

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

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

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# Journal of Media and Social Development

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

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# *A Critique* Gutenberg to Arab Spring: A Journey of Media Evolution

**N. USHA RANI**

## **Abstract**

*Mass communication transformed the experience of human communication from simple linear mode to complex nonlinear process. The era of mass communication produced mass media like newspapers and magazines to serve the humanity that not only spread literacy and expanded knowledge but also influenced politics and business structures thus wielding enormous power in the society. There is enough evidence in the history to believe the extensive use of mass media like radio and cinema as tools of political propaganda by governments across the world. The migration of news from traditional bastion to non linear social media territory influenced civil society movements in both democracies and totalitarian regimes. Of course, social media did not cause Arab Spring but it changed the social order and broke the media stereotype and gave an impetus to journalism. Journalism across the globe was able to capture its lost sheen due to social media's entry into news. Journalism is not going to die but media are crucial in distribution and consumption of news. It is a matter of grave concern that if business interests marginalize journalism in the digital era it will be a sad day in the history of journey from Guttenberg to Arab Spring.*

**Key Words:** Arab Spring, Guttenberg, Media Control, New Media, Propaganda, Mass Communication

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## **INTRODUCTION: THE ERA OF MASS COMMUNICATION**

The birth of mass communication is a milestone in the history of human civilization that left indelible mark in the society changing the lives of people for ever. Mass communication transformed the experience of human communication from simple linear mode to complex nonlinear process. The era of mass communication began with the invention of printing press that widened the horizon of knowledge through modernized means of distribution of information.

Johann Gutenberg, a German goldsmith invented the movable types and printed the first ever book in 1440 that shaped the future of publishing industry in the world. Knowledge which was the prerogative of the selected few in the pre printing era suddenly came within the reach of common people owing to mass production of books. News books and pamphlets, the forerunners of modern newspaper got an impetus with the invention of printing press. The urge to express one's opinion on public issues in public interest prompted publishers to promote newspapers as early as 17<sup>th</sup> century. Newspaper gained immediate public acceptance in the society as it tried to establish affinity with institutions like society, government, religion and business. The early newspapers integrated business with public service establishing the crucial role of advertising in newspaper economy by 19<sup>th</sup> century. Two vital factors attributed to the emergence of newspaper as a powerful mass media are the invention of telegraph (1844) and telephone (1876). Technological intervention gradually changed the social order influencing behavior and attitude of the people thus prompting sociologists to revisit the human communication process.

The society of pre industrial era was feudalistic and traditional with low levels of literacy and limited choice of livelihood suffered from stringent social norms and high rate of poverty and low growth rate. With the rise of industrialization, the social, economic and cultural factors changed leading to social mobility and formation of urban societies. The presence of newspapers during greater social transformation shaped the lives of the people in new urban communities. The era of mass communication produced mass media like newspapers and magazines to serve the humanity that not only spread literacy and expanded knowledge but also influenced politics and business structures thus wielding enormous power in the society.

Twentieth century saw the arrival of radio immediately after World War I and the political circumstances obviously expanded its agenda. Radio was the culmination of innovations with wireless telegraph and radio telephone that propelled Guglielmo Marconi from Italy to establish telecommunications empire, the American Marconi Company. The larger utility of radio and telegraph in military and business establishments saw the expansion of broadcast media by leaps and bounds. Radio was shaped as medium of mass communication by business companies who invested huge funds for commercial interests in the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Public embraced the only aural medium, the radio, the medium of sound with curiosity and joy owing to its novelty and simplicity. Radio was modeled on the lines of newspaper to disseminate news as politicians and government saw a powerful tool in radio to propagate their ideas and reach public. Within a short span of its existence, radio was also taken over by powerful totalitarian regimes headed by the likes of Adolf Hitler. Radio gained immense popularity in Europe and USA as a means of propaganda with political movements of different hues and shades

using it to gain public acceptance of their political ideologies.

During World War I even democracies like USA controlled radio and banned radio operations by the public and were unsuccessfully challenged by radio companies against the censorship illustrating the supremacy of radio as a powerful means of mass communication. Both Americans and Germans used radio to garner public support to the global battle. Germans led by Hitler propounded Nazi propaganda to the people through programs and speeches broadcast over radio. A true mass media like radio had a reach of 9 million households in Germany and 28 million households in USA during 1938-39. There was forceful marketing of radio sets by Germans for propagating Nazi's ideologies to the masses and they succeeded in reaching the people right in the comfort of their homes. Americans used nationalist programs and social messages over radio to win public support to the war. Most nations in the world took part in World War II and intriguingly both democracies and totalitarian regimes firmly believed in using radio as a means of war propaganda.

The mass medium like radio provided an opportunity for the nations to gain public control and influence social change. Radio developed as a medium of political and sports news generating huge advertising revenue threatening newspapers by cutting into their circulation and advertising revenue. A military coup anywhere in the world also meant taking over the national radio stations to establish complete control over the nation speaks volumes of the perception of the power of radio in the good part of pre and post modernization period.

Radio undisputably became a medium of news of the common man but was controlled by the elites in politics and business. Radio competed with newspaper to earn a berth in the realm of news media

as conservatives in newspapers were skeptical about the radio defending virtues of press freedom against the business and entertainment interests. Ironically, newspapers were initiated into journalism by the innovations of telegraph and telephone. Radio had excelled as a business enterprise rather than as a medium with a missionary zeal to protect and serve public interest unlike newspaper. The golden era of radio began in 1930 posing threat to music and newspaper industries. News broadcast posed a serious peril to the existence of newspapers with radio news being heard and distributed fast round the clock earning more advertising revenue threatened the closure of newspapers. Overcoming the barriers of illiteracy and geographical boundaries radio could reach more people than newspapers and therefore gained an upper hand and established closer affinity with government and business establishments. Radio swiftly captured the masses and influenced the media listening habits with innovative program formats earning huge advertising support. Interestingly, newspapers recovered from the onslaught of radio by 1950s as the visual media like Cinema and Television made inroads into mass audience held by radio.

Nevertheless, the power to reach illiterates and mass audience consisting of haves and have nots on equal footing with news, information, education and entertainment in the simplest cost effective medium prompted the nations to control radio. Even today, most of the nations including largest democracy like India continues to control radio by banning private radio from broadcasting news.

The era of visual media that began in 1948 influenced social, economic and political changes in most of the nations in Europe, USA and Asia in the greater part of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Television, a technological marvel is the culmination of many inventions of mechanical and

electronic scanning and picture tubes. The growth and impact of television, as a major source of news and entertainment, surpassed the reach of newspaper and radio and earned enormous advertising support never seen in the history of mass media. Post World War II saw the rise of television as the most powerful mass media making inroads into every aspect of content dabbled by print media and radio posing huge challenge to the conventional media. Newspapers felt threatened and radio listenership declined due to the onslaught of television. Unable to bear the competition, news media forged hands together and the era of cross media ownership among newspapers, radio and television began as early as 1960s. Cross media ownership was criticized for encouraging greater media control by few media monarchs and working against the citadels of free press.

The swift expansion of television since 1960s caused social change posing challenges to sociologists and psychologists. The technological advancement of television to show news and sports live coupled with high quotient of entertainment placed the medium several notches above all the mass media transforming it as a single dominant force generating theories, models and research on mass communication. Television news basking in the glory of golden age assumed significance in reporting public affairs influencing politics, governance and civil rights movements for over four decades (1950-90s) in nations like USA and Europe. Of course the rise of television led to the decline of radio but newspaper asserted its supremacy as a primary source of credible news. Nonetheless its circulation gradually declined in USA and Europe by the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is interesting to record that both newspapers and television emerged as dominant but distinct and independent mass media disseminating news unlike radio complimenting each other in their news coverage. Despite the

unprecedented popularity of TV, newspapers scored over visual media with their historic investigative story on 'Watergate scandal' causing the President of USA Richard Nixon in 1974 to quit in ignominy. Both media pursued investigative journalism with commitment and perseverance upholding journalistic responsibilities during the latter part of 20<sup>th</sup> century causing political upheavals in many nations.

The media content of 80s underwent a sea change focusing more on objectification of women in ads and tv programs. Heavy dosage of sex, drugs, violence and obscenity in films raised debate on media effects on women, youth and children. The government, public, civil society and academic researchers blamed television especially MTV, Hollywood films, soap operas and gambling shows for eroding tradition, culture and value system in the society. Television was branded as an evil medium causing negative influence on the mass audience. The unbridled power and freedom enjoyed by television came under government scanner and one section of society wanted media control to check the so called malicious influence of television. There were two schools of thought, one advocated media control and the other believed in liberal media supported by empirical studies that proved 'media have minimal effects because these effects are mitigated by variety of intervening variables' (Lazarsfeld, 1944 & 1955). Unfortunately, governments across the world believed in either direct or indirect media control and used them to further their political agenda and they continue to do so.

Newspapers, telegraph, radio and cinema wielded immense influence on government, business and masses in pre liberalization era. In the absence of any credible means of communication, media proved resourceful for information on politics and religion besides educating and entertaining masses that had migrated from traditional

protected communities to newly formed urban societies where living isolated life transformed their social relationships forever. These media changed social order, influenced culture and value system prompting media critics to advocate mass society theory based on totalitarianism branding mass media as means to create social problems.

There is enough evidence in the history to believe the extensive use of mass media like radio and cinema as tools of political propaganda by governments across the world. The premise that radio and cinema can connect with masses led to the belief that media need to be controlled directly or indirectly and every government in power or wanting to capture power perceived media as agents of propaganda. German cinema from 1927-1945 was derailed by Hitler's obsession with cinema leading to its stringent control and regulation. Nationalist films were made during this period with propaganda centric theme advocating Hitler and Nazism succeeding in influencing Germans. Cinema, a medium of art was manipulated by shortsighted policy of the governments undermining the aesthetics and creative elements. Cinema on socialism or communism was seen from the political prism dictating content, style and structure to one of the most liberated media of creative expression in the history. The government's interest to peddle its messages and its policy to use the medium to solve the social problems changed the public perception of cinema.

## **BIRTH OF NEW MEDIA ERA**

The traditional mass media were caught off the guard with the sudden challenges of technology by the fag end of 20<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century marking the rise of 'Digital Era'. Bill Gates said in 2004, 'Convergence doesn't happen until you have everything in a digital form that the consumer can easily use on all the different

devices' (Cited in Baran & Davis, 2007). Gates prediction made in 2007 that all forms of news media, newspapers, TV and radio will ultimately converge onto one medium, the Internet (Boriss, 2007) has come true in 2013. Industry and academia have realized its implications, 'Internet is the present and future and therefore the convergence is the present and future. I do not want to invest money on old ways of distribution of media products' (Kenney, 2007).

Technically print, broadcast/ radio and television no longer exists as independent entities as technology has changed their identity. Interactive technologies have paved the way for multiple-platform publishing and integrated journalism. Media convergence has integrated media delivery platforms where the resources of a newspaper are used to bolster the content of other media and vice versa. Convergence is all about change in mindset than about technology. 'An understanding of convergence is an understanding that the way people consume news has changed profoundly....news organizations have to realize that their audiences have changed and media consumption pattern have changed.....stories are told differently in different media' (Covington,2007). Convergence has changed the way journalism is practiced and delivered. Technically, 'convergence is what takes place in the newsroom as the editorial staff works together to produce multiple products for multiple platforms to reach a mass audience with interactive content on a 24x7 basis. Anything less is not journalism convergence' (Quinn, 2005). Branded as multi-platform reporting, convergence takes all new kinds of new media ranging from websites to cell phones to blogs and to ipods. It is the marriage of traditional conventional media and the new media. Technically, it is the convergence of video, sound, printed text, music, graphics, animation and still photo in digital form with interactivity features.

The convergence got visibility with the US media company, the Media General, establishing a model of media convergence, the mother of all convergence by bringing together WFLA-TV at Tampa enjoying large TV market, Tampa Tribune- the newspaper and the Tampa Bay Online (TBO) - the online site, under one common roof in March 2000 ( Tompkins and Colon 2000). WFLA News Director Dan Bradley's statement that all the three media would 'share their journalism minute-to-minute, 24hrs a day, every day' ( Ibid ) heralded the arrival of new brand of journalism but posed new challenges to media management. TV, print and online media were brought under one roof in Tampa-Tribune model of convergence with a first of its kind converged news facility set up at a cost of \$ 40 million in 121,000 square-foot space to facilitate the new kind of media bonding (Ibid).

To support establishment of convergence media, a state of art convergence news centre- Newsplex came up in November 2002 at a cost of \$ 2.5 million by World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WANIFRA), renowned as the world's first convergence newsroom facility at the University of South Carolina, Columbia in USA showing how media landscape was changing with multiple delivery platforms. Newsplex is a convergence training facility with opulent state of art 12-seat newsroom imparting training to journalists and academicians in convergence. Journalists from different parts of the world visit and receive training in convergence at Newsplex. Randy Covington, the Director of Newsplex says 'it is a training facility...It is not the physical facility. We are talking about Newsplex in terms of philosophy of convergence. What really important is that the philosophy, the concept behind it. We are not putting out the newspaper, we are not trying to put TV newscast but rather we are trying to figure out how to cover the story for different media in a

way that is most effective for each media' ( Covington 2007).

Establishment of Tampa, the convergent newsroom and Newsplex, the convergent training facility in the early part of 21<sup>st</sup> century led to much greater recognition of convergence.

The media saw the emergence of a new brand of news consumer, who consumed news from converged media by choice and who could not be described as a listener, reader, viewer or browser because he converged different consumption patterns. The recent trends show most of the conventional newspapers including New York Times are using the opportunity to launch new social media feed like Twitter to provide access to breaking news with editors to live tweet stories establishing the migration of news to social media. In 2012, The New York Times and The Washington Post newspapers compiled their list of Twitter users and provided them a link to NASA, Google and MIT media labs armed with easy clickable links to access latest information on Hurricane Sandy news making digital and mobile editions available to news consumers. Today Twitter and Facebook have been recognized as tools of news and major sources of news. Twitter is a valuable 24x7 source for news breaks, tool to follow newsworthy people and organization and is a gold mine for getting story ideas and to have continuous dialogue with users. The analysis of Tweets will establish the mood of the public, pulse of the community and the degree of public opinion on issues of public concern. Barack Obama's famous 3 worded Tweet, 'Four more years', announcing his re-election as 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States of America was retweeted by 8 million users and was the major source of news to the world media on November 6, 2012. Obama's tweet and a photo of Obama and his wife Michelle were run and flashed across the globe by the international media establishing the arrival of social media in hard

news. Perhaps, New York Times now has over twice as many readers on the microblogging service than its most popular print edition, the Sunday paper and its followers on Twitter have crossed 4 million. Therefore, circulation of a newspaper has become complex with the facility of print and digital editions accessed by wide range of devices by news consumers. The global trend indicates ‘like the sun newspaper circulation rises in the east and falls in the west’ (economist.com, 2013) illustrating decline in circulation and advertising in Europe and America where as it has increased by 10% in Asia with China leading the world as the biggest newspaper market. Despite decline in circulation, newspapers reach a large number of readers- print, online and mobile giving an impetus to the performance of advertising (WAN-IFRA, 2013)

**Table-1**

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

*Comparative Media Reach Trends in USA and India*

According to the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) in a world with a population of approximately 7 billion, global newspaper in print readership remains high. In 2012 more than 2.5 billion people read their daily newspapers in print, 500 million read daily newspapers in both print and online,

and 100 million accessed online daily newspapers only (January 1, 2013). But there is significant decline in the print newspaper advertising revenue and this loss is not made up by its digital editions.

**Table-2**

Social Media vs Access	World		USA		China		India	
	Total users in World	Penetration in World population	Social media	Penetration in population	Social media	Penetration in population	Social media	Penetration in population
Internet	2.4 b	34.3%	245 m	78.1%	538 m	40.1%	137 m	11.4%
Twitter	500 m		22.9 m		36.5 m		33 m	
Facebook	1 b	12.1%	166 m	52.9%	6.3 m	0.0%	62 m	5.2%

*New Media Consumption pattern in USA, China and India*

**ARAB SPRING**

The migration of news from traditional bastion to non linear social media territory influenced civil society movements in both democracies and totalitarian regimes. Arab Spring is a milestone in the history of media as it shows how democratization of media emboldens ordinary people to express their mind against state causing political change. Arab Spring is a symbol of pro-democracy revolutionary movements that made its foot prints in Middle East and North Africa and played a key role in political upheavals in the countries where media control ruled for ages. Arab Spring can be construed as an event that propelled social media to the centre of news industry compelling the political regimes to mull on regulating the new media.

New media considered as alternative media is basically a democratized channel of communication that is free from government, editorial and management control with public access to infinite space and time coupled with opportunities to own a blog or a website or linked to social media to express oneself. The experience of getting heard/ read/noticed gave visibility to the voice of the voiceless in societies where dictatorial regimes had oppressed the freedom of

speech and expression for ages. In democracies too, the perception of news and views changed adding different shades of perspectives. Common people could enjoy freedom of speech and expression in both democracies and totalitarian governments. According to some of the Arab Spring activists, ‘protests consisting of millions of people could be organized through social media like Facebook and Twitter’ demonstrated the power of social media in shaping public support to political causes. These new media could connect with the masses breaking all psychological barriers. Arab Spring activists have said, ‘we use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate and You Tube to tell the world’ speaks volumes of the potential of the media that connects with masses. Interestingly, there has been total disconnect between conventional mass media and the masses where public opinion does not reflect the public mind. Arab Spring model was feasible that could be replicated in any society, democratic or totalitarian, and change social order reducing the psychological barriers between government and the public.

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

has led to the birth of new breed of journalists known as data scientists advocating data journalism.

Journalism in social media is not only about facts, facts and facts but about point of view or opinion underlining news stories that are analytical and interpretative. Newspaper culture is the stumbling block in the transformation of print in the battle against digital media. There is a conflict between editorial policy of newspaper and social media policy. All media are going to survive if they converge. Convergence hold key to journalism. The presence of news in social media has made even powerful governments insecure. For instance Wiki leaks have threatened high and mighty in the world. Governments in democracies flaunting liberal media policy too want to control social media in the guise of ethics and privacy. Facebook has been banned in China since 2009. It is a matter of concern when journalists in social media toe the line of news organizations that they represent that might reinforce stereotype raising the crucial issue of safeguarding freedom of speech and expression. But there is no looking back as blogging, branding and brain storming is the new sutra of journalists who have to improve and learn new skills- *popcorn*, *Twittercycle*, *Talkwheel*, *Berry* or *apple* or whatever.

“Mark Zuckerberg wants to connect the world – that is his vision- if Facebook hasn’t got China, he hasn’t connected the world’, says Beijing basased Bill Bishop of DigiCha.(Singh, 2012). The business interest of Facebook losing heavily in not reaching China market has raised fundamental issues. Are we going to use Facebook to have a change of political leadership to fight political battles in China or to promote business interests to earn huge revenue from the world’s largest Internet market? Can social media like Facebook break Great Wall of China and cause political upheavals?

The big question however is how journalism is going to survive in the news industry driven by market forces. Is media convergence market driven or journalism driven? Is this media convergence going to promote technology business interests or journalism interests? If business interests marginalize journalism in the digital era it will be a sad day in the history of press in its journey from Guttenberg to Arab Spring.

