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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1. *Journal of Media and Social Development* publishes contributions of original work on any aspect of Development and Media in India and South East Asia. It covers interdisciplinary research in social science encompassing Media, Communication, Political Science, Economics, Sociology, Social Work and Development Studies. Minimum word length is 3000 and maximum is 7,000. Submit original unpublished works only.
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Activities of the Project

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

University of Mysore

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The Efficacy of Bank Led Model to Reach the Unreached: A Case Study of Mysore *Taluk*

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Abstract

Financial exclusion is a global phenomenon. Every country, through financial inclusion, wants to reduce poverty and socio-economic inequality and make use of the hidden potential of a vast majority of people. Government of India and Reserve Bank of India attach much importance to financial inclusion as a tool to achieve inclusive growth. The present study has been attempted to find out the impact of financial inclusion for the rural households in Mysore taluk in Mysore District in Karnataka. To know the growth of financial inclusion at macro level in Karnataka and at all India for two periods, exponential model was used. It is estimated that higher growth rates were recorded in all the three parameters of financial inclusion in Karnataka for periods I and II than that of at all India level. With regard to impact of social and economic changes on Basic Savings Deposit account holders after the financial inclusion in the study region, the Chi-square test revealed that there is a significant change after the financial inclusion. Therefore, considering the positive changes on new account holders' economic and social fabrication due to financial inclusion at the grossroot level, Government of India and RBI may take further initiative to implement JAN-DHAN YOJANA mission efficiently and effectively to reach the unreached.

Keywords: Financial Inclusion, Scheduled Commercial Banks, Branch Expansion, Deposit Mobilization, Credit Penetration, BSBD Accounts

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Introduction

India as a strong developing economy, is challenged by disproportionate distribution of income, regional disparity, poverty and unemployment. According to the Planning Commission (2013) in the year ending 2012, there were 269.3 million people (21.9% of the population) living below the poverty line. According to the findings of the 68th Round of National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) data, unemployment rate has increased to 10.8 million. More than half the country's wealth is shared by only 10 percent of the population. This situation necessitates inclusive growth. To achieve inclusive social and economic development, financial inclusion is considered as an effective tool. Financial inclusion is the inclusion of poor and marginalized people into the mainstream economy which has positive impact on their lives.

Financial inclusion is a much needed attempt to include hitherto excluded poor, disadvantaged people into formal banking sector. Studies indicate that financial inclusion through banks is an important aspect for not only financial sector development but also a pre-condition for economic growth and poverty alleviation. This is the new area of research interest. Many studies on bank led financial inclusion model are available. But the present study intends to assess the changes from both supply and demand sides. From the supply side; assessment was made by using compound growth rates for two time periods viz., before and after financial inclusion to check the efficacy of financial inclusion. From the demand side; BSBD account holders side, the study try to assess the changes in economic and social condition of financially included people.

Objectives of the study

1. To study growth of financial inclusion in Karnataka and at National level as well

2. To analyze the impact of economic and social improvement on BSBD account holders' after financial inclusion

Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary data. The secondary data was collected from various Reports of Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Karnataka Economic Survey, Minutes of State Level Bankers Committee and other sources. To test the efficacy before and after financial inclusion, the year 2005 is considered as breakthrough year as effective financial inclusion mission took off in that year. To study the performance of efficacy of financial inclusion at all India level as well as in Karnataka, compound growth rates (CGR) for the periods I (1997 to 2004) and II (2005 to 2013) were worked out. The exponential growth model was used to estimate the growth rates for the two periods. The financial inclusion indicators used in the study are branch expansion, deposit mobilization and credit penetration.

To assess the changes in economic and *social* condition after financial inclusion on BSBD account holders, 100 sample respondents were selected at random in Mysore *taluk* of Mysore district in Karnataka. Data was collected by administering a structured questionnaire to the selected respondents to elicit the required information. Since the primary data was categorical in nature, Chi- Square test was employed to draw suitable inference. The study proposed to test two null hypotheses;

H_0 : There is no positive growth of banking system after financial inclusion in Karnataka;

H_0 : There is no positive impact on economic and social condition of BSBD account holders after financial inclusion**.**

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Growth of Efficacy of Financial Inclusion at National and State level

Financial inclusion was effectively implemented as policy measure to achieve inclusive growth. Branch expansion, deposit mobilization and credit penetration are the indicators used to check the efficacy of financial inclusion.

Table 1: Growth of Financial Inclusion in India

Year	Branches (No)	Deposit mobilized (in billions)	Credit penetration (in billions)
Period I (1997-2004)			
1997	63550	5055.99	2844
1998	64218	5984.85	3299
1999	64939	7140.25	3824
2000	65412	8133.45	4601
2001	65919	9626.18	5384
2002	66190	11033.60	6561
2003	66535	12808.53	7560
2004	67188	15044.16	8804
CGR (%)	0.80	15.40	16.50
Period II (2005-2013)			
2005	68365	17001.88	11525
2006	69866	21090.49	15139
2007	72261	26199.33	19470
2008	76256	31969.39	24170
2009	80217	38341.10	28477
2010	85518	44928.26	33452
2011	91156	52079.69	40756
2012	98597	59090.82	46119
2013	105753	67504.54	52605
CGR (%)	5.60	17.20	18.70

Note : CGR indicates Compound Growth Rates

(a) Growth of Financial Inclusion at National Level

One of the prime moves by the RBI is to expand the banking networks in the country to reach the unreached, particularly, in the rural and semi-urban areas to help the poor to avail the benefits through banking. As a result of that, serious efforts are being made to open new banking branches all over country, to facilitate deposit mobilization as well as credit penetration. The growth of such financial inclusion for two different periods at all India level is presented in Table - 1.

The growth rate for branch expansion for the period-I was found to be 0.80 percent. However, for the same period, the growth rates for deposit mobilization and credit penetration were estimated to be 15.40% and 16.50% respectively. Deposit mobilization provides enhanced access of banking system for the customers. The high growth rates in deposit mobilization and credit penetration indicate that customers have increasing faith as well as confidence in commercial banks.

With regard to the growth of banking expansion for the period–II, it had registered with 5.60 percent, which is considered as an engine for development of banking system in the later part of the years. Similarly, the other two important financial inclusion parameters such as deposit mobilization (17.20 %) and credit penetration (18.70 %) also showed high growth rates. This was perhaps due to inclusion of the poor and marginalized people at a faster rate; where earlier those may not have been in a position even to deposit and avail credit facilities. Comparing period I and II, the data clearly showed that there has been a tremendous branch expansion in the period II than in period I. With regard to deposit mobilization and credit penetration, growth rates for the period II is marginally higher than the period I, indicating an increasing horizontal growth in the financial inclusion. This has called for banking authorities to evolve suitable policy measures to expand vertical growth in order to provide timely benefits to the unreached.

(b) Growth of Financial Inclusion in Karnataka

In Karnataka too, series of steps are being taken to expand banking networks in rural and semi-urban places to provide adequate banking

facilities to hitherto unreached people. This has helped not only in increasing expansion of banking branches in the state but also provided a platform for poor and marginalized population to develop a habit of using banking facilities. As a result, there is large number of new branches established over the years to meet the increasing demand of customers. The analysis of the growth of financial inclusion in Karnataka, the growth rates for branches, deposit mobilization and credit penetration for periods I and II are presented in Table-2.

Table 2: Growth of Financial Inclusion in Karnataka

Year	Branches (No)	Deposit mobilized (in billions)	Credit penetration (in billions)
Period I (1997-2004)			
1997	4509	26357	18842
1998	4572	31882	21752
1999	4658	37786	24405
2000	4710	45809	27949
2001	4737	55592	32984
2002	4776	63643	38028
2003	4815	79956	49156
2004	4834	93046	58519
CGR (%)	1.02	18.10	16.10
Period II (2005-2013)			
2005	4948	109417	81106
2006	4962	106670	85714
2007	5099	130749	107724
2008	5280	163924	131500
2009	5504	156759	171808
2010	6975	274752	213983
2011	7268	336683	255983
2012	7885	402159	299889
2013	8430	458925	344870
CGR (%)	7.50	20.20	19.60

Note : CGR indicate Compound Growth Rates

Table-2 presents a dismal picture of the growth rate of branch expansion in Karnataka for the period I, registering 1.02 percent, though it is marginally higher than at the all India level. In the case of deposit mobilization, the growth rate (18.10 %) was not only high but even surpassing at all India level (15.40 %). For credit penetration, the growth rate in Karnataka was found to be 16.10 % which is just marginally lower than that of all India level.

During the period II, the growth rates for branch expansion, deposit mobilization and credit penetration were 7.50 percent, 20.20 percent and 19.60 percent respectively. Surprisingly, the growth rates of all the three financial inclusion parameters had showed higher growth rates than at all India level during the period II. This is possibly due to series of efforts made by the banking authorities in the state to promote banking culture among the people. These findings disproved the hypothesis that there is no positive growth of banking system after financial inclusion in Karnataka.

Socio and Economic Condition of BSBD Account Holders of Mysore *Taluk*

One of the objectives of the study is to assess the impact of financial inclusion on social and economic condition of BSBD account holders in the study region. Therefore, in the following paragraphs, the prevailing social and economic conditions of selected sample households are presented.

The sample of 100 respondents, consisted of 69 percent males and 31 percent females. Among them, 19 percent belong to general category, followed by 36 percent of OBC and 45 percent of SC and ST categories. With regard to educational status of the sample, 46 percent were illiterates; 33 percent had primary education; and 20 percent had secondary level of education. Further, majority of them were farmers (82 percent); while 9 percent and 4 percent of them were working in Government jobs and

small business respectively. Among the farmers, about 71 percent were marginal farmers and rest of them, daily wage workers. The income distribution among the sample respondents showed that about 57 percent of them belonged to income group of less than Rs.2000 per month; while 33percent of them belonged to the range of Rs.2000-5000; and only 10 percent of them had more than Rs.10,000 earnings per month. As far as savings are concerned, hardly 6 percent of them had saved around Rs.1000 per month. These findings clearly show that the sample respondents are not only economically poor but also socially very backward in the study region. Perhaps, due to their disadvantaged position, they are totally excluded to get the benefits of banking.

Impact on Socio and Economic Condition After Financial Inclusion

Considering their backwardness both socially and economically in the study region, attempts were made to provide banking facilities to them as it is expected to bring a change in their living and improve their social wellbeing in the long run. Further, the inclusion to formal banking sector itself boosts the confidence level of new account holders. Secured saving facility inculcates saving habit among the account holders. With that they can also avail credit facility in times of need and also to carry out small business activities to improve their economic condition. Saving habit and credit facility improves the economic condition of new account holders. Data on changes after introduction of financial inclusion among the sample respondents are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3: Impact on Economic Condition of Respondents After Financial Inclusion

Response	Physical assets	Owning of land	Live stock	Electronic goods	Vehicles
Affirmative	78	59	55	60	36
Non- Affirmative	22	41	45	40	64

Chi-Sq = 36.737**, DF = 4, P-Value = 0.000

It is interesting to note that among the sample respondents, 78 informed that their physical assets increased after financial inclusion; while 22 had no improvements in their physical assets. With regard to owning of land, 59 were affirmative and rest of them were non-affirmative. It is known that the major source of earnings other than farming would be through livestock in the rural areas. The study reported that 55 opined in favour of financial inclusion to increase in livestock and 45 were non-affirmative. It is also observed that 60 percent of them went on to purchase electronic goods like TV, cellphone etc., after financial inclusion. Similarly, 36 persons had purchased two wheelers for their mobility. The chi-square test further revealed that there is a significant impact on the financial inclusion among the respondents.

Table 4: Impact on Social Condition of Respondents After Financial Inclusion

Response	Education Expenditure	Health access	Confidence level	Skills and Empowerment	Risk management	Nutritional status
Affirmative	37	56	64	58	57	57
Non- Affirmative	63	44	36	42	43	43

Chi-Sq = 17.073**, DF = 5, P-Value = 0.004

Like economic changes after introduction of financial inclusion among the sample respondents, it is also intended to assess the impact of social improvements of the respondents after the inclusion of financial instruments. Based on the study, the results are presented in Table 4. It is observed that expenditure on education of their children was not met adequately after financial inclusion in the study region. However, the access to health related issues; they had higher percentage of affirmative opinion (56 %), while 44% were in non-affirmative. One of the important reasons for introduction of such financial inclusion in the rural and semi-urban areas is to create confidence and increase their skill formation in decision making and empowerment. The study showed an increased confidence level (64%);

skill formation (58%) and empowerment (58%) among the sample respondents. Thus, the findings of the study clearly support the argument that financial inclusion has increased the decision making power of the individuals. Further, the respondents opined that their level of risk management (57%) also increased. Another important finding is that their nutritional status also increased (57%). The empirical findings clearly established the fact that there is a positive change on the social condition of respondents after financial inclusion. The chi-square test showed 1% level of significance. This has disproved the hypothesis that there is no impact on social changes in the sample respondents in the study region.

