joshi emphasized the need to focus on originality in the Indian education system. In order for the students to learn the topics properly, he urged teachers to speak in simple terms. "Every year teachers should try something new to incorporate creativity into their lectures. Then they will be able to transform 'India' into 'Innovative India'. Dharampal Ji enlightened youth through his articles and literature and now it is time for India to understand itself. The world will understand India once it understands itself," he said, adding that all archival evidence about ancient

India should be collected from British Archives in a systematic manner.

The discussion was attended by Prof. Francis X. Clooney, Harvard University; Prof. K. Vijay Raghavan, Principal Scientific Adviser to the Government of India; Shri Rambahadur Rai, President of Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts; Shri S. Gurumurthy, Editor of 'Thuglak'; Prof. M.K. Sridhar, Member, National Education Policy Drafting Committee; Prof. Ashok Jhunjhunwala, IIT Chennai; Shri Pawan Gupta, Founder Director, Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas, Mussoorie; Prof. K.V. Varadarajan, former Professor at Vivekananda College, Chennai; Prof. Geeta Dharampal, well-known historian and daughter of Dharampal; T.M. Mukundan, eminent Yogacharya; Prof. Sanjay Dwivedi, Director General, IIMC; Prof. M. D. Srinivas, President, Centre for Policy Studies and Dr. J. K. Bajaj, Director, Centre for Policy Studies.

A Divinity Professor at Harvard University, Francis X. Clooney stated that Dharampal ji sought

through his books to explain that when the system and the process of development are compatible with the Indian psyche and vision, only then there will be public participation in this process. Dharampal ji's writings and life provide important insights into Sanatan Dharma and traditions. Dharampal saw things in totality. This led him to have a profound understanding of India and the West, as evidenced by his book *Bharatiya*, *Chitta*, *Manas*, *and Kala*.

Shri Rambahadur Rai, President of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, described Panchayati Raj as a cornerstone of Indian culture. "Dharampal ji wrote a book on this topic. The book tells people that the entire governance system should be based on *Gram Swaraj*, imagining the *Sanatan* traditions of India. "India's reconstruction must also be built on this foundation," he said.

According to Professor K. Vijay Raghavan, we need to train a new generation of teachers and students who can identify and solve problems using modern techniques. Science should be taken to the highest level globally, and have a positive impact on society.

Professor M. K. Shridhar notes that the ancient Indian education system that existed before the British arrival was extremely prosperous. In this book *The Beautiful Tree*, the subjects that were included in the National Education Policy are also outlined. Provisions such as the spread of folklore and equality in the field of education were present even in ancient India. Dharampal Ji has cited them with evidence in his book, he said.

S. Gurumurthy believes that it is necessary to evaluate the social contribution of Dharampal today. His contributions to Indian education and his role in challenging colonialism should be re-evaluated.

Prof. Geeta Dharampal, a noted historian and daughter of Dharampal, said that Dharampal ji followed the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi by removing obstacles between the country's identity and security after independence. For building a new India, Professor Ashok Jhunjhunwala of IIT Chennai emphasized the importance of reading the books by Dharampal. Today, there is a need for innovation, but

the focus is on 'copy paste', something that needs to be avoided.

'Satyagraha' is derived from the unbreakable union of truth and nonviolence, according to Yogcharya Shri T. M. Mukundan. This thought is the inspiration behind the entire life of Dharampal . He also explained what Dharampal Ji believed about civil disobedience and *satyagraha*. Dharampal was trying to understand India's public throughout his journey, according to Pawan Gupta, founder director of Society for Integrated Development of Himalayas, Mussoorie.

Former professor of Vivekananda College, Chennai, Prof. K.V. Varadarajan said anyone born after Mahatma Gandhi's practice of Swaraj in India must have had some connection to Gandhi. Dharampal was one of them. Throughout his life, he sought to understand the common man and the folk culture.

Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, Dr. J.K. Bajaj, said more such activities are needed to bring to light Dharampal's service to society and the values he established. Prof. Sanjay Dwivedi, DG IIMC, said that Dharampal's research and documents show that India was a global leader before Britishers encroached on our culture. The most remarkable aspect of Dharampal's philosophy was that he viewed India from an Indian perspective, rather than from an English perspective. Chairman of Centre for Policy Studies Prof. M.D. Srinivas stressed the need to spread the thoughts of Dharampal to the new generation through modern means of communication, as his thoughts define the Indian education system from a new and positive perspective.

Prof. (Dr.) Sangeeta Pranvendra, Head of Community Radio, Information Technology and Social Media at IIMC, moderated the seminar. The vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. (Dr.) Pramod Kumar, Head of Outreach Department.

-Ankur Vijayvargiya Associate, Public Relations, IIMC, New Delhi 100 Communicator LVII (1)

AUTHORS' GUIDELINES =

Articles having the following sequence will be considered for publication in the Journal:

- Title, Name(s) of author(s), complete postal address(es) of affiliations (place where work was conducted).
- Present address(es) of author(s) if applicable;
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- Abstract (not more than 250 words)
- Keywords (indexing terms), normally 5-6 items.
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- Review of literature
- Research objectives
- Research questions
- Research methodology
- Findings and analysis
- Conclusion
- Acknowledgements
- References

OTHER IMPORTANT ITEMS

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Authors are required to submit high-resolution images, preferably with the initial submission but no later than revision stage. Electronic images (figures and graphs) must be at a minimum resolution of 600 dpi. for line drawings (black and white) and 300 dpi and for colour or greyscale. Colour figures must be supplied in CMYK not RGB colours.

- File Format: A number of different file formats are acceptable, including: Tagged Image File Format (.tiff), Joint Photographic Experts Group (.jpg), Portable Network Graphics (.png), Microsoft Word (.doc), and Excel (.xls) Portable Document Format (PDF) files are not accepted.
- 3. **Tables** (clearly labeled with its table number and caption).
- 4. Figure (clearly labeled with its figure number and caption). Send separate files for all figures and tables.
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The IIMC reserves the right to retain the submitted manuscripts and illustrations which are not in proper formats as per the guidelines stipulated by the IIMC.

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The manuscript of the paper starts with the TITLE. It should be short, specific and informative. It should be phrased to identify the content of the article and include the nature of the study, and technical approach, which is essential for key-word indexing and information retrieval. Title should be as brief as possible, and include the species involved in the research when applicable. Abbreviations are not permitted in the title.

In addition, a SHORT TITLE not exceeding 50 letters should be provided separately for running headlines.

The BYLINE should contain, in addition to the names and initials of the authors, the place where research was conducted. Naming an author on a paper implies that the person named is aware of the research reported and agrees with and accepts responsibility for any results or conclusions reported. The address of the institution should include the name of the institution, city, country and pin code. When a paper has several authors from different institutions, key the author to the address with superscript Arabic numerals and present the additional addresses as footnotes at the bottom of the page, e.g. Present address: Give designation, present address of all the authors and email of corresponding author.

¹Designation, Division of... (¹email of first author); ²Designation, Division of... (if second author is from different division), ³Designation, Division of... (if the author is from different place).

2. Abstract

The ABSTRACT, written in complete sentences, should not have more than 250 words. It should contain a very brief account of the materials, methods, results, discussion and conclusion. The abstract should summarize pertinent results in a brief but understandable form. The abstract should start with a clear statement of the objectives of the study and must conclude with one or two sentences that highlight important conclusions. "An abstract is defined as an abbreviated accurate representation of the contents of a document, preferably prepared by its author(s) for publication with it. Such abstracts are also useful in access [abstracting] publications and machine-readable databases".

3. Key words

At the end of the abstract, Key-words are to be listed in five to six keywords that best describe the nature of

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the research. Because major words in the title are not used in the subject index, appropriate words from the title (or synonyms) should be listed as keywords.

4. Introduction

It should be brief and limited to the statement of the importance of the study, problem or the aim of the experiment. And may briefly justify the research and specify the hypotheses to be tested. The review of literature should be pertinent to the problem.

