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**Framing an Environmental Controversy
in India's English-Language Press:
A Study of Text in Context**

presented by

Elizabeth Ann Burch

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Framing an Environmental Controversy
in India's English-Language Press:
A Study of Text in Context

By:

Elizabeth Ann Burch

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

FRAMING AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROVERSY IN INDIA'S ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PRESS: A STUDY OF TEXT IN CONTEXT

By

Elizabeth Burch

This dissertation explores the relationship between the contextual forces and environmental news in two of India's leading English-language newspapers. The study examines the framing of one particularly salient environmental controversy within India - the building of the macro-hydro-electric Narmada Dam. The problems associated with the project - balancing modernization goals with environmental protectionism - are representative of the challenges of developing countries.

The study adapts Shoemaker and Reese's theoretical framework of the hierarchy of intra- and extra-organizational influences to investigate the framing of the sustainability and development debate. A triangulation of methods, including content analysis, in-depth interview, and historical review of the country's newspaper industry and environmental movements were used. Interviews with environmental reporters from two competitive major English-language dailies reputed to follow opposing political ideologies were conducted to analyze the context within which the performance of the press was studied. Framing of the Narmada dam issue was examined via analysis of articles written in both newspapers between 1989 and 1993. The textual analysis data was organized into crossbreaks. Cramer's V and Phi measure the degree of association between framing of the controversy and the papers' political stance toward government.

It was found that the papers' political ideologies did not necessarily affect their support for environmental sustainability or economic development paradigms, except in the case of prominence of headlines. Thus, headlines in the pro-government paper supported the building of the dam, while the anti-government paper opposed it. Both newspapers used similar framing devices in terms of editorial tone, story type, source use and theme emphasis. Both framed the issue toward an environmental sustainability ethic. Both used a balance of sources. Both also used stories that were sensationalized and over-simplified.

The newspapers faced similar constraints, except in terms of the factors of political ideology and target audience. Interviews with reporters indicated themes, such as democracy and freedom of the press; advocacy versus objectivity; market journalism; and cultural resonance (or values) influenced their reporting on the environment. Intra-organizational cultural factors were most influential in framing Narmada coverage in India, followed closely by extra-organizational political and extra-organizational cultural factors. Intra-organizational political and intra- and extra-organizational economic factors exerted equal weight upon environmental coverage in the Indian English-language press.

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Dedicated to Maya

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I credit my mother for teaching me perseverance, creative vision and the love of art. My sister reminded me to have a sense of humor and overcome my "worried warrior" syndrome. My father taught me to be brave in the most difficult of times. Mark and the rest of the clan continually encouraged me. My admiration is theirs always.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Environment and Development in India:

In order to provide a framework for finding solutions to the South's environmental problems, political ecologists analyze the inter-relationships between the physical environment and the economic, socio-cultural, political and technological components of a society.¹ In the case of India, this contextual approach reveals a perplexing set of issues. The 1997 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) ranks India among one of the least developed countries in the world (1995).² Yet modernization attempts have led to environmental degradation. In reaping the benefits of modernized industry and agriculture, India's progress has led to a rise in pollution, deforestation, loss of biological diversity and other grave ecological concerns. Man-made disasters, such as the well-documented pesticide gas accident at the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal in 1984, are a testament to this fact.

A look into the historical development of India's environmental problems shows a trend of oppression of the poor. After the collapse of imperialistic British rule in 1947, control over the country's natural resources transferred to the state. However, the change from colonialism to democracy meant little to India's villagers, whose demands for basic needs continued to fall on deaf ears.

¹ David J. Campbell and Jennifer M. Olson, "Framework for Environment and Development: The Kite," Occasional paper No. 10., Center for Advanced Study of International Development, East Lansing, Michigan, 1991.

² *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Conflicts over renewable resources led to an increase in poverty and deprivation among the rural poor.³

The 1970s brought a rise in environmental concern in India as it did in the rest of the world.⁴ In 1972, Former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addressed the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm calling poverty the "biggest polluter." Also, environmental social movements began to form with the help of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).⁵ Following Mahatma Gandhi's tradition of the non-violence ethic, most well known was the Chipko movement, a grass-roots crusade begun in 1973 to fight against the Indian government's deforestation of the Himalayan foothills. Subsequently, Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi focused on environmental conservation with his Planet Protection Fund. He also initiated the creation of the Department of Environment, Forests and Wildlife in 1985, which became a part of the higher level Ministry of Environment and Forests.

Today, within the nations of the developing world, the dominant paradigm of "cultural givens," such as belief in mastery over nature or progress through science and technology,⁶ is said to be giving way to a new environmental paradigm.⁷ The ideology is meant to link the rate of growth in

³ Jayanta Banyopadhyay and Vandana Shiva, "Development, Poverty and the Growth of the Green Movement in India," *The Ecologist* 19, no. 3 (1989): 111-117.

⁴ Theodore Baskaran, "The Rise of the Environmental Movement in India," *Media Development* 37, no 2 (1990): 13-16.

⁵ R. V. Rajan, "Environmental Policies and the Media in India," *Media Asia* 19, no. 2 (1992): 772-777.

⁶ Anders Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," *Media, Culture and Society* 13 (1991): 443-458.

⁷ Riley E. Dunlap and K. D. Van Liere, "Commitment to the Dominant Social Paradigm and Concern for Environmental Quality," *Social Science Quarterly* 65 (1984): 1013-1028; Priscilla Murphy and Juliet Dee, "Reconciling the Preferences of Environmental Activists and Corporate Policy-Makers" (Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 1995): 1-36.

the world to a normative ethic of environmental sustainability.⁸ Yet the reality is the South still carries a heavy burden of foreign debt, and lacks the capital to invest in environmental protections.

Within the locus of the controversy, stands the press. Badri writes, "Journalism has come a long way to witness the day when the fragile earth depends so highly on the competency and proficiency of journalists."⁹ In India, correspondents write on pivotal environmental issues, trying to address the economic development/environmental sustainability question.¹⁰ As this and other studies show, the job is a formidable one.¹¹

The Study:

This study examines the portrayal of one particularly salient environmental issue in the Indian English-language print press in India - the controversy over the building of the Narmada Dam. The study investigates framing theory as it applies to the coverage of the Narmada Dam in the Indian English-language press by examining: 1) the nature of the coverage; and 2) the role of key social factors, forces and actors that influenced that coverage.¹² The

⁸ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Robert Goodland, Herman Daly, Salah El Serafy and Bernd von Droste, eds. *Environmentally Sustainable Economic Development: Building on Bruntland* (Paris: UNESCO, 1991).

⁹ M. A. Badri, "Mass Communication and the Challenges on Global Environmental Protection," *Journal of Development Communication* 1, no. 2 (1991): 1-16. (see p. 15)

¹⁰ Such as Darryl D'Monte, Bittu Sahgal, Demanddeep Singh, Kalpana Sharma and others.

¹¹ Sharon M. Friedman and Kenneth A. Friedman, *Reporting on the Environment: A Handbook for Journalists* (Bangkok, Thailand: The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1988); Sharon M. Friedman, Sharon Dunwoody, and Carol L. Rogers, *Scientists and Journalists: Reporting Science as News* (NY: The Free Press, 1986).

¹² Bella Mody, "Development Communication: From Media Effects to Media Contexts," *Media Development* 3 (1988): 35-37; Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen

purpose is to identify patterns in Narmada Dam reporting in India in order to uncover relationships between the Indian media's portrayal of the larger debate over environmental sustainability versus economic development.

The complexity of issues the press negotiate in covering environmental issues in India is well illustrated in the hotly debated case of the Narmada Dam development project. Originally conceived in the 1940s, the \$3.6 billion project typifies many of the problems economic growth can impose on landless tribal peoples. Affecting the western Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, the dam is to be the largest ever built in India. The primary argument concerns the construction of approximately 30 major dams, between 135 to 300 medium dams and over 3,000 minor dams along the Narmada River and its tributaries.¹³ Two of the largest are the Sardar Sarovar Project (referred to as SSP) in Gujarat and the Narmada Sagar Dam (proposed for upstream in Madhya Pradesh). A number of irrigation canals will also be built.

At issue is the submersion of over 91 thousand acres of land. Supporters state the project will generate 1,450 megawatts of electric power to the country, provide drinking water to 40 million people in chronically drought-stricken areas, as well as irrigate 4.4 million acres of land. In opposition is a grass-roots activist group, Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) — the Save Narmada Movement — which leapt into action in India in 1985 in reaction to the dam's construction. The movement's leaders, Himanshu Thakkar and Medha Patkar, have staged numerous protest marches, including one that covered 125 miles

D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (NY: Longman, 1991); Sharon M. Friedman and Kenneth A. Friedman, "Environmental Journalism: Guardian of the Asian Commons," *Environment* 31, no. 5 (1989): 7-37.

¹³ Rajan, "Environmental Policies and the Media in India," 772-777.

from Madhya Pradesh to the site of the SSP Dam. Rallying to halt the project, NBA maintains the environmental impact of such large-dams are overwhelmingly negative. Protesters point to the potentially forced relocation of between 50,000 to 200,000 people out of the region (although these figures are presently in dispute), and the lack of adequate resettlement and rehabilitation programs for those displaced by the dams. Loss of wildlife habitat and religious shrines are also of great concern.

Decisions on the height of the various dams (some in the range of 450 feet) continue to be scrutinized in the Indian courts, as every foot represents a piece of land lost or saved. Meanwhile, the NBA says large agricultural businesses and urban-dwellers would be the primary beneficiaries of the project and not the rural poor, as advertised. They charge that well-irrigated Madhya Pradesh, not the parched lands in Gujarat, will benefit the most. Also, they point to the devastating ecological effects of large-scale dam projects, such as deforestation, soil erosion, the potential for floods and other problems as evidence against the building of the dams.

The fight over Narmada has become highly politicized, particularly by government officials seeking re-election. NBA leaders have undertaken long-term hunger strikes, and in some cases, police have responded with violence and arrests. Consequently, the struggle has received extensive coverage in the Indian press. Today, the battle continues in the courts.

Significance of the Study:

The Indian Narmada dispute was chosen for analysis in this study of environmental communication and national development in the South for three primary reasons. First, the project has great environmental and social impact. Second, the outcome of the controversy has far-reaching implications for

development policy worldwide. And finally, there is plenty of data for a systematic study such as this because the debate has been widely covered in the Indian press in the last 10 years.

In 1954, Nehru declared large development projects in India "the temples of today." Later, a well-known Indian environmental journalist, Darryl D'Monte, wrote that the temples of today have turned into "tombs for millions."¹⁴ In recent years, large-scale hydro-electric dam projects implemented in developing countries have become a focal point of dissent among environmental activists. For example, the building of the Three Gorges Dam in neighboring China has become highly controversial. India's anti-dam group, the NBA, has gained strong support from numerous international environmental organizations, such as the International Rivers Network in the U.S. Consequently, the World Bank's \$450 million investment in the project was held up as a test case by these organizations. The Bank came under fire for its support of a project that symbolized the very argument against large "top-down" development programs.¹⁵ Significantly, the Manebeli Declaration of 1994, drawn up by India's "50 Years is Enough" campaign, called for a moratorium on World Bank funding of large dams in the region. Finally, under intense political pressure, the international lending agency suspended its commitment to finance the completion of the Narmada.¹⁶

The Bank's pullout, however, was not enough to overcome the government of India's support of the project. Talk of self-financing of the project seems to be on the government's agenda. As of today, the differences

¹⁴ Darryl D'Monte, *Temples or Tombs? Industry versus the Environment: Three Controversies* (New Delhi: Center for Science and Environment, 1985), 1.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ K. Nayar, "Government Worsens Narmada Mess," *India Abroad*, 19 Aug. 1994, 2-3.

between the pro- and anti-dam factions remain unresolved. The case is still pending in the country's overloaded court system.

While it is difficult to demonstrate a causal relationship between environmental news, increased public awareness of the issues and environmentally sustainable development policy, some believe the media in India have served as a powerful force toward social change.¹⁷ Gupta writes that print news of ecological problems has often led to mobilization of effected communities, despite the country's literacy rate of less than 50 percent.¹⁸ Also, the press indirectly plays a role in influencing governmental policy on the environment by informing India's educated class of readers about environmental issues.

Through a study of this kind it will be possible to gain greater understanding of how English-language dailies frame the debate on environmentally sustainable development in India through identification of patterns in the news production process as they relate to the quality of coverage of the Narmada Dam issue. Also, it will not only shed light on the "culture" of environmental journalism in India, but is the first step in understanding the role that contextual forces play in the media's portrayal of environmental protection.

Finally, it must be noted that the lion's share of communications research on environmental journalism has been conducted within a Western context. Consequently, theoretical perspectives on press performance are predominantly Western-oriented. By focusing on one case study of environmental journalism in a developing country context, this study will begin to assess the validity of Western press performance theories as they address the stark realities among

¹⁷ R. V. Rajan, "Environmental Policies and the Media in India," 772-77.

¹⁸ V. S. Gupta, "Media and Environmental Protection: An Indian Perspective" (Paper presented at the Asian Pacific Seminar on Media and the Environment, Varanasi, India, 1989).

the Third World press. Thus, the investigation is likely to generate new hypotheses for future research on the topic. Likewise, new methodologies may emerge through exclusive attention to the unique characteristics of a newspaper industry based in the global South.

Summary:

This study examines the following questions about environmental journalism in India: 1) How was the Narmada Dam controversy "framed" in the English-language press in India? 2) What contextual factors, forces and actors influenced framing of the Narmada Dam controversy in English-language newspapers in India? 3) What is the relationship between those factors, forces and actors and the framing of the larger sustainable development debate in coverage of the Narmada Dam in English-language newspapers in India?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of theoretical frameworks inform research on journalism in society. This study attempts to incorporate relevant frameworks in order to generate new hypotheses on press performance of environmental reporting in India. Both framing theory and contextualism are examined in relation to the Indian news media and coverage of the environment. Finally, a review of Indian press history leads to a preliminary examination of some of the constraints at play within the field of environmental journalism in India.

Theory:

Frames

In 1922, Lippman assessed the role of the news media, saying the press helped to define the "world outside and the pictures in our heads."¹⁹ This perspective laid the groundwork for agenda setting research,²⁰ in which the press are said to tell people not what to think about an issue, but what issues to think about.²¹ According to Tuchman, news serves as a primary "window on

¹⁹ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (NY: Macmillan, 1922).

²⁰ Maxwell McCombs, "News Influence on Our Pictures of the World," in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, eds. Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillman (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 1-16; Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-187.

²¹ Bernard C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963); Maxwell McCombs, "News Influence on Our Pictures of the World," 1-16.

the world."²² Thus the act of making news is essentially the act of "constructing reality."²³ In the case of environmental news, "the environment" as a critical social issue was said to have been constructed in the press.²⁴ That portrayal came about by "framing" the news in certain ways. Tied to psychological and sociological theory, "framing theory," or "frame analysis," is an area of mass communication research that addresses the explicit and implicit meanings of messages in the news.²⁵ Tuchman writes that frames are an organizing device,²⁶ while Gitlin defines media frames as frames of reference.²⁷ They are the "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers (journalists) routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual."²⁸ Likewise, frames are the

²² Gaye Tuchman, *Making News* (NY: The Free Press, 1978).

²³ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1966).