Conclusion and Policy implication

Financial Inclusion is an attempt to reduce socio-economic problems like income inequality, poverty, unemployment and exploitation. The Government policy on social justice is not only providing equality in social and economic front but also empowering rural households, particularly the marginalized groups, to bring them to the mainstream of economy. In this endeavor, several attempts are being made to connect rural people to access financial inclusion and increase their participatory level. With this view, the present research investigation conducted at the cross-sectional level in Mysore *taluk* of Mysore district, Karnataka has provided clear evidence that there is a positive impact on social and economic status of rural households under the financial inclusion. Therefore, considering the positive changes of rural households due to financial inclusion at the grossroot level, Government of India and RBI may take further initiative to implement *JAN-DHAN YOJANA* mission efficiently and effectively to reach the unreached.

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Point of View
Language, Discourse and Ideology

Mukesh Devrari

Abstract

Language, discourse and ideology are part of a fascinating debate in social sciences that goes beyond the entire cognitive system. However, all the three are interrelated and shape the social structure. Yet the disciplines of social sciences since long have tried to identify how thoughts and ideas come into existence and how correct they are in capturing the reality of the outside word. Inquiry of relationship between language, discourse and ideology needs multidimensional perspectives. Though, dominant ideology determines the use of language, but it certainly cannot end the possibilities inherent in the language systems to produce the contradictions of dominant ideology and then subsequently replace it or change it. Ideology is overarching term, discourse is part of it. Language thus is a multidimensional aspect but partially neutral. It is because of this character that language makes discourse and ideology a possibility. In this paper, the author attempts to identify the relationship between language discourse and ideology by analyzing and comparing their denotative and connotative meanings.

Keywords: Language, Discourse, Ideology, Communication

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INTRODUCTION

Language, discourse and ideology are part of a fascinating debate in social sciences which tries to go beyond the entire cognitive system. It wants to identify how thoughts and ideas come into existence and how correct they are in capturing the reality of the outside word. This paper attempts to identify the relationship between language, discourse and ideology by analyzing and comparing their denotative and connotative meanings. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* language is a "system of communication in speech and writing that is used by people of a particular country or area." Then it went on to define the word communication as "the use by humans of a system of sounds and words to communicate" (Wehmeier, McIntosh, Turnball & Ashby, 2005, p. 862). On the other hand *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines language as a "system of communication consisting of sounds, words and grammar or system of communication used by the people of particular country or profession" (Walter, Woodford & Good, 2008, p.804).

The more academic definition of language is given in *Dictionary of Media and Communication* which says, "The word language has originated from Latin word *langua*. It means tongue and as its etymology suggests language can be defined as the use of tongue to create meaning bearing forms called words, phrases and sentences. Wherever there are humans, there is language. And all the languages serve humans in a similar way, such as naming and thus classifying the things or realities that are relevant and meaning to them" (Danesi, 2009, p. 170).

The general understanding of phenomenon of language seems to define it as neutral cognitive process in human beings. It seems human beings capture the reality to the best of their abilities and most of the times successfully represent it through the language. Scholars of semiotics or science of signs are not ready for this over simplistic take on the language.

There is complicated debate which rests on the easier logic that sign is composed of signifier and signified. Former is physical existence of the sign and latter is material or abstract concept attached to it. But what leads to the joining of signified to the signifier in different languages, what is the relevance of it and how it affects the outcome and impact on the way and purpose language is being used by human beings, is yet to be explained satisfactorily.

Another term is discourse, which seems fairly simple and it had a pretty straight forward connotation until it was touched by French scholar Michel Foucoult. Before going through the expanded meaning of the term discourse one must look at its general meaning. Here again dictionaries come to our rescue. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* says the formal meaning of the term is 'a long and serious treatment or discussion of a subject in speech or writing.' The linguistic meaning of the term is, 'the use of language in speech and writing in order to produce meaning, language that is studied usually in order to see how the different parts of text are connected' (Wehmeier et al., 2005, p. 434).

The *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* simply says 'discourse is communication in speech or writing. Its second meaning is the speech or piece of writing about particular, usually serious subject (Walter et al., 2008, p. 400). Dictionary meanings do not provide anything substantial to begin the academic inquiry to identify the true dimensions of the term discourse and its relationship with ideology and language, if there exists any at all . The *Dictionary of Media and Communication* defines discourse as the use of language in communication or serious discussion about a subject or particular style of talking and writing (as in the discourse of science). This term is first used by Michel Foucoult to describe how language is used by people and institutions to shape social reality. In this sense, discourse is seen as a form of power because it articulates and

ensconces through language the ideas that are accepted as truth. The term is now extended to include non-verbal and other kinds of languages (visual discourse, narrative discourse and other discourses) (Danesi, 2009, p. 98). Now this definition and use of the words and phrases like power and shaping social reality gives enough ammunition for academicians to launch an inquiry into the nature of discourse and its purposes and functions.

But the field is open enough to claim neutrality as it is open to arguments and counter arguments to all the varying thoughts. But the initial definition or meaning or concept attached with the term language and discourse can be used to deduce to the statement that language is a predecessor of discourse. Discourse cannot exist without language. To plant certain world view among the people, discourse is used and it includes art of logic.

To proceed further into the enquiry it is will be necessary to know the meaning and functioning of ideology. The most elementary definition of ideology is a well-known phrase form Marx's Capital "They do not know it. But they are doing it"(Zizek, n.d). These words almost perfectly define ideology.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary says "ideology is a theory or a set of belief or principles, especially one on which a political system or party or organization is based" (Wehmeier et al., 2005, p. 770). *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* also describes the term on similar lines "a set of ideas that an economic or political system is based on or set of belief, especially one held by a particular group that influences the way people behave" (Walter et al., 2008, p. 713). The meaning as given in the latter dictionary is wider and tells the reader that it actually affects or determines the behavioral pattern of people under its influence. Subjects of ideology do not even recognize that they are under the influence of ideology and that is its greatest strength.

Dictionary meaning of the term reflects only the general usage of the

term. As per the *Dictionary of Media and Communication* "ideology is a system of thought based on a specific set of assumptions, beliefs or viewpoints that appears to be a product of common sense, but which are actually socially constructed. Those strongly committed to particular ideology have difficulty understanding and communicating with supporters of the conflicting ideology. For Karl Marx, ideology referred to the ideas and values of a ruling class, which are reproduced by the dominant social institution (the law, family, religion, education)." (Danesi, 2009, p. 153) However, the term ideology was first used by the French writer Destutt de Tracy in his writings on enlightenment. He defined it as a study of forming ideas and as a science of ideas (Gauba, 2003, p. 17). However, it is no more a study of forming of ideas. In the contemporary literature the term ideology is applied to the set of ideas which are adopted by a group in order to motivate it for the achievements of pre-determined goals (Gauba, 2003, p. 16).

In the meantime, ideology as it was constructed by thinkers over the years including Marx, engulfed the language and discourse into itself. In the realm of political theory the term ideology is applied in two contexts. One is set of ideas which are expected to be true by a particular group, party or nation without further examination. These ideas are invoked in order to justify or denounce a particular way of social, economic or political organisation. In this sense, ideology is a matter of faith and has no scientific basis (Gauba, 2003). This definition can be applied to the Indian context where neo-liberal discourse or ideology has swept away the entire political and mainly alternative ideological discourse under the carpet due to the ever increasing power and influence of corporate world. It is manifested in the representation of the Maoist movement in the mainstream media. Maoist rebels are being demonised as cruel and their objectives are being derogatorily defined in the mainstream discourse.

Arundhati Roy in one of her articles points out that some positions appear by default just correct (Roy, 2012). This happens because a particular ideology is prevalent and particular kind of discourse is ingrained into the brains of masses without telling them about the available alternatives. It is like not telling slaves that something like freedom exists and there are other ways to live also.

Slavoj Zizek extends this argument and explains it in one of his lectures in his unique style, "Now we are being told that it is only a matter of time before man will reach Mars. It was also being told that we are not far away from making Rockets which will enable human beings as a race to explore far corners of space. It is also being told that there is no reason that man should die at a particular age. We can extend our lives. It is like someone asking whether it is possible to provide food for everyone so that no one dies of hunger in any part of the world. When one dares to ask, 'Is it possible to create such a system, where universal availability of education and healthcare will be ensured?' Same set of intellectuals and geniuses generally reply, 'Have you gone mad? How can it be possible?'" (Zizek, n.d.) The answer to the last question lies in ideology.

Ideology in the realm of political theory functions differently. It is a science of ideas which examine as to how different ideas are formed, how truth is distorted, and how we can overcome distortions to discover true knowledge. If this explanation is true then ideology is journey by independent thinkers, obviously Marxists, who could think about keeping aside inserted tenets of dominant ideology into society by launching an independent enquiry which must represent highest aspirations and interests of masses as a whole. Fiske grudgingly writes Marxists tend to regard the term as their particular property and they always relate ideology to social relations. (Fiske, 2011)

Karl Marx himself wrote that ideology is a manifestation of false consciousness (Gauba, 2003). But the strange thing is his own work is

transformed into a remarkable ideology known as Marxist Ideology or Communist ideology. V.I Lenin held that ideology is not necessarily a distortion of truth to conceal the prevailing contradictions, but it has become a neutral concept which refers to the political consciousness of different classes including proletariat.

In his 'Critique of Political Economy' Marx observed, 'The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (Marx, n.d.).

Inquiry of relationship between language, discourse and ideology needs multidimensional perspectives. On one occasion this author used the term ideology and discourse, as if they can be used inter changeably. Sometimes the two concepts are used inter changeably and at times they are counter posed. (Hunt, 1993)

Language makes discourse and ideology a possibility. Human beings are capable of discussing something like discourse and ideology and their respective role on their lives, due to their inherent biological traits. Human beings can generate a system of signs to assign to different physical and abstract realities and then share it with each. It has been established by scholars that language is arbitrary in nature. Actually there is no relation between signs and real world. It carries meaning just because we share it. Discourse cannot escape the prison house of language (Chalaby, 1996). It could exist independent of tenets of any ideology, but very rarely. Language can claim its independent existence.

Once language is acquired, how it will be put into use, generally reflects the power structure. Saint Augustine in the 'City of God' narrates a famous story. Once Alexander's forces caught a pirate, then there was an audience between the Pirate and emperor. Emperor asks, 'How dare you molest the seas?' The pirate tells him, 'I am a small man with a tiny boat, they call me pirate. You have a vast navy. You molest the world and they call you emperor' (Chomsky, n.d.). See how the language is generally employed to serve the power of elite. It's a perfect allegory which defines the use of language in an ideology charged world. Chomsky used this allegory in another context in his book Pirate and the Emperor.

Dominant ideology determines the use of language, but it certainly cannot end the possibilities inherent in the language systems to produce the contradictions of dominant ideology and then subsequently replace it or change it. Ideology is overarching term, discourse is part of it. Language is multidimensional but partially neutral. It is a perfect master and can be a perfect slave. Any set of thought can be termed as discourse. Even Marxist ideology is a result of particular social and economic discourse. The term discourse is narrower than ideology and language is raw material for creation and expansion of discourse and ideology.

NOTES -

1. Michel Foucoult (1926-1984) is French philosopher who became widely known in the 1970's for his writing on the role of history and culture in determining how people develop beliefs and how everyday practices guide people in defining their identities. In his seminal work Madness and Civilizations (1960) for instance, he showed how definitions and perceptions changed overtime to reflect changes in cultural worldviews. His most quoted work is History of Sexuality (1984). (Danesi, 2009, p.127)

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Gandhi's Media Writings

KRISHNAVEER ABHISHEK CHALLA

Abstract

The history of free India is written with the unceasing pen of Gandhian journalism which emerged from the values and philosophy being practiced and propagated by Mahatma Gandhi in his life and through his publications viz., Indian Opinion, Harijan and Young India. With courage of conviction, Gandhiji applied his principles in his life and in journalism as well. He could bravely write his quest for truth or experiments with truth in the modern era narrating his experiences while boldly facing the poignant situations to achieve his goals. Essentially, he believed that newspapers should have values when they were launched with a view to serving the people. This article compiles the important journals and writings of Mahatma Gandhi to understand his perception and practice of Journalism.

Keywords: Mahatma Gandhi, Mass Media, Mass Communication, Print Media

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INTRODUCTION

Gandhian journalism began in India nearly a century after the first newspaper was started by a European, James Augustus Hickey in 1780. Since then, very few publications came into existence, which were launched both by the British and Indians. Prominent among them were Rajarammohan Roy's *Sambad-kaumadi* which was launched in 1822 while Fardoonji

Murzban started the vernacular newspaper in Gujarati, *Bombay Samachar* in the same year. It was interesting to note that all the English dailies had 4000 subscribers, in 1823 out of which 125 were Indian subscribers.