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## Point of View

# Multiculturalism and Minority Rights in India: Interface between Theory and Practice

PRAKASH DESAI

## Abstract

*Multiculturalism's entry into the theoretical realm has helped many societies to solve the problems and conflicts on the basis of religion, language, and ethnicity. Many countries are making an effort to protect the rights of minorities on multicultural lines. India, being one of the plural countries, has several provisions in its Constitution to protect the rights of the minorities. Certain similarities between prescriptions of multiculturalism and provisions on rights of minorities in the Indian Constitution have led to consider Indian Constitution as multicultural document. Such considerations can be assessed by looking at the interface between ideas on protection of minority rights and practice of the same in country's more than six decades of democratic life.*

**Key Words:** *Pluralism, Minorities, Cultural Rights, Self-governing Rights, Internal Migration, Political Representation, Public Agenda.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Minority communities are demanding greater recognition of their distinctive identities and greater freedom and opportunity to preserve and cherish their unique cultural practices. Claims of the many minorities have been gaining wider prominence in many parts of the

world. In response to these demands, new and convincing mechanisms are being tried and adopted in many countries. In this direction it can be said that the theory of multiculturalism has come to the theoretical realm as defender of minorities rights and consequently as a solution to cultural conflicts all over the world on the basis of religion, language and ethnicity.

India is one of the democratic states in which society is pluralistic in nature. Existence of different ethnic groups, religions, languages and caste divisions within Hinduism makes India a plural society. As far as religious composition is concerned, it is predominantly inhabited by Hindus who are spread regionally all over India. Within Hinduism different philosophical sub-sects, linguistic groups and, above all, thousands of castes can be seen. There are philosophical sub-sects such as *Vaishnavism*, *Shaivism*, *Veershaivism* (see, Bali, 2008:233-267) in Hindu religion. Linguistically there are Tamil, Gujarati, Kannada, Marathi, Bengali and other speaking groups. Presence of 22 officially recognised national languages and more than 1162 non-scheduled languages and dialects makes India a linguistically diverse society (Sengupta, 2009:153).

Indian society constitutes large proportion of religious minority communities which include Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Buddhists and Jains. All these minority communities are also not free from internal pluralism. One could observe hierarchical caste groups among some of these groups (Ahmad and Chakravarti, 1981:55-60). Linguistically also these are diverse in the sense that there are Urdu, Tamil, Bengali, Konkani and Malayalam speaking Muslims and Christians. Indian society has maintained plural character since centuries together and has a long history of people of different faiths living together (Mahajan, 2006:168). But the question is to what extent

this existence has facilitated minority groups' aspiration for greater public recognition of their distinctive identities and greater freedom and opportunity to preserve and cherish their unique cultural practices? Such questions emerge because even before independence there was assertion of identities on the part of majority and minority communities. Indian society has had the presence of cultural nationalist movement from pre-independence time. In this context, it is necessary to understand the status of minorities in India in its democratic life since 1947.

Multiculturalism propounds three categories of rights for minorities which they can claim in nation-state (Kymlicka, 1995:27). Those three rights are Self-Government Rights, Cultural Rights and Special Representation Rights. There are number of provisions in the Indian Constitution to protect minority cultural rights. 'India was one of the first countries to give constitutional recognition to the minority communities' (Mahajan 1998:83). These are almost similar to the cultural rights as envisaged by multiculturalism. The present paper discusses to what extent constitutional provisions meant for minorities are in consonance with multiculturalism, and how these provisions are protected by the Indian polity. This paper also discusses migrant minorities who owe their status to internal migration.

## **SELF-GOVERNMENT RIGHTS**

These rights have territorial implication and are sought by communities that are concentrated in specific region or by those who have occupied a given territory over long period of time (Mahajan, 2002:106). 'With governing powers they, can take decisions on key matters such as education, immigration, language, land and resource use, family law, cultural rites, and administrative structure' (Ibid:107). To certain extent this kind of self-govt rights are there in India for

certain regions. The example of Jammu and Kashmir can be given in this regard (Ibid: 109). Article 370, assures Jammu & Kashmir a very special autonomous status in the Indian constitutional scheme (Editorial, Frontline, 2000). Because of the special circumstances in which the former princely State was able to accede to India, 'certain limitations were placed by the Constitution itself on the Centre's powers *vis-a-vis* Jammu & Kashmir' (Ibid). According to this order the jurisdiction of Parliament was extended 'making it competent to cover all areas in Union List' (Swami, July, 1999).

Autonomy for certain regions in India is in serious problem and autonomy for these areas has been opposed by certain political forces (Swami, July, 2000). There was a demand from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to struck down Article 370 in order to bring the state of Jammu and Kashmir (JK) on par with other states of Indian union governed by the provisions of part 6<sup>th</sup> of the Constitution (Basu, 2011:271).

Tribal communities in India are distinct ethnic minorities who have been given Constitutional protection to protect and preserve their identity. Architects of Indian Constitution have done justice in this regard by providing separate provisions. These provisions are similar to self-governing rights of multiculturalism. There are special provisions for the administration of certain areas called as scheduled areas and tribal areas, in Indian Constitution. The 5<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Constitution deals with the administration and control of scheduled areas. One important feature associated with the 5<sup>th</sup> schedule is that of constitution of Tribes Advisory Councils. They 'are to be constituted to give advice on such matters as welfare and advancement of the scheduled tribes in the states as may be referred to them by the Governor.' (Ibid: 293) Further, the Governor also has the authority 'to make regulations to

prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by, or among members of the scheduled tribes, regulate the allotment of land, and regulate the business of money lending. All such regulations made by the Governor must have the assent of the President' (Ibid: 293-294).

The 6<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Constitution deals with the tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. According to this Schedule these areas get autonomous districts status. They are to be administered as autonomous districts and are not, 'outside the executive authority of the state concerned but provision is made for the creation of District Councils and Regional Councils for the exercise of certain legislative and judicial functions. These Councils are primarily representative bodies and they have got the power of law-making in certain specified fields such as management of a forest other than a reserved forest, inheritance of property, marriage and social customs and the Governor may also confer upon these Councils the power to try certain suits or offences. These Councils have also the power to assess and collect land revenue and to impose certain specified taxes. The laws made by the councils shall have, however, no effect unless assented to by the Governor' (Ibid:294).

The people of these Scheduled and tribal areas have lost autonomy over their regions in the sense that their areas have been converted into areas of mining (Padel&Das, 2010 and Padel, 2000). Number of developmental projects have come up, large scale displacement is taking place, and above all those who protest any imposition of unwanted development are branded as either Naxals or terrorists. Some parts in north-eastern states in which there is large tribal population are now under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 (AFSPA). It is observed that this Act is, 'one of the more draconian legislations that the Indian Parliament has passed' (Human Rights Documentation

Centre). This Act provides security forces ‘unrestricted and unaccounted power to carry out their operations, once an area is declared disturbed. Even a non-commissioned officer is granted the right to shoot or kill based on mere suspicion that it is necessary to do so in order to “maintain the public order” (Ibid).

## **CULTURAL RIGHTS**

Minorities demand cultural rights in almost every liberal democratic country. These cultural rights are sought in the form of exemptions, symbolic claims and claims for recognition (Mahajan, 2002:94-106). Many of cultural rights which are provided to minorities in India are similar to rights envisaged for minorities in multicultural theory. The Indian Constitution is considered as multicultural document because it provides a number of measures for the recognition and accommodation of the country’s diversity (Bhattacharya, 2003:151-152). Article 29(1) of the Indian Constitution ensures the fundamental right to any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture of its own to preserve the same (Pandey, 2005:313). This suggests that if there is any cultural community having distinct language, script or culture of its own, the State cannot make any laws to impose its majority language, script, culture and confiscate the right of cultural community. Both religious and linguistic minorities have claim to this right.

Article 350A of the Constitution directs, ‘every state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mothertongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups and empowers the President to issue proper direction to any state in this behalf’ (Basu, 2011:400). Article 350B states that a, ‘special officer for linguistic minorities shall be appointed by the President to

investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the constitution and report the President’ (Ibid). The Preamble of the Indian Constitution states that India is a secular state. As a secular state India is supposed to observe of neutrality and impartiality towards all religions (Fadia, B.L2004:126). Article 25 ensures to all citizens the freedom of Conscience and the right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion. (Ibid). According to this provision, all religious minorities in India have freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice and propagate their own religion. Article 347 states that if there is demand on the part of a substantial proportion of the population of a state desiring the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that state, President may direct that such language shall also be officially recognised in that state for such purpose as he may specify (Pandey, 2005:670).

Article 30 of the Constitution provides cultural and educational rights to both religious and linguistic minorities. Article 30(1) ensures right to all religious and linguistic minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice (Basu, 2011:401). Article 30(2) states that the, ‘state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language’ (Ibid).

Multiculturalism’s understanding is that it is essential for the State to promote minority culture and provide some space in the public arena. Generally financial and other forms of support are essential for sustaining cultural institutions such as museums, theatres and community newspapers. In India museums, theatres and newspapers relating to minority culture are supported and encouraged by both

central government and many state governments. According to multiculturalism symbolic claims, means how minority communities are represented in the public arena and in cultural symbols of state like the national anthem, declared public holidays and even the name of the State (Mahajan, 2002:103). The Indian national anthem is inclusive in the sense that it talks about celebration of cultural diversity of Indian society. There are number of holidays for minority community to celebrate their festivals.

National Commission for Minorities is another institutional mechanism to safeguard the rights of minorities. This commission is required to perform a number of functions to protect the rights and to look into matters of welfare and development of minorities. National Commission for Minorities is not free from any criticism and opposition for its existence. Setting up of this Commission was envisaged in 1978 (Ibid) when Janata Party was in power. Recently there has been concern about threat to minorities' right to life and property. Still there is concern on the part of minority that the government is not handling the attacks on minority with necessary actions. The government needs to do a lot in ensuring their physical security, and protecting their personal property. It is rightly observed that the, 'real challenge before secular democracy in India is to create a political and institutional environment for the protection of rights of diverse communities and social groups under the overall umbrella of national unity' (Bambhri, 2008:76).

The functioning of secular democracy can be judged by taking into account the balance sheet of it in protecting the minority rights and its role as a neutral umpire between majority and minority conflicts. In 1984 many innocent Sikhs were killed by the majority community in northern India following the assassination of Indira

Gandhi. The issue is still before courts of law.

Another attack on minorities was the Gujarat riot that took place in the year 2002. This riot witnessed large scale communal violence against minorities.

The socio-economic condition of muslim minorities in India is not satisfactory compared to other minority group like Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists and Christians. The socio-economic condition of this community has recently been highlighted by Sachar Committee Report (Government of India, 2006). This committee report has 'established that the socio-economic condition of the Muslim communities is abysmally low, that is just above that of the *Dalits*' (Alam, 2010:53).

### **SPECIAL REPRESENTATION RIGHTS**

Multiculturalism propounds special representation rights for minorities to ensure equal citizenship and genuine inclusion in the political system. Understanding of multiculturalism is that if diverse communities get an opportunity to set public agenda they enrich policies by contributing their distinctive cultural perspectives and experiences (Mahajan, 2002:110). The multicultural idea of ensuring diverse communities to set public agenda implies that minorities in India need representation in Parliament and state assemblies. In India minority's representation in State assemblies and Parliament is low compared with the size of their population. The Indian Constitution has not given as such special political reservation to minorities but Indian politics has always facilitated and nurtured minority presence in governmental bodies.

## MIGRANT MINORITIES

The imbalanced economic development has caused internal migration in the country. People from backward regions migrate to developed regions within the country in search of livelihood. This migration within the country is not only because of push factor (regional economic backwardness) but also because of pull factor (demand for labour). The presence of migrant groups in different states in the country has generated conflict among different linguistic groups. Migrant people become minorities in the states in which they temporarily or permanently reside. These migrant people are perceived as people who have snatched the opportunities of local people and as people responsible for the destruction of the local culture. The anxiety and insecurity on the part of local people will generally be exploited by some political groups aspiring for power or any selfish interest. Though there is clear provision in the Indian Constitution that any citizen of the country can move, reside and settle in any part of the country, it is consistently being opposed by many political formations. These political formations are exhibiting animosity to such movement on the basis of their own logic and reasons.

There are enough examples of migrant minorities being attacked by local political and cultural groups. The *Shivsena* and presently its offshoot *Maharashtra Navnirman Sena* (MNS) have the record of targeting non-maharastrian people in Maharashtra. *Shivsena* was in forefront in targeting south Indians in its early years of existence (Katzenstien, 1973:388). Now, there are incidents of MNS staging protests against non-Maharastrians. The reason for such actions was that these people may corner the job market within the state of Maharashtra. (Bavadam, 2008). Migrant people in the states of Karnataka and Tamilnadu do also face problems. Whenever there is

problem of Cauvery river water sharing, there are possibilities of Tamil minorities becoming target in Karnataka and Kannada minorities becoming target in Tamil Nadu. Minority group formation due to migration poses certain serious questions. Should they be considered as minorities or not? If there is a violation of their human rights, should it be considered as just law and order problem or constitutional problem? Because of presence of such problems multicultural debate in India has to address them adequately.

India has opposed the discrimination and ill-treatment of Indians abroad especially in countries such as England and Australia. Many political parties and political leaders have joined the bandwagon in criticising the racial attacks on Indians abroad. The problem of migration of Indians to foreign countries and internal migration within the country has been intelligently utilised by some political leaders. One glaring example in this regard is *Shivsena* which criticised attacks on Indians in Australia, (The Hindu, Jan, 14<sup>th</sup> 2010) has always opposed to non-marathi migrant Indians (Indian Express, Mar 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010). It is necessary to debate problems of such people who become minorities because of migration to other places in the same country. The issue of 'son of the soil' and migrants or outsiders can well be discussed under the purview of multiculturalism (Rodrigues, 2002:127).

## DISCUSSION

Multicultural solution of self-governing rights for some minorities are indeed good if any minority which demands such right is ready to accept and remain within the framework of sovereignty of nationstate in which it resides., otherwise the main purpose of granting such right would be undesirable. It would, 'pose a challenge to the liberal notion of nation/state, i.e. it may lead to secessionist movements' (Talukadar,

2008:101). Many states have expressed anxiety because of the presence of secessionist tendencies on the part of frontal organisations which talk about rights of minorities. Countries such as Srilanka are facing this fear with respect Tamil problem. India has expressed fears about the safety of Tamil minorities in Srilanka. Successive governments have conveyed this fear that more-self governing power may further facilitate separatism on the part of minorities which are concentrated in particular regions. India has already experienced and has been experiencing such separatist tendencies. There was demand by Sikh groups for separate nation Khalistan (Kohli, 1998:20). In northeast region of the country many separatist organisations are expressing similar demands. There is no solution in multiculturalism for such anxieties. The solution of multiculturalism for cultural conflicts is ensuing radical thoughts enhancing the quality of democracy in a pluralistic society. But some segments of plural societies which are concentrated in certain geographical regions demand separate states. In such situations multiculturalism is not enough and convincing mainstream segments of the society in the interest of protecting Sovereignty is the solution in the longrun.

The rights which have been provided in the Constitution for minorities have to be protected and there should be consistent effort on the part of the state and its agencies to facilitate the rights. Unfortunately rights of minorities are more on paper than in practice. There are enough debates to consider India as a perfect multicultural society but the question remains to be answered is to what extent it has been realised. Any further debates on such rights should consider the way they are protected in a democracy. Another issue that needs to be debated as part of multicultural rights in India is that of internal migrant minorities. There have been many arguments regarding

different types of minorities in India but less has been said about such people who happens to become minorities because of internal migration. The debates and discussions on all types of minorities would help in understanding the quality of the democracy in India.

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# Media Intervention in Agriculture – Analysis of *Marali Baa Mannige*, An Agricultural Serialized Radio Program

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## Abstract

*Agriculture has been the backbone of Indian economy. Though India ranks second worldwide in the farm output, the economic contribution of agriculture is steadily declining with the country's broad based economic growth. High rates of rural migration and shrinking of agricultural land are few of the reasons for the decline in agriculture sector. In this scenario, it is imperative to mobilise youth participation by changing their perception about agriculture. Recently, radio intervention in sensitizing youth was launched by AIR, the state broadcaster. The result was a campaign called "Marali Baa Mannige", meaning back to soil, an agriculture based serialised radio program that was launched by NABARD (National Bank of Agriculture and Rural Development) and Farm and Home Unit of All India Radio, Mysore on their FM channel, FM 100.6. Governed by Prarasa Bharathi, India's Public Service Broadcaster, AIR became platform for launching a campaign to reach and influence the youth listeners. The program aimed to reach and sustain the attention of youth by sensitizing them to save agriculture and motivate them to accept it as a viable profession. The program followed a narrative style consisting of interview with two protagonists, one a proactive farmer and the other a bank official to reinforce the message of agricultural and financial literacy respectively. The current study aims to evaluate the impact of the program by conducting a survey using a*

*structured questionnaire. A sample of 50 listeners was selected for the study. The findings show that the broadcasts have succeeded in connecting with the listeners as it devised a multipronged approach in reaching the youth.*

**Keywords:** *Radio Serial, Marali Ba Mannige, Young farmer, Agriculture literacy, Financial Literacy.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Radio has been recognized as the potential tool of development in the early and mid 20<sup>th</sup> century across the world portraying it as a dominant medium having potential to address the development needs of the population. Tens and thousands of experiments have been done with radio exploring its ability to reach the marginalized sections of the society. Farm radio had early beginnings in USA and other developed countries that adpated radio to promote farming among farm and rural populations. The successful experiments with radio as a medium of development were replicated in Africa, Latin America and Asia with great success. India embraced radio with a development mandate and started Rural broadcasting as early as 1936 from the radio station of Delhi and later expanded it to Madras (1938) and Lucknow(1939) stations of All India Radio. The success of radio intervention in development elsewhere in the world emboldened India

to use radio in a radical format by integrated agricultural science with radio programs to create more awareness and knowledge among farmers. India's green revolution in 1960s which resolved the shortage of food grain production is attributed to the policies and strategies formulated by then Union Minister for Agriculture, C.Subramaniam and eminent agricultural scientist Dr. M.S.Swaminathan. In 1965, C.Subramaniam played a pivotal role in the expansion of AIR's rural broadcasting by recasting it as Farm and Home programs- an agricultural centric program through seven stations of All India Radio. As on January 2015, the public broadcaster, All India Radio broadcasts of farm programs to the farming community in regional languages reached a huge network of more than 414 radio stations including 196 relay stations. AIR launched *Kisanvani* in collaboration with the ministry of agriculture exclusively to provide mass media support to agriculture extension broadcasts on February 15, 2004. The channel provides market information, weather reports, cropping pattern, rural banking, self employment schemes and other allied messages that are useful to the farmers. Starting with 12 stations, today *Kisanvani* program is broadcast by 96 stations creating high degree of access to farm information.

"*Marali Baa Mannige*" is an agriculture based serialised radio program launched by NABARD (National Bank of Agriculture and Rural Development) and Farm and Home Unit of All India Radio, Mysore (FM100.6), governed by *Prasar Bharathi*, India's Public Service Broadcaster. The program created a movement to attract youth to agriculture, the lifeline of the rural economy aiming to reach and sustain the attention of youth by sensitizing them to not only save agriculture but also to motivate them to accept it as a viable profession on par with others. Reaching youth at this period in history is justified

as India's demographic profile consists of two-thirds of population who are below 26 years as against China's average age of the population of 37 and 45 in US and West Europe establishing the edge India has over two economic giants in the world. It is estimated that India has a potential workforce in the age group of 15-59 years amounting to 869 million.

Over the years the percentage of cultivators in India has seen considerable decline. Today it is estimated that India has 118.9 million farmers accounting for 24.6% (2011 census) of the total population which is half of what it was in 1951 (50%) and further less at 127.3 million in 2001, denoting the drastic decline in the percentage of cultivators in India. The presence of farmers present a pathetic picture in the state of Karnataka where it has declined to 17.25% (2001) from 21.12% (1991). Even food production has seen a downside with India producing 257.07 million tons in 2014 which is 3% less than what it produced (265.57 million tons) in 2013. The annual report of the Ministry of Agriculture has indicated in no uncertain terms that the shift from farm to non-farm employment over the years has led to increase in the farm wages. It is also reported that 'there has been a continuous decline in the share of agriculture and allied sectors in the GDP from 14.6 percent in 2009-10 to 13.9 percent in 2013-14' (Annual Report 2013-14). Nevertheless, India and China are being regarded as economic giants leading world economy in the coming decades. According to BBC, 'the world expects China to be the top economic superpower by 2026.....India will be the third biggest economy, while the USA is expected to hold the second place' (Poll, BBC World, 2006).