²⁴ Edna Einsiedel and Eileen Coughlan, "The Canadian Press and the Environment: Reconstructing a Social Reality," in *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*, ed. Anders Hansen (London: Leicester University Press, 1993), 134-149; A. Clay Schoenfeld, Robert F. Meier, and Robert J. Griffin, "Constructing a Social Problem: The Press and the Environment," *Social Problems* 27, no. 1 (1979): 38-60.

²⁵ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); William A. Gamson, "A Constructionist Approach to Mass Media and Public Opinion," *Symbolic Interactionism* 1 (1988): 161-174; Esther Thorson, Robert Meeds, Ekaterina Ognianova, H. Denny Donnel Jr., and Jeanette Jackson-Thompson, "Framing the Flood of '93: A Comparison of Newspaper and Television Frames with Citizen Perceptions and Preferences" (Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington DC, August 1995).

²⁶ Tuchman, *Making News*.

²⁷ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980).

²⁸ *ibid.*, 7

"cognitive maps"²⁹ the press adopt in constructing news. According to Gitlin, frames in the media "are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters."³⁰

In defining frames, Goffman writes, "Frames are schemata of interpretation" used to "locate, perceive, identify and label."³¹ Gamson and Modigliani maintain the organizing structure of the news story is the frame, which helps give meaning and make sense of the issue.³² According to Dunwoody, the press employ the frame in the construction of the content of a message.³³ Entman writes that the purpose of a frame is to; define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies.³⁴ They can be said to be the recurring, persistent arguments invoked when raising salience of an issue.

As Gurevich and Levy write, the media become "a site on which various social groups, institutions and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality" or meaning.³⁵ In Trumbo's study on "The Life

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ *ibid.*, 6.

³¹ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (NY: Harper and Row, 1974).

³² William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," *American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 1 (1989): 1-37

³³ Sharon Dunwoody, "The Media and Public Perceptions of Risk: How Journalists Frame Risk Stories," in *The Social Response to Environmental Risk*, eds. Daniel W. Bromley and Kathleen Segerson (Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1992), 75-99.

³⁴ Robert M. Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.

³⁵ Michael Gurevich and Mark R. Levy, eds. *Mass Communication Review Yearbook* 5 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985), 19.

Course of an Environmental Issue," he discusses the role of claims-makers, as well as frames in the news, writing that who gains access to the media and what themes emerge in the treatment of an issue are central in understanding the construction of social reality.³⁶ In the press, an issue gains a forum for debate among various claims-makers. According to Spector and Kitsuse, the process of defining social reality is fundamentally based on the organized activities of claims-makers (sources cited by the media).³⁷ Claims-makers are those involved in defining a social problem.

The portrayal of news through the use of claims-makers, tone, themes and other variables manifests as different kinds of frames. For instance, framing can create an underlying bias reflected in the tone of a story, its use of sources and themes. Thus, journalists can present an advocacy stance or include certain sources while excluding others. Also, certain themes (also called frames) have become dominant in press coverage.³⁸ Over-simplification of news is another way of framing the type of news-writing style used. Episodic frames (hard news) are often used more predominantly than thematic frames (features or editorials).³⁹ Iyengar writes that, by portraying news as discrete events or instances, as in the case of hard news, the interconnections between issues are

³⁶ Craig Trumbo, "The Life Course of an Environmental Issue: Claims, Frames, and Global Warming" (Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington DC, August 1995).

³⁷ Malcolm Spector and J. Kitsuse, *Constructing Social Problems* (Menlo Park, CA: Cummings, 1977).

³⁸ Jacob Bendix and Carol M. Liebler, "Environmental Degradation in Brazilian Amazonia: Perspectives in US News Media," *The Professional Geographer* 43, no. 4 (1991): 474-485.

³⁹ Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues*.

lacking, leaving readers in the dark about who shares responsibility for a problem. Framing can also manifest as sensationalization of coverage, a common charge against the press.⁴⁰ Thus, regarding environmental news, frames can create certain biases, oversimplification and sensationalization of issues.

Reasons for Particular Frames

Contextual forces within which the press play a major role in this process affect content.⁴¹ One analytical framework for analysis can be extended to examine the following variables: intra-organizational and extra-organizational political, cultural and economic factors.⁴² These different factors play an important part in environmental news content.⁴³ In the case of news involving development and environment issues in the Third World, these points merit further investigation.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Edward J. Burger Jr., *Health Risks: The Challenge of Informing the Public* (Washington, DC: The Media Institute, 1984).

⁴¹ Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (NY: Vintage Books, 1979).

⁴² Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*.

⁴³ Sharon Dunwoody, "Community Structure and Media Risk Coverage," *Risk: Health Safety and Environment* 193 (Summer 1994): 193-201.

⁴⁴ Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," 443-458; S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, "Environmental Journalism: Guardian of the Asian Commons," 7-37.

The press are part of a larger social environment⁴⁵ and "news is the end-product of a complex process."⁴⁶ Hall et. al. writes that the process begins with a "systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a social constructed set of categories." But how can we explain this process? Hansen writes about environmental communication, noting that people make sense of the world through "cultural resonances," or values.⁴⁷ To attract audiences, the press tend to frame environmental stories in ways that adhere to widely held belief systems within the culture. Issues are cast as narratives corresponding with certain subtle, resonant themes. For instance, in the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska's Prince William Sound, press coverage used resonant "cultural metaphors" of a "disaster narrative," portraying the incident as a result of society's "Faustian bargain with the devil."⁴⁸ The accident was framed as a dramatic "morality play,"⁴⁹ filled with victims, villains and heroes.

The job of framing environmental issues in the news has not always been done equitably. Critics charge news reports are often inaccurate.⁵⁰ One reason, as Tichenor notes, is that environmental reporters deal in the realm of the

⁴⁵ Allan Rachlin, *News as Hegemonic Reality: American Political Culture and the Framing of the News* (NY: Praeger, 1988).

⁴⁶ Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State, and Law and Order* (London: MacMillan Press, 1978), 53.

⁴⁷ Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," 443-458. Hansen was probably influenced by George Gerbner and Larry P. Gross, "Living With Television: The Violence Profile," *Journal of Communication* 26, no 2 (1976): 173-199.

⁴⁸ Patrick Daley and Dan O'Neill, "'Sad is Too Mild a Word:' Press Coverage of the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill," *Journal of Communication* (August 1991): 42-57.

⁴⁹ Sharon Dunwoody and Robert J. Griffin, "Journalistic Strategies for Reporting Long-Term Environmental Issues: A Case Study of Three Superfund Sites," in *The Mass Media and Environmental Issues*, ed. Anders Hansen (London: Leicester University Press, 1993), 22-50.

⁵⁰ Phillip P. Tichenor, "Teaching and the 'Journalism of Uncertainty,'" *The Journal of Environmental Education* 10 (Spring 1979): 5-8.

"journalism of uncertainty," since much of the information they collect is based on scientific hypotheses, not pure fact.⁵¹ And while environmental stories are typically highly complex, space and time limitations of the media often force reporters to portray issues in over-simplified ways.

The simplification of environment and development issues is reflected in the emergence of certain development-oriented themes in news of the Third World. For instance, Bendix and Liebler examine Western press coverage of the deforestation of the Brazilian Rainforest, noting how the cause of the problem is explained by a variety of competing theories.⁵² These include discussion on the use of inappropriate technologies, land speculation, the impact of a market-driven global economy and repressive government policies imposed on indigenous peoples, among others. The explanatory frameworks thus became the themes on which environmental news was framed.

Certain over-simplifications of themes dominate over others. This can be seen through analysis of accounts of Third World environmental disasters. For instance, Western media coverage of the Bhopal poisonous gas disaster of 1984 adopted a disaster narrative, portraying technology as dangerous "when left in the (implied) incompetent Third World."⁵³ In perpetuating the stereotype that developing countries are a place of random disasters, what was missing was the context of post-colonial development policies and exploitation by Western industry, according to Hansen.

News-making is what Tuchman calls a "negotiated enterprise"⁵⁴ and framing is a result of pressures from the societal context in which media operate.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Bendix and Liebler, "Environmental Degradation in Brazilian Amazonia: Perspectives in US News Media," 474-485.

⁵³ Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," 443-458.

⁵⁴ Tuchman, *Making News*, 6.

Given this, a case can be made that disaster coverage, the bread and butter of the environment beat, is likely to reveal something of a country's political context. This can be seen in one study of the coverage of a Bangladeshi cyclone in the Bangladesh press.⁵⁵ The study found that domestic news of the event reflected government resignation over the country's on-going environmental crises. Bangladeshi news portrayed the Malthusian argument, that communities become "vulnerable" due to unchecked population growth. That classic theme was more likely to be found in local news than more unpopular, alternative debates. The press avoided discussion of the root causes of over-population (material uncertainty, the greater earning power of males over females, and so on). While the storm story was framed as a "natural disaster," international scholars maintain it was more of a "political and social disaster."

In Gandy's study on the media's framing of U.S. minorities in the news, he finds that the proportion of African Americans in the marketplace was the most powerful explanatory factor for the framing of race in the news.⁵⁶ Yet more important than community wealth is the size of the black population and minority presence on staff. Gandy writes that the perception of the importance of the racial makeup of the audience could be interpreted as a manifestation of a newspaper's economic interests, wherein editorial judgments reflect the "tension" between reliance on circulation revenue versus revenue from advertisers.

⁵⁵ Michael R. Dove and Mahmudul Hug Khan, "Competing Constructions of Calamity: The April 1991 Bangladesh Cyclone," *Population and Environment: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 16 (May 1995): 445-471.

⁵⁶ Oscar Gandy, "From Bad to Worse: The Media's Framing of Race and Risk," *Media Studies Journal* (Summer 1994): 39-48.

Dunwoody and Griffith⁵⁷ apply the theory of news "frames," in an examination of stories about environmental risk.⁵⁸ Saying it is possible to "see" the impact of a political structure on the news, they investigate how reporters write about highly controversial issues. The study shows that quality of coverage of environmental issues is affected by the homogeneity or heterogeneity of "community structures" in which the press are based.⁵⁹ Thus, reports in pluralistic settings were more likely to reflect conflicting views than news in less diverse communities. Dunwoody and Griffith also note that "occupational and organizational norms" play a key role in framing environmental news as well.

Hirsh examines trends in the study of mass communications identifying what he calls "closed system" (occupational and organizational) and "open system" (external institutional) research.⁶⁰ Further cataloguing of factors playing a part in the new production process helps to facilitate analysis. In their study of media content, Shoemaker and Reese develop a model of the influences on reporting from an individual- to societal-level.⁶¹ The micro to macro level analysis identifies five predictors: professional norms; media routines; the role of organizations; "extra-media" factors (such as government intervention, advertisers or audiences); and affect of ideology on news practices. The model

⁵⁷ Dunwoody and Griffin, "Journalistic Strategies for Reporting Long-Term Environmental Issues: A Case Study of Three Superfund Sites," 22-50.

⁵⁸ Michael R. Greenberg, David B. Sachsman, Peter M. Sandman, and Kandice L. Salomone, "Risk, Drama and Geography in Coverage of Environmental Risk by Network TV," *Journalism Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (1989): 267-276; Peter M. Sandman, David B. Sachsman, Michael R. Greenberg, and Michael Gochfeld, *Environmental Risk and the Press* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1987).

⁵⁹ Dunwoody and Griffin, "Journalistic Strategies for Reporting Long-Term Environmental Issues: A Case Study of Three Superfund Sites," 22-50.

⁶⁰ Paul Hirsh, *Strategies for Communication Research* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1977).

⁶¹ Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, 54.

facilitates study of the "sociology of news," by looking at how content is shaped by the characteristics of the media, media workers and the media environment.

Shoemaker and Reese note that levels tend to overlap, often one blending into another. A look at professional norms and media routines, for instance, illustrates this overlap. Environmental reporters in the U.S. become socialized into the field of journalism, adapting to professional (or "occupational") norms of the job.⁶² They are said to embrace the "noble ideals" of responsibility and objectivity, which create a standard in the field. Yet in his book, Deciding What's News, Gans noted the ideal of objectivity is rarely ever attained in full.⁶³ One reason could be the role of routines — those repeated patterns or practices that facilitate decision-making under deadline. The profession routinizes the news gathering process through beat coverage, which fosters a heavy reliance on "routine channels" — press releases, press conferences and so on.⁶⁴ The problem is that news from routine channels is often manipulated by interest groups hoping to "build the agenda" of the press.⁶⁵ Likewise the over-use of "official channels" of a beat, such as governmental experts, may also bias the news.⁶⁶

Shoemaker and Reese's model can be used to explain why issues may be "framed" in certain ways by the media. For example, Gitlin discusses how the

⁶² Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces* 33, no. 1 (1955): 326-335.

⁶³ Gans, *Deciding What's News*.

⁶⁴ Leon Sigal, *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking* (Lexington, MA: DC Heath, 1973).

⁶⁵ Dan Berkowitz, "TV News Sources and News Channels: A Study in Agenda-Building," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (Summer/Autumn 1987): 508-513.

⁶⁶ Some among the press in India have suffered from a lack of credibility due to the acceptance of bribes (money, favors, etc.) from government officials seeking positive publicity. See Dinanath Mishra, "India's Scribes Who Take Bribes," *India Post*, 1 September 1995, A 20; "Credibility Crisis for Lucknow Newspapers," *The Hindu*, 4 August 1995, 9.

perceived pressure of the economic interests of news organizations can influence the selection of stories by gatekeepers⁶⁷ of certain versions of reality over others.⁶⁸ In environmental news, the press tend to emphasize "sexy" issues, such as stories on certain endangered species (whales over plankton). Likewise, since media operate within a larger extra-media context, Gitlin says that core ideological systems affect the framing of news in ways that are consonant with the prevailing power structure. This can be seen in the portrayal of the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound where the mainstream press marginalized native American concerns.⁶⁹ As Gitlin notes, with reality emerging from the "omnipresent media...the media have become core systems for the distribution of ideology" (and selected versions of reality).⁷⁰

The hierarchy of levels of influence provides a useful conceptual framework for the organization of factors that affect news. However, operationalizing the macro-level factors can be a challenge. In a developing country context, for instance, extra-media factors and ideology on an international level likely play an important role in the framing of environmental news in the Third World, but effects on content may be difficult to show.

This point can be illustrated by examining developing countries' heavy reliance on foreign news services for information on the environment. At the heart of the issue is the continued resource inequality relationship between core countries in the North and periphery nations in the South, brought to the forefront by the 1970s New World and Information Communication Order

⁶⁷ D. M. White, "The Gatekeeper: A Case Study in the Selection of News," *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 383-390.

⁶⁸ Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*.

⁶⁹ Daley and O'Neill, "'Sad is Too Mild a Word:' Press Coverage of the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill," 42-57.

⁷⁰ Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching*.

(NWICO) debates on cultural imperialism.⁷¹ Explained by hegemony theory,⁷² the perspective opens up the flood gates on discourse on the environmental aspects of the North-South divide, as well as the relationship of dependency between the industrialized West and the Third World.⁷³ Thus, in terms of environmental news in developing countries, it is possible that problems in news content may be a symptom of an unequal dependency relationship between the two poles. Yet asserting the relationship between hegemony and portrayal of an issue in the news is easier said than done.⁷⁴ Likewise, domestic political ideology on the economic-development/environmental-sustainability debate may affect reporters' abilities to access documents damaging to the reputation of the ruling government. However, showing the relationship would be difficult.