Mahatma Gandhiji was instrumental in launching, *Indian Opinion*, in 1903 a weekly which started publication in four languages – English, Hindi, Tamil and Gujarati with an intention to serve all Indians in South Africa. His work in journalism began when he used the weekly to educate and mobilize Indians through the weekly columns on various aspects of life. Also he supported the publication financially. In his autobiography, he noted that lack of funding to the weekly forced them to discontinue the publication in Tamil and Hindi. Gandhiji, in fact, wrote only two books, '*My experiments with truth*' in Gujarati and '*Hind Swaraj or Home Rule*' which was written in Gujarati and translated by him into English. In the preface to the book *Hind Swaraj*, he said:

> *Hind Swaraj was written in 1908 during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I felt that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self protection. The Satyagraha of South Africa was still an infant hardly two years old. But it had developed sufficiently to permit me to write of it with some degree of confidence. What I wrote was so much appreciated that it was published as a booklet… In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in place of that of hate. It places violence with self sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force. It has gone*

> *through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it. (Mahatma Gandhi, 2000)*

Hind Swaraj used the technique of dialogue between the reader and the editor. The purpose of adopting this style seemed to be that Mahatma did intend to clarify the doubts that would linger in the mind of the reader. He answered many queries posed by the readers on education, civilization, culture and so on. Answering a query of the reader in *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhiji explained the objectives of newspaper. He said 'one of the objectives of the newspaper was to understand popular feeling and to give expression to it; another was to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments, and the third was fearlessly to expose popular defects'.

Satyagraha: the Pen of Gandhian Journalism

'As for giving ideas, I have originality. But writing is a bi-product; I write to propagate my ideas. Journalism is not my profession'.

-Gandhiji in Harijan, August 18, 1946

Gandhiji believed that the basic purpose of newspapers was public service. In serving the people, newspapers were expected to transmit news that would transform the individual from wrong doing to righteous behaviour. Gandhiji's writings aimed at moral transformation of the individual while reinforcing moral conduct in him. Writing in *Hind Swaraj*, he opined that 'the tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, and that of the Western civilization is to propagate immorality'. With this view, Gandhiji equated civilization with good conduct in his answer to the reader in *Hind Swaraj*. Through his writings in *Young India* and *Harijan*, he emphasized on prayer as one of the means to purge himself/ her from the wrong doing and advised all readers to chant *Ram*. For instance, he advocated nature cure to keep up sound health in an article through his journal *Harijan* on May 25, 1946. He wrote:

Nature cure consists of two parts. Firstly, to cure diseases by taking the name of the God or Ramayana, and secondly, to prevent illness by the inculcation of right and hygienic living. The report from the village says that the inhabitants are cooperating with them in keeping the village, clean. I hold that where the rules of personal, domestic and public, sanitation are strictly observed and due care is taken in the matter of diet and exercise, there should be no occasion for illness or disease. Nature cure implies an ideal mode of life and that, in its turn presupposes ideal living conditions in towns and villages. (Anil Mishra, 2012)

Stephen Hay (2005: 149) observed: 'His way of transmuting or perfecting his own conduct, and ultimately finding God, was through tightly interweaving the three strands of soul purifying prayer, self rule and selfless service of others. In 1927 he explained, I am endeavouring to see God through service of humanity, for I know that God is neither in heaven, nor down below, but in every one…'.

On number of occasions, Gandhiji wrote on moral conduct of the individual and 'he believed a spiritually integrated person is no longer a slave of the passions, but is able to go about him or her daily affairs in the light of true self knowledge' (Parel, 2000:16).

Indian Opinion: The Newspaper of Independence

Gandhiji started the publication of 'Indian Opinion' in1903 and the first issue of Indian opinion was published on June 4, 1903 although Gandhiji, in his autobiography mentions the year of publication as 1904. The prime objective of Indian Opinion was to protect the Indian interest and it was such a challenging task considering that there was no other medium of communication. Apart from this the other challenge was the control of press. Gandhiji wrote about this situation,

"*I believe that a struggle which chiefly relies upon internal strength cannot be wholly carried on without a newspaper, it is also my experience that we could not perhaps have educated the local Indian community, nor kept Indians all over the world in touch with the course of events in South Africa in any other way, with the same case and success as through the Indian Opinion, which therefore was certainly a most useful and potent weapon in our struggle*". (J V Vilanilam, 2005)

The objectives of the Indian Opinion were:

a) To provide news to all sections of society in their own language

b) To advocate their cause

c) To provide the information of the events happening in India

d) To contain contributions from competent writers, Indians as well as Europeans

e) To cover all the aspects on social, moral, intellectual issues

Most of the articles written by Gandhiji in Indian Opinion were unsigned. Indian Opinion was published in four languages namely English, Guajarati, Tamil and Hindi in the interest of the British Indians living in South Africa. Indian Opinion was foolscap sized three column journal and filled with discriminatory regulations involving Indians. The journal also provided space for the letters to editors of the local newspapers. Gandhiji comprehensively wrote on intellectual and aesthetic subjects and here is an example of an article on 'Indian Art' published in the issue of the journal of September 17, 1903 :

"The Hindu palace-architecture of Gwalior, the Indian-Muhammadan mosques and mausoleums of Agra and Delhi, with several of the older Hindu temples of Southern India, stand unrivalled for grace of outline and elaborate wealth

of ornament. The Taj Mahal at Agra justifies Heber's exclamation that its builders had designed like Titans, and finished like jewelers. The open-carved marble windows and screens at Ahmadabad furnish examples of the skilful ornamentation which beautifies every Indian building, from the cave monasteries of the Buddhist period downward. They also show with what plasticity the Hindu architects adapted their Indian ornamentation to the structural requirements of the Muhammadan mosque. English decorative art in our day has borrowed largely from Indian forms and patterns. The exquisite scrolls on the rock-temples at Karla and Ajanta, the delicate marble tracery and flat wood-carving of Western India, the harmonious blending of forms and colors in the fabrics of Kashmir, have contributed to the restoration of taste in England. Indian artwork, when faithful to native designs, still obtains the highest honors at the international exhibition of Europe".

Gandhiji consistently wrote articles on other subjects as well. It is also important to notice that along with his scholarly contribution to the journal he also contributed financially and during the first year of the journal, spent $3000 and wrote about it in his autobiography, "I had to bear the brunt of the work, having for most of the time to be practically in charge of the journal". (Gandhi, 1970: P-228)

Gradually, Gandhiji became solely responsible for journal's management and policy but he didn't mention his name as editor. Although he faced financial burden,he did not regret this. In his letter of January 13, 1905, to his political guru and mentor, Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, he wrote, *"When I saw that Mr. Madanji could not carry on the paper without pecuniary assistance and as I know that he was guided by*

thoroughly patriotic motives, I placed at his service the bulk of my savings. I have already become responsible to the extent of nearly $3,500".

In December, 1904, the Indian Opinion entered into a new phase when Gandhiji made it clear that the workers were to look not to the present but to the future; not to their pockets but to paper first. He declared that the policy of the journal was service. It was Gandhiji's noble effort that inspired many people along with Englishmen associated with the Indian Opinion. In the issue of December 31, 1904, the Gujarati edition of the Indian Opinion, published notes on the three Englishmen who left their job and joined Indian Opinion and started assisting in printing and publication of the paper. Englishmen, West, Kitchin and Polak joined Indian Opinion as they felt that the objective of the journal was worthy.

In 1905, there was the outbreak of plague in Johannesburg and Gandhiji was consistently writing on the problems faced by the people. He was continuously fighting against the disabilities suffered by the Indians in South Africa. The major disabilities were:

   a) Restrictions on immigration and trading

   b) Traveling in trains and cabs

   c) Walking on footpaths

   d) Racial arrogance and trade policy.

The columns of Indian Opinion were full of such cases. Gandhiji tried to get news from other countries also and for this he needed reliable correspondents in other countries especially in England and the letter of January 13, 1905 to Gopal Krishna Gokhale is an example of his intention. *"I am also anxious to secure either honorary or paid correspondents who would contribute weekly notes in English, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil".*

The objective of Indian Opinion was also to inspire the people and Gandhiji used to write the biographies of great men and women like Tolstoy, Lincoln, Mazzini, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Another example of such inspiring story is here from the Indian Opinion of March 2, 1907 under a sub heading 'An Indian Poetess',

"The Ladies Conference at Calcutta brought to prominence a lady orator, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, already known as a poet of considerable distinction. Mrs. Naidu is a Bengali lady by birth and has married a Madrasi gentleman. She spoke without notes and made an impressive and most eloquent speech. It is further stated that she is not accustomed to speak in public. It is a very hopeful sign of the times that our ladies are coming to the front and are taking active part in the great work of national reform. A gifted lady like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with her persuasive and attractive eloquence, should be able to render important service to the women of India".

Gradually the Indian Opinion became the mouthpiece of South African Indian on the issue of Registration policy by South African Government where Indians and other Asians had to mention important physical identity marks and thumb impression on the certificates, failing which they were to forfeit their right of residence and liable to be fined or imprisoned. Struggle against registration started all over and Indian Opinion played a key role in the struggle. The Indian Opinion translated the ordinance in Gujarati for the large number of Indians. The Indian Opinion of May 3, 1913, wrote;

"In spite of the bill being rushed forward a stage further; we imagine that it will never reach the third reading stage. But it is well for passive resisters to keep themselves in readiness. It is to be hoped that, if the struggle revived the impending third campaign, it will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all. We share the belief

with the theory, that one true passive resister is enough to win victory for right. Right is on our side".   Further in 1913, Gandhiji wrote in Indian opinion about the passive resisters who had crossed the border and returned to their homes after the struggle got over, as, *"Hitherto passive resisters have challenged arrests by crossing the Transvaal border. That is how; the present struggle too, has been commenced. We may, on this question of crossing of the border, at once say this method of resistance does not mean that we are asking for breaking of the provincial boundaries. On the contrary as soon as the struggle ceases, those who will have crossed the borders from different provinces will return to the province of their domicile"*.

The resistance against the injustice act continued and because of Gandhiji's effort and contact the movement gradually spread to a large part of India and England. His consistent touch with the editors of other countries especially England, also helped to spread the movement. The number of subscribers of the Indian Opinion rose from 1,200 to 3,500 but there was financial problem. The paper was restructured to meet the challenge. The size was reduced from 16 to 8 pages. Gandhiji was consistently indicating about the shape of things to come. He wrote a letter to Mr A H West, on or before December 29, 1909, when he was about to change the size of the Indian Opinion;

"The size (of the Indian Opinion) should be changed as suggested. No apology need be offered in the paper for it. The English columns should be reduced. No leading matter of opinion (be) given for the present except explanatory-notes. A. H, matter should be severely condensed. Energy should be devoted to the art of condensing. It may be divided into Passive Resistance, Natal notes, Cape notes, etc. Reports of Bombay and other meetings may be considerably

shortened. The English columns then should simply give news on the disabilities throughout South Africa and about matters we are interested in 'The Gujarati' columns ought not to be reduced; but if the Gujarati subscribers fall off, even that may be reduced almost to any extent, you there, in Mr. Polak's and my absence, being the sole judge".

Though Gandhiji had mentioned that no apology would be offered, the Indian Opinion of January 1, 1910 published the reasons for the change in the size of the newspaper also explaining the condensation of the content so that the same amount of the information can be given even after reducing the pages as he explained, "*With the present issue, this journal appears under a somewhat changed dress. The size, too, has been reduced. The Transvaal struggle has put a very severe strain on our resources. It has now become too great for us to continue the old form and size. It is within the knowledge of most of our readers that our publication is not a commercial concern, but our capacity for the service of the community to whose interests Indian Opinion is devoted is limited, and our limitation has necessitated the change the readers will notice in its appearance. Though the size has been reduced, we hope that we shall be able, by means of condensation to give the same amount of information. Our readers who are interested in the ideals we endeavour to promote can render useful service by finding subscribers for the journal which they may call their own. It is our desire to give more varied matter as our resources increase. It is, then, for the readers to say when they shall have a better service of news*".

Although Gandhiji had reduced the size of the paper, he couldn't sort out of financial problems and shared his views with Madan Lal in the letter dated January 20, 1910, "*It is desirable not to give more than a month's credit for Indian Opinion. You should only take a limited risk. Let the amount be debited to your account. It will not be deducted from your current allowance. You should never take liability for more than ten subscribers. However, whatever liability you have taken upon yourself in the Cape Colony is binding on all as you did not know the new rule. The new rule is, I believe, very good at least for the present. We will have to carry many (fresh) burdens; it is, therefore, better to cut down these. This (not allowing too much credit) seems to be the prevalent practice of newspapers. As people gradually get used to it, they will follow it of their own accord. We pay the license fee in advance because of compulsion, i.e., physical force. That we shall take the subscriptions in advance will be on the strength of soul-force. The subscriptions will then come in automatically. I have no time now to dilate upon this*". (Gandhi, 1963)

The Language of *Ahimsa* (Non-Violence)

Language is a tool of communication for journalists, and use of language in news reports plays a significant role in informing the public about an event. Though a journalist does not witness an event, he or she tries to construct it with the help of information given to him/her by a second party. Sometimes, a journalist may be present at the event; he or she constructs it by understanding it. In such a situation, is the journalist presenting fact to the public? News is a representation of reality that happens in the environment and the language facilitates the projection of reality. In the profession of journalism, use of value free words is to be practiced to be very objective in reporting an event without any bias. Since the use of language is not mere accidental, they carry the intentions of the writer. Often, the ideology of the writer can be understood through his/her writings. Fowler (1991:5) said 'the contents of newspapers are not facts about the

world, but in very general sense ideas'. Thus, the analysis of media discourses can assess the ideological practice of journalists and their representation through language.