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A literature review pertaining to the specific area of research investigation should be selected like the surveys of books, scholarly articles, newspapers, social media and any other relevant sources fora particular issue, area of research, or theory, and by doing so, provides a description, summary, and critical evaluation of these works.

6. Research objectives

The research objectives are to be described concisely and should focus on what the research is trying to achieve. Objectives of the research should be in view of latest references.

7. Research questions

The questions should focus towards specific questions to be answered or predictions based on the hypotheses to be tested.

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This includes experimental design, sampling and the techniques employed. All modifications of procedures must be explained. Experimental materials and statistical models should be described clearly and fully. Calculations and the validity of deductions made from them should be checked and validated.

9. Findings (Results) and analysis

Findings and Analysis should preferably be combined to avoid repetition.

Results should be presented in tabular form and graphs when feasible but not both. Mean result with the relevant standard errors should be presented rather than detailed data. The data should be so arranged that the tables would fit in the normal layout of the page.

Self-explanatory tables should be typed on separate sheets and carry appropriate titles. The tabular matter should not exceed 20% of the text. Any abbreviation used in a table must be defined in table. Paginate the tables in series with the text at

appropriate place. All tables should be cited in the text. If an explanation is necessary, use an abbreviation in the body of the table (e.g. ND) and explain clearly in footnotes what the abbreviation means. References to footnotes in a table are specified by superscript numbers, independently for each table.

The text should explain or elaborate on the tabular data, but data should not be repeated extensively within the text. Sufficient data, all with some index of variation attached, should be presented to allow the reader to interpret the results of the experiment.

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The discussion should interpret the results clearly and concisely. Discussion should relate to the limitations or advantage of the author's experiments /survey/ interview in comparison with the work of others. Authors must obtain permission to reproduce any copyright material, and include an acknowledgement of the source in their Article. They should be aware that the unreferenced use of the published and unpublished ideas, writing or illustrations of others, or submission of a complete paper under a new authorship in a different or the same language, is plagiarism.

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Conclusion section should not be of more than one paragraph after the discussion and explain in general terms the implications of findings of this research. Abbreviations, acronyms, or citations should not be used. Though some speculation is permitted, this section should also caution the reader against overextrapolation of results. For manuscripts with direct applications, this section will consist of an interpretive summary. If results have no implications, this should also be stated.

12. References

References should conform to the stylistic guidelines of the Publication Manual of the *American Psychological Association* (APA) 6th edition (Refer: www.apastyle.org/).

A recent issue of the journal should be consulted for the methods of citation of References in the text as well as at the end of the article. Reference citations in the text are typed as follows: Black (2006) or (Black, 2007); Dickerson et al., (2011) or (Dickerson et al., 2015); Smith and Jones (2017) or (Smith & Jones, 2018).

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References examples to be followed by the author:

Author(s), (date of publication). Title. Journal title (full name and in italics) Volume number (italic) Issue Number (regular), first page- last page. < to be ended by period>

Reese, S. D.& Ballinger, J. (2001). The Roots of a Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 78(4), p. 641-658. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jmq

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Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (Date of publication). Title of article in sentence case: Capitalize first word of subtitle. Title of Journal in Mixed Case and Italics, volume number in italics(issue number in brackets), first page-last page. doi:10..xxx/yyyyy

Example:

Reese, S. D., & Ballinger, J. (2001). The Roots of Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 78(4), p. 641-658. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900107800402

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Example:

Reese, S. D., & Ballinger, J. (2001). The Roots of a Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 78(4), p. 641-658. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jmq

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Dillard, J. P. (2020). Currents in the study of persuasion. In M. B. Oliver, A. A. Raney, & J. Bryant (Eds.), Media effects: Advances in theory and research (4th ed., pp. 115–129). London: Routledge.

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2) Alternatively, the citation may be integrated into the sentence with a signal phrase and narrative: Sisler (2014) reported the amount of time allowed before declaring cardiac death is considerably less in the U.S. (para. 9-11).