Finally, Friedman and Friedman studied the constraints at play in environmental news in South Asia, identifying several factors specific to the regional context.⁷⁵ These include a lack of financial commitment to support coverage of rural-based issues or science training for journalists; inadequate

⁷¹ *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow: The McBride Report* (Paris: UNESCO, 1984).

⁷² Wherein a ruling coalition advances the interests that function according to a dominant political economy. See Daley and O'Neill, "'Sad is Too Mild a Word:' Press Coverage of the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill," 44; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebook of Antonio Gramsci* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971); Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1987).

⁷³ Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," 443-458; Lee Wilkins, *Shared Vulnerability: The Media and American Perceptions of the Bhopal Disaster* (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987); Sanjoy Hazarika, *From Bhopal to Superfund: The News Media and the Environment* (Discussion paper, Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1994).

⁷⁴ Rachlin, *News as Hegemonic Reality: American Political Culture and the Framing of the News*.

⁷⁵ S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, "Environmental Journalism: Guardian of the Asian Commons," 7-37; S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, *Reporting on the Environment: A Handbook for Journalists*.

press laws against censorship (such as the Freedom of Information Act); price fixing of raw materials, like paper; as well as a variety of other factors. In the case of India, the content of Indian news can not be attributed to one single factor or set of factors at only one level, as Shah's study of "societal, occupational and communicator-level factors" in India shows.⁷⁶

Environmental Coverage in the Indian Press:

The first daily newspaper in India, the Bengal Gazette, was printed in English on January 29, 1780. It was begun by James Augustus Hicky, an English printer, who was said to have used it as a means to criticize the East India Company.⁷⁷ Since newspaper publishing in India began during the country's colonial domination by the British Raj, British journalistic traditions helped shape the growth and practices of journalism in India. However, as Hachten wrote, the powerful force of nationalism contributed to the growth of the press in India as well.⁷⁸ For instance, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru, both founding fathers of modern India, wrote for or started newspapers to oppose British rule and promote independence. Today, democracy is in part maintained by India's free press.

The first local-language ("vernacular press") paper was established in 1821 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, "one of India's greatest champions of political and press freedom."⁷⁹ It was followed by the Bombay Samachar, founded in

⁷⁶ Hemant Shah, "Factors Influencing Development News Production at Three Indian Dailies," *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (Winter 1990): 1034-1041, (see p. 1040).

⁷⁷ J.S. Yadava, "Press System in India," *Media Asia* 18, no. 3 (1991): 132-136, 142-147.

⁷⁸ William A. Hachten, "India: A Free Press Survives" in *The Growth of Media in the Third World: African Failures, Asian Successes* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993), 59-69.

⁷⁹ Anju Grover Chaudhary and Anne Cooper Chen, Asia and the Pacific, in John C. Merrill, ed. *Global Journalism: Survey of International Communication*, 2nd ed. (NY: Longman, 1991), 274.

1822. Although today English is spoken by only about 50 million of India's 950 (?) million citizens, its use is critical in providing a link between the educated elite across the region. The first Indian-owned English-language newspaper, also called the Bengal Gazette was, established in 1816. Several English-language newspapers in existence today sprung up in the 19th century as well, including The Times of India (1838), The Statesman (1875), the Hindu (1878) and The Tribune (1881). The Indian Express, which played an important role in covering news of India's nationalist struggle, was begun in 1932.

The majority of newspapers in India today are owned by private individuals (families),⁸⁰ as opposed to the broadcast media, which, until recently, had been totally government-run. Several large conglomerates actually run the newspaper industry, however, creating an oligopoly market environment. These include four major newspaper publishing groups: The Bennett, Coleman and Co.; The Indian Express Group; The Hindustan Times Group; and the Ananda Bazar Patrika Group. There are two major Indian news agencies, The Press Trust of India and the United News of India, and 18 smaller agencies.⁸¹ There are also 29 foreign news agencies that are represented in India. Foreign ownership of newspapers is banned.

There has been significant growth of the press in India since Independence, due most recently in large part to India's free-market economy. Hachten reported that by the 1950s, 214 dailies were published, 44 of those in English, and by 1987, India produced over 1,500 dailies and 22,000 other publications in approximately 90 languages and dialects. By 1993, total

⁸⁰ *Press in India: 1994*, Eighth Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India Under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi.

⁸¹ Anura Goonasekera and Duncan Holaday, eds. *Asian Communication Handbook* (Singapore: Asian Mass Communication and Research Center, 1993).

circulation of daily newspapers was over 15 million, with the biggest growth being in the vernacular press.⁸²

The major sources of revenue for newspapers are advertising and sales. Circulation is tracked by the Audit Bureau of Circulation, created in 1948, yet it is difficult to measure the actual dissemination of news in India, whether it be in English or local languages. For instance, critics charge that approximately 93 percent of sales of daily newspapers are limited to large urban areas, accounting for only 10 percent of the population.⁸³ Regarding the English-language press, however, it is common practice for the vernacular press to translate and reprint articles from English newspapers into local-language papers, thereby widening the English press' actual reach. And while India's literacy rate was about 52 percent, according to the 1991 census,⁸⁴ news does trickle down to illiterates in villages throughout India.⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ This is because it is common practice to find a literate person reading from a local-language newspaper to illiterates in village tea stalls and such.

In Kumar's account of the 200 year history of the Indian press he outlines the struggle between government oppression of newspapers and nationalism.⁸⁷ Laws that led to the oppression of press players included the 1910 Indian Press Act, which required owners of printing presses to deposit funds with the government. These securities would be forfeited if "objectionable matters" about violent clashes or terrorist acts in the country were published. World War

⁸² Hachten, "India: A Free Press Survives," 59-69.

⁸³ J.S. Yadava, *The Price of Freedom, in Press Systems in SAARC* (Singapore: Asian Mass Communication and Research and Information Center, 1994), 37-46.

⁸⁴ Census of India, 1991.

⁸⁵ Darryl D'Monte, personal communication, 5 December 1995.

⁸⁶ Niaz Ahmed Khan, "Press and Government Relations in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh: A Historical-Critical Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1991).

⁸⁷ Keval J. Kumar, *Mass Communication in India: A Comprehensive and Critical Look at the Mass Media in India* (New Delhi, India: Jaico Publishing House, 1981).

I introduced even more severe press laws and during the 1930s the trend continued forcing the closure of many publications. Likewise, editors were often arrested during India's Swadeshi Movement (the movement to buy Indian-only products), accused of publishing "inflammatory literature." Other key press laws include: the 1867 Registration of Books Act; the 1962 Defense of India Act; Sections 124A, 505 and 295 (A) of the Indian Penal Code; Section 5 of the 1885 Indian Telegraph Act; Section 26 of the 1885 Indian Post Act; and the 1956 Harmful Publication Act.⁸⁸

After the Quit India Movement of 1942, in which Gandhi called on the British to leave India, and India's Independence in 1947, Indian capitalists acquired English-language newspapers from their British owners. The new Indian industrialists tried to maintain a tradition of freedom of the press. The Indian Constitution of 1950 made some guarantees for freedom of speech and a free press, repealing or amending many of the previous press laws. Yet, the 1923 Official Secrets Act, which allowed censorship of so-called secret government information, and codes that prohibited the reporting of communal hatred and other disruptive elements of Indian society, kept a tight, albeit subtle grip on the Indian press. In 1965, the Press Council was established to uphold professional standards in journalism and confront issues related to objectionable writing not addressed in the law. However, from June 1975 to March 1977, former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency, which instigated a policy of out and out censorship of the press. Later, in 1987, published reports of misuse of power within former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's administration led to further censorship of the press. In 1988, the government tried to pass a defamation bill which would have led to the arrests of journalists critical of the government; however the measure was unsuccessful.

⁸⁸ Yadava, "Press System in India," 132-136, 142-147.

Continuing today, other government threats to press freedom come in the form of taxes or control of imported newsprint (on which the press is highly dependent), licensing of imported printing machinery and prohibition of subscriptions to foreign news agencies. The government also controls accreditation of journalists. Likewise, government advertising accounts for about 30 percent in Indian dailies, thus pressure from government advertisers is a concern.⁸⁹ Additional pressures include government surveillance of press activities and physical assaults and arrests of journalists, although direct attacks are typically limited to rural-based reporters.⁹⁰ Small and medium-sized papers are the most vulnerable to government coercion.

Starting in the 1950s, the Hindustan Times began the trend of "Development News" in India, which is characterized as in-depth reporting on the functioning and problems of public sector projects geared toward national development. Aggarwala defines Development News through the journalist's role, writing that reporters "should critically examine, evaluate, and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation, and the differences between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is."⁹¹ The 1984 Bhopal poisonous gas disaster at Union Carbide brought the problems associated with the impact of industrial development on the environment to the forefront of the nation's consciousness, which led to a greater commitment by the press to cover environmental issues, as well as development news. Previously, the environment had been considered a "soft"

⁸⁹ Shah, "Factors Influencing Development News Production at Three Indian Dailies," 1034-1041.

⁹⁰ Ela Dutt, "Treatment of Journalists is Assessed," *India Today*, 24 March 1995, 36.

⁹¹ Narinder K. Aggarwala, "What is Development News?" *Journal of Communication* 29 (Spring 1979): 181-182.

issue, covered primarily by women reporters. After Bhopal, reporters began seriously specializing in the environment, although there were still no official environment reporters assigned specifically to that beat within India's English-language newspapers.

Special "environment and development theme pages" became weekly fare of the print press in 1992. This was in response to the interest in environmental issues created by the Rio, Brazil summit on the environment. Environmental niche publications began growing as well, including magazines such as, "Sanctuary," "The Ecologist" and "Down to Earth," the latter is produced by the Delhi-based Center for Science and Environment. The Center also brings out the "Green File," a compilation of environmental articles published in the Indian press.

Despite these new venues, the limits on space for environmental stories is an increasing problem within the English-language press. This is due in part to the rising costs of newsprint on the international market. Runaway newsprint costs has been a key concern in India, especially after severe shortages between 1973 and 1975. India imports over 300,000 tons of newsprint (per year), and produces the same amount within the country. In a bid to cut costs, some of the larger papers are considering building their own mills. These plans are meeting opposition from environmental groups concerned with the damaging emissions and discharges such plants would produce.⁹²

The biggest barrier to reporting in India is information gathering. As Shah wrote, to counteract rising newsprint costs, newspapers sought to cut costs in other areas, primarily in newsgathering.⁹³ This has limited papers'

⁹² David Price and Shani Wasantharaja, Newsprint Prices Soar, *The Pioneer*, 14 Nov. 1995, 5.

⁹³ Shah, "Factors Influencing Development News Production at Three Indian Dailies," 1034-1041.

commitments to fund travel to rural areas, which in the case of some environmental and development news is where many of the stories are in India. The trend toward political and economic news has also had a chilling effect on investigative reporting of environmental issues. The problem is based in the English-language press' urban bias, in which it caters to the interests of India's elites, often ignoring poor villagers and their development interests. "The private press often gives support to an economic system that values private consumption of expensive goods. By thus catering mostly to the middle-classes, the press prevents, or fails to support the fulfillment of the basic needs of the poor majority."⁹⁴ On the other hand, India's English-language press is said to be less biased in its coverage of village concerns than the local press. In the case of the Narmada Dam controversy, Kothari wrote that a clear link between pro-dam government interests in Gujarat and the local press existed, exhibited by the similarities between official government press releases and news reports in Gujarati newspapers.⁹⁵

The Narmada Dam issue was deconstructed by the English-language press as another example of confusion over how India's environmental concerns can be reconciled with its commitment to modernization and development. The press role in the drama is critical. As Sheth wrote, "The print media's response provides a productive case study on the politics of free press in India."⁹⁶ After the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991, the new prime minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, shifted India away from a socialist structure,

⁹⁴ Gouri Banerjee, "Interregional Information Flows and National Development: An Evaluation of Indian Newspapers" (Ph.D diss., Boston University, 1979), 31.

⁹⁵ Ashish Kothari, "The Press and Jan Vikas Sangharsh Yatra," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 11 May 1991, 1207-1209.

⁹⁶ Pravin N. Sheth, "The Sardar Sarovar Project: Ecopolitics of Development," in *Crisis and Change in Contemporary India*, eds. Upendra Baxi and Bhikhu Parekh (New Delhi: Sage, 1995), 421.

welcoming foreign investment. However, India's new economic policy promoted by the Congress-I Party government has had a dampening effect on environmental writing in Indian newspapers. The Indian press continues to play a watchdog role, although a guarded one. As Koppikar, an environmental reporter for India Today, wrote, "The liberalization is perhaps the more critical factor at this stage because its pro-industry thrust calls into question the entire gamut of relations between industry and environment — a traditionally uncomfortable relationship in other countries and a not too happy one in India."⁹⁷

Summary of Literature Review:

This literature review suggests that theoretical perspectives on framing and contextualism can be applied to press performance in India. The implicit and explicit meanings of messages in news are organized according to the context in which the press operate. Claimsmakers, as well as other forces, factors and actors, play a central role in the media's construction of social reality, ultimately influencing the portrayal of environmental news. These motivators fit into the rubric of intra- and extra-organizational constraints, according to Shoemaker and Reese's "Hierarchy of Influences." In this way, certain thematic aspects of environmental controversies become emphasized over others, leading to a bias in the framing of ecological debates in media coverage.

In the case of the Indian press, a historical review of the political, economic and cultural constraints at play begins to illuminate the issues at hand in the evolution of environmental coverage in the country. A tradition of democratic values devoted to freedom of the press led to the reporting of

⁹⁷ Smruti Koppikar, "Environmental Journalism: India" (Paper presented at the Seminar of International Journalists, Tokyo, Japan, November 1995), 5.

environmentally-oriented development issues. Today, however, the push toward a policy of economic liberalization and market-controlled journalism has put environmental news lower on the media's agenda. India's pro-industry stance is in direct conflict with environmental protectionism. The press struggles to portray this tension between India's goal toward modernization and the risk of growth to environmental sustainability.

The following chapter applies the theoretical frameworks presented herein to the study of environmental news in India. This exploratory, hypothesis-generating study examines the following questions about environmental journalism in India: How did the English-language press in India portray the debate between sustainable environmental development (the "new environmental paradigm") versus economic growth and development, and why? Based on framing theory and the hierarchy of contextual influences, the study analyzes reporting and news content of one highly controversial environmental issue in India today: the building of the Narmada Dam. It will identify the "frames" found in coverage — economic development frame vs. sustainable development frame — and investigate whether there is any difference in the use of frames in reporting at pro-government versus anti-government newspapers in India.

CHAPTER III

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Analytical Framework:

The literature review in the previous chapter shows that the framing of news can be affected by a variety of mitigating factors. These motivaters conspire to influence the coverage of environmental controversies in a developing country context. This study examines how the English-language press in India portrays the debate between India's economic growth and the country's environmental sustainability and why it does so. It asks what the influence of contextual forces (extra-organizational and intra-organizational: political, economic and cultural) are on the framing (the editorial bias, prominence, type of story, kinds of sources and themes) of stories on the Narmada Dam in a pro-government newspaper, henceforth to be called, "Pro-government," versus an anti-government newspaper, henceforth to be called, "Anti-government."

The issues examined are the following: 1) How was the Narmada Dam controversy "framed" in the English-language press in India? 2) What contextual factors, forces and actors influenced framing of the Narmada Dam controversy in English-language newspapers in India, and why?