On another occasion, Gandhiji advised the newspapers to give importance to the language being used in the newspapers. In order to avoid the law, language cannot be changed to suit the needs of the time. The following passage is illustrative of his mind;

> *The last, though not the least, question is: What is the duty of a newspaper in a country where there are laws like the "Seditious Writing Act" and the "Defence of Indian Act" to restrict its freedom?" In order to get over this limitation our newspapers have evolved a style of writing which makes it possible to interpret what they say on a particular matter, which may seem to fall within the purviews of these Acts, in two different ways. Some have perfected this art to a science. But, in my opinion, this causes harm to our country. People develop a tendency to equivocate and fail to cultivate the courage to speak the truth. It changes the form of the language which, instead of being an instrument for expressing one's thoughts, becomes a mask for concealing them. I am convinced that this is not the way to educate our people. Both people and individuals must cultivate the habit of speaking their minds. Newspapers are in a position to impart such training to them. The right course, and the one which will ultimately be found to be of the greatest advantage to us, would be that those who are afraid of the above laws and who do not want to get entangled in them should stop publishing newspapers, or that they should frankly state their true views and bear the consequences. Justice Steven has*

said somewhere that there can be no hatred in the language of a man who has no hatred in his heart. And if there is any hatred one should frankly express it. In case one hasn't the courage to act thus, one should stop publishing a newspaper. In this lies the good of our people and our country. (From Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhiji, Vol VI, p312)

Ethical Journalism and Gandhian Journalism

Journalism has become an industry in modern days, and commercialisation of the press has been increasingly found in every aspect. Kuldip Nayar (1994) aptly commented as 'the press became more and more commercialised. The old concept of a newspaper representing ideas and nation's ethos had worn out and the profession became an industry'. The contents are aimed at attracting the public and thereby to increase the circulation of the paper. In the process of increasing the circulation, newspapers solicit advertisements from the potential businessmen. Gandhiji's view was that newspapers were meant for public service, they should not compromise on their role in society, and the concept of profits should be relegated to the background. When newspapers solicit advertisements from the businessmen, the newspapers tend to be influenced and they yield to the pressure of those advertisers. Often, adverse news against advertisers is suppressed in support of the advertisers. Being in the service of the people, the newspapers cannot "soil" their pages with such advertisements. For instance, Gandhiji appealed to the readers of *Young India* to support the weekly with their subscriptions, in order to avoid advertisements. Thus Gandhiji observed succinctly:

> *'It is now and established practice with newspapers to derive their main income from advertisements rather that from subscribers. The result is deplorable. The very newspaper*

which in its editorial columns strongly denounces the evil of drinking publishes advertisements in praise of drink. We read about the ill effects of tobacco a well as where to buy good tobacco or which brand of cigarette to smoke in the same newspapers. Or, it may on the one hand, publish a severe denunciation of a certain play and, on the other, elsewhere in its columns, a long advertisement of it. The largest source of revenue is derived from medical advertisement, which is the cause of mush ham to our people. They, almost wholly, nullify the other services rendered by newspapers. I have seen the harm caused by the advertisements, for many people are lured into buying the medicines – supposed to increase virility, overcome debility. Etc. Many of these medicines are those which encourage immortality. It is strange that such advertisements find a place even in religious papers. This custom has been adopted from the West. Whatever the effort, we must either put an end to this undesirable practice or, at least, reform it. It is the duty of every newspaper to exercise care in accepting advertisements for publications in its pages'. From Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhiji, Vol VI, p 311-312)

Further, on another occasion, Gandhiji expressed his displeasure at the modern newspapers. He pointed out: '*It is generally seen that newspapers publish any matter they have without regard to its need or importance just to fill in vacant space. This practice is almost universal. It is so in the West also. The reason is that most newspapers have an eye on profits. There is no doubt that newspapers have done great service to the people and these defects are therefore overlooked.*

But to my mind, they have done equally great harm. There are newspapers in the West which are so full of trash that it would be a sin to read them. At times they produce bitterness and strife even between different families and communities. Thus, newspapers cannot escape criticism merely because they also serve the interests of the people. On the whole, it would seem that the gain and loss from newspapers are almost equal'.

Conclusion

Gandhian journalism needs to be looked closely and it has great relevance even today. The Gandhian trait of positive journalism has radically undergone a change. For instance, Gandhiji observed that the British judges' consideration of contempt of court was praised by him. He admitted the "reprimand" given by judges was acceptable. He truthfully published it in the newspaper, and yet he defended himself. But, the modern newspapers don't even publish the Press Council of India reprimand or censure to the newspapers for violation of journalistic ethics. The foundations of Indian press as laid by Mahatma Gandhi are receding to the background in the present day owing to media's slow adoption of the western model of journalism, tabloidization which emphasises on sensationalism, sex, and surprises. News reports are biased and personal involvement of journalists is quite discernible in the newspapers. Vilanilam (2009:89) observed:

> "*… The old Journalism of the Gandhian era, of journalists with noble goals, motivated by the need for social change in India, has disappeared, yielding to the journalism of the pocket book, of the purse, in short – of pure greed. Journalism as service to society has been replaced by journalism aimed at profit and affluence for media promoters and media workers*".

Courage of conviction and truth telling are the bedrock of the journalism profession is what we learn from Gandhian journalism.

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The Impact of Brickfields on Environment and Agriculture: An Empirical Study of Rangpur District in Bangladesh

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Abstract

Brickfields has a devastating impact on the environment and ecosystem. This study is an effort to analyze the impact and consequences of Brickfields on the environment and agriculture around 4km within a union of Badarganj upazilla under the Rangpur district, Bangladesh. The study employs the qualitative method in order to offer an in-depth and elaborate description about the impact of Brickfields on the local environment and agricultural land. The research is based on both primary and secondary data. Through the investigation at the field level, it has been observed that, 8 Brickfields have been established adjacent to the main road of Badarganj-Rangpur-Parbatipur. These Brickfields caters to the demands of the nearby towns and villages at the cost of the public lives and crops. It has been observed that all the elements of the environment near the immediate vicinity are under threat directly or indirectly by the Brickfields. Mentionably, the negative impact on arable land, agricultural crops, plants and trees are very serious and dangerous. Most of the people of the study area are either illiterate or less educated because of which, they are not aware of the negative impact of Brickfields. Brickfields are using topsoil from the nearby agricultural land for making bricks and consequently contributing to lower productivity and soil degradation which is in the complete violation of various environmental laws. Besides, Brickfields is producing black smoke and poisonous gaseous substances that contribute to air

pollution seriously damaging agricultural crops, plants, and public life. This violation of environmental law is obviously a crime. This study also offers a few suggestions to check these hazardous impact caused by Brickfields.

Keywords: Brickfields, Environment, Agricultural Land, Pollution, Violation.

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Introduction

Bangladesh is one of the developing countries in the world. The population of this country has doubled in the last 42 years of its independence. This large population needs housing, roads and other civic amenities to keep pace with modern lifestyle. Urbanization, industrialization and standard of living are playing a vital role in the infrastructural development of urban areas, cities and villages. Today, the main element of infrastructural development in this country is 'brick,' as stone is less frequently used as most of the houses, buildings and other infrastructures are constructed with brick. As brick is one of the important building materials, it is gaining significance in Bangladesh but not formally recognized as an industry (Ministry of Industries, 2010). With about 5000 operating kilns, brick making contributes about 1 percent to the country's gross domestic product and generates employment for about 1 million people (BUET, 2007). The country is highly dependent on bricks for construction, primarily because of dearth of other materials like stones. The construction industry has been rapidly rising at 5.6 percent per year, which led brick sector to grow annually at an estimated 2 - 3 percent over the next decade (World Bank, 2010).

Bangladesh will have to construct approximately 4 million new houses annually to accommodate the growing population (Rahim, 2011). Rapid urbanization in the country has created a booming construction industry and spurred the production of 8.6 billion bricks each year, with demand for the bricks rising at an annual rate of about 5.28 percent (UNDP, 2011). In Bangladesh, there are more than 9000 Brickfields. Most of them are in *Dhaka, Faridpur, Mymensingh Gazipur, Narayangong, Comilla, Bogra, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jessore, Chapai-Nawabgong, Chittagong* to name a few. (Bangladesh Disaster Report, 2005). These Brickfields are directly or indirectly dependent on nearby agricultural land due to the availability of brick making soil, which consequently has been playing a negative role on the environmental components that constitutes the ecosystem of an area. In Bangladesh there are three major sources of air pollution, namely, (a) vehicular emission, (b) small industries like brick kilns and other biomass inclinators and (c) re-suspended road dust (Ferdausi, Vaideeswaran and Akbar, 2008). However, this research tends to explore the nature of the impact of Brickfields on the environment and agriculture in the study area.

Context of the Study

With the rapid growth of urban and rural infrastructural development including house building, the demand and necessity of bricks are increasing day by day. As a result, a large number of Brickfields across the country are being established in order to meet the public demand. Before the 1970s, the number of Brickfields was not so much visible as is seen presently across the country. During the past, Brickfields were established by landlords, local rich and influential persons only for developing their own

infrastructure and not to be in brick business. After 1970, Brickfields were established in a limited scale. During 1980s, the Brickfields business expanded across the country on a large scale. In the study area, Brickfields business was started during the 1980s and after a certain period of time, the location was shifted (a union of *Badarganj upazilla* under the *Rangpur* district) to another suitable place. Before 2004, the Brickfields in the study area was built with the support of steel sheet chimneys for burning bricks and emitting black smokes in the air.

When the steel sheet chimneys were being used for brick kilns, nearby environment of plants, trees, agricultural crops, air, etc. were seriously hampered by black smoke, coal ash, dust, burnt coal and woody grinds emitted from brick kilns. Farmers in the adjacent areas were compelled by various reasons to sell their top soil for Brickfields. As a result, the farmers in the adjacent areas were forced to sell their property as environmental degradation was already affecting their production.

However, on 20th October 2002 the Ministry of Forest and Environment of Bangladesh introduced regulations on environmental concerns caused by Brickfields. According to these regulations, Brickfields owners have to build ecofriendly 120ft high concrete made chimneys instead of steel sheet chimneys for brick kilns. There was a ban on the use of topsoil of agricultural land for making bricks. But the reality is people in this region are not law abiding and therefore Government directions are not strictly implemented in the making of concrete chimneys or the top soil usage. The violation is also apparent in case of wood burning whereas coal burning is only approved by the DOEF authority in the Brickfields. Brickfields owners daringly violate these rules and regulations under the corrupt bureaucracy. It is in this context, the present research work assumes importance as it aims to through insight into the impact made by Brickfields on the local environment, agriculture and public health.

Objective of the study

Brickfields industry nowadays is the most available source of infrastructural development in our country. This industry also creates employment opportunity for the poorer section of the population in the society and definitely plays an important role in the acceleration of economic growth. Brick industry is highly dependent upon the land and soil for making bricks. This industry also uses other natural resources like plants and trees, coal, etc. But the Brickfields industry has now become an environmental concern countrywide. There are more than 9000 Brickfields in the country at present (Bangladesh Disaster Report, 2005). A large number of Brickfields is seen in the northern part of Bangladesh. In the study area, a union of *Badargonj upazilla* under *the Rangpur district*, there were 8 Brickfields, established very closely within a radius of 3-4 km. These industries continually deplete the top soil cover of the agricultural land adjacent to the Brickfields within a range of 8-9 kms. These Brickfields also burn a large amount of plants and trees and tens and thousands of tons of low quality coal polluting air and endangering ecosystem of local forest. And the people who are living adjacent to the Brickfields experience land degradation, low agricultural productivity, deforestation and air pollution including foul smell of black smoke and poisonous gasses emitted from Brickfields. Considering the hazardous impact of brick factories on the habitat and living environment of natural flora and fauna, this research tends to reveal the problems and impact caused by Brickfields on the local environment and agriculture. During the dry season, the Brickfields operates in full swing with black smoke, lots of noise, hustle and heat. The present study aims to analyze the environmental impact due to the existing location of the Brickfields within 4 kms in the union of *Badarganj upazilla* under *the Rangpur district*.

Brickfields not only produce building materials, but also cause

environmental pollution and land degradation in the study area has been the major finding of this research. The study formulated some specific objectives to uncover the true picture. Therefore, the study first aims at identifying the impact of Brickfields on the agricultural land and crops, secondly it tries to find its impact on relationships with the local environment and the brick kiln and thirdly the study tries to explore the effects of Brickfields on the health of the people living adjacent to the study area.

Theoretical Relevance

In order to conduct this research, a number of theoretical approaches have been considered in connection with environmental issue as it attempts to explore the impact of Brickfields on the environment. Cotton and Dunlop (1978) in their review of *New Environmental Paradigm* (NEP) pinpointed the distinctive core of the field as a new human ecology, which focuses on the interaction between the physical environment and social organization and behavior when it came to identifying areas of research in environmental Sociology. However, they allowed a number of topics (built environment, natural disaster, and social impact assessment) which seemed to stretch the parameters of the field rather than to narrow them (Hannigan, 1995:13).

According to Cotton and Dunlop, "Environmental Scientists are now in favor of recent social change in terms of non-anthropocentric viewpoint" (Nasreen, 1998). As the environmental issues and constraints are creating a number of new social problems continuously so the new environmental paradigm has become more important for environmental discussion. The core notions of the NEP are as follows:

➢ Purposive human interventions may lead to the consequential impact on the surrounding environment;

➢ As the earth is a fixed boundary with limited resources and human need is unlimited, problems crop up between environmental protection and human demands (Nasreen, 1998).