State and Central governments have formulated large number of schemes to promote agriculture and allied sectors. Financial

institutions are supporting the agricultural ventures in a big way with hundreds of schemes for the welfare of agricultural economy. Owing to lack of information, the financial literacy of the stakeholders is low prompting banks to launch campaigns of financial advocacy. Media intervention is hoped to bridge the void between banks and stakeholders.

Keeping this in mind and also knowing the fact that agriculture will have the potential to generate employment the radio program under study, *Marali Ba Mannige* aimed at capturing the mindset of the youth and transforming the attitude of the older generation towards agriculture. The broad objectives of the program are to increase the level of information and knowledge about agriculture literacy, to create awareness about the financial literacy and to sensitize youth about financial inclusion. The program is an attempt to portray agriculture as a sustainable job opportunity for the youth on par with other professions like engineering, medicine and law. The multidimensional objectives prompted NABARD rural bank along with *Akashavani* Mysore to broadcast “*Marali Ba Mannige*” (Back to soil) radio program targeting youth to restore faith in agriculture.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Agricultural literacy is a current issue globally. According to international reports agriculture continues to be in crisis due to short sighted government policies and migration of rural population to urban areas. The studies point out that ‘women and especially the youth who constitute the majority of this group of farmers do most of the farming, but often with limited support. High rates of rural-urban migration, high levels of youth unemployment, ageing farming populations and increasing dependence on imported food are concerns

for agricultural development especially in the developing countries’ (FAO et al., 2009).

Serious concerns have been expressed by the studies on the decline in the percentage of participation of rural youth in agriculture related activities. Studies show that ‘there is insufficient youth participation in the agricultural sector (Mangal, 2009) despite this class of people being most productive and capable of playing constructive role in shaping the society. Agriculture being one of the pillars of the economy, can only function if this insufficient youth participation is reversed. Improving youth productivity in the agricultural sector and exploring effective livelihood diversification is imperative’. A study conducted in Ghana on limited youth participation in agriculture has opined that youth control of resources or products is limited though farming is profitable. More and more youth are moving away from agriculture says the study. It recommends that an enabling environment be created by providing capital and land for the youth to take to farming in a big way to control the resources in this profit making sector (2013). In order to give visibility to the voice of young farmers, UK television broadcast stories of young selected farmers in 2013 entitled ‘First Time Farmers’ to change the perception of people about farming. The television program endeavoured to change the stereotypical portrayal of farmers and reinforce the role of farmers in building agriculture industry ([www.farmingfirst.org](http://www.farmingfirst.org)).

A Study by Shama (2007) covering 14 locations in 13 states across India takes a look at one of the leading indicators and important demographic trends in Indian agriculture, the withdrawal of rural youth from farming. According to the findings, ‘there is a good amount of evidence showing the rising trend in withdrawal among youth from farming. If we speak of regions, the trend is stronger in regions with

low value of agricultural production per capita and in villages close to towns. At the individual or household level, the trend is stronger among higher caste, better educated and youth with non-farm skills. Interestingly, the small, marginal landholding and the large landholding farmers show a trend towards withdrawal. While the small and marginal farmers are largely being pushed out of farming, the big farmers are moving to tap better opportunities outside the farm sector being better off in terms of education and other resources such as capital' (Ibid). The author concludes that 'if the young people withdraw faster, which is actually the case, the farmer population will age and one is left with either old men and women dominating the agricultural labour force. How will this impact farming? One may get some leads from the highly feminized states like Uttaranchal, where high male migration has caused a large number of women to take to farming. If Indian farming were to change considerably, it would certainly need extension agencies, technology providers, and input agencies to take cognizance and make farming more convenient and women friendly. Further, as the withdrawal process intensifies, mechanization would follow in a large way as it did in economies like Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (which were mechanized in a short period of 15–20 years). This would further change the nature of Indian farming radically. How long this will take to happen is still unknown. Given the disparity in levels of agricultural development across states, probably states like Punjab and Tamil Nadu which have already started experiencing second generation problems in agriculture, will face these changes in next 10 years or so. The process perhaps will also be intensified in regions with a high pace of urbanization, greater infrastructure development in terms of better roads, cheaper transport and superior connectivity and the ones with greater opportunities in the non-farm

sector such as Gujarat and Tamil Nadu' (Ibid).

The diffusion of agriculture information to the stakeholders has been the mandate given to all mass media since their inception. Radio and television across the world have been adopted to disseminate information to the farmers after studying their viability to spread agriculture literacy. 'With the mainstream of Indian population engaged actively in agriculture, television could serve as a suitable medium of dissemination of farm information and latest technical knowhow. The farmers can easily understand the operations, technology and instruction through television' (Purushotama, 2003).

A study was conducted by Lahiri and Mukhopadhyay (2012) on programs of Farm information broadcast by All India Radio, Kolkatta - 45.6 FM during April 2010 and March 2011. The farmer's programs were divided into different categories like Technology Transfer, Rural Development, Health and Sanitation, Rural youth, Farm Women and Success Story. The study reveals that farmers prefer information pertaining to Technology Transfer, Agricultural Marketing and Weather Forecast illustrating the change in their attitude and willingness to embrace new technical knowhow.

Another study conducted by Thomas (2010) on the audience perception of farm programs in electronic media has made these observations: 'The viewing habits of farmers changed and they prefer success stories, and they even think that such stories are good source of inspiration. Farmers expect direct interaction with experts of the new farming method illustrating the need to increase interactive programs that disseminate useful information about agricultural practices. Literate or educated among farmers prefer the reports in print media as they can refer the articles unlike radio and television's one time broadcasts. Farmers doubt the credibility of farm programs

by private TV channels and verify the authenticity of such programs to know whether they are sponsored by agrochemical or agro-fertiliser manufacturers to promote commercial interests'. (Ibid).

A study to analyze the credibility of radio program in the dissemination of Agriculture information by AIR Dharwad (Kakade, 2013) has revealed that agriculture extension workers top the credibility scale followed by farm radio programs denoting the instrumental role played by the extension workers in the villages. According to the study, farmers also prefer to have radio broadcast information in print as it lasts long and helps as reference material. Literacy has changed the mindset of farmers and their perception towards newspapers and radio as tools of agricultural information.

A study by Meena (2010) on 'Communication sources' credibility and utilisation pattern among farmers' revealed that 'ARS (Agriculture Research Scientists) / KVK (*Krishi Vignana Kendra*) scientists, VLWs (Village level Workers) / *Gramsevak*, Progressive farmers, *Krishi mela* / exhibition, radio and television are the sources often used by the farmers'. (Ibid).

Initiatives to harness New media in the dissemination of agricultural information has shown path breaking findings. '*Mkulima Young* is an initiative in Kenya connecting young farmers with a mandate to identify youth engaged in outstanding agricultural entrepreneurial activities and disseminate the success stories through radio and social media (mainly Facebook and Twitter). A SMS based feedback system is run with radio programs to collect reactions and responses from target listeners. The use of social media is not only excellent for the dissemination of success stories but it also provides an online space for the youth to interact and exchange contents such as photos and videos, discuss problems, ask questions and link up with other young professionals

that have turned to agriculture as an enterprise' (blog.ict4ag.org/2013).

Study after study has illustrated the impact of farm radio on agricultural production. Many studies have shown that 'a major contributor to increased (food) production is the availability of appropriate production information through radio at the right time thus endorsing the earlier studies by Chapman, Blench, Kranjac-Berisavljevic, and Zakariah' (Odiaka, 2011). One finds a universal listening pattern among farmers of Asia and Africa when one comes across majority of the studies endorsing the high listenership by the farmers. In one such study in Nigeria, it is gratifying to note that radio is widely accepted by the farming community as their medium of choice enjoying significant listenership. The study revealed 'that agricultural broadcasts enjoyed wide listenership and comparatively males had high listenership index than females. Further their educational attainment was significantly related to their listenership of farm broadcasts' (Emmanuel & Olabode, 2012). Radio as a powerful mass media has endorsed the premise that it has the potential to support extension programs. In a study on models, techniques and methods of extension, the findings reveal that 'radio messages when used with extension programs increase the level of influence on the listeners. An already effective demonstration program is made more effective by associated radio messages (Moussa et.al, 2011).

### **Format of the Radio Program:**

The radio program was conceived, written, directed and produced by N.Keshavamurthy, Program Executive – Farm and Home Division in the AIR station, Mysore. The production was assisted by R.Lokeshwari. The theme song was written by Dr. Anand V. Patil, Deputy Director, AIR Mysore. The music was composed by

M.Raghavendra and sung by G.Pushapalatha. Basically the program is focused on agriculture and is in a narrative style consisting of interview with two protagonists, one a farmer and the other a bank official to reinforce the message of agricultural and financial literacy respectively. It is woven around a success story of a young farmer who returns to village from city and becomes prosperous through agriculture. The bank official who is wellversed in information related to financial schemes available to farmers educates people and empowers them through financial literacy and financial inclusion. This special program was made part of the *Krishi Ranga – Kisan Vani* program and was broadcast through all the stations of All India Radio in Karnataka on Sundays between 7.00 to 7.30 p.m. for 26 weeks from January 12<sup>th</sup> 2014 to October 5<sup>th</sup> 2014. The 30 minute program was broadcast simultaneously in all the 13 *Akashvani Kendras* of Bangalore, Mysore, Dharwad, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Chitradurga, Hospet, Bellary, Karwar, Medikeri, Hassan, Bhadravathi and Mangalore. The program had a talk by a bank official and an interview with a young successful farmer who is projected as a role model for farmers. The telephone number of the resource person was also provided at the end of the program to enable those interested to contact them directly for more information and clarification. The radio program aimed to cater to different target groups like young people residing in villages of Karnataka and students studying in colleges in the districts of Chamarajanagar, Mandya and Mysore.

The main issues discussed in the program are;

- Highlighting the success story and the financial prosperity of successful farmers who pursued farming;
- Instilling a sense of hope in pursuing farming as a major

livelihood activity by the youth in making them employable;

- Information on availability of agricultural technologies to make farming an attractive and viable profession to the youth;
- Information on the role of agricultural institutions, self-help groups, farmer clubs, joint liability groups, watershed initiatives, tribal development program etc., in developing rural economic activities;
- Information on various schemes provided by the Government to help farmers;
- Information on financial assistance given by the banks to promote agriculture and allied activities;

The radio program endeavoured to reach students directly by arranging a visit to the colleges and holding interactive sessions by the production team. Twelve such interactive programs with students were conducted in selected government colleges in the rural parts of Mysore, Chamarajanagara and Mandya districts. These regions were chosen as most of the students predominantly came from agricultural background. The program was made more innovative and interesting by conducting essay writing and quiz competitions for the students. Focused on questions of agriculture and government schemes on financial literacy and banking the programs were recorded live in the colleges by AIR and broadcast later. In this program the students were also given an opportunity to interact with the farmers and bankers to understand the significance of agriculture in national economy and the inevitability of becoming financially literate to utilize the benefits of various government schemes and the need of the farmers to open individual bank accounts in nationalized banks to avoid exploitation by the vested interest in taking banking loans.

## OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To analyze the overall impact of the special interest program on listeners ;
- To study the influence of the *Marali Ba Mannige* radio campaign on decision making;
- To evaluate the level of interactivity in *Marali Ba Mannige* program;

## DEFINITION OF TERMINOLOGIES

**Agricultural Literacy:** Agricultural literacy refers to a person who is knowledgeable about the process of growing food and its related issues. One of the definitions given by the National Research Council of USA has been improvised by some of the researchers. The new definition states that, ‘Agricultural literacy is about possessing knowledge and understanding of our food and fiber system. An individual possessing such knowledge would be able to synthesize, analyze, and communicate basic information about agriculture. Basic agricultural information includes: the production of plant and animal products, the economic impact of agriculture, its societal significance, agriculture’s important relationship with natural resources and the environment, the marketing of agricultural products, the processing of agricultural products, public agricultural policies, the global significance of agriculture, and the distribution of agricultural products’. (Frick, Martin, Kahler and Miller, 1991).

**Financial Literacy:** India has formulated national strategy for spreading financial literacy through a national project in the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century. OECD defines Financial Literacy as ‘a combination of financial awareness, knowledge, skills, attitude and behaviour necessary to make sound financial decisions and ultimately achieve individual financial well being. People achieve financial literacy through a process

of financial education’. (www.oecd.org., retrieved on 04/12/2014).

OECD defines Financial education as “the process by which financial consumers/investors improve their understanding of financial products, concepts and risks and, through information, instruction and/or objective advice, develop the skills and confidence to become more aware of financial risks and opportunities, to make informed choices, to know where to go for help, and to take other effective actions to improve their financial well-being” (Ibid).

**Financial Inclusion:** The financial exclusion in the rural areas has mainly been due to lack of information to the last mile and cumbersome banking process. India is focussed on inclusive growth and has devised policies to promote inclusion in bank and financial institutions in agriculture as the estimated level of financial exclusion among farmers is very high. India’s new agenda of development is financial inclusion with emphasis on banks making inroads into rural areas as 44 percent of the population in India still lack access to a savings bank account. Rural India has challenges for banks to open ATMs and branches in rural areas due to lack of basic infrastructure like roads, transport and other facilities. Financial illiteracy, low income, non repayment of loans with local landlords, natural disasters like cyclone, floods, heavy rains are the major bottlenecks in expanding banking services in rural areas. Banks enjoy high credibility in public and people are ready to keep their savings in them and access banks for all their financial problems. Besides the existence of a host of schemes like *Kisan Credit Card*, *Swabhiman* and others, the Government of India launched its new ambitious program called *Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana* (PMJDY) on August 28, 2014 which aims to grant access for the commonman to banking facilities to a secured financial well being.

## METHODOLOGY

*Marali Ba Mannige* Program is a radio serial based on agriculture specially designed to motivate youth to change their perception of agriculture and to accept agriculture as an alternative profession on par with other vocations. This program was jointly produced by NABARD and Farm and Home unit of All India Radio, Mysore and was broadcast by 13 stations of AIR covering the entire state of Karnataka. The program, a 26 episode serial was broadcast over a period of 10 months starting from January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2014 which happened to be the National Youth Day and continued till October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014 for 26 weeks. A sample of 50 listeners of *Marali Ba Mannige* program was selected for the study on the basis of calls made by the people to the radio station. Their mobile or landline telephone numbers were tracked and was followed up with interviews by the field investigators. The sample consisted of listeners who participated in the interactive sessions with the resource persons of the radio program. These respondents are those who made calls to the radio stations by their mobile or landline numbers illustrating their interest in getting more information about the issues discussed in the program. A total of 2500 listeners called the radio station from different parts of Karnataka during 10 months period that saw the broadcast of 26 episodes of the specially designed radio serial. Wide publicity was given by all the stations of All India Radio through jingles informing the radio listeners about the special broadcast to increase listenership and interactivity. Jingles of 30 and 45 seconds were broadcast for about 8 times a day from December 15, 2013 to October 5<sup>th</sup> 2014 from AIR Mysore. State hook up jingles of 30 seconds were broadcast on every Saturdays and Sundays from 13 AIR stations of Karnataka. Stakeholders of program are All India Radio, Mysore, NABARD, University of Mysore and

Department of Information and Public Relations of the Karnataka government.

Survey method was found most appropriate to conduct this type of study. Guided by the objectives of the study, a questionnaire or more appropriately an interview schedule was prepared consisting of both open ended and close ended questions. A representative sample of 50 listeners of *Marali Ba Mannige* program that was broadcast as part of the campaign was selected. The respondents were interviewed over telephone for data collection. All the respondents were asked identical questions and answers were recorded and transcript prepared.

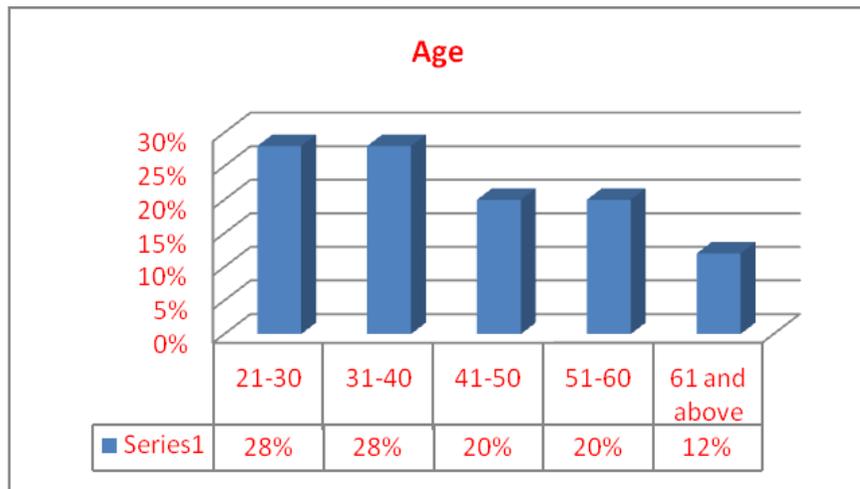
Further, a phone line was opened post-broadcast for the public to voice their suggestions, opinions, feedback and questions. This automated call centre was set up to give modern technological intervention to make the program interactive. Since it involved setting up of telephone lines, the services of BSNL was utilized. BSNL set up the customized caller tune with usage instructions done by *Akashvani* free of cost. The *NABARD VANI* designed by the technical expert Shivanand M, consisted of a simple application on mobile phone with no operator assistance which can be used 24X7. This application was made accessible to landline phones, normal phones and smart phones. The set up had pre-recorded 14 seconds usage instructions which were played as caller tune. After 14 seconds phone will automatically go to recording mode and records the voice of the caller which will be saved with caller's mobile number, date and time. It worked like an external or third ear for *Marali ba Mannige* program. Two basic technical concepts implemented were auto answering and recording the caller's voice. All the calls were recorded and saved in WAV (Waveform Audio File) format which is compatible with audio format used by *Akashvani*.

## ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

### Demographic Profile

#### Age

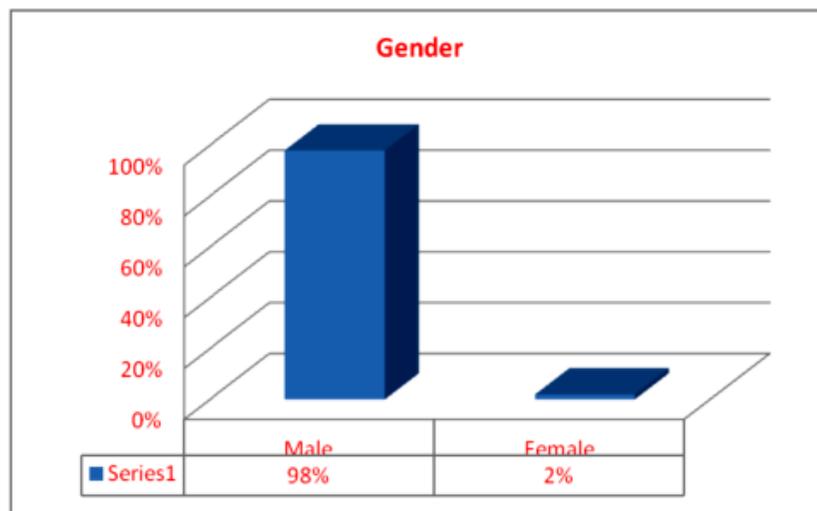
Graph 1



The demographic profile shows that majority of the respondents were young in the age group of 21-40 years followed by the listeners in the age group of 41-60 years. 12 percent of the respondents were 61 and above.