A lexicon of the factors, forces and actors⁹⁸ in the context of India that have may have a relationship to coverage of the Narmada Dam project in the

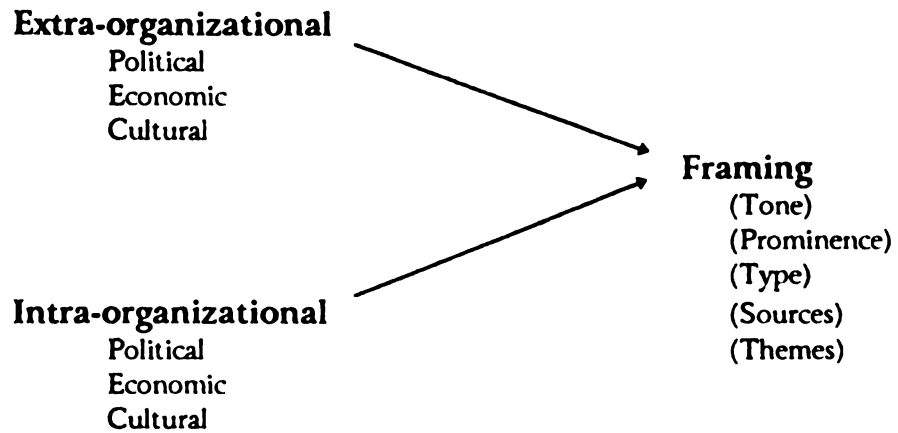
⁹⁸ Bella Mody, "Development Communication: From Media Effects to Media Contexts," 35-37; Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*; S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, "Environmental Journalism: Guardian of the Asian Commons"; S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, *Reporting on the Environment: A Handbook for Journalists*.

Indian English-language press provides a useful framework for analysis. That framework is based on the dichotomy of 1) extra-organizational factors and 2) intra-organizational factors on a political, economic and cultural level, which have emerged out of the historical development of the Indian press since its tenuous beginnings in the year 1780.⁹⁹ Figure 1 and Model 1 below provides an illustration of the influences of contextual forces on framing of environmental news in India. Following is Figure 2a and Figure 2b: an extensive list of possible explanatory variables and their relationships to characteristics of the text in the news on the Narmada Dam in India.

⁹⁹ Yadava, "Press Systems in India," 132-136, 142-147; "Family Settlement will Split 'Anti-government' newspaper," *India Abroad*, 17 Feb. 1995.

FIGURE 1
Contextual Forces and Framing
on Pro-government versus Anti-government
on Environmental Journalism in India

LEVELS OF CONTEXT



Model 1
Hierarchy of Intra- and Extra-organizational
Influences on
Environmental News Content

Extra-organizational
Influences

Intra-organizational
Influences

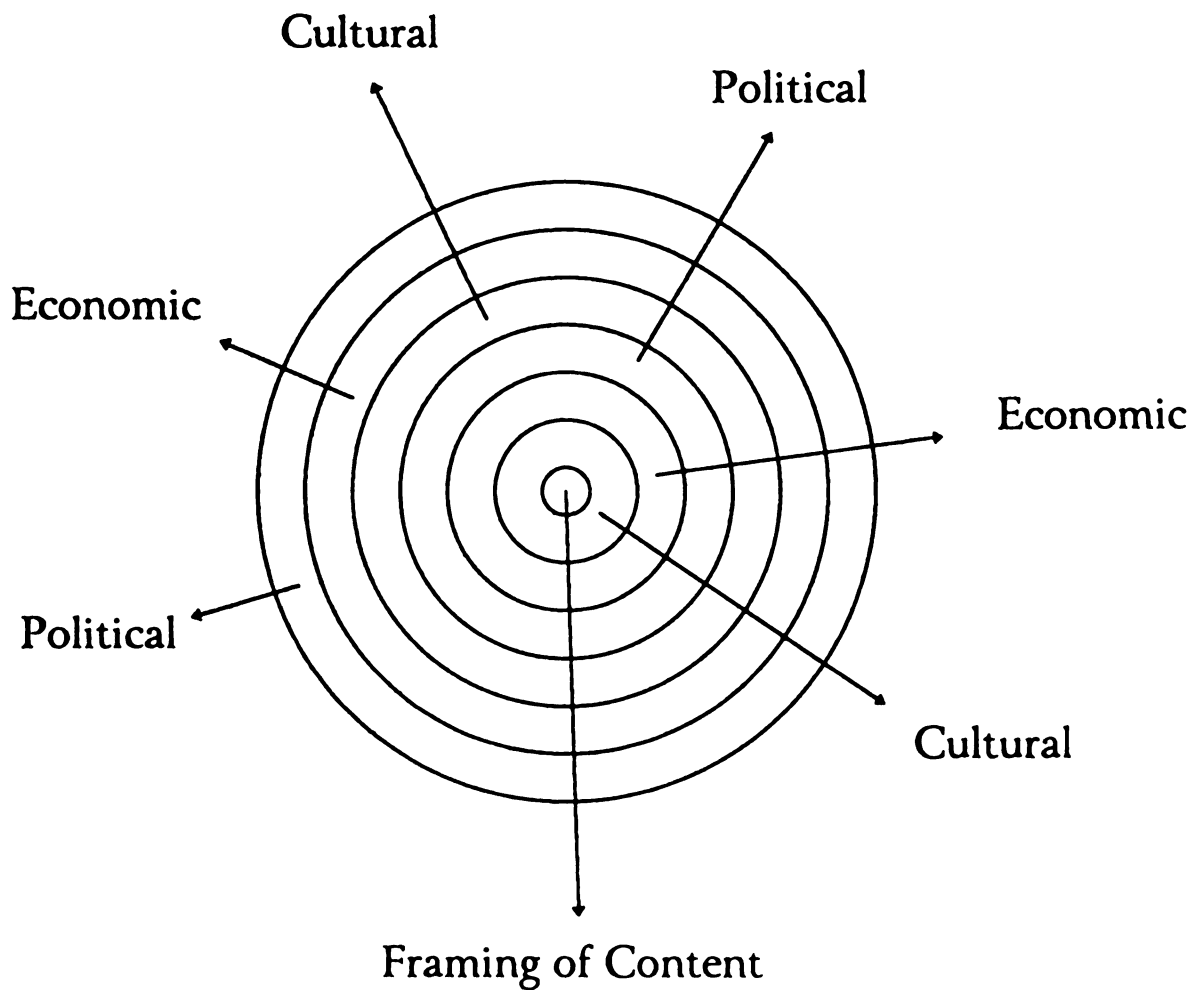


FIGURE 2a
The Relationship of Extra-Organizational Context to Text

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

(Data collected
via interviews)

**D) EXTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL
(SOCIETAL) FACTORS**

A. Politics

1. Access to Sources

- a. intergovernmental donor agencies
(such as the World Bank)
- b. foreign governmental donor agencies
- c. national government
- d. impacted state governments
(Maharashtra, M. P., and Gujarat)
- e. local (village) governments
- f. international, national, state
or localized industries
- g. international or domestic
environmental activist organizations
- h. international or national
university-affiliated scientists
- i. domestic courts
- j. non-affiliated
impacted villagers

2. Government Control

- a. press laws (censorship:
prior restraint in periods of
national "emergencies")
- b. denial of citizenship
- c. arrest (and violence)
- d. access to documents
- e. bureaucracies
- f. newsprint supply
- g. low rent in government buildings
- h. threat of government libel suits

B. Economics

Externalities

- a. "vested" advertiser revenue
(pressure from dam-related
industries)
- b. "vested" government revenue
(pressure from government)
- c. newspaper circulation
(pressure to maintain)
- d. investors to newspapers
(pressure from industry)
- e. threat of private libel suits
- f. government licenses
- g. tax on raw materials (paper)
- h. competition with foreign media
- i. competition with domestic media
- j. innovations of news technologies

C. Cultural Values

1. Target Audience Interest

- a. urban elites (readers, electronic media)
- b. regional readers (vernacular press)
- c. audience cultural resonances perceived
by reporters

CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS

(Data collected
via content analysis)

NOTE: Characteristics
below repeat for each
contextual factor)

Tone

Prominence

Type of Story

Kinds of Sources

Themes

FIGURE 2b
The Relationship of Intra-Organizational Context to Text

II) INTRA-ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS

A. Politics

1. Practitioner Ideology

- a. publishers (party membership)
- b. editors (party membership)
- c. reporters (party membership)

2. Historical Development of Press

(British colonialism; freedom movement; elite press issues versus vernacular press issues; development journalism¹⁰⁰)

B. Economics

1. Business Orientation

- a. type of ownership
(private ownership, family squabbles)
- b. employer/employee relations
(capricious management policies affecting rights and freedom of editors and reporters; job/salary uncertainties; union membership)

2. Financial Commitment

funding of environment beat
(reporters' science literacy training; travel to environmental sites; number of environmental reporters; resources: number of wire services and news agencies subscribed to, kind of wire services and news agencies used, such as foreign or domestic, access to Internet sources)

C. Cultural Values (organizational culture)

1. Gatekeeper Bias

(lack of interest in environmental stories: political emphasis; rural/urban or Northern India/Southern India orientation)

2. Routines

(environment beat; source/document selection and use, such as press releases; subscription to environmental journals; rapport with sources; deadline pressures)

3. Professional Norms

(journalism education, accreditation; lack of prestige; membership in professional organizations, such as the Asian Forum of Environmental Journalists, Society of Environmental Journalists, etc.; environmental advocacy approach); objectivity tradition

4. Individual Background

Content Characteristics

(Data collected via content analysis)

Note: Characteristics below repeat for each contextual factor)

Tone

Prominence

Type of Story

Kinds of Sources

Themes

¹⁰⁰ Aggarwala, "What is Development News?" 181-182.

Research Questions:

Based on the analytical framework presented above, the following research questions emerge for a contextual and textual analysis study of environmental coverage in India:

Contextual Analysis Questions

(Q1): Which extra-organizational political, economic and cultural factors affect the, prominence, type of stories, inclusion of different kinds of sources, number of sources, emphasis on certain themes and editorial bias (tone) published in coverage of the Narmada Dam in a pro-government newspaper (henceforth to be called, Pro-government) and an anti-government newspaper (henceforth to be called, Anti-government)?

(Q2): Which intra-organizational political, economic and cultural factors affect the, prominence, type of stories, inclusion of different kinds of sources, number of sources, emphasis on certain themes and editorial bias (tone) published in coverage of the Narmada Dam in Pro-government and Anti-government?

Content Analysis Research Questions

(Q1): Did the pro-government newspaper under study (henceforth called Pro-government) tend to publish more pro-dam content (tone: editorials, features or hard news/features), while the anti-government newspaper (henceforth to be called Anti-government) tended to publish more anti-dam content (tone: editorials, features or hard news features)?

(Q2): Was Pro-government more likely to use the names of famous pro-dam "stars" (a form of prominence) of the Narmada Dam controversy than anti-dam "stars" in headlines for stories on the issue, while Anti-government was more likely to use the names of famous anti-dam "stars" of the Narmada Dam controversy than pro-dam "stars" in headlines for stories on the issue?

(Q3): Did Pro-government tend to publish more stories with pro-dam headlines or conditional pro-dam headlines (prominence) on the Narmada Dam issue, while Anti-government tended to publish more anti-dam headlines in stories of the issue?

(Q4): Did Pro-government tend to publish more episodic (hard news) stories on the Narmada Dam issue, while Anti-government tended to publish more thematic (analysis, features or editorial) stories of the issue?

(Q5): Did Pro-government tend to include more pro-dam kinds of sources (Indian government, industry and pro-dam NGOs), while Anti-government tended to include more anti-dam kinds of sources (villagers and anti-dam NGOs)?

(Q6): Did Pro-government tend to include less of a variety of kinds of sources, while Anti-government tended to include more of a variety of kinds of sources on stories about the dam?

(Q7): Did Pro-government tend to emphasize economic development or quantification themes (arguments) in stories on the dam, while Anti-government tended to emphasize more environmental sustainability themes (arguments)?

Summary:

The analytical framework presented above illuminates a conceptual approach to examining the portrayal of environmental news in India. Applying this strategy, intra- and extra-organizational political, economic and cultural factors, along with the tone, prominence, story type, source use and thematic emphasis of the text on the Narmada Dam in English-language newspapers in India will be examined. In this way a road map is provided to answer the study's research questions. This road map will facilitate insight into the relationship between the characteristics of news on India's environmental sustainability/economic development debate and the contextual factors at play which affect that text.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This study first identified relevant theoretical factors that could influence environmental reporting in India, through interviews with those involved with the Indian English-language press. The study then examined characteristics of news in Indian English-language newspapers focusing on the Narmada Dam project, in order to identify relationships between characteristics of the press and portrayal of the issue.

Research Design:

This study encompasses a multi-method approach of quantitative and qualitative analyses. These included in-depth interviews with the Indian press and a content analysis of Indian newspapers. A period of three months of fieldwork was undertaken in India from November 1995 to January 1996. The qualitative data was then analyzed to develop hypothetical relationships between the independent and dependent variables. To protect the identities of participants, neither the identities nor the locations of the papers are identified.

A two-tiered research study was carried out in which: 1) The views of practitioners (elites)¹⁰¹ on the political, economic, and cultural constraints involved in reporting on the environment at Pro-government and Anti-

¹⁰¹ Elites are typically "the influential, prominent and well-informed people in an organization or community," according to Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 1989).

government were examined; 2) The qualitative data was then compared with a content analysis of articles on the Narmada Dam in both papers.¹⁰²

I) Contextual Analysis: Interviews

In-depth interviews with the press from Pro-government and Anti-government were conducted, in order to assess which of the explanatory factors listed previously were relevant to reporting on the environment in India, and to gain an understanding into the nature of those relevant factors.¹⁰³

II) Content Analysis: Newspaper Articles

For the second tier of the project, a content analysis of articles on the dam in Pro-government and Anti-government was conducted that coded coverage in terms of inclusion of different kinds of sources, type of story, prominence, tone and themes.

Operationalization and Measurement of Variables:

In defining and measuring variables, categories must be created that conform to a number of rules.¹⁰⁴ Of these, the three most critical state that 1) categories are constructed according to the research problem and purpose; 2) categories must be exhaustive; and 3) they must be mutually exclusive. The following constructs were defined keeping these points in mind.

¹⁰² Content analysis is defined as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (NY: The Free Press, 1952), 18.

¹⁰³ The method for collecting "factors data" was utilized by Shah, "Factors Influencing Development News Production at Three Indian Dailies," 1034-1041.

¹⁰⁴ Fred N. Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986).

Independent Variables

Extra-organizational factors are the competing socio-cultural, economic and political forces that comprise the context within which the press conduct business. These include governmental control of the press and the political ideology of news sources; economic externalities, such as advertiser and circulation revenue, competition, new technologies, and other financial constraints; and the cultural value system of media audiences.

Intra-organizational factors refer to the outlook of news practitioners on traditions and activities which mediate a news organization's social structure and rules of conduct. Those factors include the political ideology of practitioners in news organizations, and the historical development of those organizations in the political arena of a society; a news organization's economic structure and approach toward financial support of journalism activities; and the cultural value systems of communicators within news organizations.