Brickfields is a kind of industry and at the same time it is also a purposive human intervention in order to meet the infrastructural demand of the human being. So, logically there will be a consequential impact on the surrounding environment and agriculture. From the above dimension, it is clear that this paradigm is closely related to this research topic. In the Marxist environmental theory, the environment and its sustainability are seen as critical for the continuation of human existence, but the environment is viewed primarily as a set of resources for meeting human development. It is the human requirement that is highlighted by the leaders and people of the developing world. To them the fight for development and justice is of more importance than the fight to save the trees (Hossain, 1998: 75). Purveyors of the Marxist environmental theory are quite clear about who they blame for the destruction of the environment: advanced industrial capitalism and its search for wealth, power and profit. It follows from this that environmental issues are fundamentally social class issues in which the corporation and the estate team up against ordinary citizens (Hannigan, 1995:18).

If we look at environmental issues created by Brickfields, there fundamentally appears two social classes, i.e., one is Brickfields owners and government authority and another is ordinary people living adjacent to the area of Brickfields. Brickfields owners have a nexus with government officials and continue their industrial exploitation over the ordinary people living near the area of Brickfields. They do this by removing top soil from nearby agricultural land, burning plants and trees indiscriminately and causing serious air pollution. Actually Marxist environmental approach draws its inspiration from the 19th century writing of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles. Their analysis of social structure and social change has become the starting point for several formidable contemporary theories of the environment (Hannigan, 1995:18).

Contemporary Marxist theory emphasizes not only the role of the capitalists, but also that of the state in fostering ecological destruction. But elected politicians and bureaucratic administrators are depicted as being centrally committed to propping up the interests of capitalist investors and employers. While the incentive here is partly material, i.e., local development, future job offers, poverty reduction, etc. Within environmental Sociology, probably the most influential explanation of the relationship between capitalism, the state and the environment, can be found in Allan Schnaiberg's book "The Environment: From Surplus to Scarcity (1980)". In that book, Schnaiberg outlined the nature and genesis of the contradictory relations between economic expansion and environmental disruption. Schnaiberg has depicted the political economy of environmental problems and policies as being organized within the structure of modern industrial society which he labels the 'Treadmill of Production'. This refers to the inherent need of an economic system to continually yield a profit by creating consumer demand for new products, even where this means expanding the ecosystem to the point of carrying capacity (Hannigan, 1995:18-19). Schnaiberg also detects a dialectic tension between 'Treadmill of Production' and demands environmental protection. He describes this as a clash between "use values" (the value of preserving existing unique species plants and trees, animals, land, water and air) and "exchange values" (which characterizes the industrial use of natural resources). As environmental protection has emerged as a significant item on the policy agenda of Government, the state must increasingly balance its dual role as a facilitator of capital accumulation and economic growth and its role as environmental regulator.

The clash between use values (preservation of land, air, water, plants, trees, animals) and exchange values can be connected with the impact of Brickfields. The Brickfields owners tend to run towards the exchange values of natural resources through industrial use. The massive population of the Brickfields adjacent area tends to run towards the use values of the natural resources through preservation. Under this contradictory position, by enacting Brickfields related environmental acts or drafting policies and procedures which are complex, ambiguous and open to exploitation by the forces of capital production and accumulation, the state ironically reaffirms its commitment to strategies for economic growth and as a facilitator of capitalists empowering the Brickfields owners at the cost of environment.

Methodology

The proposed research deals with a number of interrelated issues, including land degradation, context of soil selling, agricultural damage, effect of air pollution on health and environment from socio-environmental point of view. This study is based on both primary and secondary data. Among primary data, the opinion of farmers, local people, and experts have been obtained through structured interview schedule.

The study largely depends on the qualitative method because the nature of the study require exploratory and descriptive methods.

The study has been conducted in the *Modhupur* union of *Badarganj upazilla* under the *Rangpur* District. Within 3-4 kms of the study area, 8 Brickfields have been established. Villagers of the study area are verymuch concerned about the multifaceted impact of Brickfields. In order to conduct this piece of research, the researcher has selected 4 Brickfields through random sampling. The study population consists of village farmers affected by the Brickfields area besides Brickfields managers and truck drivers who bring top soil for brick making. The researcher has taken a sample of 12 farmers, 3 Brickfields staff and 3 truck drivers through simple random sampling to get a representative sample.

Findings and Discussion

This exploratory research work specifically revealed the impact and effects of Brickfields on local air condition, plants, trees, health on the nearby agricultural land and crops.

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The Impact of Brickfields on Environment and Agriculture: An Empirical Study of...

As Brickfields is considered an industry, it is mandatory for the owner to obtain permission from the Deputy Commissioner (DC) to establish a Brickfields. After submitting the proposal for establishing a Brickfields, DC will visit the Brickfields's location and if the location is barren fallow land and 3 kms distance from locality and 1 km distance from any tree garden consisting of at least 50 trees, DC will permit the Brickfields owner to establish it. (Brickfields Amendment Act, 1992). But by visiting the study site, the researcher has identified gross violation of Brickfields Amendment Act, 1992 and irregularities by DC Office. In the study area, 3 Brickfields (R.B.L, U.B.C and M.B.L) have been established within 1.5 km in a triangular position surrounded by densely populated locality. Another sampled Brickfields (R.B.L-2) has also been established within half km distance from the locality. This is a major violation of environmental laws and the researcher has realized that the license for establishing Brickfields was obtained by bribing officials in the DC Office.

Violation of Brick Burning Act, 2001

It was found in the study that there is a gross violation of Brick Burning Act that only allows burning of bamboo stumps, dated trees and coal for the brick kiln. The reality is Brickfields indulge in indiscriminate burning of plants and trees for the brick kilns as it is cheaper than coal. According to Brickfields managers brick kilns surreptitiously burn 5 tons of firewood and burn coal later in gross violation of Brick Burning Act.

Socio-Economic Hardships and Unlawful Activities of Brickfields

The study reveals the economic hardship of the farmers as the underlying reason compelling farmers to sell the topsoil of their agricultural land. Besides, Brickfields authority lure farmers by offering a higher price for the topsoil or force them to sell the topsoil under local political or social pressure.

From the field observation, the researcher has found that farmers faced less loss of damaged crops because of the Brickfields chimneys which were not made of steel sheet and not above the recommended height (80-90 ft) but the scenario in case of land degradation and damage is very dangerous. Topsoil of most of the agricultural land near the Brickfields was removed for brick making. Besides, Brickfields are collecting topsoil for making bricks from the nearby 6-7 km distant areas at the rate of Tk 600-800 per truck. Though the topsoil use for brick making is prohibited through the Brickfields Amendment Act, 1992, the actual scenario shows gross violation of the said Act. If this topsoil collection continues unabated year after year, almost all of the agricultural land will render land unfit for agriculture.

Steps and Measures Taken by Farmers to Recover the Land Fertility

The following measures should be taken by farmers in order to restore the land fertility that is damaged by Brickfields;

➢ Farmers have to use a huge amount of cow dung and compost fertilizer;

➢ They have to give soil treatment with mustard cake, water hyacinths and residues of paddy and wheat before the land is irrigated and kept under water;

➢ It is also known from the farmers that the land also naturally recovers fertility during flood period by siltation.

Air Pollution and Deforestation due to Brickfields

The study has found out serious air pollution in the study area when the Brickfields operates in full swing from November to May. The Brickfields's adjacent area is covered with black smoke and has a foul smell of coal burning. Due to serious air pollution, the people living near the Brickfields adjacent area suffer from various problems and diseases like skin allergy, eye irritation, inflammation of eyes, breathing problems, dizzy headache, asthma, hooping cough, cold and fever etc.

The study has further revealed the deforestation process as most of the plants and trees are burnt indiscriminately in the Brickfields because it is locally available and cheaper than coal. Each Brickfields during the burning period burns nearly 30-40 tons of firewood and this unabated wood burning of plants and trees has endangered the biodiversity habitat of the locality.

Effects of Brickfields on the Residents

When the Brickfields operate in full swing during dry season (November-May), they produce a lot of black smoke, coal grinds and dust particles in the nearby areas adversely affecting local residents' health. Though Brick Burning Act, 2011 does not permit establishing Brickfields within 3 km of any locality one finds them in the locality. In the study area, there are 4 Brickfields (U.B.C, R.B.L, R.B.L-2, M.B.L) that produce thick black smoke along with poisonous chemicals like sulfur dioxide, carbon dioxide, and carbon monoxide, including dust particles and coal grinds posing health hazards to the residents. It has also been found that Brickfields burn old motor tires and furnace oil aggravating the fragile environment. The study has found out that the cases of headache, vomiting, itching of the skin and breathing problems have been reported in the area.

Suggestions

Brickfields generally leads to the environmental degradation like air pollution, deforestation and agricultural land damage. Following suggestions are made to check the degeneration of the environment;

➢ Stringent measures should be taken to check the Violation of Brickfields related Act and corruption in offices authorized to provide license for Brickfields;

➢ Burning of plants and trees in the Brick kilns must be stopped and the violator of Brick Burning Act must be punished with rigorous imprisonment and fine;

➢ As topsoil is the heart of high agricultural crop productivity, only the soil of barren high land must be used in the Brickfields;

➢ Brickfields' chimneys must be built with concrete and the height of the chimneys must not be below 120 ft;

➢ "Bavel Filter" must be used on top of the chimneys in order to purify the poisonous gasses like carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide emitted out of chimneys;

➢ Environmental officials must monitor the establishment and functioning of Brickfields.

Conclusion

This research study has attempted an interpretative and exploratory analysis about the impact of Brickfields upon the local environment, agriculture and the people living in the adjacent area. The research investigation has revealed the extent of the adverse impact and suffering caused by Brickfields on the surrounding environment and agriculture. This research also reveals the negative impact of Brickfields on agricultural land wherever topsoil is removed for brick making. This study also observed serious air pollution and massive burning of plants and trees in the Brick kilns threatening environment. It is undeniable that Brickfields can generate employment in the area of operation and ultimately help national economy and infrastructural development but at what cost. In this regard, Brickfields will have to be abided by laws and regulations. Measures should be taken to prevent unlawful operation of Brick kilns.

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Analysis of New Media Usage in Karnataka Assembly Elections 2013

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Abstract

The traditional functions of mass media have been challenged by new media, which is changing the participation habits of the audiences. The emergence of new media as a potential force and the impact it has on all the discourse of human life which has not left no stone unturned is interesting to study. Mass media's influence in elections cannot be denied. In this present study, the researchers look into the new media usage trend in General Elections to the Legislative Assembly in the state of Karnataka which was held during 2013 for 224 constituencies. The paper studies the use of digital media in the Karnataka State Assembly elections 2013 and analyse the degree of new media penetration which was put to use in electioneering during this time.

Keywords: New Media, Election, Politics, Democracy

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Introduction

Media can be termed as a revolutionary boon of technology. Media is essentially a working group organized around some device for circulating the same message, at about the same time, to large number of people (Schramm 1963). In which case, we can say that the mass media has

important roles to play with regards to disseminating information, providing education and to influence opinion. These were considered as the pivotal features of traditional media. This has been challenged by new media, which is changing the participation habits of the audiences. Media are essential when we talk about democracy, and a election is a integral part of it. And media play a pivotal role in not only disseminating the required information but also providing a platform for healthy debate. A free and fair election is not all about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters are engaged in public debate which will provide them with adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices. Indeed, it can safely be said that, a democratic election with no media freedom, or subdued/stifled media freedom, would be a contradiction. New media have changed the dynamics of human communication and its presence is pervasive having far reaching impact on political communication across the globe. The emergence of new media as a potential force and the impact it has on all the discourse of human life which has not left no stone unturned is interesting to study.

Mass media's influence in elections cannot be denied. Scholars are divided in their opinion bout media power in elections. On one hand we acknowledge the power of media in elections and on the other we argue whether is it really powerful enough to influence the election outcome. The influence of media in elections has been perceived differently by the acadmics and the public. (Mutz, 2012) The divide between the two different perceptions 'stems from the fact that the public uses different forms of evidence than academics use to infer media power ' (Ibid). New Media has been the latest media that has changed the dynamics of political communication across the globe since the birth of 'Arab Spring'. Democratization of social media has left indelible mark in the political

scenario of democracies in the world. The digital technology has paved way for digital election campaigns indicating the arrival of e-electoral battles. Even today Barak Obama's aggressive social media electoral campaign of 2008 is considered as historic as it established the power of new media in politics.

Indian elections of 2014 caused a paradigm shift in election campaign by establishing new media as a powerful platform to fight political battles. U.S. Presidential election of 2012 had a huge impact on Indian elections with the former heralding the arrival of social media to reach voters in a big way relegating traditional media to the background. During 2012 US presidential elections, Barack Obama had over 20.4 million followers on Twitter, 29,1 million on Facebook, 2.3 million on You Tube and over 1.4 million on Instagram. The elections increased the advertising revenue of online media cutting into the revenue of traditional media like newspapers and television. It is said that nearly $40 billion was spent on online advertising in the United States in 2012, surpassing the amount spent on once-supreme print advertisements (eMarketer 2012a, b). The emergence of e-commerce portals has seen voluminous increase in the online users. Attributes like the easy access and reach coupled with mobility and democratization have influenced the use of social media in politics.