#### Gender

Graph 2

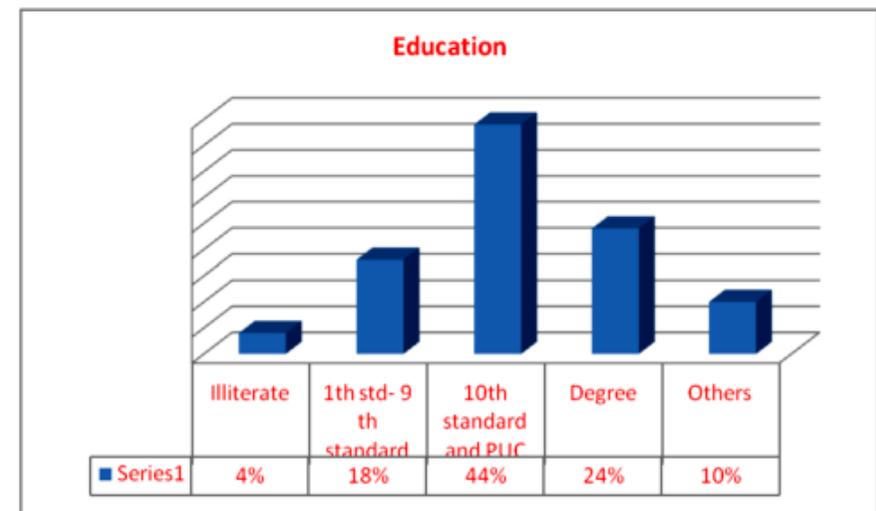


Overwhelming percentage of respondents consist of males establishing that more men listen to agriculture based radio programs than women. Hence the perception that agriculture is male dominated is proved in media listenership.

#### Education

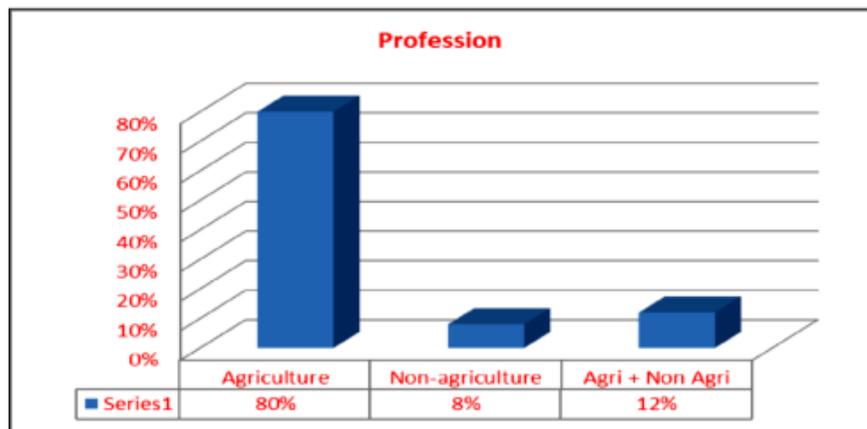
The level of education of listeners reveals that 44% of them have education upto 10<sup>th</sup> standard and PUC, whereas 24% of them are graduates followed by 18% who have school education upto 9<sup>th</sup> standard. It is noteworthy that today graduates have come back to agriculture hoping for financial well being changing the profile of a farmer. 4% of listenership consisted of illiterate farmers besides educated ones. The demography of farming community has changed points out the study.

Graph 3



### Profession

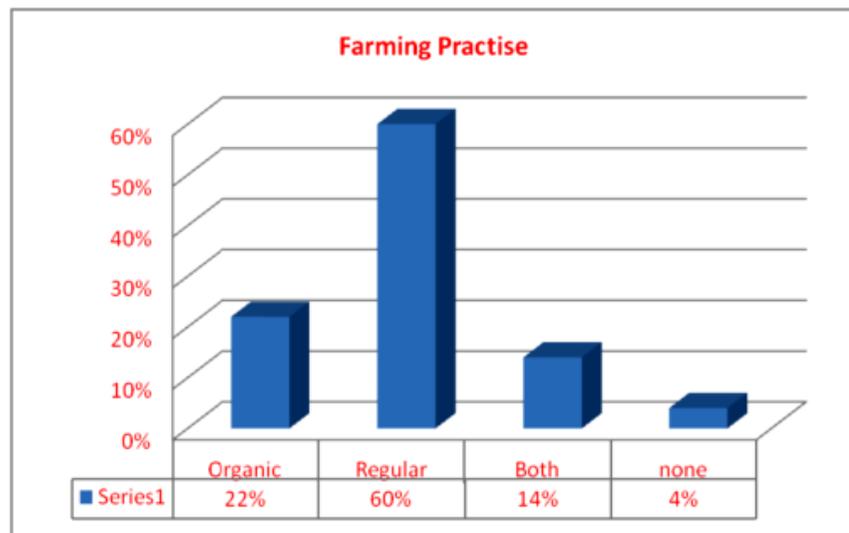
Graph 4



Overwhelming percentage of respondents practise agriculture as a profession and they constitute loyal listeners of radio farm programs. Interestingly, those who are in non agriculture profession also listen to agriculture programs for knowledge and information as well.

### Farming Practise

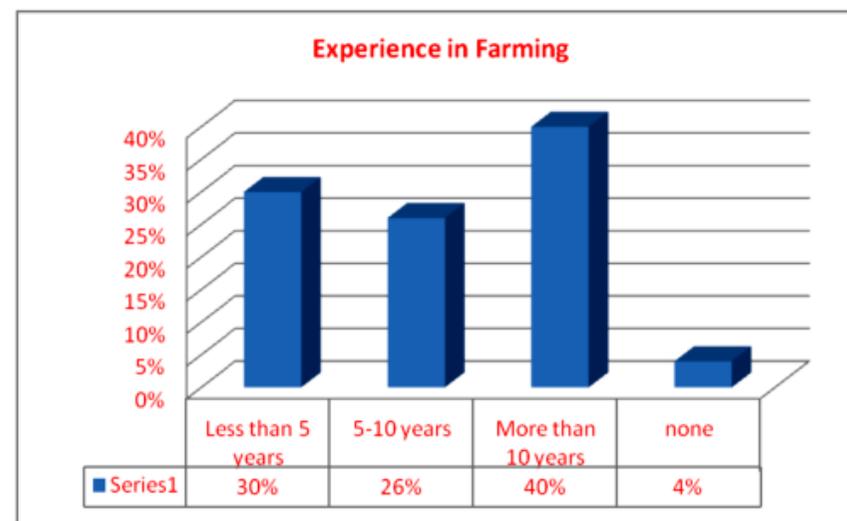
Graph 5



Among the farmers who did listen to this program, it was found that 60 percent of them practise regular agriculture meaning fertiliser based farming, whereas 22 percent are progressive farmers practising organic farming. Interestingly 14 percent of farmers practise both regular and organic farming illustrating the paradigm shift in farming. Farmers are open to new ideas and are embracing eco friendly practices and integrating indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge was relegated to the background in 20<sup>th</sup> century due to misconceived notions about development but 21<sup>st</sup> century saw the resurgence of local knowledge to its pristine glory. The study endorses the fact that farmers are proactive enough to distinguish between good and bad practices in agriculture.

### Experience in Farming

Graph 6

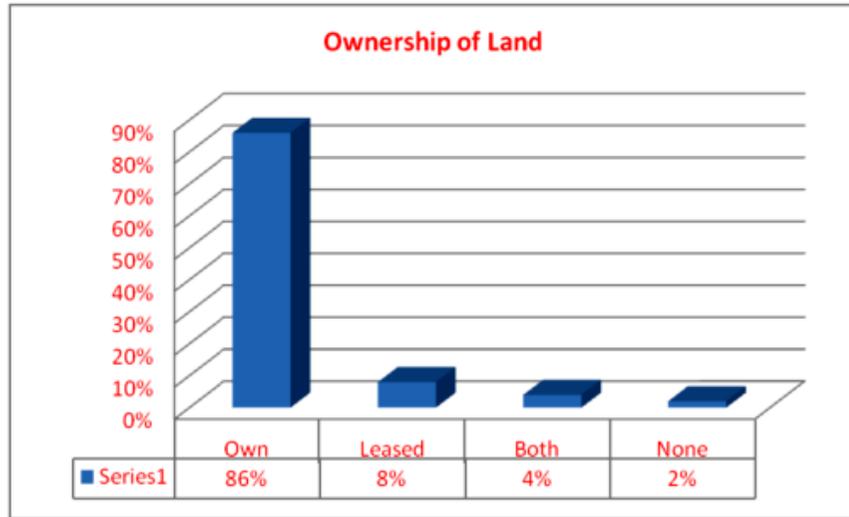


As far as experience is concerned over 66 percent have been into farming for 5-10 years and above whereas 30 percent have less than

5 years of experience and 4 percent do not have any experience in farming illustrating that a high percentage listen to such programs out of personal and professional interest as well.

**Land Ownership**

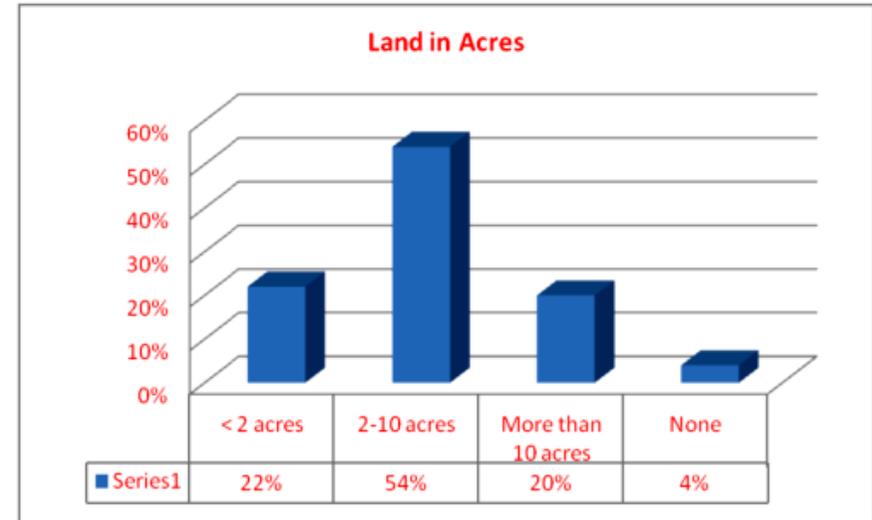
**Graph 7**



It is evident that 86 percent of the respondents are farmers who own land and 8 percent work on leased land. A low percentage of listeners (4 percent) are small farmers farm labourers.

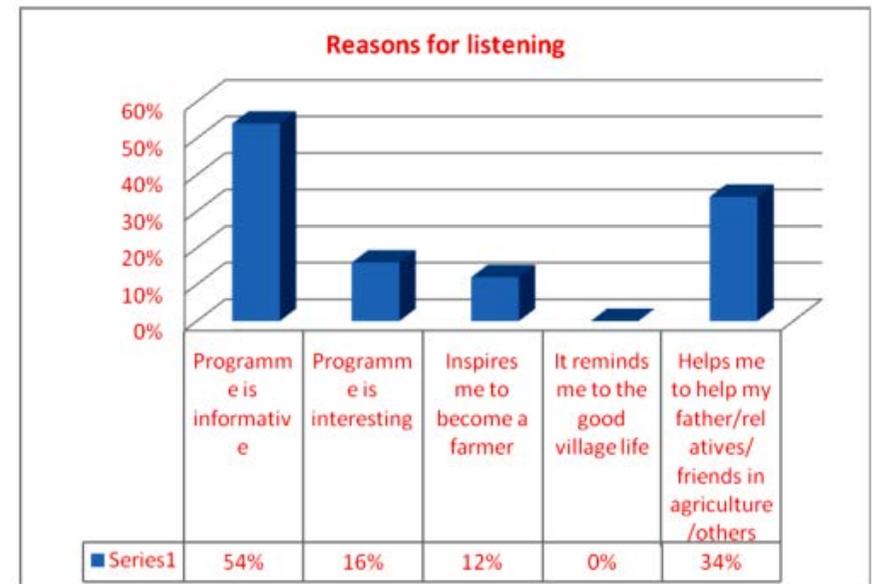
Majority of the respondents own land and over 54 percent own anything between 2-10 acres and 22 percent own less than 2 acres denoting that the program is reaching the stakeholders who are in need of variety of agri information.

**Graph 8**



**Purpose of listening Marali Ba Mannige Program**

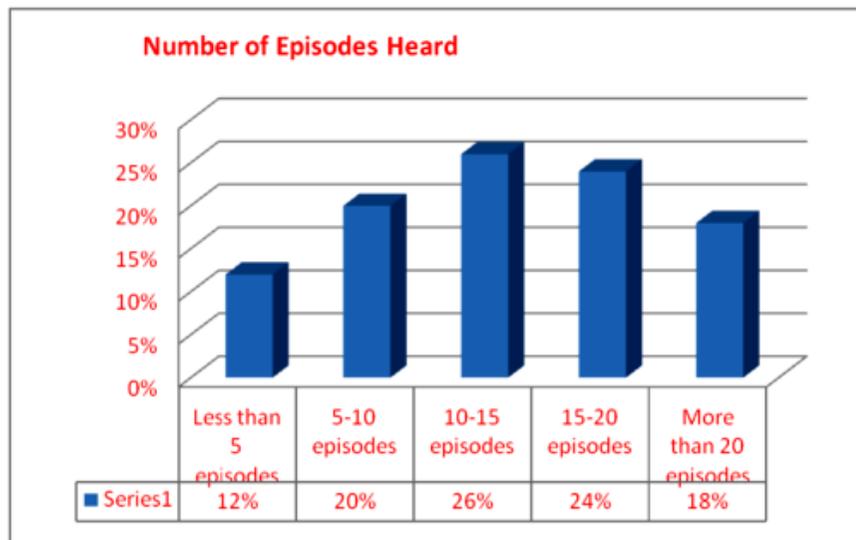
**Graph 9**



The study shows that majority of them (54 percent) listen to *Marali Ba Mannige* program as it is informative whereas 34 percent admit that they have shared the information with others to help agriculture practises and 16 percent find the program interesting. The program has inspired 12 percent of respondents who wanted to change to other professions due to frustration, problems and crisis in farming. They thank radio programs for helping them decide to stay back in farming instead of deserting it for other alternative vocations.

### Frequency of Listening *Marali Ba Mannige* Programs

Graph 10



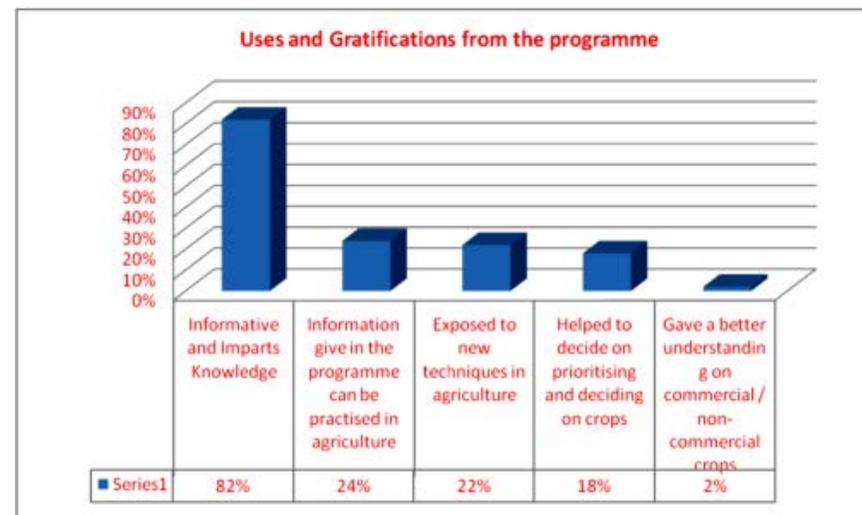
“*Marali Ba Mannige*” the serialised radio program consisted of 26 episodes, broadcast over 26 weeks in a span of 10 months. The frequency of listening shows that not all respondents listened to all the episodes. However 18 percent are found to be regular listeners who have listened to more than 20 episodes whereas 26 percent of them have heard 10-15 episodes and 24 percent have listened to 15-20

episodes. 20 percent have listened to 5-10 episodes and 12 percent are casual listeners with less than 5 episodes.

### Uses and Gratifications of *Marali Ba Mannige*

Why do people listen to radio farm program like *Marali Ba Mannige*? The study shows that an overwhelmingly 82 percent of listeners have opined that the program is highly informative and imparts knowledge. Interestingly, 24 percent have adopted the information provided in the program and 22 percent have got exposure to new techniques in agriculture. The program has also helped 18 percent with additional information related to priority in crop cultivation. 2% have gained understanding about different type of crops. The findings reiterate that the program has served the specific purpose for which it was designed to a great extent.

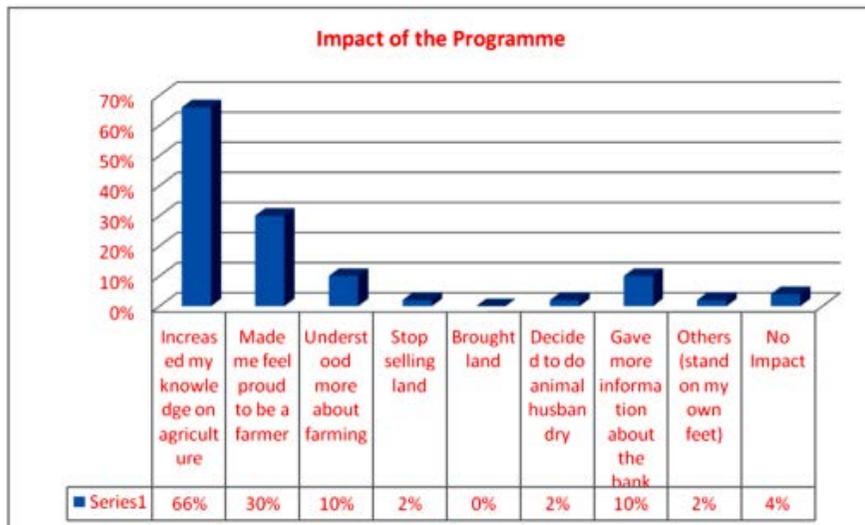
Graph 11



### Impact of the Program

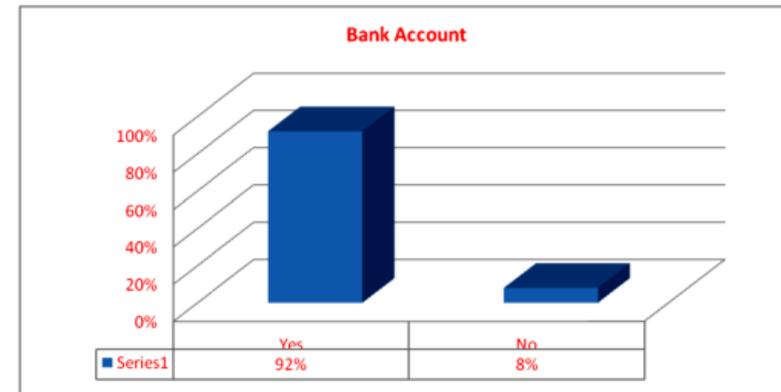
The analysis shows that the program has created awareness about agriculture practises with about 66 percent of listeners gaining knowledge. It has also helped in changing the perception of the farmer as 30 percent of them have admitted that the program has made them proud to be a farmer. There is no inferiority complex or looking down upon a farmer as the listeners feel very proud of their profession and want to be farmers for ever. The listeners attribute this change of heart to sustained campaign by Mysore Akashvani radio. 10 percent have gained information about banks as the program emphasised on issues like financial literacy and financial inclusion.