Abstracted from Einsiedel's and Coughlan's research on Canadian press coverage of the environment,¹⁰⁵ as well as the author's own research on the subject, reporters and editors were asked a number of questions about constraints and motivations related to intra- and extra-organizational factors. Questions examined the following information: interviewees' backgrounds; how they received assignments; views on jobs; views on audiences; beat assignment; story and source selection, access, and relationships to news sources; access to documentary and other Indian and foreign research on the subject (including broadcast television and radio, Hindi-language newspapers, wire copy, scholarly and trade journals, and primary data); understanding of environmental issues in general and the Narmada Dam project in particular;

¹⁰⁵ Einsiedel and Coughlan, "The Canadian Press and the Environment: Reconstructing a Social Reality," 134-149.

what stories and issues were ignored and why; view of government constraints; view of development journalism approach; organizational/occupational and community constraints; approach to issues of accuracy, and advocacy journalism. Interviewees were also asked about total space (news hole) and prominence of the issue in their newspapers, commitment to covering environmental stories (funding for specialists, travel, etc.), and assumptions about their audience.

Dependent Variables

The following variables were used to categorize portrayal of stories on the dam. They can fit into the dichotomy of presenting either an ethic of economic development or environmental sustainability through presentation of a certain tone and use of certain sources, themes and headlines stance (a form of prominence) on the issue. Likewise, they may reflect a trend to over-simplify Narmada news by use of a certain type of news style (episodic or thematic) and/or sensationalize the story via emphasis in headlines on famous personalities involved in the controversy (another form of prominence).

Environmental sustainability or sustainable development frames are defined as those which present "a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investment, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are made consistent with the future as well as present needs."¹⁰⁶ Economic development frames are defined as those presenting "a long range policy of enhancing and improving the standard of living of the people of developing nations. These nations generally experience

¹⁰⁶ Badri quotes *Our Common Future (The Bruntland Report)* (Oxford: World Commission on Environment and Development/Oxford University Press, 1987); Badri, "Mass Communication and the Challenges on Global Environmental Protection," 9.

severe unemployment and have low family incomes. Economic development policies are designed to raise the gross national product by converting a nation's economy from an agriculture base to one which has greater reliance on industrialization."¹⁰⁷

Tone refers to the tone of coverage, such as the editorial bias on the controversy put forth in the article by the reporter. The reporter's position was coded as either pro or against the building of the dam.

Prominence refers to the position put forth in the article via the headline, coded as either pro or against the building of the dam. It is also measured by the presence or absence in headlines of prominent pro-dam versus anti-dam personalities ("stars") debating the controversy.

Story type refers to the news peg of an article, which will be coded as either hard news (event-oriented) or analysis (including background and/or future predictions and/or explanations of the issue); or a combination of both hard news and analysis.

Kinds of sources in coverage refers to the different players and the documents they produce in the controversy that are mentioned in news coverage of the dam. In U.S. papers, sources are traditionally included if they are quoted or paraphrased in an article. In the Indian print context, however, direct quoting or paraphrasing of sources is quite rare. Therefore, the mention of a group or individual will qualify for inclusion in coding. Kinds of sources include the following persons and attributed documents: those formally affiliated with intergovernmental donor agencies (such as the World Bank), foreign governmental donor agencies, the national government, impacted state governments (Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan), or local (village) governments; those formally affiliated with international, national,

¹⁰⁷ *Dictionary of the Economy* (NY: Wiley and Sons, 1995).

state or localized industries; those formally affiliated with international or domestic environmental or human rights activist organizations (pro or anti-dam non-governmental organizations); scientists formally affiliated with only international or domestic educational institutions (such as universities); those from within the court system; or impacted villagers not specified as formally affiliated with any government, agency, organization or institution.

Themes refer to the overall debate about development and the environment as it is portrayed by the media. Themes are the arguments presented in news coverage on the building of the Narmada Dam. They reflect the polarization of goals toward environmental sustainability versus national economic development.

On the **environmental sustainability** spectrum the themes include:¹⁰⁸

1) Human/Environmental Impacts: Statements, debates or discussion on the impact of the project on human life (loss of livelihood, rehabilitation, compensation and ethics of forced relocation, health risks, discrimination against "tribal peoples"); desecration of traditional cultures, (immersion of religious temples or destruction of the Narmada as a "holy" river); as well as the impact on biodiversity (extinction of endangered species through loss of habitat or destruction of flora and fauna and care of natural resources such as deforestation and afforestation of forested lands for fuel, cultivation of fisheries, soil erosion, siltation and soil conservation).

2) Project Review: Statements, debates or discussion on allowing a review of the project and review of policies of the project

3) Mistrust of Project/Red Tape: Statements, debates or discussion on possible forms of cover-up (or conspiracy) among vested players who are said

¹⁰⁸ Survey of the Environment, *The Hindu*, 1992, 1994, 1995 (See Kalpana Sharma's articles on the Narmada Dam); Rohit Brijnath, "Damming the Evidence," *India Today*, 15 Sept. 1995, 62-65.

to suppress information on the project, cause delay in implementation of court directives toward the project and so on.

4) Top/Down Theory: Statements, debates or discussion on the perpetuation of foreign- or nationally-imposed top down development strategies.

5) Protest: Statements, debates or discussion about protests for or against the building of the dam.

On the **economic development** side of the spectrum:

6) Macrodam Benefits: Statements, debates or discussion of the benefits of the project (irrigation of drought-ridden lands, or projected energy-production estimates).

7) Number Debates: Statements, debates or discussion on the accuracy of number estimates (people effected, cost of project, years to complete, etc.).

8) Height Compromise: Statements, debates or discussion on compromise through negotiation on height of dams.

9) Finance: Statements, debates or discussion on the question of funding the project.

10) Mistrust of Anti-dammers: Statements, debates or discussion on the impedance of India's economic growth by those who fight against the dam.

Population and Sample Selection Procedures:

Unit of Analysis: Contextual Analysis:

The unit of analysis is reporters and editors from the English-language newspapers, Pro-government and Anti-government from New Delhi and Bombay. Data will be analyzed from five interviews with reporters and editors

from Pro-government, and three interviews with reporters and editors from Anti-government.

Ten additional interviews from seven other newspapers may be incorporated into the discussion of the findings where relevant, to provide additional insights. Those additional papers include: Business Standard, the Economic Times, the Hindu, the Hindustan Times, the Pioneer, the Statesman and the Telegraph.

For the interview portion of the study, the population sampled included only those actors who potentially influenced how the English-language press in India covered the Narmada Dam. Selection of the newspapers was based on three criteria: 1) The English dailies are said to exercise an important agenda-setting role among policy-makers and the vernacular press;¹⁰⁹ 2) Pro-government and Anti-government are among the largest circulation of English-language newspapers in India;¹¹⁰ and 3) Pro-government is characterized by Indian reporters as a paper most closely aligned with the government of India, while Anti-government is considered to be least aligned with the government, providing variance in the study.¹¹¹

Unit of Analysis: Content Analysis:

The unit of analysis was the news article, including approximately 200 news articles from Pro-government and Anti-government from 1989 to 1993. These included any published pieces that discussed the Narmada Dam in the form of "hard" news and "analysis" stories. Editorials were also included.

¹⁰⁹ Mazharul Haque, "Is Development News More Salient than Human Interest Stories in Indian Elite Press?" *Gazette* 38 (1986): 83-99.

¹¹⁰ Hamish McDonald, "Changing Times," *Far Eastern Economic Review* 24 March 1994, 22-23, 26.

¹¹¹ Flexibility on selection of newspapers is mandatory based on availability of archived materials.

Unless the dam under study was specifically named, general pieces on hydro-electric projects were not included in the sample.

Three hundred and fifty articles from 10 other newspapers may be incorporated into the discussion of the findings where relevant, to provide additional insights. Those additional articles are from: Business Standard, the Economic Times, the Financial Express, the Hindu, the Hindustan Times, the Independent, the Patriot, the Pioneer, the Statesman and the Telegraph.

Examination of the life cycle of the Narmada Dam debate since its inception in India in 1985,¹¹² shows that critical periods of activity occurred during the following dates: 1) September 28, 1989: 60,000 people gathered in a rally in Madhya Pradesh to protest the project; 2) December 25, 1990 to January 15: a mass protest was carried out in the form of a 125-mile march, which went from Madhya Pradesh to the bank of the Narmada Dam site in Gujarat; 3) June 18, 1992: The World Bank's independent review of the project was released; 4) March 30, 1993: the World Bank canceled payment of its last loan installment toward the project to the Indian government, bringing the question of credibility of the project to light; 5) June 1993: Medha Patkar, the leader of the grassroots opposition movement to the dam, began a hunger strike to the death, demanding the government conduct a review of the project. Her fast lasted two weeks. At the same time, the village of Manebeli (the heart of the resistance movement) was flooded, during which villagers declared they would let themselves drown as a form of protest against the dam. Eventually, residents were dragged from their huts to higher ground.

Knowledge of these events facilitated selection of a purposive sample for the content analysis portion of the research, since they were likely to have been

¹¹² A full scale historical analysis would likely examine the issue further into the past, since the debate on the building of large hydro-electric dams in India is at least 48 years old.

chronicled in the Indian press.¹¹³ For this level of the study, the coverage of the dam in the two national English-language newspapers, Pro-government and Anti-government, during the following five three-month periods were considered the population (or universe) to be sampled:

- I) 8/89 to 10/89: The Harsud Demonstration (9/28/89)
- II) 11/90-1/91: Mass March (began 12/25/90 to about three weeks later)
- III) 5/92-7/92: World Bank independent assessment report released (6/18/92)
- IV) 2/93-4/93: WB withdraws remainder of loan (3/30/93)
- V) 5/93-7/93: Manebeli flood, and hunger strike: (around 6/93)

Data Collection Methods:

Through triangulation of methods, multiple sources of information were gathered. With the massive amount of data qualitative research typically produces, management of materials and time is a key point.¹¹⁴ A systematic literature review began to tap into the "facts" of the case through "testimony of the facts."¹¹⁵

Open-ended interviews were conducted by the researcher, recorded on audio tape and later transcribed onto computer.¹¹⁶ They were based on a prepared list of questions (see Appendix A for sample schedule). Questions were the same for parallel kinds of sources from each newspaper (i.e. journalists

¹¹³ A form of nonprobability sampling characterized by the effort to "deliberately" include groups into the sample deemed relevant to the study. Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, 120.

¹¹⁴ Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*.

¹¹⁵ In an ethnographic study, a visit to the Narmada Dam site would be essential.

¹¹⁶ David L. Morgan, *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 1988).

from Pro-government were asked the same questions as those from the Anti-government). Interviews were typically held for one hour.

Obtaining Evidence/Gaining Access:

This study was based in the Indian capital cities of New Delhi and Bombay where the two national newspapers sampled had their main offices and bureaus. During this period of fieldwork, association with an Indian educational organization, the Center for Science and Environment (CSE) in New Delhi was helpful in securing access to archived newspapers and interview sources. Local academic support helped to provide an avenue for obtaining advice when problems arose, and association with the CSE helped to legitimize the study.

World Wildlife Fund-New Delhi also helped in this endeavor. Likewise, a number of key environmental reporters and science communication experts in India and the U.S. put me in touch with some of the members of the press I interviewed. Contacts "snowballed" once I arrived in the country.

The Center for Science and Environment houses the bulk of the newspaper archives needed for the content analysis study. Other repositories at Indian newspapers in New Delhi existed as well. The original intention was to make two copies of each article - one to be carried back to the U.S., the other stored in India and shipped to the U.S. as a backup against loss of baggage in transit; however, reality made this difficult.

Under the time constraints of the fieldwork portion of the study, accessing and copying needed articles needed was a challenge. In a worst case scenario, articles could have been collected upon return to the U.S. through inter-library loan services at the MSU library. The Center for Library Research in Chicago has extensive archives on the Indian Press and access can be gained

through MSU. Unfortunately, the Center's resources are not catalogued on a database, so this method of data collection would have been very time consuming. The International Rivers Network also keeps clippings on the Narmada Dam, however, they charge an expensive fee for their services.

Validity and Reliability:

It is necessary to show that a study measures what it means to measure. Thus, validity is of the utmost importance.¹¹⁷ Validity helps guard against bias in the study, which can distort the findings. For instance, noting that cross-cultural misunderstandings can introduce error into historical investigations conducted in other cultures, Shafer urges historians to develop "cultural empathy" or "historical mindedness" with those they study. Likewise, relativism guards against the researcher's own ethnocentrism and "inverted ethnocentrism."¹¹⁸

It is equally important to assess reliability. A study is said to be reliable if the results produced would be similar if the study was repeated. Kerlinger defines reliability as the "relative absence of errors of measurement in a measuring instrument."¹¹⁹ To assure reliability of the content analysis, coders were carefully trained for the study and a pretest was conducted. Intercoder

¹¹⁷ Babbie defines validity as the "extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration." He goes on to discuss the importance of criterion-related, content and construct validity. Earl Babbie, *Survey Research Methods* (CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1990).

¹¹⁸ A term that relates to the idea of the researcher working in foreign countries and "going native," or over-identifying with the studied cultural values. For more on this point see Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*. The discussion on "emic" and "etic" is also useful in David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step* (London: Sage, 1989). Also see Robert J. Shafer, *A Guide to Historical Method* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1980).

¹¹⁹ Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, 405.

reliability was assessed by comparing two independent coders' ratings of a randomly selected portion of the sample of stories similar to those to be included in the main study. Percentage of agreement was calculated using Scott's pi.¹²⁰ To reflect an acceptable level of reliability, answers should yield approximately 80 percent intercoder agreement. If reliability is below .80, then the researcher should determine where the problem lies and adjust accordingly (i.e. redefine overlapping measures, rewrite unclear instructions or retrain coders). After this preparation, the study began. Intercoder reliability was recalculated using 10 to 25 percent of the sample.

Analysis Plan:

Analytic procedures involved organizing the data, generating categories and matching findings with the research hypotheses and questions.¹²¹ The content analysis study was analyzed through the appropriate statistical means. For the study, the evidence collected was catalogued and characterized into various levels, according to the contextual framework provided above. The dominant political, economic, cultural, geographic, historical and contemporary forces, factors and actors were analyzed, making it possible to "map reality."¹²²

A contextual analysis of the text addressed the relationship of the independent to dependent variables of the study. It helped provide a rich explanatory framework for the investigation as it related to the specific case of the Indian print press. A synthesis of the data led to interpretation of the state of each of the national newspapers under study and their approach to

¹²⁰ $\pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$. See William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 17 (1955): 321-325.

¹²¹ Marshall and Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*.

¹²² John J. Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research," *Journalism Monographs* 125 (1991): 1-29 (see p. 7).

environmental coverage. Likewise, analysis of interviews identified logical patterns in informants' explanations of the environmental beat in India. It represented "the world according to" Indian environmental reporters.

The research identified relationships between the influences on the press in environmental reporting in India and press performance as it relates to stories on the Narmada. The primary goal was to take note of recurring patterns and over-riding themes where they present themselves in the evidence. In short, the study attempted to explain the quality of content of environmental coverage in India's English-language press. Generalizing the findings was not the goal of this communications study, although evidence may translate to the press in other developing countries or other topics in India.

Report of Findings:

Content analysis findings are presented in this dissertation through tables and graphs, as well as in narrative form. Since the qualitative findings are descriptive, they are written in a narrative style. This allowed for the telling of "the story" of environmental journalism in India. From the data collected, a discussion of Indian journalistic tradition has become possible. The point is to present a holistic discourse on environmental news production in India. On the advice of Pauly, who discusses the goal of qualitative research, the narrative attempted to "render possible the terms by which groups [the Indian press] explain themselves to the world."¹²³

Limitations:

Patience is a way of life in India, so researchers must conform to this fact. Thus, with a three month time limit and a finite budget, it was important to be

¹²³ *ibid.*

realistic about what could be accomplished. Aside from the clear challenges a study of this kind evoked, inevitable limitations were likely to be related to cultural differences.