India has over 898 million mobile phone users and 121 million Internet users, which is comparatively overwhelming than total newspaper readership of 405 million and total TV households of 231 million with 563 million TV audience. India has over 100 million Facebook users and 22.2 million Twitter users. Narendra Modi, the prime ministerial candidate in Indian elections of 2014 created history by taking to social media and had 3.89 million followers on Twitter and 14 million fans on Facebook, perhaps the highest to any Indian politician. The net savvy writer turned Indian politician Shashi Tharoor laid a precedent by trusting social media to

express his views on public issues. In 2009 Tharoor took to Twitter and his Tweets became a major source of news for the Indian mainstream media causing flutter in the Indian politics. Social media flooded the Indian political scenario and became a dependable source for media and a dialogue platform for the people. It cannot be denied, that Indian elections of 2014 resulted in the expansion of social media like Facebook and Twitter in India as political candidates recognized the significance of social media in election campaigns. Besides political candidates fighting elections even voters were in need of more information about candidates, political parties and election issues in social media. In India election pundits had speculated about Facebook emerging as a giant in the social media space enjoying immense clout of users. 'The IRIS Knowledge Foundation, a public service initiative of IRIS Business Services Limited, in its research conducted in March 2013, had estimated that the usage of social media would spread by the 2014 LS elections.. It would leave the citizens empowered. About 10 per cent of the voting population have Facebook account and 97 per cent of them are active members. And, on a daily basis almost they make their presence' (Asha K and Usha N, 2014).

In India Internet use by citizens is increasing and mobile Internet has created more access to new media than before. Therefore, one can presume that people are webactive showing signs of visible participation and engagements in online media. According to studies, people are spending more time with social media like Facebook, Tweeter and You Tube changing the media consumption pattern. In fact mobile Internet has given impetus to political parties to connect with the voters saving time and money. Today politicians have immense opportunity to connect with the online voters and have online election campaigns. It is rather easy to communicate online as voluminous information in the form of text, photos, video and others can be uploaded and updated in virtual time. The image of the

election candidates who use online media is perceived as tech savvy, educated and modern by the voters in general and youth in particular.

What are New Media ?

New media has different connotations. It is perhaps the label but it has created more confusion. What is new media today will become traditional media tomorrow like newspaper, radio and television. Perhaps it is the most flexible word coined in the media and each one understands the meaning in their context. Fundamentally, new media is technology driven and Internet based online communication tool that converges as well as diverges.

'Most technologies described as "new media" are digital, often having characteristics of being manipulated, networkable, dense, compressible, and interactive. Some examples may be the Internet, websites, computer multimedia, computer games, CD-ROMS, and DVDs. New media does not include television programs, feature films, magazines, books, or paper-based publications – unless they contain technologies that enable digital interactivity.'(Socha and Schmid). 'All new media objects, whether created from scratch on computers or converted from analog media sources, are composed of digital code; they are numerical representations' (Manovich). 'The term "new media" will in general refer to those digital media, which are interactive, incorporate two-way communication and involve some form of computing as opposed to "old media" such as the telephone, radio and TV' (Ibid) . ' New media are new cultural forms which are native to computers or rely on computers for distribution: Web sites, human-computer interface, virtual worlds, VR, multimedia, computer games, computer animation, digital video, special effects in cinema and net films, interactive computer installations' (Manovich).

"We call the representation of one medium in another remediation and we will argue that remediation is the defining characteristic of the new

digital media." (Bolter and Grusin ,1999, p. 45) "All mediation is remediation (ibid., p. 55)." The experts have debated on the distinction one can make between old and new media. What is new in new media which was not distinguishable in old media. Is it the production, distribution or consumption that defines new media? "What is new about new media comes from the particular ways in which they refashion older media and the ways in which older media refashion themselves to answer the challenges of new media (ibid., p. 15)." "Social Media is a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010).

Literature Review

The use of social media in US elections of 2008 and 2012 and Indian elections of 2014 has generated many research studies that have investigated the pattern of usage and its impact on the electorate. The new media is the youngest member of mass media with a history of less than two decades. Study after study has endorsed that social media are potential enough to transform relationships among politicians, political parties and voters . Most of the studies on the role of social media in political campaigning have opined that there is growing tendency to use social networks as a channel of political communication (Gibson (2010); Gibson and McAllister (2011); Gueorguieva (2008); Gulati and Williams (2010); Steger et al (2010); Asha K. & Usha N, 2014) among others. Social media has become a public platform for recording political comments by the voters. As a result there is a general belief that social media mirrors public opinion. There seems to be significant correlation between public opinion and social media. 'Analysis of media coverage from the 2010 UK General Election demonstrates that social media are now being equated with public opinion by political journalists ..... broadening the definition of public opinion to include its social dimension' (Anstead and O'Loughlin, 2015).

The research on new media impact on political campaigns have shown that 'social networking sites (SNS) have had a dramatic impact on how political campaigns function. For instance, in 2004, US Democratic presidential hopeful Howard Dean used a diverse network of bloggers and donors to rise from a relative unknown to a front-runner for the nomination in only a few months (Cited by Ponder, Haridakis, Hanson, 2014). In fact, accoring to Hindman the Dean campaign was hailed by political and media scholars as the first digital campaign (cited Ibid).

One of the studies on Indian elections of 2014 that investigated the trail of Prime Ministerial candidate Narendra Modi in social media has endorsed the premise that social media were extensively used by political parties. The study found certain significant differences among social media content of the BJP, Congress and AAP political parties. The BJP, the right wing party and its leader Modi had well equipped and qualified IT professionals to run their shows on social media. The content was well thought of, sophisticated, structured well, thinks before inking, no flaws in the usage of language, sharp and witty replies to detractors on Twitter. The downloading of information and opinion was well orchestrated. The packaging and marketing was well carried out. Social media has left the Indian Netizens energised to engage in electoral process. Twitter seems to be emerging as the easy and quick mode of communication with the usage of smart phone increasing. Journalists of print and television, which are considered as traditional media, had to follow up on social media for keeping track of developments as tech-savvy candidates chose to break news and react on Facebook and Twitter (Ibid). However, this study does not say whether the winning or losing of the candidates can be attributed

to the use of social media. Nevertheless this study vouches for the huge presence of social media in Indian elections that gave a perceptible edge to the Prime Ministerial candidate Narendra Modi to reach youth through social media. Social media savvy Modi swept Indian elections over his opponent Rahul Gandhi, the Vice President of Congress political party who even shied away from having his own website, Facebook or Twitter account illustrating the supremacy of social media in Indian elections.

The question is whether social media is more appropriate for new political parties rather than traditional parties? Surprisingly, unlike traditional political parties in US, the traditional political parties of Europe who used social media have failed to make a dent in the elections in comparison with their new opponents who have outperformed the old guard and built support using social media. 'Although many politicians and single-issue/protest parties have used social media to build support and prosper at election time, traditional European parties have in most cases failed to follow suit. This leads one to ask the question: is social media simply not suited to traditional parties?' (Cited by Thejll- Moller, 2013)**.** Studies have found out that 'social media must be a part of any party's armory. And it can be, yet parties have failed to thrive in social media due in part to their general decline at a time of dwindling memberships and flourishing alternative political movements....In addition, it is argued that social media works better with key elements like strategy, resourcing and appropriate mindset besides mobilizing supporters in order to reach beyond their own networks, and using data in order to micro-target by localizing and personalizing communications output' (Thejll- Moller, 2013). Social media builds support not only for already established political leaders but also new and lesser known candidates as the latter do not get adequate coverage in the mainstream media. 'Lower profile candidates use social media in a compensatory manner, offsetting their limited media coverage which voters

typically rely on in getting to know the candidates'(Jensen, Anstead, 2014).

Studies have thrown more insight into the correlation between online communication and political engagement. Facebook was presumed to have been instrumental in garnering support to the candidates in US Presidential elections of 2008 with over 1million users. It was found that the 'general election acted as a driving force for individual engagement within Facebook, especially with regard to particular behaviours such as political discussion, political status updates, advertising one's intention to vote and support for a candidate' (Carlisle and Patton, 2013). Elections increase the use of social media for political communication. Elections are fought between novice small parties and old guard established political parties. Web based media in elections give a level playing field to all big and small players owing to technology and unique features of the media like democratization and flexibility of reach and access. In a longitudinal study on Australian survey of elections between 2001-2010, 'it is confirmed that major parties do dominate web media, although minor parties are stronger users of social media. Both strategies are effective in gaining votes, suggesting that the web may be rebalancing if not equalizing party competition' (Gibson and McAllister, 2014). Undoubtedly social media is used for political engagements and more so during elections as it is convenient to update oneself about latest trends in campaigns. In a study on Twitter in Italian elections of 2013, the study points out that more people acquire political information via social media like Twitter. It was found that 'the more the people express themselves politically on these platforms, the more they are likely to contact politicians via e-mail, campaign for parties and candidates using social media, and attend offline events to which they were invited online' (Valeriani et al. 2015).

Politics brews skepticism, cynicism and indifference as public perception of politics and politicians is negative to the core. The presence

of new media has influenced this perception. A study examining the media intervention in political disaffection among young adults in the US Presidential elections of 2008 reveals that 'online expression has a positive effect on skepticism. Role of social media has implications in bringing a historically disengaged demographic into the political process' (Yamamoto, M. and Kushin, M. J. 2014). During elections, voluminous information is posted in the social media about political candidates. Further, the comments, opinions and views of the people discuss the qualities and abilities of the candidates. One can gauge the personality traits of the candidates based on the analysis of social media content. In one such study on Twitter, the personality traits of Barack Obama and Romney in US presidential elections supports the premise that it is possible to do a sentiment analysis and gauge the public perception of political personalities in social media (Bhattacharya et al. 2015).

Objectives

1. To study the use of digital media in the Karnataka State Assembly elections 2013.
2. To analyse the degree of new media usage by the contestants for influencing voter behaviour.
3. To measure the degree of new media penetration in the electioneering in the State of Karnataka.

Profile of Location of the Study

Karnataka is a state in the southern part of India. Karnataka was established in the year November 1, 1956 . Karnataka with a population of 61 million has been a politically active state since its inception. It has 28 parliamentary constituencies and there are several active political parties in the state. There are 30 districts within this state. The capital city of Karnataka is Bengaluru, IT bowl of India is also known as the silicon valley of the east and is the largest city of this state. The official language of this state is Kannada and the literacy level is 75.6%.

Elections of this state are conducted as per the Constitution of India. The assembly of this state makes the laws regarding the matters of conducting of the local body elections in a unilateral way. But if there are any changes to be made by the state legislature with respect to the conducting of state level elections it needs to be approved by the Parliament. As per the law of the land, the administrative structure of the state is determined by the Constitution of 1950. The Governor is the head of the state and functions on the advice of the Chief Minister. CM is the head of the Council of Ministers. Karnataka has a bicameral legislature in which the Legislative Council (*Vidhana Parishad*) is the upper house and the Legislative Assembly (*Vidhana Sabha*) is the lower house.

The Karnataka Legislative Council is a permanent body comprising of 75 members. It was established as the Mysore Legislative Council in 1907 (under Regulation I of 1907) in the Princely State of Mysore with a view to associate with the Government certain number of non-official persons having practical experience and knowledge of local conditions and requirements to assist government in making laws and regulations. As on 2013, among the 75 members of the Legislative Council, 25 are elected by the members of Karnataka Legislative Assembly, 25 are elected by local authorities, 7 are elected by the Graduates, 7 are elected by the Teachers and 11 members are nominated by the Governor of Karnataka. One-third of its members retire every two years.

General Elections to the Legislative Assembly

There are 224 seats in the *Vidhana Sabha* or the Legislative Assembly

of Karnataka state amongst them one member is a representative of the Anglo-Indian community nominated by the Governor of Karnataka. The state of Karnataka is divided into 225 constituencies to elect the Legislative assembly. The members of the *Vidhana Sabha* are directly elected by people through adult franchise. Each constituency elects one member to the assembly. Member is popularly known as MLA. The assembly is elected using the simple majority. The elections are conducted by the Election Commission of India. The normal term of the members is five years. In case of death, resignation or disqualification of a member, a by-election is held for constituency represented by the member.

General Elections to the Legislative Assembly in the state of Karnataka was held during 2013. In this election, 6 National parties, 1 State party, 6 other state parties, 45 registered but unrecognized political parties and Independents (who do not represent any political party) contested elections. There were 224 constituencies consisting of 173 General and reserved constituencies for SC (Scheduled Castes)-36 and ST (Scheduled Tribes) -15. There were a total of 2948 contestants for 224 seats with an average of 13 candidates per constituency. The state has 43.68 million voters including 22.31 million male and 21.36 female voters. In the assembly elections 2013 a total of 31.21 million (72.40%) people voted including 16.15(70.47%) million male and 15.05 (71.45%) female voters.