Graph 12



### Bank Account

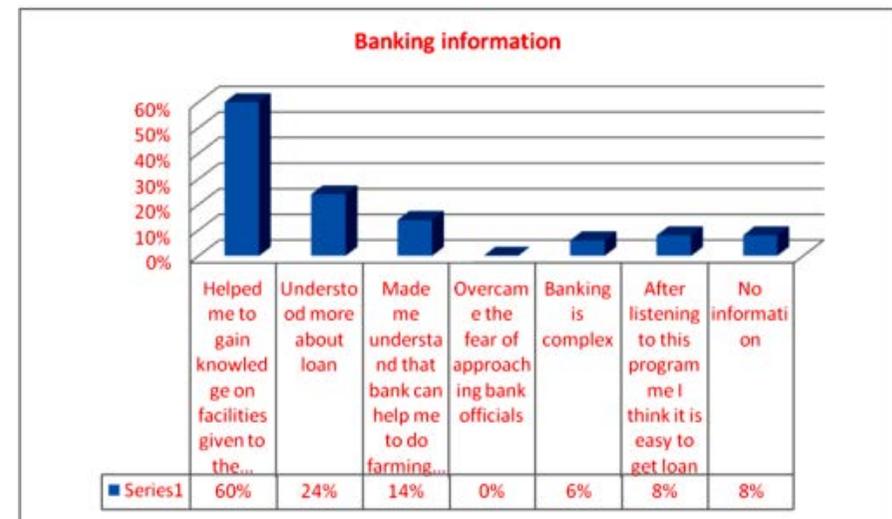
Graph 13



It is gratifying to note that 92 percent of the listeners have bank account denoting the impact of Government campaigns in motivating farmers on financial inclusion. It is obvious that most of the farmers are aware of the role of banks in agriculture as they heavily depend on loans and other government schemes to sustain farming.

### Dissemination of Banking Information

Graph 14

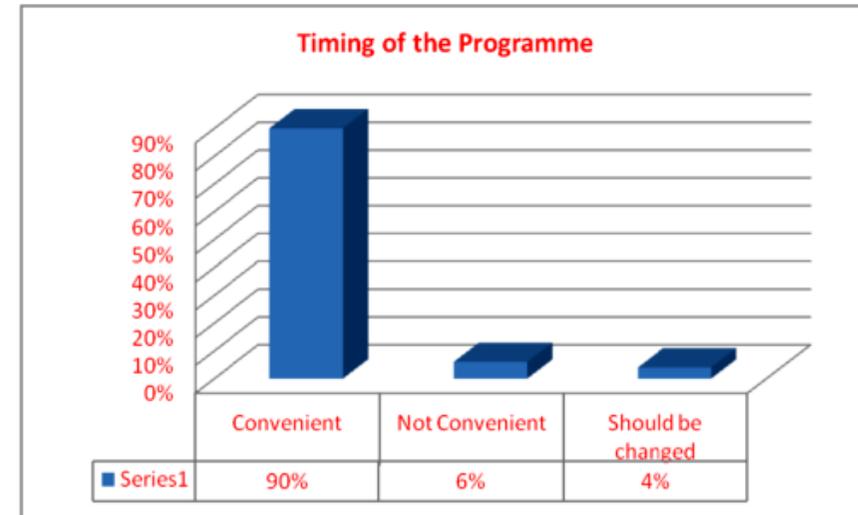


Since one of the aims of *Marali Ba Mannige* is to sensitise farmers about financial literacy it is important to understand how listeners benefitted from the banking information given by the experts in the program. The analysis shows that 60 percent have gained knowledge about the benefits of banking and 24 percent have understood about loans which is the fundamental intervention in agriculture. About 14 percent have also realised the importance of banking in agriculture and 8 percent have understood the process of getting loan and have felt that the program has made them realize that it is easy and secure to get a loan than getting exploited by local money lenders.

### Convenience of the Broadcasting Time

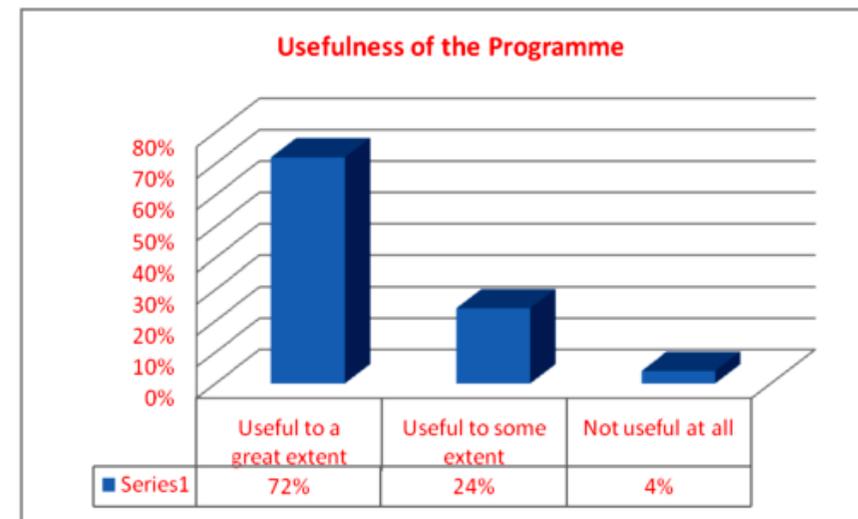
Farmer’s programs are broadcast in the evening to help the listeners in rural areas. *Marali Ba Mannige* therefore was slotted in agriculture program to reach the target audience. Further it was broadcast on Sundays throughout the entire Karnataka state network of AIR to have maximum reach. The response shows that 90 percent feel that the broadcast time is convenient reiterating the policy of public radio stations in India to broadcast agriculture programs in the evenings. This is an important finding as oldest programs like *Krishi Ranga* at the state level and Farm and Home programs at national level continues to be slotted in the evenings which is the appropriate time for farming community.

Graph 15



### Extent of Usefulness of Marali Ba Mannige

Graph 16

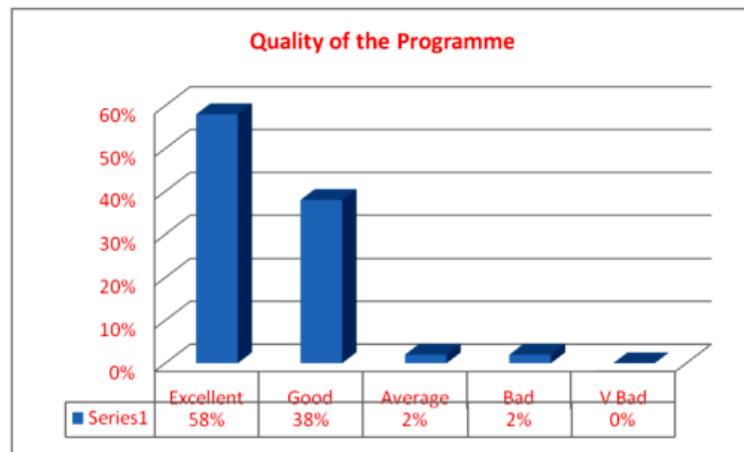


The study shows that a majority of listeners (72 percent) have found the program *Marali Ba Mannige* useful to a great extent whereas 24 percent have opined that it was useful to some extent establishing the fact that the degree of usefulness of the program is very high.

### Quality of the Program “Marali Ba Mannige”

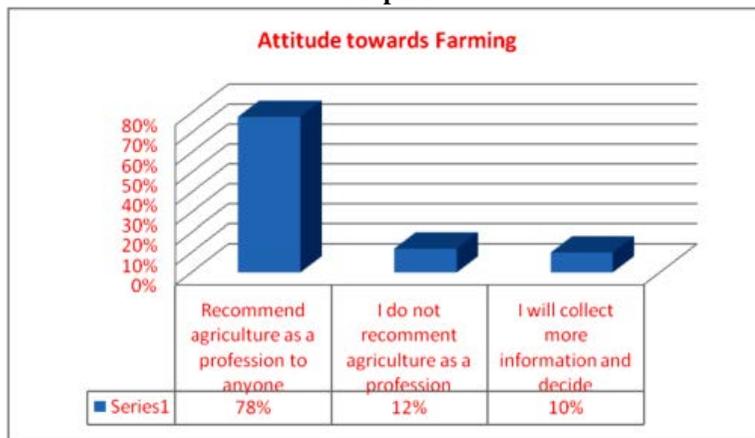
Quality of the Radio programs in general and Public Service Broadcaster in particular is an issue with experts and critics. In the age of popularity of private radio, 58 percent have rated *Marali Ba Mannige* program’s quality as 'Excellent' whereas 38 percent have rated it as 'Good' illustrating that overwhelming majority have rated the quality of a non-music, non-commercial and non-entertainment program as high.

Graph 17



### Attitudinal Change

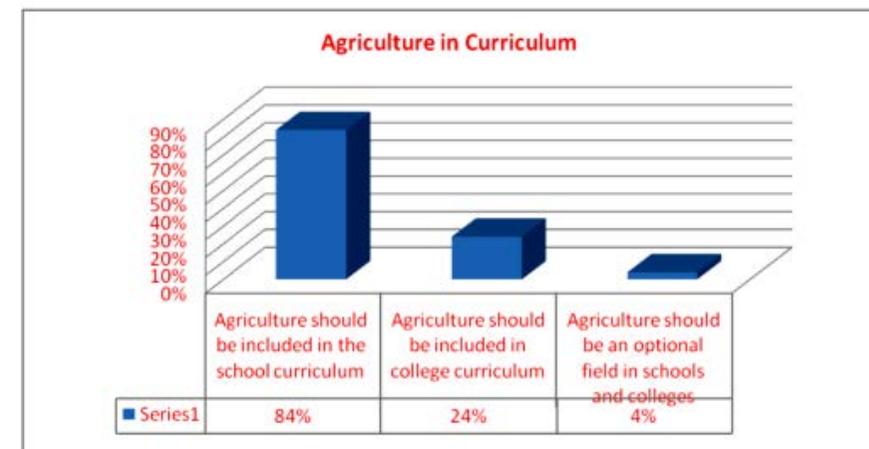
Graph 18



Special interest programs make an effort to change the attitude of the target audience through media intervention. Attitudinal change is difficult to accomplish in radio programs but sustained listeners prompt communicators to design program content of high quality to bring about desired changes. About 78 percent of listeners have said that they recommend agriculture as a profession to others denoting the extent of impact on the listeners. The attitude change is a measure in this study that shows the stakeholders taking a decision in favour of agriculture.

### Agriculture in Curriculum

Graph 19



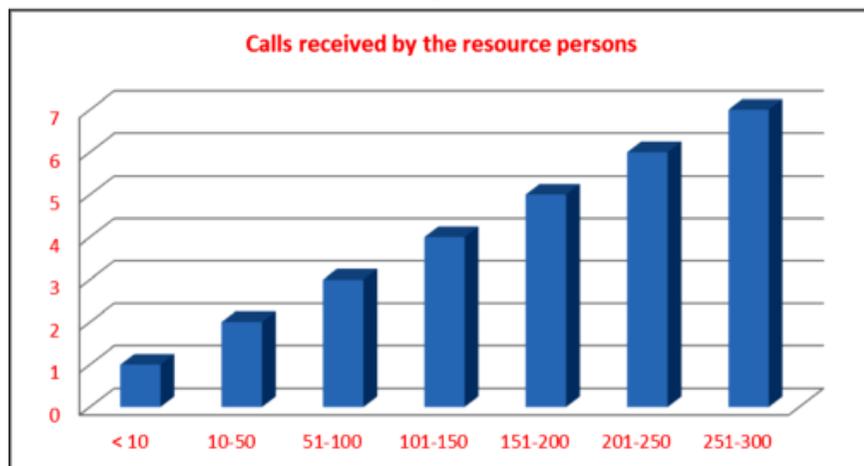
On the question of how can youth be included and educated in the agriculture profession, 84 percent have said that agriculture should be included as a subject in the school curriculum so that the children get exposure right from the childhood. About 24 percent have said that it should be included in the college curriculum but 4 percent opined that it should be an optional subject and should not be forced upon.

### Calls received by the Resource Persons

*Marali Ba Mannige* was an interactive program which provided phone-in facility to listeners. A facility called *NABARD VANI* gave a toll free number with pre recorded message for the benefit of the callers. Each program gave the mobile number of the resource persons or experts who participated in the radio programs. All these calls were monitored to understand the level of interactivity generated by this program. The analysis of *NABARD VANI* calls reveal that a total of 250 calls were made by listeners to *NABARD VANI* during 26 weeks consisting of 26 episodes denoting an average of 9.61 calls per program.

The resource persons consisting of farmers and Bank officials also interacted with the listeners. Their phone numbers both mobile and land lines were made available at the end of every program. A total of 2500 calls were received by the resource persons during the 26 weeks

**Graph 20**



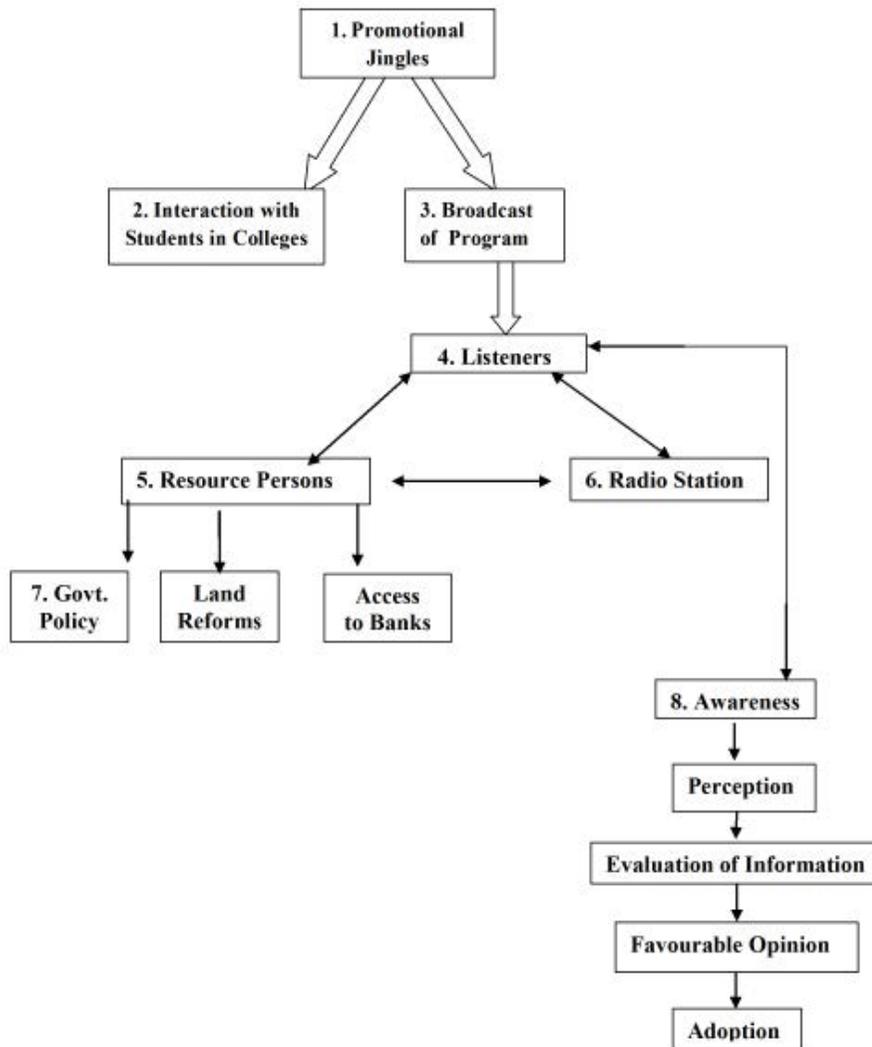
of broadcast. There were 52 bank officials and successful farmers as resource persons who interacted with the listeners and they generated 2500 calls meaning an average of 48.07 calls per resource person.

The effectiveness of the program is revealed by the response it generated during the broadcast. The analysis shows that the highest number of calls made to the resource person is 280 followed by 210, 200, 150 and 100 calls establishing the high level of participation by the listeners. Resource persons were flooded with high percentage of calls illustrating the level of usefulness of the program to the beneficiaries.

The qualitative analysis of calls reveals that listeners exhibited the following activities during the broadcast of the program.

- Collective listening by Farmers
- Listening program with pen and paper in hand for note taking
- Post broadcast discussion of the content and interaction with the resource persons
- Recording the program in the mobile in order to hear it again to understand the contents better
- Post broadcast visit to the farms cited in the Programs
- Adoption of new techniques in farming by shifting from single crop to multiple crop
- Easy access to bank officers over mobile phones by the farmers in remote areas.
- Increase in the level of optimism towards agriculture.

**Fig: Communication Model Illustrating the Process of Marali Ba Mannige Radio Program**



1. **Promotional Jingles:** Promotional jingles were broadcast preceding and following the program.
2. **Interaction with college students:** Radio station conducted quiz, talk shows, dialogues and discussions with students in their college premises before and during the period of the broadcast.

3. **Broadcast of programs:** 26 Episodes of *Marali Ba Mannige* was broadcast by all the stations of AIR in the State of Karnataka for 26 weeks in the evenings.
4. **Listeners:** Farmers and non farmers who listened to *Marali Ba Mannige* and some of them called radio stations and resource persons from their mobile phones and landline phones to get more information.
5. **Resource persons:** Listeners called resource persons from mobile and landline phones immediately after the broadcast and even after few days/weeks after the broadcasts. There were multiple calls made to the resource persons from the same listener.
6. **Radio station:** Radio station provided automatic pre recorded phone-in facility that recorded all the calls and gave instructions to the callers.
7. **Government Policy, Land reforms and Access to Banks:** Resource persons consisting of government officers created facilities in banks, government offices and agriculture departments to help farmers get facilities. Information is linked to change in facilities, reforms and other infrastructure created for farmers. Farmers could personally verify the information broadcast in the radio. Information is correlated with the efforts made to create facilities available to the stakeholders.
8. **Awareness, Perception, Evaluation of Information, Favourable Opinion and Adoption:** This is a process of communication. It depends on all the above Item Nos from 1-7 with item number 7 being instrumental in motivating the farmers to adopt the message.

## CONCLUSION

*Marali Ba Mannige* is a media initiative with a dual purpose.

Firstly, it reiterates its connectivity with farmers and secondly it aims to bridge the gap between youth and agriculture. The campaign assumes importance because the program was broadcast in mainstream media like *Akashvani*- the public broadcaster of India which perhaps has the world's largest network of radio stations with 98.9 percent reach and access. No private radio network in India can give the connectivity that *Akashvani* is capable of giving as the latter is also available in digital mode and its stations are in FM format that has improved the overall technical quality of the broadcast. In the age of private radio being driven by market forces, public radio assumes importance as it functions with a social agenda. *Marali Ba Mannige* is a relatively new movement born out of the expressed needs to bond with the youth and to sensitize them to adopt agriculture for employability. The program that was run like a campaign was multifaceted with a novel way of treatment of concept and use of technology to make it more interactive facilitating one-to-one dialogue with the listeners and converting radio into an ideal platform for debate, dialogue and discussion on agricultural and financial literacy. *Marali Ba Mannige* got the identity of voice of the farmer rather than that of public broadcaster there by winning the credibility in the process. The fact that the program generated 2500 calls shows that a non-commercial, non-music and non-film based program can capture the imagination of the people in making life changing decisions. The analysis of behavioural pattern shows collective listening among youth and post broadcast discussion establishing the high level participation. The findings show that the broadcasts have succeeded in connecting with the listeners as it devised a multipronged nonlinear approach in reaching the youth. The live face to face interaction with college students in their college premises preceding radio broadcasts is a good initiative that paved way for effective communication. The study shows that the program has been designed according to the needs and

priorities of the stakeholders and therefore succeeds in establishing connectivity with the masses. Here is one more example that shows how agriculture or farm radio programs should be designed and produced to accomplish the desired deliverables.