For one thing, working in India demands great physical fortitude and perseverance, and working out logistics is a challenge. Gaining access to officials is often very difficult to achieve in India, and with problems in phone service, arranging interviews is a very frustrating enterprise. Travel is not easy and must be limited because distances are great in Delhi and Bombay. Additionally, addresses are badly marked and therefore difficult to find. Thus, it was not possible to formally interview all conceivable sources related to the topic, such as environmental activists, ministry officials, development experts and so on. This seemed to be a disappointment to a number of interviewees, who questioned the credibility of the study. I tried to explain that the in-depth pursuit must wait for another day. Other expected logistical problems arose. For instance as a female researcher traveling alone in the country, it was necessary to anticipate certain hazards. For instance, women must take care in their activities in India, which might preclude them from conducting certain business (holding interviews at night where safe passage home on public transportation facilities is not guaranteed, etc.). Research is also more expensive when one must rely on taxi drivers who force western travelers to pay higher rates after dark.

Access to newspapers was also difficult to secure in the limited time frame of the study. News archives were rarely indexed and copying services were antiquated. Consequently, the scope of the content analysis portion of the study was not as extensive as it might have been under different circumstances. The study had to be adapted to fit the difficult conditions of data collection.

Furthermore, although it would be useful to include news from the vernacular press in this study, without knowledge of the vernacular languages, it was impossible. With a virtual plethora of dialects to choose from, it was also unrealistic to try to be totally inclusive. This is a crucial point in a country where language is associated not only with regional pride, but also a sense of sovereignty (that many have been willing to die for). Studying only English-language newspapers can, therefore, be justified, given that much of the elite who play a role in public policy formation on development primarily tend to read the English-language press. Also, the urban-based papers often set the agenda for stories published in the vernacular papers.

This study did not address the effects of environmental media on the region's audiences or governmental policy, although both would prove excellent subjects for future research. Nor did it prove a causality between biases in the press and treatment of the Narmada Dam issue. What it did do, is show how coverage of an environmental development issue in one developing country's sociological climate is framed in the mainstream press.

Time Table:

November 1995:	Arrived in New Delhi, India
November 1995:	Began interviews
	Photocopied press articles
Between January 15 and February 8, 1996:	Returned to East Lansing, Michigan
February 15, 1996:	Collected missing data,
	Wrote coding book
June 1996	Coded data
September 1996	Entered data into SPSS
November 1996	Began analyzing quantitative data and qualitative data
December 1996	Began writing dissertation
June 1997	Dissertation Defense

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter is divided into the following three sections: First, it presents the findings of the quantitative content analysis portion of the study in relation to the research questions; Second, it summarizes the findings of the qualitative contextual analysis of the interviews, categorizing and comparing the data by newspaper into the relevant intra- and extra-organizational factors examined in the research questions. Last, it relates the findings of the content analysis to the contextual factors as they address the research questions at hand.

Reliability:

Reliability is critical to content analysis, wherein objective measures must be consistent. According to Wimmer and Dominick, "Intercoder reliability refers to levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument. Reliability is present when repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions."¹²⁴

A subsample of the data (20 percent) was coded by two independent coders and Holsti's formula (1969),¹²⁵ Scott's pi (1955)¹²⁶ and Pearson r were applied on SPSS to analyze reliability. While Holsti's formula for determining reliability for percentage of simple agreement can be used, Scott's pi corrects for

¹²⁴ Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1994), 178.

¹²⁵ Ole Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, MA: Addison-Westley, 1969).

¹²⁶ Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," 321-325.

chance agreement between coders. Scott's pi is an appropriate measure for nominal level data. To assess reliability of ratio data, such as the number of sources used in newspaper articles on the dam, Pearson r can be applied. Pearson r correlation coefficients range from -1.0 to +1.0. For this study, a reliability of .80 was considered acceptable. The following reliability indexes were found:

TABLE 1
Reliability Indexes

	<u>Scott's pi</u>	<u>Holsti's Agreement</u>
Editorial Bias	pi= .65	.98
Headlines Focus on Stars	pi= .92	.98
Headlines Pro or Anti Dam	pi= .86	.93
Story Type	pi= .90	.95
Major Theme	pi= .87	.90
	<u>Pearson r-Sources</u>	
Anti-dam NGOs	r= .9957	
Courts	r= .9401	
Educational Experts	r= .9472	
Foreign Government Donors	r= .9718	
Indian Government	r= .9893	
Industry	r= .9554	
Villagers	r= .9938	
Pro-dam NGOs	r= .9541	
Others	r= .9707	
Unidentified	r= .8749	
Source Total	r= .9896	

In the case of editorial bias, a Scott's pi of only .65 was determined, however percentage of disagreement using Holsti's formula produced a reliability of .98, which was deemed acceptable. This variable was considered reliable because only three cases out of the 40 sampled produced a result that applied to the question at hand. The choices for coders were: Anti-dam bias; Pro-dam bias; Undetermined; Does Not Apply. The Anti-dam category was chosen twice by coder one and once by coder two. All other decisions produced

a "Does Not Apply" category. With so few cases in which the Scott's pi formula was applied, the result looked like chance agreement, producing a lower reliability index. However Holsti's formula shows that the reliability was at an acceptable level.

Content Analysis Findings:

One hundred and ninety four articles (120 from Pro-government and 74 from Anti-government) were coded for this study. The articles were sampled from five discrete three-month periods between 1989 and 1993 that were critical in the development of the debate (one and a half months before and after a key event). Pro-government averaged eight Narmada Dam articles per period, while Anti-government averaged approximately five articles per period.

The data were organized into crossbreaks to investigate the research questions. According to Kerlinger, "a crossbreak is a numerical tabular presentation of data, usually in frequency or percentage form, in which variables are cross-partitioned in order to study the relations between them."¹²⁷ Cross-breaks (also known as contingency tables) are principally used with categorical or nominal level data.

Cramer's V and Phi were the statistics used to measure the degree of association between variables. Phi and Cramer's V, which are based on chi squares, are appropriate for contingency tables using nominal data. Unlike Phi, Cramer's V can be applied to tables with more than two rows and two columns. Statistical significance was not a factor in this study because purposive sampling (a sample specifically chosen to be representative of a population), rather than random sampling, was applied to the data collection method. Therefore, chi square results were not reported. Both Phi and Cramer's V range from 0 to +1,

¹²⁷ Kerlinger, *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, 149.

with 0 indicating no relationship between variables and +1 indicating a perfect relationship between variables. A +1 does not indicate positive or negative correlation, but instead simply shows a perfect association.¹²⁸ It should be noted that, sometimes in the analysis, the Cramer's V and Phi did not indicate an association between variables, however, the percentages in the contingency tables showed some differences between papers. In these cases, the differences were discussed, indicating limited support for the hypotheses.

In the case of ratio data that examined the number of sources used, the mean and standard deviation (an index of dispersion) were also reported. Finally, in some cases where percentage results from data were minimal, data was dropped from the calculations. These included categories such as "other," or "unidentified." Using Cramer's V and Phi, the following results were revealed:

Research Question One says:

(Q1): Did Pro-government tend to publish more pro-dam content (tone: editorials, features or hard news/features) on the dam , while Anti-government tended to publish more anti-dam content (tone: editorials, features or hard news features)?

¹²⁸ Guido H. Stempel and Bruce H. Westley, eds. *Research Methods in Mass Communication* (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989).

TABLE 2
Editorial Bias - Pro or Anti-dam

Bias	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Anti-dam	7 5.8%	6 8.1%	13 6.7%
Not Apply	113 94.2%	68 91.9%	181 93.3%
	120 61.9%	74 38.1%	194 100%

Between the two papers only a small percentage of editorials, features and hard news/features expressed any editorial bias (6.7 percent).¹²⁹ Within both papers as well only a few articles expressed a biased tone (6 percent within Pro-government and 8 percent within Anti-government). Of those articles that did express bias, all were found to be anti-dam, while none were pro-dam.

Phi was .059638 and Cramer's V was .0596372, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and editorial bias (or tone) in stories. Therefore, there is no basis to generate a hypothesis that pro-government newspapers in India tend to present a pro-dam bias while anti-government papers present an anti-dam bias from this comparison.

¹²⁹ While Pro-government published more articles than Anti-government, articles in the latter tended to contain one more paragraph on average (Pro. had a mean = 9.5; Anti. had a mean = 10.5), thus were a bit longer. While longer articles are often interpreted to be more in-depth, this is not necessarily so in this case. Future studies should examine length of article in terms of word count.

(Q2): Was Pro-government more likely to use the names of famous pro-dam "stars" (a form of prominence) of the Narmada Dam controversy than anti-dam "stars" in headlines for stories on the issue, while Anti-government was more likely to use the names of famous anti-dam "stars" of the Narmada Dam controversy than pro-dam "stars" in headlines for stories on the issue?

TABLE 3
Focus on Stars - Headlines Pro or Anti-Dam Broken Down By Category

FocusStars	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Headline- Anti-dam	22 18.3%	21 28.4%	43 22.2%
Headline- Pro-dam	11 9.2%	3 4.1%	14 7.2%
Headline- No Stars	87 72.5%	50 67.6%	137 70.6%
	120 61.9%	74 38.1%	194 100%

Stars' names were used in headlines approximately 30 percent of the time. Percentages show that Anti-government included anti-dam stars 10 percent of the time more than Pro-government, when examining approximately the same number of articles (22 in X and 21 in Y). Similarly, Pro-government included more pro-dam stars than Anti-government. Therefore, although Phi was .14177 and Cramer's V was .14177, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and their use of stars in headlines, there is minor support to

generate a hypothesis that pro-government newspapers in India use pro-dam stars to support the government-supported dam and vice versa.

Within the newspapers themselves certain tendencies can be detected that may indicate prominence in one direction or another. Within Pro-government, approximately 73 percent of the articles did not include any stars' names whatsoever in the headlines, either anti-dam or pro-dam. Yet of the stars that were named, there were twice as many anti-dam personalities as pro-dam personalities. In Anti-government, on the other hand, a different trend emerged. Sixty-eight percent did not mention any stars, yet of the 24 stories (34 percent) that did mention famous people, the majority (21) were anti-dam stars, while only three articles used pro-dam stars in headlines.

(Q3): Did Pro-government tend to publish more stories with pro-dam headlines or conditional pro-dam headlines (prominence) on the Narmada Dam issue, while Anti-government tended to publish more anti-dam headlines in stories of the issue?

TABLE 4
Topic - Headlines Pro or Anti-Dam By Combined Categories

Topic	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Headline- Pro-dam & Condition	60 54.1%	30 42.8%	90 49.7%
Headline- Anti-dam	51 45.9%	40 57.1%	91 50.3%
	111 61.3%	70 38.7%	181 100%

TABLE 5
Topic - Headlines Pro or Anti-Dam Broken Down By Category

Topic	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Headline- Pro-dam	15 12.5%	6 8.1%	21 10.8%
Headline- Anti-dam	51 42.2%	40 54.1%	91 46.9%
Headline- Condition Pro-Dam	45 37.5%	24 32.4%	69 35.6%
Headline Undeterm	9 7.5%	4 5.4%	13 6.7%
	120 61.9%	74 38.1%	194 100%

Table four shows that Pro-government published over 10 percent more pro-dam and conditional headlines than Anti-government, while Anti-government published over 10 percent more anti-dam headlines than Pro-government. The undetermined category was dropped from the calculation in Table 4. Phi was .1090 and Cramer's V was .1090 for Table 4, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and their use of pro-dam headlines/conditional pro-dam headlines, or anti-dam headlines. Yet in examining the percentages in Tables 4 and 5, a difference between newspapers is detected. Therefore, there is a basis to generate a hypothesis for subsequent

testing that pro-government newspapers in India tend to publish pro-dam and conditional headlines more often than anti-government newspapers.

Within the papers, there was a propensity for pro-dam and conditional headlines to appear more frequently in Pro-government (54 percent of the time), while Anti-government published more anti-dam headlines (57 percent of the time). Broken down by category, each paper used more conditional pro-dam headlines than exclusively pro-dam headlines. Finally, it should be noted that Anti-government did cover the dam issue less frequently than Pro-government during the sampling period, with Pro-government publishing eleven more anti-dam headlines than Anti-government.

(Q4): Did Pro-government tend to publish more episodic (hard news) stories on the Narmada Dam issue, while Anti-government tended to publish more thematic (analysis, features or editorial) stories of the issue?

TABLE 6
Type - Episodic or Thematic News By Combined Categories

Type	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Episodic (Hard News)	95 79.8%	61 82.4%	156 80.8%
Thematic	24 20.2%	13 17.6%	38 19.7%
	119 61.7%	74 38.3%	193 100%

TABLE 7
Type - Episodic or Thematic News Broken Down By Category

Type	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Hard News	95 79.2%	61 82.8%	156 80.4%
Feature	10 8.3%	4 5.5%	14 7.3%
Hard News/ Feature	12 10%	7 9.6%	19 9.8%
Editorial	2 1.7%	2 2.7%	4 2.1%
Other	1 .8%	0	1 .5%
	120 61.9%	74 38.1%	194 100%

Within both papers, there was a strong tendency to publish more episodic stories than thematic ones. Of the articles published in Pro-government, almost 4 out of 5 (80 percent) were hard news stories, while in Anti-government, the trend was the same with 82 percent of the stories being hard news. "Other" types were not included in Table 6.

Phi was .03387 and Cramer's V was .03387 for Table 6, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and the types of stories they publish. In

absolute numbers between the papers, Pro-government published almost twice as many thematic articles as Anti-government. However, Pro-government was also found to have published an additional 34 articles beyond Anti-government that were of the episodic type. Despite these differences, percentage rates on types of published articles between the two papers were fairly similar. This indicates that there is no basis to support testing a hypothesis that pro-government Indian newspapers tend to publish more episodic news than anti-government newspapers.

(Q5): Did Pro-government tend to include more pro-dam kinds of sources (Indian government, industry and pro-dam NGOs), while Anti-government tended to include more anti-dam kinds of sources (villagers and anti-dam NGOs)?

TABLE 8
Sources - Pro or Anti-Dam By Combined Categories

Sources	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Pro-dam	204 52.2%	125 49.6%	329 51.2%
Anti-dam	187 47.8%	127 50.4%	314 48.8%
	391 60.8%	252 39.2%	643 100%

There were more overall sources in Pro-government than Anti-government, most likely because Pro-government published more articles on

the Dam than Anti-government. The study found that Pro-government and Anti-government included a similar percentage of pro- and anti-dam sources when source kinds were combined. Within Pro-government, pro-dam sources were used approximately 52 percent of the time while anti-dam sources were used a bit less at around 48 percent of the time. Anti-government used pro-dam sources 50 percent of the time while relying on anti-dam sources 50 percent of the time. The most used source was Indian government officials, followed closely by anti-dam NGOs and villagers.

Phi was .0251 and Cramer's V was .0251 from Table 8, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and the kinds of sources they included in stories. Therefore, there is no basis to support testing a hypothesis that pro-government Indian newspapers tend to use more pro-dam sources while anti-government newspapers use more anti-dam sources.

(Q6): Did Pro-government tend to include less of a variety of (kinds of) sources, while Anti-government tended to include more of a variety of kinds of sources on stories about the dam?