A total of 2948 contestants including 2772 (94.02%) male and 175 (5.9%) females contested elections. In the final results 224 candidates consisting of 218 (97.32%) male and 6 (2.6%) females emerged victorious winning Karnataka General Assembly Elections 2013. Of the political parties, the traditional party Indian National Congress topped the tally winning 122 (54.4%) seats followed by right wing BJP party and *Janata Dal* (Secular) party winning 40 (17.8%) seats each in the 224 assembly seats. The elections were held on May 5th, 2013.

Methodology

In this paper we analyze the use of new media in election campaigns by the candidates contesting assembly elections 2013 held in the state of Karnataka . This paper investigates the type of new media tools chosen by political candidates to connect with the voters. It basically endeavours to answer questions about political engagements through new media during elections 2013. The content analysis method was found appropriate to study the variety of new media tools used by the contestants. Online communication tools such as websites, blogs, Facebook, Tweets, Skype, You Tube and others that were created for the purpose of elections 2013 by the candidates were selected and analyzed. A total of 2948 candidates contested in the elections for 224 seats. In order to study the entire population, it was decided to select 2867 (97.25%) out of 2948 candidates representing 223 out of 224 assembly seats on the basis of data availability in online sites.

The 2867 respondents were spread across 223 constituencies in 30 districts of the state. The constituencies were selected in a way that gave due representation to backward regions of the state and constituencies reserved for SC and ST castes who enjoy reservation under Indian constitution. Care was taken to choose those places where women contested elections as only 5.9% of females stood for assembly elections in Karnataka in 2013. Elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on May 5, 2013 and results were declared on May 8, 2013. All online content constructed by the candidates and their political parties during election period between March and April 2013 was selected for data collection. Online media content of the candidates was analyzed and quantified.

Data Analysis and findings

The study aims to investigate the new media usage by the electors in the 2013 State Legislative Assembly Elections in the State of Karnataka.

The 223 constituencies were categorized into 30 Districts for the purpose of analysis. Karnataka has 30 districts with 224 Assembly seats. Districtwise analysis of new media usage makes interesting revelations.

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bagalkote District	7	59	8	13.55
Bengaluru Central	19	338	54	15.97
Bengaluru Rural	4	46	16	34.78
Bengaluru Urban	6	80	38	47.50
Dakshina Kannada	8	60	11	18.33
Gadag	4	47	1	2.72
Hubli- Dharwad	7	97	5	5.15
Davangere	8	123	1	0.81
Mysuru	11	160	7	4.37
Mandya	7	91	2	2.19
Koppala	5	58	1	1.72
Kolar	6	100	1	1
Gulburga	9	129	0	0
Hassan	7	80	2	2.5
Haveri	6	71	1	1.40
Kodagu	2	23	0	0
Chamarajanagara	4	48	3	6.25
Chikkaballapur	5	84	1	1.19
Chikkamagalur	5	56	2	3.57
Chitradurga	6	75	3	4.00
Raichur	6	64	14	21.87
Ramanagara	4	55	8	14.54
Shivamogga	7	86	13	15.11
Tumkur	11	146	4	2.73
Bellary	9	127	2	1.57
Bidar	6	94	9	9.57
Bijapur	8	116	2	1.72
Belgaum	18	194	5	2.57
Udupi	5	45	4	8.88
Uttara Kannada	6	68	3	4.11
Yadgir	4	47	2	4.25
Total	220	2867	223	7.77

Table 1: Consolidated Usage of New Media Users V/s No. of Candidates
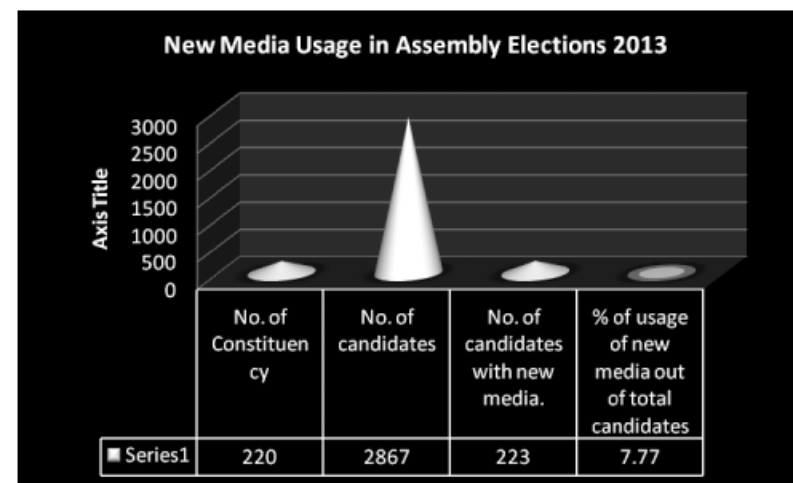
The consolidated table -1 shows the very low new media usage at 7.77 percent in 30 districts in the Karnataka Assembly Elections 2013. Though all districts from Karnataka have been selected for the study, data of the three constituencies could not be found and one nominated constituency had no data as it did not participate in the elections. A total of 2867 candidates finally contested from 223 constituencies. Out of 2867 candidates a meagre 223 candidates have used new media in assembly elections 2013. The new media usage is very low at 7.77 percent, signifying the low penetration of Internet and inadequate communication infrastructure in the State of Karnataka.

The district wise analysis is as follows;

Table 2: Bagalkot District

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bagalkote District	7	59	8	13.55

The table -2 shows that, the total number of candidates who contested the election from Bagalkot District is 59 from 7 Constituencies. Among

the contested candidates, only 8 have made use of new media in the Assembly Elections. Thus, the total usage comes up to 13.55% in the district, which has a growth rate per capita income ranking of 10 and literacy rate of 69.39%.

Table 3: Bengaluru Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bengaluru Urban	6	80	38	47.50 %
Bengaluru Rural	4	46	16	34.78 %
Bengaluru Central	19	338	54	15.97 %
Total	29	464	108	23.27%

Bangalore Constituency is divided into Bengauluru North, Bengaluru South, Bengaluru Central and Bengaluru Rural but for the sake of the study, it is been considered as Bengaluru Central, Bengaluru Rural and Bengaluru Urban. Out of 464 candidates from 29 constituencies 108 (**23.27%**) candidates have used new media in election campaigns. Out of 338 candidates from Bengaluru Central Constituency, 54 (15.97%) have used new media which is lowest in the whole district. In Bengaluru Rural 16 (34.78 %) candidates out of 46 and in Bengaluru urban 38 (47.50%) out of 80 candidates have made use of new media showing a marginal difference between urban and rural areas. The table shows that Bengaluru Urban constituency has seen greater percentage of contestants using new media when compared with other two constituencies. Bengaluru Urban occupies I rank in the per capita growth in the state whereas Bengaluru Rural has earned 2nd rank in the growth rate showing consistent growth. Bengaluru Urban and Bengaluru Rural have a literacy level of 88.48% and 78.49% respectively.

Table 4: Dakshina Kannada Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Dakshina Kannada	8	60	11	18.33

Out of 60 candidates from 8 constituencies in Dakshina Kannada only 11 candidates have employed new media which comes to 18.33%. One would expect more usage in Dakshina Kannada as it shows good human development indicators which includes education one amongst it. It has a growth rate ranking of 22 and the literacy level of 88.62% is the highest in the state. So, education doesn't seems to be a variable in the usage of new media in the coastal belt of Karnataka state.

Table 5: Gadag Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Gadag	4	47	1	2.72

Gadag assembly seat saw 47 candidates contesting the elections from 4 assembly seats. Surprisingly, out of 47 only 1 person used new media as a tool during elections meaning a meagre 2.27 percentage . The district has a growth rate ranking of 5 and literacy of 75.81 % which should have otherwise influenced the new media intervention but it doesn't seem to be the case.

Table 6: Hubli – Dharwad Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Hubli- Dharwad	7	97	5	5.15

The twin cities of Hubli- Dharwad district saw 97 candidates participating in elections from 7 constituencies. Out of which only a meagre

5 amounting to 5.15% used new media as a tool during election campaign. The growth rate ranking of this district is 8 and literacy level is high at 80.30%.

Table 7: Davangere Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Davangere	8	123	1	0.81

The constituency saw 123 candidates fight the elections for assembly from 8 constituencies out which only 1 (0.81%) used new media. This is the constituency that has recorded least usage of new media in the elections. Traditionally known as the Manchester of the East for spinning cotton textiles, the district has recorded a growth rate ranking of 11 and a literacy rate of 76.30%.

Table 8: Raichur Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Raichur	6	64	14	21.87

64 candidates contested elections from 6 constituencies in Raichur district. 14 (21.87%.) amongst them made use of new media making it one of the districts despite backwardness saw better usage of new media. The growth rate ranking of the district is 20 with a literacy level of 60.46%. The low ranking and low literacy level have not come in the way of usage of new media in the district which is comparatively better in the State.

Table 9: Ramnagara Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Ramnagara	4	55	8	14.54

This newly formed district, which was segregated from Bengaluru rural district in 2007, saw 55 candidates contest from 4 constituencies. Amongst them barely 8 (14.54%) used new media in the elections in a constituency which was the seat of former Prime Minister of India, H.D.Devegowda and the stronghold of *Janata Dal* (Secular) party. It has a literacy level of 69.20 %.

Table 10: Shimoga Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Shimoga	7	86	13	15.11

Shimoga constituency, the political hot bed of the State, saw 86 candidates contest from 7 constituencies. The new media has been adopted by 15.11 % (13) candidates in the elections. The growth rate ranking of this region is 9 and the literacy level is high at 80.50%.

Table 11: Tumkur Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Tumkur	11	146	4	2.73

Out of 11 constituencies in Tumkur district where 146 candidates were in the fray a meagre 2.73% (4) made use of new media denoting the low priority given to online communications. The district has a growth rate rank of 13 and a literacy level of 74. 32 %.

Table 12: Mysore Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Mysore	11	160	7	4.37

Mysore district, the headquarters for the world IT giant Infosys was the battle fray for 160 candidates in 11 constituencies assembly elections

2013. Out of 160, only 7 (4.37%) contestants made use of new media showing low level of political engagements through online communications. The district has a growth rate rank of 7 and a literacy rate of 72. 56% but none of these seems to have influenced the new media intervention.

Table 13: Mandya Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Mandya	7	91	2	2.19

One of the districts which has politically remained strong and predominantly consists of farmers in Karnataka is the Mandya district. It has 7 constituencies from where 91 candidates contested for elections out of which, only 2 (2.19%) made use of new media in the elections. Considered as the sugar bowl of Karnataka, the district has a growth rate rank of 25 and a literacy rate of 70. 14 %.

Table 14: Koppala Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Koppala	5	58	1	1.72

The district that was bifurcated from Raichur in the year 1998 saw 58 candidates contesting from 5 constituencies in the Karnataka Assembly elections 2013. Out of whom, only 1 (1.72%) used new media showing very negligible usage in this backward region of the State. The growth rate of this region is 14 and the literacy rate is comparatively low at 67.28%.

Table 15: Kolar Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Kolar	6	100	1	1

Kolar district that has linguistically plural demography had 100 candidates in the fray for 6 seats in the assembly elections. Only 1 (1%) made use of new media showing the minimum intervention of new media in elections. The growth rate rank of the district renowned for gold mines is 6 with a literacy rate of 74.33%.

Table 16: Gulbarga Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Gulburga	9	129	0	0

One of the two constituencies in the study where the new media usage is nil is Gulbarga district. 129 candidates for 9 assembly seats were in the election fray. None of the 129 candidates used new media as a tool during elections showing poor visibility of online media in the election campaigns. The growth rate rank of the district is 12 with a low literacy rate of 65.65%.

Table 17: Hassan Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Hassan	7	80	2	2.5

Out of 80 candidates who contested for 7 assembly seats in Hassan district, only 2.5% (2) used new media for election campaigns. The growth rate ranking of this politically high profile district is 19 with the literacy rate of 75. 89%.

Table 18: Haveri Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Haveri	6	71	1	1.40

Haveri has 6 assembly seats where 71 candidates contested in the

assembly elections 2013. Out of 71 only 1.4 % (1) candidates used new media showing utterly low new media intervention akin to those in the majority of the districts.

Table 19: Kodagu Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Kodagu	2	23	0	0

Kodagu is the other constituency in the State where usage of new media is nil showing political battles being fought using traditional media. 23 candidates contested for 2 assembly seats in this district. Among them none made use of new media for electioneering. Thus 0% use of new media can be seen in Kodagu district, the coffee land of India. The district has a unique demography with a growth rate rank of 26 and a high literacy rate of 82.52%.

Table 20: Chamarajanagar Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Chamarajanagar	4	48	3	6.25

Chamnarajanagar saw 48 candidates contesting from 4 constituencies. Out of which the total new media usage was 6.25 % where only 3 candidates made use of this medium. This district has a growth rate rank of 22 and a literacy of 54.32% which is second lowest in the state.

Table 21: Chikkaballapur Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Chikkaballapur	5	84	1	1.19

Out of 84 candidates contesting from 5 constituencies only one person (1.19%) made use of new media showing a dismal picture in the district of Chikkaballapur. It has a low literacy rate of 61.55 %.

Table 22 : Chikkamagalur Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Chikkamagalur	5	56	2	3.57

The land of hillocks and coffee estates saw only 3.57% contestants using new media out of 56 candidates contesting from 5 constituencies. The district has a growth rate rank of of 10 and literacy of 72.88%.