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## ANNEXURE-1

List of Resource Persons Participated in  
Marali Ba Mannige Radio Program

Sl. No.	Date	Resource person from Bank	Resource Person -Farmer
1	12-01-2014	H Bharathkumar	N R Surendra
2	19-01-2014	Shivananda S R	Shivarudra swamy N M
3	02-02-2014	Satish C Ballal	M N Tejas
4	09-02-2014	P.G.Harsha Vardhan	Basavaraj Eraish Mathapathi
5	16-02-2014	C. Krishana	K B Prathibha
6	23-02-2014	M S Basavesha	Gadigayya Shekaiah Hiremath
7	02-03-2014	Dr. L H Manjunath	Nagaraj Nayak
8	16-03-2014	Suryakantha R Ganga	R S Pateel
9	13-04-2014	D T Pai	K Nagaraj
10	27-04-2014	M G Bhat	G T Suresh
11	05-05-2014	N Narayana raju	S A Krishnaiah
12	12-05-2014	A B.Chandrashekar	A H Chennegowda
13	18-05-2014	Dr. S T Ramachandra	Ningonda Golappa Sinddagi
14	25-05-2014	Nagaraj udupa	K G Basavanagowda
15	01-06-2014	J S Veerabhadran	K Somashekar
16	08-09-2014	H S Sateesh	Shivakumara Pateel
17	15-06-2014	A K Narayanamurthy	Ajjappa Hanumantha Kulagod
18	22-06-2014	Venkatesh Keelkar	Narandra Dutta Kollur
19	29-06-2014	S L Yogesh	Zakir Hussain Modin saab Harogera
20	06-07-2014	B Subramanya Prabhu	K C Jyothi
21	24-08-2014	M P Jagadish Murthy	Siddanagowda Patil
22	31-08-2014	M S Raghavendra	Drakhnyani Rajashekar Nimbaragi
23	14-09-2014	Janadhanaiah	Balachandra Hegde saimane
24	21-09-2014	B R Praveen Kumar	Ravi Kantappa Shambu
25	28-09-2014	Anuradha Narahari	B R Virupaksha
26	05-10-2024	Bennuru Saranabassapa	H S Dayananda

## ANNEXURE-2

## List of Colleges Participated in Marali Ba Mannige Radio Program

Sl. No.	Name of the College	Taluk & District	Resource person from Bank	Resource Person -Farmer	No. of Students Participated
1	Bharathi College, Bharathi Nagar-24/01/2014	Maddur Taluk, Mandya District	Ramanuja D.T. Retd Manager, Syndicate Bank	A.V. Sadashivaiah K.V. Veena, Kunamuddana halli Ramanagara Tq. & Dist.	400
2	Government College 28/01/2014	Mandya	Dr. Manjunath L.H. Executive Director SDRDP	A R Vishwanath Annekatte, Tumkur Taluk & District	140
3	Government First Grade College-05/02/2014	K R Pet, Mandya District	Gurumurthy K. Retd General Manager, Kaveri Grameena Bank	Somesha B. Gramadevatepura, Malavalli Taluk	140
4	Government First Grade College-10/02/2014	KR Nagara Mysore District	Krishna Murthy H S Senior Manager, Syndicate Bank	Siddanagowda D. Patil Hubli	160
5	Government First Grade College-13/02/2014	Nagamangala, Mandya District	Siddesh S.G. Retd. CGM, NABARD	Lokesh, Tarinigere, Mandya District	120
6	Sri D Devarajurs First Grade college-17/02/2014	Hunsur, Mysore District	Chinnappa M.B. Rt. Chief Manager, SBM	Krishnaiah S.A. Sangapura Grama, Tumkur Taluk & District	180
7	Government First Grade College-20/02/2014	Gundlupet, Chamarajanagar District	1. Lakshakumar, LDM Jilla Margadarshi Bank, 2. Basavarajappa, Manager, SBM, Gundlupet	Ningunda Golappa, Basavana , Sindagi, Ukkali, Bagevade, Taluk HO, Bijapura District	160
8	Government First Grade College-25/02/2014	Chamarajanagar	1. L Jayashankar, Manager, Syndicate Bank, Chamarajanagar 2. S R Veerakumar, Kaveri Grameena Bank Mysore	Basavana Gowda K.G. Bagavadi, Davanagere District	170
9	Sri Y M Mallikarjunaswamy Government first grade College-05/03/2014	Yelundur, Chamarajanagar District	1. K Ramachandraiah, Manager, Canara Bank 2. M Mahadevappa, Manager, Kaveri Grameena Bank	Ajjappa Hanumantha Kulgodu, Sunnada, Ramadurga Taluk, Belgaum	250
10	Sri Mahadeshwara First Grade College-12/03/2014	Kollegal, Chamarajanagar District	1. P R Ravikanth, Manager, Canara Bank 2. Laksha Kumar, LDM, Margadarshi Bank, Chamarajanagar	Dayananda Sajjan, Kudligi, Bellary	150
11	Government First Grade College-19/03/2014	T-Narasipur, Mysore District	1.M.R. Hanumantharaya, Manager, Corporation Bank, T-Narasipur	1.Narendra Dutta D.Kollur Devalgansapura, Gulbarga District 2. Sadananda M. Mysore	150
12	Government First Grade College-26/03/2014	Nanjunagud Mysore District	Subramanya B Director, Cooperative Bank, Bidar	Ravi Kantappa Shumbo, Kangan kote, Bidar District	180

# An Analytical Study on the Role of Media in Promoting Higher Education among Rural Students

PRASHANTH V.  
PREMAVATHI

## **Abstract**

*India during the last two decades has seen substantial improvements in social, economic, education and other sectors. There is a tremendous growth in education fuelled by Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. Education a sector which is essential for development is confronted with regional divide towards access in the benefits more so towards higher education. Indian higher education system is facing four broad challenges as of now; the supply-demand gap, the low quality of teaching and learning, constraints on research capacity and innovation and uneven growth and access to opportunity. The researchers strongly believe that media has a potential to bridge the gap in a right way. The current study aims to analyse the level of understanding about higher education among the rural parents. And also tries to identify the role of media in aiding rural students for accessing higher education and its role in promoting higher education. The study uses survey method through structured questionnaire where 160 respondents from three taluks of Bangalore Rural District were selected for the purpose.*

**Key Words:** *Higher Education, Mass Media, Perception, Rural Parents*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

India during the last two decades has seen substantial progress in social, economic and education fronts. India has been experiencing tremendous growth in education in urban areas owing to the impact of globalization, liberalization, and privatization. However, there is no level playing field for people from low income groups and as a result the percentage of rural students getting access to higher education is still alarmingly low.

Media intervention in removing inequalities and regional imbalances in education has paid rich dividends. As a matter of fact the advent of Radio in the early 1930s popularized the concept of Radio literacy with its innate capacity of touching all lives irrespective of literacy. The process of development of higher education has the great potential of communication technologies and their integration in mass media leading to identifying remedies of the current shortcomings. The study therefore, focuses on the rural approaches towards the access to higher education and with that to analyse the role of media in promotion of higher education.

## **HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA**

The Indian higher education system is on the verge of undergoing unprecedented transformation in the next decade. Driven by economic and demographic change, India will be the world's third largest

economy by 2020, with a correspondingly rapid growth in the size of its middle classes. Currently, over 50 percent of India's population is young below 25 years and India will outpace China as the country with the largest tertiary age population. Despite significant progress over the last ten years, Indian higher education is faced with four broad challenges.

India has a low rate of enrolment in higher education, at only 18% compared with 26% in China and 36% in Brazil. There is enormous demand for higher education in India. By 2020, the Indian government aims to achieve 30% gross enrolment, which will mean providing 40 million seats in the university, an increase of 14 million in six years. The higher education today is riddled with the crisis bolstered by chronic shortage of faculty, poor quality teaching, outdated and rigid curriculum and pedagogy, lack of accountability and dearth of academic research by the teachers. With a very low level of PhD enrolment, India does not have enough high quality researchers. Problems like few opportunities for interdisciplinary studies, lack of early research culture in social sciences, management and humanities coupled with dearth of funds for innovative studies and low level of industry engagement. Socially, India remains highly divided as access to higher education is uneven with multidimensional inequalities in enrolment across population groups and geographies (British Council, 2014).

There is not even a single university or institution in India that is one of the ten top ranking institutions in the world. Most of the Indian colleges and universities lack state of art research facilities. Under investment in libraries, information technology, laboratories and classrooms make it very difficult to provide top quality instruction or engage in cutting edge research. This gap has to be bridged and

imbalance in enrolment among urban and rural population should be balanced for a sustainable growth. Hence the concerned people with policymaking, planning, administration and implementers of Higher Education should revitalize the very thinking on the subject and promotion of Higher Education and design a right model for all levels. (Singh, 2011).

Government has framed legislations to stem the crisis. The Higher Education and Research Bill, 2011, The National Academic Depository Bill, 2011, The National Accreditation Regulatory Authority for Higher Educational Institutions Bill, 2010. The Educational Tribunal Bill, 2010 and Foreign Educational Institutions Bill, 2010 are visible initiatives that the government has undertaken. 'Equity is at the heart of a good educational system. Kapil Sibal, the former HRD Minister, said "We don't have equity Indian Higher Education system is characterized by a large rural urban and gender divide. Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in rural India is estimated to be about 7%, while urban areas have a GER of about 23%. India's GER shows significant variability across regions" (Chakraborty, Nitu & Subhadeep, 2013).

## **NEED OF THE STUDY**

The information technology has the potential to revolutionize education. It has been proved in the past that media intervention can influence the learning needs of a society poised for a change. The use of media in education can maximize effectiveness as countries like India have limited options to explore amidst technological and economic constraints. Higher education can be a (potential) major catalyst towards social and economical development. The review of contemporary literature on media and higher education will enable

one understand the role of media in its sustainability transition. Hence the study was undertaken to analyse the level of perception of higher education among the rural people. Further, there is need to identify the role of media in empowering rural students by facilitating access to higher education.

## METHODOLOGY

Survey method was found to be more appropriate to undertake a study of this nature. The study was carried out in Bangalore Rural District in three Taluks of Nelamangala, Doddaballapur and Devanahalli. A sample of 160 respondents was selected by selecting 80 households consisting of parents and students studying in colleges and universities. The sample consisted of students and parents of 80 each. Only the students of higher education were purposively selected. A well designed questionnaire was used for data collection. Two different questionnaires were pre-tested and administered for both parent and student respondents.

## FINDINGS

Table-1

### Distribution of Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

Age of Students and Parents		
Age in years	f	%
a) 18-22	18	23
b) 22-25	44	55
c) 25-28	18	23
d) 28-38	30	38
e) 38-48	44	55
f) 48 >	5	6

## Education

Education	Father	Mother	Child-1	Child- 2
a) 0 -7 <sup>th</sup> std.	15 %	3 %	0	8 %
b) 7 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> std.	30 %	75 %	4 %	6 %
c) 10 <sup>th</sup> - PUC	49 %	23 %	5 %	20 %
d) Degree	6 %	0 %	55 %	23 %
e) PG &Above	0	0	36 %	11 %

Annual income	f	%
1. < 40,000/	14	8
2. 40,000/- to 1,00,000	39	49
3. 1,00,000 - 3,00,000	18	23
4. 3,00,000 >	9	11

Occupation of Parents	%
Administrative	3
Home maker	8
Technical expert	13
Professional	18
Agriculture labour	41
Animal Rearing	10
Others	6

Table-1 presents a profile of the demographic and socio economic characteristics of the respondents. The analysis of demographic features shows that the majority of the parent as well as student respondents (55%) are in the age groups of 38-48 years and 22-25 years respectively. The parents are less educated with less than 6 percent have the highest level of education of PUC to Degree. On the

contrary, over 55 percent of their children are students of PUC to Degree level of education. Over 47 percent of children of these parents are Post graduates. The study shows that majority of the parent respondents (49%) belong to lower middle income class earning less than Rs.1 lakh per annum. Around 18 percent earn less than Rs.40,000 per year who belong to the poorer section is a significant factor as their children have taken to higher education. The profession of the parents shows that majority (41%) of them are labourers in agriculture and less than 4 percent are in academics illustrating the importance given to education by these parents. Children of less educated parents have enrolled in degree and post graduate courses.

**Table-2 Parent's Attitude towards Education**

Attitude towards Education	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
1. Do you think that education is necessary for children?	78	98%	2	3%
2. Do you think that higher education is necessary for children?	74	93%	6	8%
3. Do you have any children pursuing higher education?	76	95%	4	5%
4. Has Mass Media inspired you to send children for higher studies	23	29%	54	68%

Data in Table-2 shows that distribution of respondents according to their attitude towards education. An overwhelmingly 98% of the parents have understood the importance of education and are aware of how crucial it is in defining the life of their children. A significant 93% of parent respondents opine that higher education is essential and absolutely necessary. Remarkably 95% of parents have children

who are pursuing higher education. The interesting and noteworthy fact is that the majority (68%) of the parents who have sent their children to higher education were not influenced by mass media. They do not attribute their decision to join colleges to mass media.

**Table-3 Influence of Media on Parents**

Influence of Media on Parents	Yes		No		Undecided	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Do you think that Mass media provide enough information on higher education?	20	25%	25	31%	36	45%
Media with Education Content						
Radio	24	30%	21	26%	5	6%
TV	45	56%	28	35%	7	9%
Newspaper	36	45%	12	15%	4	5%
New media	28	35%	20	25%	12	15%

Data in Table-3 shows that only 25% of parent respondents agree that mass media provide adequate information on higher education indicating the low exposure. Regarding mass media which carry more information on education, the study shows that parents feel that TV (56%) gives more information on education than newspaper (45%), new media (35%) and radio (30%).

**Table-4 Educational TV/Radio of Programs & Channel Viewing/Listening Pattern**

Programs	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
a) Science	34	42%	31	39%
b) UGC Programs	29	36%	33	41%
c) Literature	29	36%	31	39%
<b>Edu. Channel</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>%</b>
a) GyanVani	26	32%	54	67%
b) GyanDarshan	35	44%	19	24%
c) Any other	00	00	00	00

Data in Table-4 illustrates that 42% of parents have viewed programs related to science, 36% of them have seen UGC programs and the same percentage have watched literature programs. Regarding educational radio and tv channels, a high percentage of 44% have seen *Gyan Darshan* whereas 32% have listened to *GyanVani* radio programs denoting the awareness among rural parents about educational media.

**Table-5: Student's Attitude towards Education**

Attitude towards Education	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
Do you think that education is necessary for rural students?	80	100%	0	00
Do you also think that rural children should go for higher education?	72	90%	2	10%
Did you experience any difficulty in meeting the requirements of higher education because of rural background?	46	58%	34	42%

Data in Table-5 shows that distribution of student respondents according to their attitude towards education. 80% of the students are aware of the fact that education plays a crucial role in their life and 90% feels higher education is essential. 58% have admitted that they have faced difficulty in meeting the requirements of higher education.

**Table-6 Influence of Media on Students**

Impact of Media on Students	Yes		No		Not able to decide	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Do you think that Mass media provide enough information on higher education?	14	17%	38	48%	28	35%
<b>Media Influence</b>						
Has mass media inspired you to pursue higher studies?	26	32%	54	67%	-	-
Do you think that media should play a more proactive role in promoting formal education among rural students?	71	89%	9	11%	-	-

Data in Table-6 shows that 48% feel that media does not support students with adequate information on higher education and 35% are not able to justify the role of media in higher education. One can infer that media has played limited role in providing information on higher education. 67% respondents state media has inspired them to pursue higher studies. 87% respondents feel that media should play proactive role in the promotion of formal education.

**Table-7 Exposure of Students to Higher Education Information in Mass Media**

Media	Yes		No	
	f	%	f	%
Radio	8	10%	0	00
TV	2	03%	4	05%
Newspaper	4	05%	4	05%
New media	0	00	6	07%

Data in Table-7 shows the poor visibility of information pertaining to higher education in mass media. TV too lags behind in providing education based content illustrating its commercialization to the hilt. Only radio has better visibility followed by newspaper. Surprisingly, new media absolutely has low visibility among students with regard to access to higher education.

**Table-8 Influence of Media in Motivating Students for Higher Education  
(On a scale of 5-1)**

Level of Motivation	Scale	Ratings
Highly effective	5	<b>10%</b>
Effective	4	<b>39%</b>
Neutral	3	<b>41%</b>
Highly not effective	2	<b>00%</b>
Not effective	1	<b>08%</b>

Data in Table-8 shows the distribution of respondents on the basis of the level of motivation received from Media. About 39% have stated that media are effective, followed by 10% saying highly effective and 8% say that media are not effective in motivating students.

## CONCLUSION

College education opens the door to many opportunities that changes the lives of the students for ever. Higher levels of education correspond with more access to better jobs, good income, quality health care and better life. Highly educated people are more likely to engage in healthy behaviours, to be active and engaged citizens, and to be in positions to provide better opportunities to their children (Agarwal, 2006). Higher education is critical to India's aspirations of emerging

as a major player in the global knowledge economy. The global competitiveness of Indian industry and also its employment generation potential is clearly dependent on availability of required skilled and trained personnel. But as several recent studies have revealed the overall performance of Indian higher education is dismal posing a severe constraint in the supply of qualified manpower. Despite remarkable progress in reforms covering a number of sectors and sub-sectors of the economy, there is little informed debate on reforms in higher education (Ibid).

This study focused on both rural parents and rural students. It was found that most of the parents are aware of the need of education in present times. They feel that, it is also important to pursue higher education for the better living. But economic constraints, lack of facilities, lack of knowledge source and lack of awareness are the major bottlenecks in providing quality education in rural areas. The study shows that media in its present form does not play any significant role in influencing parents. The findings of the study denotes that the students are aware of the importance of higher education and the personal motivation helped them to pursue higher studies. Because of rural background, uncompetitive syllabus and lack of skills, rural students are less competitive in the highly competitive world. Their perception of media as a tool of education is really not satisfactory and they find media insignificant in bridging the gap between rural population and higher education. All media including television and new media have low visibility with regard to educational content in general and higher education in particular. The study concludes that media intervention in higher education in rural areas is highly insignificant.

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# Exit Polls of 2014 Lok Sabha Elections - The Accuracy of Poll Predictions in Indian Elections

**ASHA K.**

## Abstract

*Opinion polls and exit polls during election season in India has become a regular feature and they are controversial too. Over a period, exit polls have evolved as a more trusted form of getting to know the pulse of the voters. The 2014 Lok Sabha elections in India witnessed many media houses conducting exit polls. This write up reveals the degree of accuracy about the predictions made by media houses in their exit polls.*

**Key Words:** Exit polls, voters, NDA, UPA, Allies, Modi, Bayesian, LS polls 2014

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## INTRODUCTION

India, being the largest democratic nation of the world, always gets excited over elections and it was no different in 2014. The outcome of exit polls gave fodder for the media houses, in particular to television channels, to debate and discuss extensively the prospects of the main political parties and prime candidates in the fray. In India, it is a tough challenge to do poll predictions as majority of elections is multi-cornered fights. In addition, plurality in language, religion, disparities

in income, corrupting voters by political parties as well as candidates and many more factors make it difficult to predict the outcome. In the run up to the elections held over April and May in 2014, there was extensive coverage of poll campaigns of various political parties and its leaders. There were no dearth for experts' views in print, television and the Internet based media.

Prime political parties and candidates did their best to reach out to the voters. At times, the media, by and large, gave an impression that it was focussing more on one particular party and its prime candidate – the BJP and Narendra Modi. It was justifiable to a large extent because the BJP and in particular its prime ministerial candidate were hyper active in campaigning. The campaign of its rival Congress party and its leaders looked pale compared to the campaign blitz of the BJP. And naturally the BJP hogged more limelight in the media. The investment made by both the Congress and the BJP for staying alive in the media was huge.