There seems to be a fairly even distribution of different kinds of sources used between the two newspapers (the mean is 14.814 and the SD is 7.903); therefore there is no basis to generate a hypothesis for further testing that pro-government newspapers in India tend to use less of a variety of sources than anti-government newspapers. Within each paper, the predominant source used was the Indian government (a pro-dam source), followed closely by anti-dam NGOs. Villagers (anti-dam) were also a significant portion of the source population in stories, followed by pro-dam NGOs. Neutral sources were also

TABLE 9
Sources - Pro or Anti-Dam Broken Down By Category

	"Progov"	"Antigov"
Source #s		
Indian Gov (Pro)	119/22.4%	73/21.8%
Industry (Pro)	38/7.5%	14/4.2%
Pro-dam NGOs	47/8.8%	38/11.3%
Foreign Gov (Neut)	34/6.4%	25/7.5%
Educat. Experts (N)	29/5.5%	21/6.3%
Courts (N)	23/4.3%	5/1.5%
Villagers (Anti)	88/16.6%	64/19%
Anti-dam NGOs	99/18.6%	63/18.8%
Other	47/8.4%	28/8.4%
Unidentified	8/1.5%	4/1.2%
	532	335

examined, indicating Pro-government included neutral sources 18 percent of the time while Anti-government used them 17 percent of the time. A number of sources coded as "other" were also included in the articles but not included in this table. "Other" sources included Indian citizens not involved in the dam debate or the press (i.e.: So and so said to the United Press of India...). Within Pro-government sources mentioned the least, were the courts (a neutral source), followed by educational experts (a neutral source); while within Anti-government the source least mentioned were also courts, followed by industry (a pro-dam source).

(Q7): Did Pro-government tend to emphasize economic development or quantification themes (arguments) in stories on the dam, while Anti-

government tended tend to emphasize more environmental sustainability themes (arguments)?

TABLE 10
Theme - Environmental Sustainability Vs. Economic Development
By Combined Categories

Themes	"Progov" Newspaper	"Antigov" Newspaper	
Environ. Sustain.	99 83.9%	59 85.5%	158 84.5%
Econ. Develop.	19 16.1%	10 14.5%	29 15.5%
	118 63.1%	69 36.8%	187 100%

Table 10 shows that both papers used more environmental sustainability themes than economic development themes (84 percent within Pro-government and 86 percent within Anti-government), with the percentages of major emphasis being approximately equal between papers. Table 11 shows the sustainability themes emphasized most within both papers: "Protest" most often framed the arguments presented in articles, followed by "Human and Environmental Impacts" within Pro-government and "review of the Project" within Anti-government. The sustainability argument least emphasized across both papers was "Top-down Development." Of the economic development themes, most prominent between both papers was "Finance," followed by "Macrodam Development" within Pro-government and Anti-government

(although Anti-government also focused on "Mistrust of Anti-dam Movement").

Both papers used the economic argument of "Height Compromise" the least.

TABLE 11
Theme - Environmental Sustainability Vs. Economic Development
Broken Down By Category

Themes	"Progov"	"Antigov"	
(ES)			
H/E Impact	31/26%	12/16%	43/22.2%
Project Review	22/18%	13/17%	35/18%
Mistrust Project	8/6%	4/5%	12/6.2%
Top Down Devel.	2/2%	2/3%	4/2.1%
Protest	36/30%	28/38%	64/33%
(ED)			
Mac-dam Devel.	6/5%	2/3%	8/4.1%
Height Compromise	1/1%	1/1%	2/1%
Finance	10/8%	5/7%	15/7.7%
Mistrust Anti-dam	2/2%	2/3%	4/2.1%
Other	2/2%	5/7%	7/3.6%
	120	74	194
	61.9%	38.1%	100%

Phi was .0215 and Cramer's V was .0215 for Table 10, indicating a weak relationship between the newspapers and the emphasized themes used to portray stories. Therefore, there is no basis to support a hypothesis that pro-government Indian newspapers tend to publish more economic development themes while anti-government newspapers publish more environmental sustainability themes.

Summary of Content Analysis Findings:

It would appear India's two leading English-language newspapers frame environmental news regarding the controversial Narmada Dam in most cases more similarly than not, in spite of differences between them in editorial policy toward the government.

Both papers published similar content in terms of editorial bias (tone), types of stories written, kinds of sources included and themes emphasized. This speaks to the maturity and independence of the press in India. Differences were detected, however, in terms of prominence, wherein the pro-government newspaper tended to publish more headlines with pro-dam stars' names than the anti-government paper. Likewise, the pro-government paper used more pro-dam and conditional headlines than the anti-government paper. Both these points do not necessarily reflect differences in editorial policy toward the Narmada Dam and are thus a weak basis on which to justify a hypothesis that pro-government papers in India support the building of the Narmada Dam more than anti-government papers.

Contextual Analysis of Interviews with Journalists from the Pro-government and Anti-government Newspapers:

We expected framing decisions on editorial bias (tone), story prominence, types of story, inclusion of sources and emphasis on certain themes in articles on the Narmada Dam to be influenced by:

- * Intra-organizational cultural factors
- * Intra-organizational economic factors
- * Intra-organizational political factors
- * Extra-organizational cultural factors
- * Extra-organizational economic factors

* Extra-organizational political factors

We also expected framing decisions might vary on a controversial environmental issue (like the Narmada Dam) between a newspaper with a pro-government and an anti-government editorial stance.

Interviews were conducted with journalists in each of the two newspapers to understand their perception of the factors that influenced how they conduct their jobs. In this section, a brief background on each newspaper is presented, the interviews are summarized by newspaper, and then synthesized. The section that follows examines whether and how the listed factors exerted any influence on framing decisions and if those decisions were different between the two newspapers. (See Appendix D for in-depth analyses of each interview)

Background on Pro-government Newspaper:

The oldest of the English-language newspapers in India, "Pro-government," began as a weekly in 1838 and continued as a daily in 1850.¹³⁰ Internationally recognized, it is included in Merrill and Fisher's The World's Great Dailies: Profiles of Fifty Newspapers. Published in Bombay, New Delhi and Ahmedabad, it is one of the largest circulation papers in India.¹³¹ The Pro-government group is owned by Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd., a public corporation, which is controlled by the Jain family. The editor-in-chief is Girilal Jain. Originating as a conservative newspaper supporting the British empire, the paper continues today to be aimed at India's educated urban elite. Pro-government has its own training program and usually absorbs its own students into the paper. After hiring, a year's probation is typical. In 1994, eight senior

¹³⁰ John C. Merrill and Harold A. Fisher, *The World's Great Dailies: Profiles of Fifty Newspapers* (NY: Hastings House, 1980).

¹³¹ 410,000 according to the Indian Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), 1995.

editors resigned in protest of the intrusion of business executives into editorial affairs.¹³²

Summary of Interviews on Influential Factors at Pro-government Newspaper:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: In terms of professional norms, none of the journalists from Pro-government had a degree in journalism nor any formal science training except one who had an engineering background. All learned reporting skills on the job. All had worked for various media organizations, moving around to advance their careers. Two out of five resigned from Pro-government because of management policies and criticism of their work. Of the five, two were women and three were men, showing a gender balance in the environmental reporting field (previously it was mostly women who covered the beat). All five defined themselves as environmental **advocates** but qualified the characterization by emphasizing the importance of the principle of **objectivity** in journalism. Three out of five were members of the Forum of Environmental Journalists of India (FEJI) although they had strong criticisms of the organization. They said FEJI would best serve them if it became an information and networking resource. Members felt that Indian reporters did not work hard enough to do the necessary research, because of their intense workload, though environmental reporters did better than the average reporter. They also felt there was not enough analysis of the Narmada story.

Regarding routines of the beat, none of the journalists were specifically assigned to cover the environment exclusively, although there was an emphasis on environmental stories in their work. Most viewed themselves as environment and development reporters. The anti-dam protest organization,

¹³² Hamish McDonald, Changing Times: Resignations Shake Up Prestigious Indian Newspaper, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 24 March 1994, 22.

the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), helped them meet deadlines by providing a plethora of information, as well as staging newsworthy events on the Narmada Dam story. NBA leader, Medha Patkar, became the "star" or "glitterati" of the movement and journalists felt the story was often sensationalized.

Regarding gatekeeping: there is a clear chain of command in the newsroom. The ascending hierarchy is as follows: reporter/special reporter/principle correspondent/special correspondent (assistant editor)/senior assistant editor/senior editor (executive or managing editor)/(editor-editorial page)/owner. Several of the journalists were frustrated with their jobs and felt they were ridiculed by their superiors and peers for covering the environment.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: There is no environment beat.

However, over the years, the environment has become a more "sexy" topic. The problem was that interest in the subject was not sustained, but cyclic. All the reporters said that management policies affected their work. Pro-government was more pro-business since India's economic liberalization, which meant that it became harder to get space to publish stories on the environment, especially on the Narmada. That was because the anti-dam movement was highly critical of industry. Pro-government journalism was, then, highly **market-oriented**.

Stories on the economy and politics were more prevalent. There was a limit on the paper's financial commitment to covering the environment. For instance, travel funds were scarce and most reporters funded their own travel to the Narmada site or simply covered the story from urban centers, unless it was a major story. Investigative reporting was not encouraged. Computers in the newsroom were limited. A reporter's individual reputation played an

important factor in the allocation of resources for story development and space in the paper.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: The political ideology of Pro-government was pro-establishment and pro-government until India's economic liberalization policy in 1991. Since that time, the owners and editors have been moving more toward the middle of the spectrum. Those interviewed said the management views on the political situation affected the way they did their jobs. They felt management forced a standard of objectivity that was not truly **objective**, but pro-dam. For instance, if the facts of a story were accurate, then one reporter did not think it necessary to present both sides of the case every time. "If you see a lot of people being beaten up, you are going to report that, you are not going to sit back and say 'let us be objective,'" one journalist interjected. All five of the journalists were against the dam but felt that a compromise was needed to resolve the issue. They all believed that the English-language press played an important role in national development because it set the political agenda of decision-makers in government, as well as affected what gets published in the local-language press, which reaches a wider general public.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Cultural values (**cultural resonance**) were considered important in how a story was written. Pro-government's audience was considered the urban educated elite of India; however, some editors who supervised the journalists interviewed did not think the audience was sophisticated enough to understand or care about complex environment issues. Environmental journalists were inclined to disagree with this assessment. Also, the audience in Gujarat was pro-dam, thus editors were concerned about offending readers in that area. Therefore, space for environmental stories was limited, often "ghettoized" to the "environment/development theme page," which was published once a week.

The journalists pointed out that circulation was difficult to assess because more people were exposed to the paper than bought it: In villages in India, it was typical for one literate person to read the paper aloud to a group of illiterate people at tea stalls.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Advertisers explicitly tried to pressure Pro-government to publish only pro-dam stories. Also, there was concern that circulation would drop when anti-dam stories were published. A price war, in which the cost of Pro-government was lowered, increased circulation. The result was that owners felt readers cared less about content and more about low cost. This conclusion worried the journalists, who felt their worth was devalued by the assessment. The journalists concluded that newspapers were more **market-oriented** than they used to be.

There was a lot of competition from other papers (the vernacular press in particular) and other media, such as television, although it is perceived as too superficial to attract the newspaper audience. Foreign newspapers were not a threat because they were banned in India. Foreign investment and ownership in Indian newspapers was not permitted at the time of these interviews. Libel was not an issue of general concern to the paper, so threats of libel did not affect how reporters wrote their stories. Any libel cases were first heard by the Press Council of India, which serves as an ombudsman.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Government sources were extremely closed to reporters, especially on environmental stories like the Narmada. Although India is said to have a **democratic tradition of freedom of the press**, government officials hide behind laws, such as the Official Secrets Act, to defend their positions against openness. As one reporter said, "They make you dance for information." Industry in Gujarat and World Bank sources in general were equally closed, therefore it was difficult to gather information for the

Narmada story. Sources would routinely only talk to reporters off-the-record or if a reporter had a reputation of being anti-dam, pro-dam sources would refuse to be interviewed. Often sources would complain to management directly if anti-dam stories were published; however, the paper had "deep pockets" and was able to overcome outside pressure.

Misinformation and disinformation was commonly disseminated. Publication of off-the-record comments led to questions of credibility of the story (lack of objectivity) and journalists said that some in their field fabricated information. It was difficult to meet deadlines, since information could not be substantiated in time. To counter this effect, much information was used that was supplied by the NBA. Some of the reporters criticized the NBA, saying the organization tried to pressure the paper to publicize the NBA's cause. The NBA would complain when information they gave to reporters was not used.

Background on Anti-government Newspaper:

The Anti-government group is published at over seven locations around the country, with a circulation second only to Pro-government. It is known to carry much more news about southern India than Pro-government; however, it has less overall credibility than Pro-government because it is viewed as somewhat sensationalistic in its approach. The paper has a strong nationalist tradition and is known for its anti-government stance. During the State of Emergency imposed from 1975 to 1977 by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Anti-government was at the forefront of the struggle against censorship of the press. The paper was targeted by the government because of its criticism of administration policies. In 1987, after several editorial attacks on Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi accused him of corruption, Anti-government's offices were raided

by customs and revenue officials from the government.¹³³ The paper was temporarily shut down.

The paper, begun in 1932, was owned by B.D. Goenka until his death in 1979. His father, Ramnath Goenka, took over until he himself died in 1991. His death was followed by a family feud for ownership of the paper between B.D. Goenka's wife and Ramnath Goenka's two grandsons. Today, publication of Anti-government is split between the grandsons.¹³⁴ The editor-in-chief is H.K. Dua. The Editors' Guild of India complain that the split has led to interference by owners into policy on content. Journalists at the paper fear job uncertainty, salary cuts and "distortions in the line of command."¹³⁵

Summary of Interviews on Influential Factors at Anti-government Newspaper:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Regarding professional norms, none of Anti-government's journalists had degrees in journalism, nor any formal science training. All had learned their profession on the job. All had advanced their careers by moving around from one media organization to another. There was a ratio of two women to one man. One out of three resigned from Anti-government in order to become a full-time environmental **advocate**. All three defined themselves as environmental **advocates** but only two qualified the characterization by emphasizing the importance of the principle of **objectivity** in journalism. Two out of three were members of FEJI but had strong criticisms of the organization, saying it needed to do a better job as an information resource. One had not heard of the organization.

In terms of routines of the beat, none covered the environment exclusively, although they geared their work toward environmental and

¹³³ *The Economist*, 5 Sept. 1987, 36.

¹³⁴ Arun Katiyar, Divide and Rule, *India Today*, 31 March 1995, 66-69.

¹³⁵ Family Settlement will Split 'Anti-government' newspaper," 2.

development stories. All praised the NBA for helping to supply needed information on the Narmada controversy. They all followed the activities of the NBA closely in covering the Narmada story.

Regarding gatekeeping the chain of command in the newsroom was as follows: reporter/special reporter/principle correspondent/special correspondent (assistant editor)/senior assistant editor/senior editor (executive or managing editor)/(editor-editorial page)/owner. One out of the three was frustrated with the paper, having felt ridiculed for covering the environment "too much."

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: There was no environment beat at Anti-government. All felt that management policies at the paper affected their work. Anti-government was more pro-business and **market-oriented** since India's economic liberalization policy, making it harder to get space to publish stories on the environment. Stories on the economy and politics became more prevalent. A limit on the paper's financial commitment to covering the environment meant that travel funds were scarce. Most reporters funded their own travel to the Narmada site or simply covered the story from urban centers, unless it was a major story. Enterprise reporting was not encouraged and computers in the newsroom were limited. Each reporter's reputation played an important factor in the allocation of resources for story development and space in the paper.