REFERENCE LIST

Author, A. A. (Year, Month Day). Title of article in sentence case. Title of Newspaper in Mixed Case and Italics. Page number

Example

Constantine, Z. (2010, June 15). UAE efforts on human trafficking 'significant': US State Department removes country from watch list. The National.pp. 1, 5.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE FROM A WEBSITE

Author, A. A. (Year, Month Day). Title of article in sentence case. Title of Newspaper or News Website in Mixed Case and Italics. Retrieved from http://www.newspaper.com

Example

Constantine, Z. (2010, June 15). UAE efforts on human trafficking 'significant': US State Department removes country from watch list. The National. Retrieved from https://www.thenational.ae/uae/uae-efforts-on-human-trafficking-significant-1.486936

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Reference list

Title of article in sentence case. (Year, Month Day). Title of Newspaper in Mixed Case and Italics. Page number

Example:

FB knew about malicious Russian activity in 2014. (2018, November 28). The Hindu.p. 12.

Newspaper Article Froma Website

Title of article in sentence case. (Year, Month Day). Title Newspaper in Mixed Case and Italics.Retrieved from http://www.newspaper.com

Example:

Facebook adds 5 new partners to fact-checking network in India. (2019, February 12). The Sentinel. Retrieved from https://www.sentinelassam.com/national-news/facebook-adds-5-new-partners-to-fact-checking-network-in-india/?infinitescroll=1

WEBSITE REFERENCE

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Reference list

Author, A. A. (Date of publication). Title of web page in sentence case. Retrieved from http://website.com/

Example:

Hern, A. (2017, April 25). Science and Technology. Retrieved from https://www.theguard.com

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5. Proof-correction should be in Track Change mode. All queries marked in the article should be answered. Proofs are supplied for a check-up of the correctness of type-setting and facts. Excessive alteration in the proofs is not allowed. The proofs should be returned within 3 days.

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Director General of the institute, Professor Sanjay Dwivedi, unveiled the revised logo of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) on January 14, 2022. On this occasion Additional Director General Shri Ashish Goyal, Head of Publications Department Professor (Dr.) Virendra Kumar Bharti, Dean (Students Welfare) Professor (Dr.) Pramod Kumar and Library In-charge Dr. Pratibha Sharma along with other officers and employees were present.

Unveiling the revised logo, Professor Dwivedi said that the IIMC logo was designed in the year 1966, but till now it did not include the tagline and the name of the institute. The revised logo carries the tagline "Aa no bhadra: kratavo yantu vishwatah" which means "Let noble thoughts come to me from all directions", along with the name of IIMC. The revised logo was approved in the 145th meeting of the IIMC Executive Council held under the chairmanship of Mr. Apoorva Chandra, Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and Chairman of the Institute.

The modified logo will be used in all kind of advertising and marketing materials such as books, magazines, reports, websites, social media, visiting cards, etc. A "Guidelines for the usage of IIMC Logo" having detailed instructions on various components like logo size for various publications and other instructions have also been published and are available on IIMC website.

ABOUT 'COMMUNICATOR' JOURNAL

Launched in 1965, Communicator is a peer reviewed journal of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) that publishes original research on Communications. The flagship journal of the IIMC endeavours to publish the best literature available in the field of communications and its related branches for the greater benefit of scholars, practitioners and policy-makers. It is the oldest communications journal published from India. The Communicator also has a book review section. In order to maintain its high standard of scholarship, Communicator follows a rigorous procedure of blind peer review. The main aim of Communicator Journal is to focus on communication theory, research, policy and practice. It is especially interested in research which is interdisciplinary and based on the experience of South Asia and other developing countries. This UGC-CARE listed Journal is published on quarterly basis. 'Communicator' journal is now being indexed in the Indian Citation Index.

The Communicator Journal includes the following category of papers for publications:

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- Critical Research review: These review articles besides containing introduction, exclusive review of literature, must point out
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- Book Reviews: Communicator also has a book review section. Reviews of books published on journalism and mass communication and related subjects can be submitted (Word limit: 1500) for publication. However, reviews of books published on other nomenclatures such as social sciences and humanities, social work, anthropology, art, etc. can also be sent if their title is related to media study or at least 40 percent of their content is related to media, mass media or journalism or related subject. Book reviews should be sent along with their complete details such as publisher, year, price, page number etc.

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