Political pundits were consistent in predicting that the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) lead by the BJP would get the maximum seats of the total 543 *Lok Sabha* seats. The Modi-lead campaign for the BJP or NDA would ensure him the prime ministerial seat was the common opinion. However, the detractors of the BJP and in particular Modi were not ready to buy this projection or propaganda. This was mainly because the BJP is known for creating media hype regarding its poll fortunes. It had done in the previous LS elections. The best example was 'India Shining' campaign by the BJP in 2004. Eventually, the party did not shine and badly lost the elections. In 2009 also the BJP could not live up to its tall claims of coming to power.

## OBJECTIVES

1. To study whether the exit polls predicted the election results right;
2. To analyze the methods followed by certain prime agencies in conducting exit polls;
3. To examine whether the exit polls lead to any surprises;
4. To study the level of criticism, controversy and errors following the outcome of exit poll;

## METHODOLOGY

Content analysis method was adopted to analyze the survey findings of exit poll surveys conducted by the research agencies and media organizations in the 2014 *Lok Sabha* elections in India. Content analysis is a technique that provides opportunity to study the content published or broadcast in media in terms of news reports and news analysis. The content analysis method helps in the analysis of the methodology adopted by the researchers of exit polls and the technique used to analyze the data. The study explores the different methods adopted by the researchers of exit polls to understand the degree of accuracy in their predictions. Exit polls is all about making predictions in the elections based on the opinion collected from voters post voting. The content analysis helps in understanding the method of study, sample design and techniques of analysis in exit polls published in the mainstream media.

### Meaning of Exit, Entrance, Post Poll & Opinion Poll

There are various ways of feeling the pulse of voters or study the reasons as to why they prefer or reject a particular candidate or a party. All the four types of surveys have different purposes and approach. An exit poll of an election is gathering of votes polled after voter comes out of the actual polling station or meeting the voters in

their residence after the polling is over. The information collected at the polling station from the individual voters is analysed presuming that the voters have given accurate information about their vote to the field investigators of the research agencies. Exit poll is diagonally opposite of opinion poll. If the voters are asked to whom they intend to vote, then it is called the opinion poll. If the poll is conducted before the voters cast their vote, it is called an entrance poll.

When it comes to post poll survey, according to the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) of New Delhi, it is a state of art method of survey which it has developed. In this method, voters are interviewed after the polling is completed at their residences and not at the polling booths or on the street. It is done in a relaxed environment. It is an exercise to read the pulse of voters and also to go beyond that – as to why a particular candidate/party became the preference.

In the recent years, newspapers and television houses are opting for exit polls. May be because the opinion polls have gone horribly wrong in the past and at the same time, the exit polls have been nearer to the reality conducted by certain agencies.

The surveys are conducted mainly to kill the curiosity of readers/viewers. In case of TV stations, the telecast of exit polls or general survey results increase the Television Rating Point (TRP) tremendously and thus also brings in revenue through advertisements. Duration of the telecast of the results turns into prime time. The early indication of the results before the actual results are announced also lead to betting with punters becoming hyper active. Share markets too respond to the poll predictions.

There were instances when the media organisations which were controlled financially by politicians or political parties, tweaking the

survey results to woo undecided voters or to create euphoria for the party/candidate of their choice. But this tendency was checked to a considerable extent during the LS 2014 season because the outcome of the surveys was announced only after the final phase of voting. This is being done as per the directions issued by the Election Commission of India.

Another purpose of exit poll (or the survey) is to find or to get a rough indication to the degree of election fraud. The Venezuelan recall referendum in 2004 and the Ukrainian presidential election 2004 are the recent examples of the poll fraud. Marcel van Dam, a Dutch sociologist and former politician, is credited with having designed the exit poll. It was first conducted during the Dutch legislative elections in 1967. It is not that exit polls are fool-proof. There will be margin of error. The example for showing the error is the 1992 United Kingdom general elections. Two exit polls were conducted and both had predicted a hung parliament. But the actual results made way for the Conservative Party to become the ruling party. However, the party did not have good majority. Investigations revealed that the methodology was unscientific. Differential response rates, inadequate demographic data and poor choice of sampling points were among the reasons for the exit polls to off the mark. In the US, the National Election Pool comprising ABC, AP, CBS, CNN, Fox News and NBC conduct a joint exit poll. In the US, exit polls have faced with criticism and the prime reason was that the results were in public domain before the voting. Such announcements could influence both positively and negatively on the voting pattern and finally the results.

In India too announcement of exit poll results much before the final phase of voting had come under criticism. The resistance had come mainly from political parties itself. The allegations were that

surveys were not scientific. They were branded as partisan in nature and collection of fictitious data to favour a party or an individual. However, over a period, conducting the survey has become more scientific and thus credibility has improved to certain extent. Media houses and research organisations have become cautious enough not to lose their reputation by doing a hotchpotch job or churning out data to suit someone's requirement.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

It was during the 2014 LS elections that India saw agencies conducting the surveys becoming more cautious. Credibility topped the agenda of the agencies as viewers/readers had developed cynicism over exit polls because consistently the results were wrong.

In 2014, the Election Commission of India barred media houses from announcing exit poll results till the poll results were announced. However, this decision of the EC was not acceptable to the media organizations as they found it illogical. Later the EC withdraw its decision and allowed the announcement of the exit poll results after 6.30 pm on May 12, 2014 the last day for voting for the LS elections. And, all TV channels religiously followed this instruction.

It is at this juncture, the exit polls/post poll surveys conducted by certain agencies for the media houses became interesting and crucial. The TV channels which had commissioned the surveys were Times Now, CNN-IBN, Headlines Today, ABP News, News24 and India TV among others. Each English TV channel had tied up with a different agency and the results were different. (See the chart 1)

In run up to the 2014 polls, News Express, a TV channel, had released the footages of a sting operation named Operation Prime Minister which alleged that a number of polling agencies were into

malpractices. It said the numbers were being fudged to project Modi as the front-runner and this was done to influence undecided voters. The allegations were against Ipsos, a global market research company and Centre for Voting Opinion & Trends in Election Research (CVoter), a polling agency, which had contractual agreement with the India Today group, which is into publication business. Finally, the agreement had to be suspended.

The irony was that the promoters of News Express, *Sai Prasad* Group, itself came under criticism as it was alleged to have involved in money laundering cases and were facing investigations. It came to light that the channel was backed by a ruling party which was not doing well as per the opinion polls. Later the India Today group and various other media groups carried the findings of the CVoter.

Agencies adopt different types of survey methodologies. Following explains the methodology followed by certain media houses/agencies;

As per the details hosted by NDTV, a prominent commercial broadcasting television network, on its website, the methodology adopted by it is as follows. It had conducted both Polling Booth Surveys and Post Poll Household Surveys in association with Hansa Research, a global market research agency.

1. Polling Booth Exit Polls: The sample size was 63,740 selected randomly in polling booths across the country. A randomised selection of voters was asked as to which party they voted for once they were out of polling booths.
2. Post Poll Exit Polls: The sample size was 91,712 voters.

The elections were held in a phased manner and the exit polls were conducted on the day of elections. Every fifth voter was

interviewed to indicate the candidate/party for which he/she had voted. The exit polls were conducted over select 265 LS constituencies across 19 major states. The proportion of constituencies covered was higher in states where major political changes had taken place. For example, in undivided Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, and New Delhi among others the selection of constituencies was more. Parliamentary constituencies chosen for the exit polls were representative of the socio-political regions within the state.

On an average there are eight assembly constituencies in a parliament segment. Three assembly constituencies (AC) were randomly selected and in all 795 assembly constituencies (AC) were considered for collecting the output across the country. This included 3,150 randomly selected polling booths.

For each booth two interviewers were assigned for one hour. Later they were moved to another booth. The information they elicited from the respondents were stored in tablet computers. The voter indicated their preference of candidate and the party symbol displayed on the screen. But their choice was not exposed to the interviewers.

The agency also conducted Post Poll Survey with voters randomly selected from the electoral rolls after the conclusion of the elections. The interviews were conducted over 1 to 8 days after the polling. The sampling was done over 330 LS constituencies across 19 states. The states selected were those selected for the exit polls.

In each parliamentary constituency (PC) three assembly constituencies were randomly selected. A total of 990 ACs were sampled and the polling booths involved were 3,224. The total interviewers were 92,000. There were no differences between the method followed to collecting and storing the data between the exit and post poll surveys.

The voters' list was the base for selecting the voters randomly. The interviews' outcome was recorded on tablet computers. The candidate along with the party symbol was selected by each voter to show his/her choice. All data was weighed to reflect the constituency profile on gender and religion/caste.

## **FINDINGS**

In all, six surveys were conducted by prime agencies and the NDA was in the broad range of 257-340 seats. The average was calculated on the basis of the range given for each party and political front. Eventually, the NDA scored 336 and thus topped the score card of the Lok Sabha elections and the UPA won 59 seats. So, the actual results did not go beyond the surveys' polls average of 340 seats for the NDA.

1. Pre-election polls sample size in 2 phases – 90,339
2. Pre-election update polls sample size – 14,772
3. Pre-election telephone re-contact sample size – 18,324  
(This was done during the poll duration)
4. Post-election exit polls sample size – 63,740
5. Post-election post poll- 91,712
6. Total interviews over the polling schedule – 2,78,837

## **Other highlights**

1. Interviews were conducted in homes and not in public places
2. The questions were well thought of and no random questions were asked by the interviewers
3. Data collection process was through simulated ballot box for recording the choice of the voter .
4. The exit poll results of NDTV-Hansa when announced on May 14, 2014, it said that the sample size was 1.55 lakh with a two per cent margin of error.

## CNN IBN-LOKNITI-CSDS

CNN IBN had tied up with *Lokniti*-CSDS for the post-poll survey of the elections. The Delhi-based political research centre, *Lokniti*, under the banner of Election Tracker, did the post poll survey and not exit poll as done by other channels/organisations. The Hindu newspaper published the CSDS survey results.

The exit poll is conducted on the day of polling. It is collecting information from voters as to whom they voted. In case of post-poll, which is developed by Comparative Democracy at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) according to Dr Sandeep Shastri, political analyst working with CSDS, voters are interviewed after the polling. It need not be conducted in a hurried manner soon after the voting is done. It is not only collecting information as to whom voters voted for but also to find out as to why they preferred a particular party or a candidate. It is also an academic exercise regarding elections and voters are randomly selected from the electoral rolls, says Dr Shastri.

As per the *Lokniti* team, the methodology followed was collecting the opinion after the polling and before the results were announced. The survey was conducted in 26 states. Of the 543 LS constituencies, 306 were included for the survey. Within the LS constituencies, 347 assembly segments encompassing 1,388 polling stations were included.

1. The constituencies were sampled using the Probability Proportionate to Size Method (PPS).
2. Four polling stations within each of the assembly constituency were selected.
3. The method used was the Systematic Random Sampling (SRS).
4. The voters were selected from the electoral rolls prepared by

the Election Commission.

5. From each polling station –interaction was with 25 respondents in rural polling station and 30 respondents in urban polling booths.
6. Of the 37,000 respondents selected randomly, 22,295 voters were successfully interviewed.
7. Field investigators/staff interviewed the respondents to find out to whom they voted for and the reasons for their choice.
8. A standard questionnaire was circulated to the respondents.
9. At the same time, they were given a dummy ballot paper on which they were asked to indicate their choice of preference. The ballot papers were collected in a dummy ballot box.
10. The voters interviewed remained anonymous. The interviews were conducted at the voters' residence.
11. The interaction with the voters helped in understanding the political opinions within the context of broader social and economic factors.
12. Grouping of the states were done using a statistical technique known as weighing. Each state was proportionately represented in the analysis.

The data collected were analysed by a research team of the CSDS consisting political scientists.

Today's *Chanakya* is a Delhi-based political research organisation and a registered trademark of RNB Research, a member of the American Marketing Association. It had carried out the exit poll on the day of polling in the respective states in each phase and post poll study in each phase. News24 TV channel had tied up with Today's *Chanakya* for using the exit poll outcome.

According to the organisation, the entire system of conducting

the poll is based on a ‘seven layer spectrum model’, designed especially for Indian elections. The survey covered 22 states, including Delhi and Union Territory of Chandigarh.

News24-Today’s *Chanakya* exit poll had generated a lot of debate and raised many eyebrows with their predictions of election results in the past. With almost exact predictions, News24 exit polls had emerged as the most proven and credible exit poll.

For the Delhi assembly polls, News24 had predicted 29 seats for the BJP, 10 for the Congress and 31 for the AAP. The results were almost on the same lines – the BJP 32 (31+1- *Shiromani Akali Dal*), the Congress 8 and the AAP 28.

Today’s *Chanakya* predicted a *Modi wave* in the country with the BJP bagging 291 seats (+/- 14 seats). The Congress may reach as low as 57 seats (+/- 9 seats). It had predicted that the BJP would be in a position to form the government on its strength. It had projected 340 (+/-14) seats for the NDA, 70 (+/-9) for the UPA and 133 (+/- 11 seats) for others. The survey results by and large tallied with the final results.

#### **Methodology of *Chanakya***

1. The exit day poll conducted on the day of polling during each phase.
2. It conducted post poll study too in each phase.
3. In all, 22 states were covered.
4. The Seven Layer Spectrum Model was followed for analysing the data. However, the organisation has not revealed what this spectrum model is.
5. Stratified sampling technique was primarily employed to make homogenous subgroups. In this method of sampling of population subpopulations within a population is also surveyed. Each smaller group were independently surveyed.

6. All possible sampling error was reduced to obtain a homogenous representative sample.
7. Data regarding age, sex, social class, household, work status, literacy level among others were collected.
8. Proper weights were assigned to ensure the data reflects the socio economic conditions of the state/region.
9. The margin of sampling error was +/- 3.6 percentage points with 95 pc confidence level.

V K Bajaj, CEO of the Company had said, “We have been correct about 99 percent times. The company specialises in sample survey. We believe in quality of the samples and not just quantity”. The sampling was done as per caste and religious configuration of a constituency. “We check and re-check the sample size to ensure that most parts of a constituency are covered. No community that can impact poll result is left out and we use multiple question method to catch the voter’s preference,” a spokesman had said. However, in general the organisers are not very forthcoming in explaining the exact methodology they adopted. The same team had got it right in the 2009 LS elections, the state elections held in Delhi in 2013 and Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. At that time too a representative of the organisation while declining to share specific details of the methodology followed, had just said that his organisation was into market research segment for the last two decades. A spokesman had said that the agency had correctly predicted the UK and US elections besides various state elections.

Unlike polling agencies like CVoter, AC Nielsen and CSDS whose electoral polls are exclusively commissioned and released by a media partners, Today’s *Chanakya*’s numbers are often put out by the agency through press release or even on twitter Bajaj had said

that face to face interviews, pen-and-paper questionnaires, and ‘mystery shopping’ a tool usually used in market research that involves not disclosing to the respondent that he/she is being interviewed for a poll. Vote share and seat share numbers disclosed and nothing else. It strictly complied with standards laid down by the market research industry body Esomar, he had said.

Mint, a business newspaper, on May 27, 2014, while analysing the poll results and the survey results of Today’s *Chanakya*, had said that it was a triumph for the Bayesian method. It was written that it was for the first time the method was used in India. It was reported that in a Bayesian opinion poll, pollsters use prior knowledge of a population to construct a prior distribution of how the population will vote. Later, interviews are conducted among a random sample of the target population and update the distribution and finally use this to make the forecasts. The advantages, according to the report, are that the sample size required is smaller and pollsters make use of any prior information available. The survey method under the Bayesian model need not be even random. If pollsters can identify that the preferences of a particular set of people reflect that of a larger population, then can precisely target such people in the survey without losing accuracy. The downside with this method is that constructing prior distributions can sometimes be an art rather than a science. And, errors could have a cascading effect. As per the Wikipedia, Bayesian probability is one of the different interpretations of the concept of probability. It can be seen as an extension of propositional logic that enables reasoning with hypothesis. – ie. the propositions whose truth or falsity is uncertain. Bayesian probability belongs to the category of evidential probabilities – to evaluate the probability of a hypothesis, the Bayesian probability specifies some prior probability which is

then updates in the light of new, relevant data or evidence. The interpretation provides a standard set of procedures and formulae to perform this calculation.

The term Bayesian refers to the 18<sup>th</sup> century mathematician and theologian Thomas Bayes. He provided the first mathematical treatment of a non-trivial problem of Bayesian inference. Mathematician Pierre-Simon Laplace pioneered and popularised Bayesian probability.

The polling agencies had also projected vote share of each party in states. But while some agencies were more accurate in projecting vote share nearer to the reality, some agencies failed to translate the vote share into seats. The vote share only shows the party’s strength in a particular constituency or area. However, it is number of seats which decide the fate of a political party. Hence, more than vote share, it is seat projects which are taken seriously. While Hansa turned out to be better than any other agency in predicting vote share, Today’s *Chanakya* could come nearer to the final results when it comes to seats projection as its seat share projections were correct in many northern states. Still, almost all agencies had predicted that vote share of the NDA would be more than the UPA and finally, it did come true. There are arguments that the success of an exit poll is rated going by the estimate of the vote share accurately.

## CONCLUSION

The exit polls of various agencies had predicted that the BJP lead NDA may come to power. The surveys had put the NDA’s seats on an average of 257-340 seats. The NDA would cross the half way mark of 272. The Congress lead UPA would be witnessing its poorest performance though it may stand second in the results tally chart was the prediction. The final results proved both right. While the

methodology adopted by various agencies differed, the common prediction was that the BJP, under the leadership of Narendra Modi, would do far better than any other party and thus come to power. Times Now projected that the UPA would get as high as 148 seats, the rest of the agencies, be it TV or a research agency, did not project the UPA crossing the 100 mark. In case of the NDA, Times Now's projection was 249 seats, while the rest of the agencies, except Today's *Chanakya* did not give more than 300. Finally, the projection of the Today's *Chanakya* came nearer to the truth.

The sample size and methodology adopted by each agency was different. Though Today's *Chanakya* performed impressively when it comes to converting the vote share into seats, its outcome when it comes to vote share in many states was not nearer to the actual results. Hansa's vote share prediction was much more accurate than any other agency. More than the quantity of sample size, the quality of sample size mattered much to feel the pulse of voters. The Bayesian method may be a good scientific method for analysing the poll predictions, it is not a fool-proof method and this was proved in the LS polls when it comes to projecting the voting percentage. Pollsters, by and large, are yet to expertise in projecting vote share and converting the vote share into seats. There was not much controversy about the outcome of the exit polls though some agencies could not do a professional job. Except one incident, there were no complaints regarding rigging.

The credibility of exit polls is increasing, Unlike in the past, in the LS 2014 elections, the exit polls proved more right than wrong as in the past. For media houses, conducting exit polls has become essential as it has become part and parcel of election history. Charles Fredrick Mosteller, a globally acclaimed statistician, had come out with certain methods to convert vote share into seats. He had come

out with eight methods to measure the accuracy of a pre-election poll. However, so far there is no fool-proof method.