Table 23 : Chitradurga Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Chitradurga	6	75	3	4.00

Out of 75 candidates contesting from 6 constituencies only 3 made use of new media in the city of forts, Chitradurga, making it a total of 4 % use by contestants. Literacy of this district is comparatively low at 60.05% and it has a growth rate rank of 17.

Table 24: Bellary Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bellary	9	127	2	1.57

The Bellary district is the mining belt of the state that saw 127 candidates contesting from 9 constituencies but showing a meagre 1.57% use of new media as tool of campaign during elections. The district has a growth rate rank of 7 and very low literacy of 58.28%.

Table 25: Bidar Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bidar	6	94	9	9.57

A total of 94 candidates from 6 constituencies contested for the elections of which a total of 9.57 % (9) made use of new media. The district has a low literacy rate of 61.66 % and a low growth rate ranking of 27.

Table 26: Bijapur Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Bijapur	8	116	2	1.72

A moderately big district with 8 constituencies Bijapur saw 116 contestants fight the elections in the year 2013 out of which, 2 (1.72 %) used new media. The growth rate ranking of the district is 20 with a very low literacy of 56.54%.

Table 27: Belgaum Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Belgaum	18	194	5	2.57

The second district with highest number of constituencies of 18 next only to Bangalore is Belguam. This heartland of education centre of north Karnataka saw 194 candidates contest elections from 18 constituencies of which only 5 (2.57%) made use of new media. Despite being proclaimed as an educational centre, the district has a low literacy of 64.74% and low growth rate rank of 16 correlating with the low new media usage.

Table 28: Udupi Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Udupi	5	45	4	8.88

Udupi, the district which ranks among the top in human development indicator saw only 4 (8.88%) using new media out of 45 candidates contesting from 5 constituencies. One of the districts characterized by high literacy rate of 81.41 % the district has a growth rate rank of 5.

Table 29: Uttara Kannada Constituency

District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Uttara Kannada	6	68	3	4.11

Out of 68 candidates participating from 6 constituencies only 3 (4.11) used the new media showing low presence of new media in elections. The literacy rate of this district is 78.21% and growth rate rank is 11.

Table 30: Yadgir Constituency

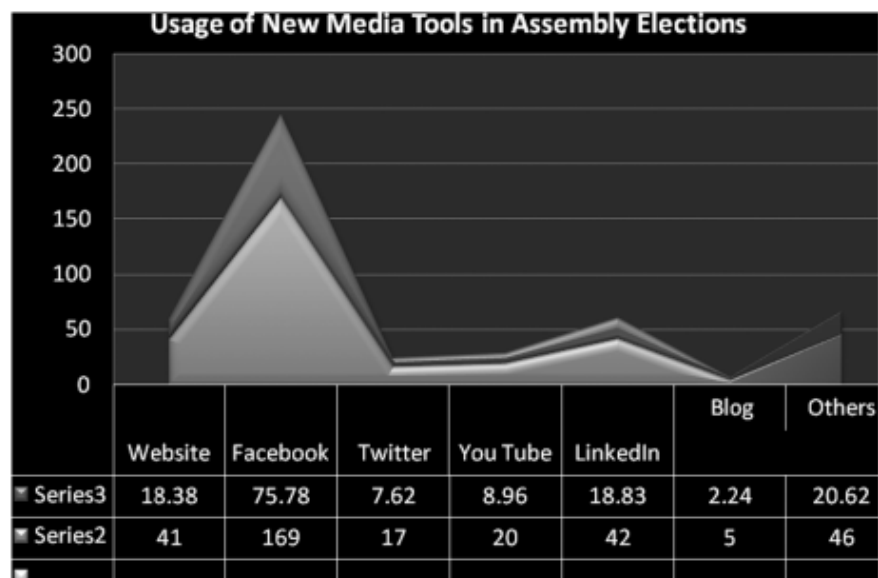| District	No. of Constituency	No. of candidates	No. of candidates with new media	% of usage of new media out of total candidates
Yadgir	4	47	2	4.25

Yadgir is one of the newly formed districts that saw only 2 persons using new media out of 47 candidates contesting from 4 constituencies making it a total of 4.25%.

The analysis of new media tools shows that Facebook is the most popular among other new media tools with 75.78% of contestants using it for election campaigns. Apart from Facebook, a good number of contestants have constructed a separate website (18.38%) and linkedin (18.83) account for electioneering. Twitter and You Tube have also been used by 17

(7.62%) and 20 (8.96%) respectively. The assembly elections have also seen blog being used by 2.24% (5) in elections. There are bloggers among political contestants. Apart from these popular new media tools a moderate percentage of 20.62 % have used other means like google plus, party official websites sites and other type of social media.

Table 31: Tools of New Media Usage

| New Media tools/Users	Website	Facebook	Twitter	You Tube	LinkedIn	Blog	Others
f	41	169	17	20	42	5	46
%	18.38	75.78	7.62	8.96	18.83	2.24	20.62

Graph 2: New Media Tools Usage

The total number of candidates with new media use vis-a-vis HDI is given below;

Table 32: Profile of the Constituencies Vis-v-Vis New Media Usage

District	Total number of Candidates	Number of candidates using new media	Constituency wise usage of new media out of total candidates in %	HDI Rank	Ranking Growth rate of Per Capital Income	Percentage of Literacy Rate
1. Bengaluru Urban	80	38	47.50	1	1	88.48
2. Bengaluru Rural	46	16	34.78	6	2	78.29
3. Dakshina Kannada	60	11	18.33	2	22	88.62
4. Bengaluru Central**	338	54	15.97			
5. Raichur64	14	21.87	27	20	60.46	
6. Bagalkote District	59	8	13.55	22	10	69.39
7. Shivamogga	86	7	15.11	5	9	80.50
8. Hubballi- Dharwad	97	5	5.15	10	8	80.30
9. Mysuru160	7	4.37	14	7	72.56	
10. Ramanagar*	55	8	14.54			69.20
11. Gadag 47	1	2.72	13	5	75.18	
12. Hassan80	2	2.50	11	19	75.89	
13. Mandya	91	2	2.19	19	25	70.14
14. Tumkur146	11	2.73	15	13	74.32	
15. Koppal *	58	1	1.72		14	67.28
16. Haveri 71	1	1.40	20	4	77.60	
17. Kolar 100	1	1.00	17	6	74.33	
18. Davangere	123	1	0.81	12	11	76.30
19. Gulburga	129	0	0	26	12	65.65
20. Kodagu23	0	0	4	26	82.52	
21. Bellary127	2	1.57	18	7	58.28	
22. Bidar 94	9	9.57	21	27	61.66	
23. Bijapur116	2	1.72	23	20	56.54	
24. Belgaum	194	5	2.57	8	16	64.74
25. Udupi 45	4	8.88	3	5	81.41	
26. Uttara Kannada	68	3	4.11	7	11	78.21
27. Yadgir 47	2	4.25			41.31	
28. Chitradurga	75	3	4.00	16	17	60.05
29. Chikkamagalur	56	2	3.57	9	10	72.88
30. Chikkaballpur	84	1	1.19			61.55
31. Chamarajanagara	48	3	6.25	25	22	54.32
Total 2867 223			7.77			

* New District   ** Bengaluru Central

Graph 3: New Media Users and Percentage
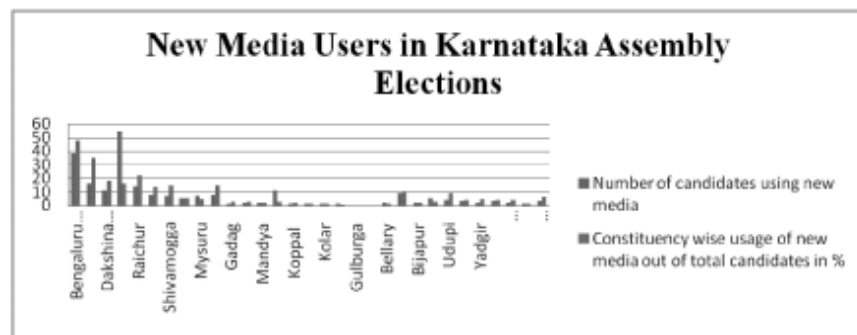
Of the 30 districts in the study, Kodagu and Gulburga have not seen any usage of the new media whereas, Davangere, Haveri, Kolar ,Koppala, Chikkaballapura and Bellary have seen least usage with 0.81%, 1%, 1.40%, 1. 72% ,1.19% and 1.57% respectively. Gadag, Tumkur, Mandya, Hassan, Chikkamagalur, Chitradurga, Belgaum with 2.72%, 2.73%, 2.19%, 2.5%, 2.57%, 3.57% and 4.00% have seen a poor usage of new media respectively. Specially, Tumkur being tier two city, its proximity with the capital of the state and with literacy rate of 75.14 % one would expect these districts to have used the new media to its full potential. Udupi, Uttara Kannada and Yadgir with 8.88 %, 4.11% and 4.25% illustrate a slow pace in new media adoption and usage. Chamarajanagar with 6.25% fairs better than Hubli – Dharwad with 5.15% and Mysuru with 4.37%. Shimoga with 15.11% and Ramnagara with 14.54%, have shown a moderate performance. Bagalkot with 13.55 % has shown a higher usage of new media in the elections. This district with HDI rank 22 as per economic survey 2013 – 2014 based on Karnataka human development report has shown a remarkable usage of new media and is almost on par with Bangalore Central with 15.97%. Raichur with 21.87% of new media is also one of the districts of Karnataka which ranks 27 in human development index. Raichur with low literacy level fairs better in new media usage as compared to Dakshina Kannada with 18.33 % which tops the state in the

literacy rate. Nevertheless one cannot say that new media usage is independent of literacy and HDI performance. Contrary to these two districts, Bangalore district illustrates a different performance. Bangalore Rural district with 34. 78% and Bangalore Urban with 45.70% are the top districts with new media use. Bangalore Urban which tops human development index rank with 1st also has seen maximum usage of new media. Though, if we look at absolute number Bangalore Central ranks first with 54 using new media but when we look at the absolute number in comparison with the of the total candidates contested the percentage comes down.

It is clear from the analysis that, the penetration of new media into the political scene in India is a reality but what is noteworthy is the full potential of this medium is not harnessed. Though, the district wise percentage gives us a better picture when we look at the overall usage of new media in the assembly election 2013, it is mere 7.77% showing vast scope for this medium in political communication. With Internet being more easily accessible through various user friendly devices the usage of this medium is only going to increase in the days to come.

It is learnt from the above analysis that, Bengaluru Urban has seen maximum utilization of new media and Kodagu and Gulburga the least with none using it there. The new media utilization in Bengaluru and Dakshina Kannada is more which is followed surprisingly by Raichur and Bagalkot districts. Though, the human development indicators doesn't show a bright picture in Raichur and Baglakot districts, the new media utilization is better while compared to rest of the counterparts. It is also seen that, the use of new media have been successful in cities when compared to towns and villages. This shows that, the penetration of new media in tier two and tire three cities is not adequate. The proximity of few districts with the commercial centres or industrial hubs have not shown any advanced use in the new media tools.

In Karnataka state, the low use of new media in elections suggest that the political parties still tend to depend on traditional structure and are sceptical about new media for fear of losing elections. The traditional political parties seem to have tremendous confidence in traditional media and have exhibited stereotypical behaviour in not using new media for political engagements to the extent to which they have expanded in India. Perhaps the usage by the candidates depends on the level of online participation by the voters which requires high Internet penetration in the constituencies. Despite increasing Internet usage in India which stood at 243 million in January 2015 that is third in the world next to US's 275 million and China's 620 million users, the contestants in elections have shown moderate to low new media usage. India's rural Internet users have increased to 60 million consisting of youth and other entertainment seekers. With the rise of Internet users in India in general and mobile Internet which is estimated at 200 million, political parties and contestants can explore new media for influencing voter behaviour. As a result the social media emerges as the alternative media in India like other countries in the world to harness online community for political engagements including elections. The low level of interest and confidence in new media by the political contestants is attributed to the digital divide in the society.

As the people turn more and more toward participatory forms of journalism which is contributed by the Internet, and also as mainstream news media have started adopting more of these interactive features, the media atmosphere is slowly and incrementally shifting away from the broadcast model which believed in 'few communicate to the many'. Instead, the shift has given rise to a model which is inclusive by which it means, everybody communicates with everybody i.e. audiences also have different layers of voice. In India, as of now even though the traditional media have taken to their own online versions, yet they have not fully adapted to the new technology. The new generation on whom the nation's future relies on have a strong imprint on usage of new media and this preference of younger generation in using the new media is making it more interactive. So, if we look at the Rogers model of 'Diffusion of Innovation' and apply that to the above analysis, we can say that, looking at the usage of the new media in Karnataka Assembly Elections – 2013, the state of Karnataka is somewhere between late majority and laggards stage.

Note: **The data has been collected by N. Usha Rani and the UGC UPE FA –II Project Fellows; Arjun R., Deepa T.M., Hanumantha Gouda K.M, Shivaprasad B.M., Srinivasa D., Soumya K.B., Vagdevi H.S., Venugopala Gowda M.K.**

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