While one Mosteller method is to calculate the difference in percentage points between the winner's predicted and the actual proportion of the total vote cast, another is the difference in percentage points between the winner's predicted and actual proportions of the votes received by the first two top candidates. The difference of the oriented difference between predicted and actual percentage result for the two top candidates also forms the Mosteller method. In the 2014 elections, the NDA could get 38 pc of the vote total votes polled, while the UPA managed to get 22.8 pc. When the Mosteller 2 method was applied, the results of NDTV Hansa stood first, while India Today Cicero emerged as the poorest. (Chart 3 & 4)

**Table-1**

***Majority of the exit polls indicated that the NDA lead by the BJP would be way ahead of other parties in the 2014 LS elections. Here is the outcome of the exit polls.***

Political Party/Research Agency of Exit Poll	NDA	BJP	UPA	Congress	Left	Others
CNN-IBN-CSDS Lokniti	272-282	230-242	92-102	72-82	14-20	111-143
Times Now Org	249	210	148	105	17	146
Chanakya	340	291	70	57	12	133
NDTV-Hansa Research	279	235	103	79	NA	161
ABP-Nielson	281	249	97	73	24	141
India TV-C Voter	289	250	101	78	20	98
Actual Results	336	283	59	44	10	148*

\*Total LS Seats -543; NDA+UPA+Others = 36+59+148

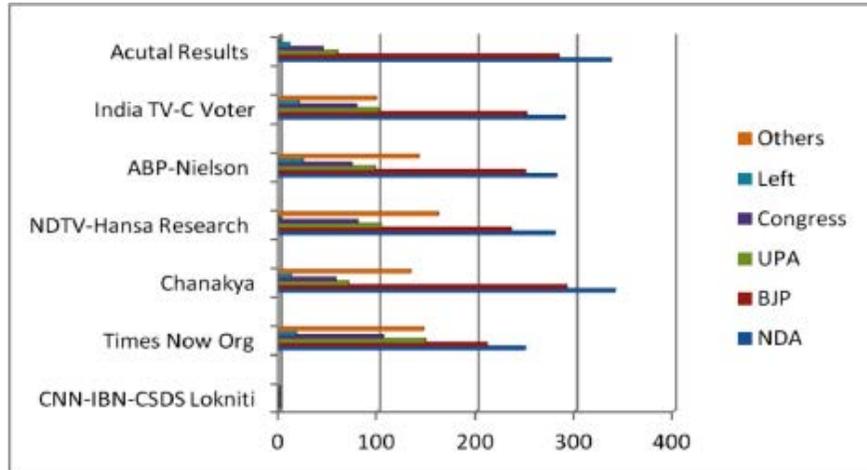


Figure 1 Graphic analysis of Exit Polls Results

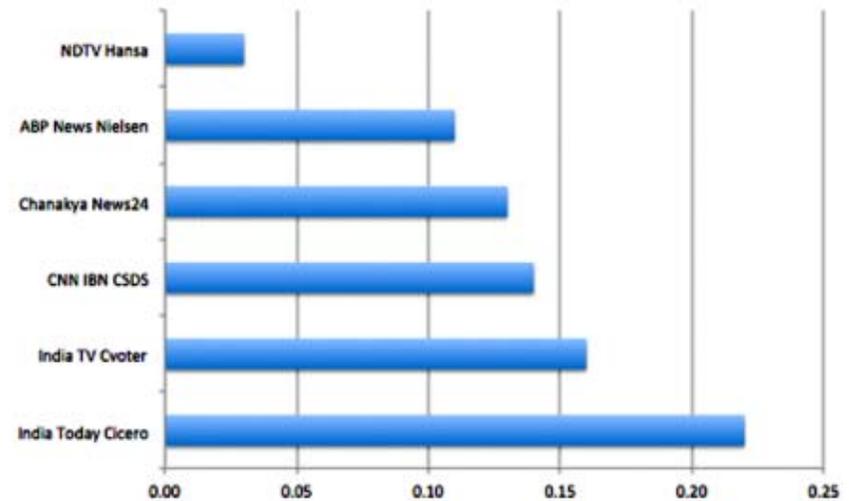


Figure 2 Graphic Analysis of Vote Shar (Source: chunauti.org)

Table - 2

Parties	Projected Vote Shares Seats			Actual Results	
	Research Organisations	Vote Share (%)	Seats	Vote Share (%)	Seats
BJP	Hans Research	38	53	42.3	71
	Today's Chanakya	34	70(+/-7)		
BSP	Hans Research	17	7	NA	0
	Today's Chanakya	22	3(+/-2)		
SP	Hans Research	21	13	22.2	5
	Today's Chanakya	23	4(+/-2)		
Congress	Hans Research	14	7	7.5	2
	Today's Chanakya	12	3 (+/-1)		

The exit poll results, vote share projections and the actual results in Uttar Pradesh show that while Hansa Research organisation did an impressive job while projecting the vote share of political parties, Today's Chanakya did well in converting the vote share into seats (Note: Apna Dal won 2 seats)

On chunauti.org, it has been reported that under the Mosteller 2 method, the ranking is given to the exit polls based on how far they deviated from the vote share ratio in their own estimates. The NDTV Hansa poll performed the best, while the India Today Cicero poll did the poorest. Graph showing the deviation from the vote share ratio in their own estimates

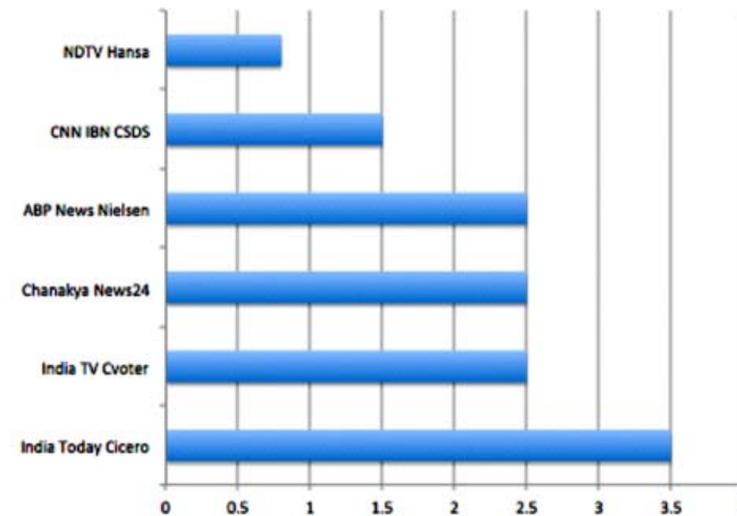


Figure 3 Graph Showing the Percentage of Deviation from the Vote Share Ratio in their Own Estimates (Source: chunauti.org)

On *chunauti.org* it has been reported that using the Mosteller 5 method, it was found that NDTV Hansa did the best again with a deviation of only 0.8 percentage points from the actual vote share gap between the NDA and the UPA CNN IBN CSDS came second, and India Today Cicero was last once again.

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# Economic Reforms : Income Tax Without Borders

RAGHU. G  
RAMESH

## Abstract

*The concept of global village has spread far and wide almost dissolving national boundaries. A vast majority of countries levy tax on income earned by their residents from sources inside and outside their own territory, which means that they apply the “worldwide income principle” which otherwise is called income tax without borders. This concept of borderless taxation or cross border taxation has gained currency due to the emergence of multinational companies. Many issues like Transfer Pricing Place of Permanent Establishment, Double Taxation Treaty, U N Model Vienna Convention and other key issues are the result of debate on Taxation without Borders. These cross border transaction or taxation without borders from Indian perspective has, in recent past, have resulted in unsettling quite a few revenue officials as well as tax professionals. The present paper looks at the concept of tax without borders and its dimensions. This point of view paper tries to look into the debate with regard to the cross border taxation within the framework of Indian polity.*

**Keywords:** *Borderless Taxation, Double Taxation, Constitution, Judiciary*

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## INTRODUCTION

The concept of global village has spread far and wide almost dissolving national boundaries. This resulted in new problems between Resident State and Residuary State, giving rise to the new debate in international taxation. Many issues like Transfer Pricing Place of Permanent Establishment, Double Taxation Treaty, U N Model Vienna Convention and other key issues influenced the policy of Taxation without Borders.

A vast majority of countries levy tax on income earned by their residents from sources inside and outside their own territory, which means that they apply the so called “worldwide income principle” which is otherwise known as income tax without borders. Many countries levy tax on income derived by non-residents, if such income flows from sources situated within the country (source principle) meaning residents of the concerned countries are subjected to unlimited (or full) tax liability in their home country. Whereas, limited tax liability is imposed upon non-residents. In many a cases, there will be a co-existence of limited and unlimited tax liability leading to the origin of double taxation.

Along with this, the problem of international taxation is further complicated by several judicial pronouncements and conflicting orders of the Authority for Advance Ruling. This concept of borderless taxation or cross border taxation is attributed to the emergence and growth of multinational companies making business international. One of the practices of multinational corporations which have given rise to particular concern among the countries in which they operate is the fixing of prices of goods and services traded between the corporations and its affiliates located in different countries.

The validity of the tax is to be determined with reference to the

competence of the legislature at the time when the taxing law was enacted. The law must be enacted by the appropriate body as per the guidelines enshrined in the Act. The tax laws must not violate the conditions laid down in the Constitution and at the same time must not contravene the special provisions of the Constitution. Tax in order to be valid must be authorized by a statute and also be levied or collected in strict conformity with the law. “No tax can be imposed by any bye law, rule or regulation unless the statute under which the subordinate legislation made specifically authorizes the imposition, and the authorization must be express not implied” (Bimal Chandra Banerjee Vs State of MP, 1971).

The Indian Constitution clearly enshrines that the statute should clearly and unambiguously convey the three components of the tax law, viz., the subject of the tax, the person who is liable to pay the tax and the rate at which the tax is to be paid. In present economic scenario, the economy of one country does not exist in isolation, but it affects and is affected by the policies and laws of other countries as well. It is undisputed fact that the taxation law of the country plays a significant role in international trade and business. Whether it is favorable or unfavorable the taxation affects the inflow and outflow of investment funds. It is here the agreements and treaties signed between different countries come into play. States encourage international trade and commerce through bilateral treaties and procures a maximum benefit by taxing all accumulating income.

The fundamental principle of taxation is that no income should be taxed twice. International double taxation arises when two or more countries exercise jurisdiction over the same income and tax it resulting in double taxation for single income. In such a situation both, the country of domicile of the income earner and the country in which

the income accrues, arises or is received, claim the right to tax it. (Pandey, 2000). This is the concept of ‘Bilateral relief ‘. Today, almost all countries have entered into agreements for the purpose of double taxation avoidance or double taxation relief. Section 90 of Indian Income Tax Act 1961 states that the Central Government is empowered to enter into agreements with other countries for the purpose of double taxation relief. The OECD (Organization of European Economic Cooperation and Development) and the UN (United Nations) have prepared process of double taxation treaties applicable to all countries.

The theory of double taxation encompasses the concept of “Permanent Establishment” or “PE”. The concept of Permanent Establishment is very crucial for the purpose of determination of tax liability. It is defined as “a fixed place of business through which the business of an enterprise is wholly or partly carried out” (UN Model, 2001). The existence of permanent establishment is the decisive condition for taxing a foreign enterprise by a contracting state. But, the definition of a permanent establishment has been the subject of much controversy. Prof. Klaus Vogel stated that “growing economic interdependence on an international scale resulted in treaty practice narrowing more and more the definition of the term Permanent Establishment particularly among industrialized countries.” (Vogel, 1997)

## DISCUSSION

The International Double Taxation arises, when two states exercise their sovereign power to tax the same person on the same income. Although, the fundamental principle of taxation is that no income can be taxed twice, countries apply different rules of taxation, which invariably lead to the problem of international double taxation. The three principles of rule of taxation generally applied are:

1. The Jurisdictional Principle
2. The Source Principle
3. The Nationality Rule

**The Jurisdictional Principle:** In this principle a state taxes the worldwide income of a person within its territorial jurisdiction. Indian Income Tax Act of 1961 follows the jurisdictional rule which is applied according to Section 5(1) of the Income-Tax Act 1961. All income of a person ordinarily residing in India for that assessment year is to be taxed.

**The Source Principle:** Under the source principle, income earned from all sources within the territorial jurisdiction of a state are to be taxed by the state. Here source is the point from where income originates or surfaces. (1941)

**The Nationality Rule:** This rule involves combining the nationality of a person along with the source or residence principle. It is not very common but is practiced in few states such as USA, Mexico and the Philippines. In USA, citizens worldwide are taxed on their income irrespective of residence. Companies incorporated in the US are taxed despite their place of management and control outside US.

Double taxation effects are more significant for a developing economy as no corporation wants to be taxed twice on income earned through a single transaction. Double taxation could create circumstances where foreign investments are virtually nil and the concept of free flow of trade remains mere theoretical. To overcome this problem the taxation methodology has been changed. Double taxation treaty is an agreement between two contracting states to mitigate taxation of the income on a person whereby, a contracting state might relinquish its right to tax for obtaining certain economic advantages necessary for the smooth functioning of trade and investment in the economy.

Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DTAA) helps in accessing the state's right to tax. The right to tax might be given to the country where the income arises or to the country of residence. This conflict of the interest between the source and the residence states remained unresolved giving rise to a need for uniformity of taxation laws which would act as guidelines and help reconcile such conflicting interests in the international field. The OECD model aimed at avoidance of double taxation in 24 developed countries in the beginning. Most of the countries do not have their own models; they tend to rely on the OECD or the UN model.

This concept of borderless taxation is nothing but the taxation of electronic commerce in its widest sense, meaning consumer and business transactions conducted over a network, using computers and telecommunications. In other words, it is nothing but exchange of goods or services for value on the Internet. It includes inter alia, online shopping, online trading of goods and services through electronic fund transfers, electronic data exchanges and online trading of financial instruments.

This method of carrying on a business is widely different from the traditional practice of business. Traditional businesses have rested squarely on the physical delivery of goods. However, in doing business via the Internet physical presence of goods is not required. Consequently, geographical boundaries between nations hold no significance. In such type of transactions physical delivery of goods is not necessary especially where the goods and services are available in digital form e.g., computer software, music magazines, drawings, etc., where physical transactions are replaced by transfer of bytes. E-commerce transactions can be completed almost instantaneously across the world and irrespective of the time of the day. The term income tax without

borders is not defined under international tax treaties. In fact, there is no such terminology called Borderless Taxation but it has assumed importance because of the circumstances under which various provisions of international taxation have assumed the status of borderless transactions.

Due to absence of national boundaries, and physical presence of goods and non-requirement of physical delivery, taxation of e-commerce transactions gives rise to several issues. International taxation arises from cross border transactions where the author of the transactions is in one country (Home State) and the transaction is in another country (Host State). Income arising out of such transactions will be subject to tax in both countries by virtue of personal attachment to the transfer in the home state and by virtue of 'economic attachment' to the income in the host state. This gives rise to double taxation on the same income. (Devarajan & Priya, 2004). The taxable jurisdiction of any country covers its national boundaries. Besides this, the territorial jurisdiction also includes territorial sea and airspace covering the territorial waters, continental shelf, and exclusive economic zone. The situation of cross border taxation becomes more complex due to economic and technological progress of a country. In order to find a solution the emphasis is placed on the effective management rather than on Permanent Establishment.

Double taxation agreements are mainly based on "recognized principles of international taxation". Tax conventions are international treaties concluded between two or more sovereign states. The main text of a treaty is completed by accompanying documents mainly called as 'protocol', sometimes as "exchange of letters", "exchange of notes", memo of understanding". Legally, these documents form part of the treaty and their comments are equally binding as the provisions of the

main text. (Mathur, Gori & Sonntag, 2013).

The tax payer entering into a cross border transaction may be liable to be taxed in his home country on his income. This is generally called as “Residence Rule”. He may also be taxed in the country from where he earns income even though he is not a resident of that country. This is referred to as “Source Rule”. International Tax treaties like any other international treaty, are binding and the government which is party to treaty, cannot, generally deny any benefits that are available to a taxpayer under the treaty. The tax payer, who wants to access a treaty, should necessarily be a resident of at least one of the two countries in which the treaty is accessed. The Finance Act, 2012 has inserted new sub-section (4) in section 90 of the Act with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April 2013. It states that, assessee claiming benefit under any treaty should first prove his residence in that country. Now a non resident assessee shall be entitled to claim benefit under treaty only after producing a certificate, containing such other particulars as may be prescribed of his being a resident in any country outside India, obtained from the government of that country. In situations where the taxpayer is a resident of both the countries and as the domestic tax law criteria for determining the residential status would differ from country to country the treaties provide a mechanism to determine the residential status of such tax payer by applying “tie breaking test.” Now the resident of a third country cannot have access to treaty. However, if he establishes an entity in one of the two countries that have entered into a treaty in order to take advantage of the provisions of that treaty then it is called “treaty shopping”

The Indian Supreme Court in one of the celebrated judgments in the case of *Union of India vs Azadi Bachao Andolan* (Thar & Agrawal, 2013) held that “the benefits of the India Mauritius Tax Treaty cannot

be denied to a national of the third state who establishes a company in Mauritius in the absence of any limitation clauses being incorporated in the treaty itself. “Treaties are entered into at a political level and leave several considerations as their basis. Many developed countries tolerate or encourage “treaty shopping” even if it is unintended, improper or unjustified, for other non-tax reasons, unless it leads to significant loss of tax revenue. The court cannot judge the legality of “treaty shopping” merely because one section of thought considers it improper. The court cannot characterize the act of incorporation under the Mauritian law as sham or a device actuated by improper motives”. “If it was intended that nationals of the third state should be precluded from the benefits of the Indo-Mauritius Double Taxation avoidance convention, then a suitable term of limitation to that effect should have been incorporated therein. There are no disabling or disentitling conditions under the convention prohibiting the resident of a third nation from deriving benefit there under. The motives with which the residents of a third country have been incorporated in Mauritius are wholly irrelevant. The whole purpose of the convention is to ensure that the benefits there under are available, even if they are inconsistent with the provisions of the Income Tax Act. The principle of piercing the veil of incorporation cannot apply”. ( Klaus, 1997).

In this context, the concept of Taxation without borders justifies the subject. The areas in which these borderless transaction occurs are:

1. The concept of Permanent Establishment
2. Double Taxation Avoidance Agreements (DTAAs)
3. Development of Model Convention
4. Transfer Pricing Regulations
5. Taxation of E-commerce Transactions
6. Thin Capitalization

7. Tax sparing
8. Controlled Foreign Corporations
9. Taxation of Services
10. Royalties
11. Partnerships
12. Business profits
13. Interests, Income from real property Dividends, & Associated Enterprises
14. Capital Gains
15. Insurance
16. Aerospace Defense
17. Oil and Gas Sector
18. Film Production and Film distribution
19. Courier Business
20. Model Transport Operators
21. Leasing

## CONCLUSION

The cross border transaction or taxation without borders from Indian perspective has, in recent past, have unsettled quite a few of the revenue officials and tax professionals. The conservative approach of the Reserve Bank of India coupled with the fact that Indian economy is not significantly connected with the global trade, allowed India to meltdown. Also, the Finance Act 2012 seeks to retrospect on many judicial decisions, notably the Supreme Court decision with regard to Vodafone telecommunications company and seeks to tax offshore transfers of shares or interest in a company outside India. Finance Act 2012 proposes a number of new provisions including taxation of unexplained money, credits, investments and expenditures at the

highest rate of 30 percent. Some of the key amendments made by Finance Act 2012 that have far reaching consequences on cross-border transactions are given below;

1. Taxability of Indirect Transfers (Section 2(14),2(47) 9(1)(i) and 195 of Income Tax Act, 1961.
2. Insertion of GAAR (General Anti Avoidance Rules)
3. Cross border Investments-Regulatory framework for Investment in India
4. Taxation of Dividend Outflow
5. Taxation of Capital Gain
6. Important issue of No Capital Gain Tax on Share Transfer at NIL Value

In the era of global village, globalization and technological innovations have triggered a wave of restructuring. The world is heading towards establishment of borderless economic structure. India is witnessing a number of cross border mergers and takeovers. The existing legal framework is not fully equipped to cope with the myriad complications of cross border mergers and acquisitions. Indian laws require suitable modifications to facilitate cross border mergers and acquisitions. The companies Act, FEMA Regulations and SEBI Regulations require suitable amendments to facilitate taxation in international trade and business. Further, more clarity is expected in classification of income in capital gains and whether conversion of preference shares/warrants into equity shares is a taxable event.

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