The environment/development theme page of Anti-government had been dropped a year prior to this interview. Reporters were told it was due to a shortage of newsprint, but one could be skeptical, viewing it as a change in priorities toward more economic development news. Many reporters were beginning to work under two to three year contracts, which gave them higher salaries but less job security.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: The political ideology of Anti-government had traditionally been avidly anti-establishment/anti-government. Recently, since economic liberalization, the paper had moved more to the middle ideologically in an attempt to become more credible and mainstream. The journalists felt that the English-language press was important in national development, especially in terms of **democracy and freedom of the press**. The paper had promoted the publication of the development theme page. They also said it set decision-makers' political agenda, as well as affected content in the local-language press, which reaches a wider general audience. All three were against the dam, though only two felt a compromise was needed to resolve the situation.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Anti-government's audience was characterized as the urban educated elite of India and writing that fit in with the values of the culture (**cultural resonance**) was considered important. Nevertheless, reporters had to fight with some editors who viewed the audience as not sophisticated enough to comprehend or care about complex environment issues. Because of the editors' stance, space for environmental stories was restricted, often "ghettoized" to the "environment/development theme page," which was published once a week. The journalists pointed out that circulation was difficult to assess because more people were exposed to the paper than bought it. One journalist felt that the anti-dam NGO community was large part of the paper's audience (although no market surveys were conducted). One said that the audience viewed national papers as more objective than the local press.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Discussing the situation since liberalization, the journalists thought that newspapers were more **market-oriented** than they used to be. In fact, Anti-government lowered their rates in response to the price war started by Pro-government. They also said that

advertisers tried to pressure Anti-government to publish more pro-dam stories. Likewise, editors did not view anti-dam NGO readership as important because NGOs did not bring in needed advertising revenue.

Competition from other Indian papers and media, such as television, was a factor with which reporters must contend. There was little concern over the issue of libel and threats of libel did not affect the reporters.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Anti-government had endured a targeted campaign of censorship by the government over the years, contrary to India's **tradition of democracy and freedom of the press**. During the State of Emergency the paper came under fire for its criticism of government policies. Editors were arrested. Later in 1987, when it exposed the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government of corruption in arms deals with Swedish and German companies, customs and revenue officials raided Anti-government's offices, closing the paper for a period of time.

Two out of three of the journalists said it was difficult to get information from the government. Gujarat Industry and World Bank sources in general were also quite closed. One reporter said the World Bank was calculated in their manipulation of the press wherein misinformation and disinformation was commonly disseminated. All said they routinely had to use off-the-record sources. Consequently, questions of credibility often arose since publication of off-the-record comments portrayed a lack of objectivity. Journalists said that some reporters fabricated information under these conditions.

It was difficult to meet deadlines, since substantiating information was time-consuming. To counter this effect, much NBA- supplied information was used. Complaints to management if anti-dam stories were published were common, however, the paper's "deep pockets" allowed it to overcome the pressure.

Comparison of Pro-government to Anti-government:

In almost all factors, both newspapers and the journalists interviews exhibited similar characteristics. The primary difference noted was in the area of intra-organizational political factors. The papers promoted opposing political ideologies, although in recent years (1993 onward), both had moved more toward the middle of the spectrum. While Pro-government was viewed as traditionally pro-establishment/pro-government, Anti-government was said to be anti-establishment/anti-government. Another difference between papers was an extra-organizational factor: Pro-government and Anti-government had somewhat different audiences in terms of political ideology.

Interestingly, all the journalists interviewed described themselves as environmental advocates and all were also anti-dam (with qualifications). However, they said they were still committed to the ideal of objectivity. Likewise, all said they felt that management policies affected their reporting to the point where some resigned.

The situation creates a tension between the political ideology of the papers and their readers, versus the journalist's own political viewpoints and autonomy in writing. The questions are: Did this tension manifest itself in a difference in coverage between the two newspapers? And if not, why?

This section presented the background of each newspaper, summarized the interviews by factor and newspaper, and then synthesized the findings. The intra- and extra-organizational factors manifested themselves most clearly in the following traditions or themes: Democracy and a Free Press, Advocacy versus Objectivity, Market-Oriented Journalism, and Cultural Resonance. The next section examines what kind of influence intra- and extra-organizational factors

had on framing decisions between the two newspapers, discussing the rationale for similarities and differences.

Explaining Newspaper Framing Decisions through Journalists' Perceptions of their Newspapers' Context:

Both papers were found to use generally similar framing devices — editorial bias, type of stories, use of sources and emphasis on certain themes — in how they presented the story of the controversial Narmada Dam, which pitted the national and state governments against local environmental advocacy and grassroots organizations. The primary framing differences were detected in the area of prominence, measured by the use of stars in headlines and pro- or anti-dam headlines.

Interviews conducted with journalists helped to gain an understanding into their perceptions of the contexts they worked in — cultural, economic and political (internal and external to their particular paper) — to be able to generate hypotheses that would explain expected differences in framing. Both papers were similar in context except for differences found between the intra-organizational political factors and the extra-organizational cultural factors. These differences in internal politics and readership ideology notwithstanding, it appears journalistic conventions shared by these two leading newspapers were stronger and led to similar framing devices, with the exception of prominence.

The following section uses interviews with journalists of the two papers to understand forces in their contexts that contributed to the use of framing devices, in order to help explain differences and similarities in content on the Narmada Dam.

Editorial Bias

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: When bias was shown in articles on the project, it was always against the building of the dam; therefore, differences between the two papers did not become apparent in framing decisions. In fact, little bias was framed in articles on the dam in either paper. The tradition of objectivity in journalism appears to have been stronger, in this case, than reporters' own personal feelings of being environmental advocates or the papers' managerial views on the subject. Another reason for the lack of bias may have been that reporters feared the ridicule they received for writing anti-dam views. In fact, some journalists resigned over this issue.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Enterprise and analysis reporting of the environment was not financially supported in either paper and there was comparatively less space allocated for it. Everyone had to fight for space in both papers. Therefore, a reporter's reputation was important in determining how much space he was allocated: the stronger the reputation, the more likely space would be provided for their editorials and features.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Management, fearing a drop in circulation, was likely to discourage any anti-dam bias in Pro-government, so only a minimal amount trickled through to the news. Why Anti-government avoided an anti-dam bias remains unclear.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Editors, who often wrote editorials, tended to think the audience was not able to comprehend the complexities of the issue and may have discouraged analysis writing which might carry a bias. This was the case in both papers. Biased writing may have been limited because it was ghettoized to the theme page, which only came out once a week. Since the audience was said to perceive national papers as more objective than the local press, bias may have been discouraged. Certainly, in the case of Pro-

government, concern over alienating the pro-dam lobby in Gujarat affected content in the paper.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Pressure from advertisers and concern over loss of circulation may have kept bias low in both papers.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Subtle government censorship made it difficult to write analysis, and with use of off-the-record sources already bringing up the question of credibility, any lack of objectivity was viewed as too much of a bias, so less actual opinion was presented in either paper.

Prominence: Stars in Headlines

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Editors, not reporters, tend to write headlines; therefore, Pro-government's pro-dam bias and Anti-government's anti-dam bias were reflected in the framing of the headlines. In this way, the difference between the two newspapers showed itself in framing decisions in the use of stars' names in headlines. On the other hand, within each paper, the majority of stars were anti-dam personalities. This appears to have been because most journalists at both papers were environmental advocates. This also may have had to do with routines of the beat, since the NBA regularly gave the press lots of information on the anti-dam movement. Likewise, highly politicized stories often make the paper in India. In order to pass the criteria for news set up by the gatekeepers in the press, the NBA created many highly politicized events that made their way to print because they were considered to be newsworthy. Finally, the majority of stories in both papers did not mention stars' names at all. This may have been because of the tradition of objectivity in journalism.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: The decision to use stars in headlines was not affected by internal economic factors because headline writing did not require a financial commitment from either paper.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Management views affected what was written; therefore, the pro-government paper made the decision to place less emphasis on dam-related personalities in headlines, while Anti-government placed more emphasis on anti-dam stars. Later (by 1993) at Pro-government, stories focusing on NBA leader Medha Patkar were literally banned from the paper by the paper's executive editor because the NBA's anti-dam stance was at odds with that of Pro-government's.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Since editors did not think that readers were sophisticated enough to handle complex environmental issues, politicizing the issue by using famous personalities was a norm in both papers. Both papers' audiences were seen to be more interested in the battles between the stars of the movement than the actual issue. Anti-government's audience (a number of whom were anti-dam NGOs) would be interested in the actions of anti-dam players, therefore it was natural that anti-dam stars would frame stories on the Narmada Dam in that paper more than in Pro-government. Why Pro-government emphasized more anti-dam within its paper than pro-dam personalities cannot be explained by this factor, since a majority of the paper's audience in Gujarat were said to be pro-dam.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: It may have been because of both papers' "deep pockets" that they were able to overcome the pressure from advertisers to publish only pro-dam stories focusing on pro-dam personalities. It is interesting to note that because libel is not much of an issue within the Indian press, both newspapers were able to use names of dam personalities prominently in headlines without fear of reprisals.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: A basic reason why more anti-dam personalities could be used in headlines within both papers was that government and industry sources were simply more closed to reporters than anti-dam NGOs. Government and industry sources mostly talked off-the-record. Pro-dam sources did not seek the limelight as did anti-dam activists. Anti-dam activists felt they kept the movement alive by publicizing the actions of their leaders; thus they were framed more prominently in the supportive Anti-government and a bit less so in Pro-government.

Prominence: Pro- and Anti-dam Headlines

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Since editors tended to write headlines, Pro-government's pro-dam bias and Anti-government's anti-dam bias were reflected in the headlines. Therefore, the difference between the two newspapers was revealed in their decisions on the use of pro-dam versus anti-dam headlines.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: The decision to use anti-dam versus pro-dam/conditional headlines was not affected by internal economic factors because headline writing did not require a financial commitment from either paper.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Management policies affected content. At Pro-government, management was more pro-dam so more pro-dam/conditional headlines were published. In contrast, Anti-government management was more anti-dam; thus more anti-dam headlines were used. In examining Pro-government's framing of headlines, more conditional headlines were used than pure pro-dam ones. This can be explained by the fact that reporters interviewed at Pro-government were against the dam yet felt a compromise was necessary. On the other hand, editors were generally pro-

dam. As a compromise, the majority of headlines were pro-dam/conditional. At Anti-government, both editors and reporters were more anti-dam than pro-dam (and conditional-oriented), thus headlines were more likely to be framed as anti-dam than in Pro-government.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Pro-government's audience was said to be more pro-dam than Anti-government's; therefore, Pro-government's headlines were more geared toward its pro-dam readers. Editors may have felt that readers focus more on headlines than the content of "complex environmental issues," so made an effort to use more pro-dam and conditional headlines than anti-dam headlines. This was the reverse for Anti-government, which played to its audience (many of whom were anti-dam NGOs).

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Newspapers often sell papers based on their headlines. Advertiser pressure on Pro-government may have been effective in convincing editors that circulation would drop if anti-dam headlines were used.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Neither paper needed the cooperation of players involved in the controversy (sources such as government, industry, World Bank, or the NBA) in order to make framing decisions on headlines, thus this factor was not a major consideration in this case.

Types of Content

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: All the journalists across both papers complained that there was not enough analysis in the news, so the results of the content analysis data — that both papers framed their stories as episodic news more often than thematic news — were not surprising. Since the principle of objectivity was held in such high esteem, journalists were less likely to write editorials and straight features, which were often criticized for having an anti-

dam bias. Hard news was simply seen as more objective. Western gatekeeping news values reflect that current events (often in the form of disaster narratives or crisis reporting in environmental news) tend to dominate over analysis. This seems to be the case in India as well. Deadlines mandate that hard news is published before features, which are more in-depth and take more time to write. Since reporters at either paper were not assigned to the environment beat exclusively, they did not have the time to engage in enterprise reporting.

Other aspects played a factor in this finding. For instance, almost none of the environmental journalists interviewed had any science training, which meant that writing analysis of the technical aspects of the Narmada dam was less likely. Also, information on the dam was difficult to attain for reporters at either paper. Reporters suggested that the Forum of Environmental Journalists in India (FEJI) was needed to fill in the information gap.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Because there was less commitment to environmental news than other beats at either paper, less space was allocated to environment stories in the papers. Later, around 1994, Anti-government even dropped its environment and development theme page from the paper. Hard news stories tend to be shorter than features and editorials, thus more hard news and hard/news features were published in each paper. Enterprise reporting was not encouraged and there was little funding of travel unless a hard news event was occurring in that area. This made it more difficult for any of the reporters to write analytical stories.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Management views on publishing more politicized news may have affected framing decisions on a day-to-day level at both papers. Hard news tends to be heavily politicized, which was a style favored by management at both papers.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: The journalists interviewed said that editors did not think the audience could handle analysis of environmental issues; thus news was more likely to be framed as hard news than thematic at both papers.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Because of pressure from advertisers to publish only pro-dam stories, both papers published more hard news, which was considered more objective on the issue.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: It was likely less analysis reporting was conducted at both papers because of the scarcity of information on the topic from key sources in government: the World Bank and industry. It was difficult to obtain reports on the Narmada dam, which needed to be scrutinized before analysis could occur. Off-the-record comments from sources were also a problem since they lacked credibility. This factor was even greater in analysis stories where reporters could be accused of a lack of objectivity. Therefore, it was simply safer to stick to hard news.

Kinds of Sources

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Differences between papers were not apparent in framing decisions on the use of sources. Although all journalists described themselves as environmental advocates there was a relative balance of pro- and anti-dam sources used. Environmental advocacy may have affected reporters' use of anti-dam NGOs over pro-dam NGOs however. Likewise, advocacy may have led to less of an emphasis on industry sources (which were pro-dam) over villagers (anti-dam). On the other hand, this may have been a function of routines in journalism in India. Since the NBA provided a good deal of information to the press at both papers it was natural that the organization's voice played a major role in coverage. Similarly, it is a common practice in

news reporting to include the voice of the "man on the street," thus villagers were included a great deal as well. Also, both these sources staged "newsworthy" events to gain press attention. As for the heavy use of government sources, reporters relied heavily upon official channels in government, which is a typical routine in newsgathering.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: When broken down into specific categories, the source used most often by both papers was the Indian government (a pro-dam source), followed closely by anti-dam NGOs. This may have been a matter of convenience. With limited funding for travel, reporters spoke to those closest to urban centers (government officials and those organized to combat the political process in government). They were, however, able to include many villagers (anti-dam) at the site as well, because they were given the funds to cover hard news about protests and the negative human and environmental impacts demonstrations in the local villages railed against.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Neither the journalists' own opinions (anti-dam but interested in a compromise in India's development) nor management policy on the controversy seemed to affect source use.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Because anti-dam NGOs and government officials are a large part of the audience for the environmental theme page, it was natural to use them often as sources. Also, because audiences were said to view national papers as more objective than the local press (which was avidly pro-dam), national papers may have been more balanced in their use of sources.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: These factors did not apply because no reporter interviewed commented on them.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Despite the fact that government sources were often said to be closed to talking on-the-record to the press they were the source most used.

Variety of Sources

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: There was a balance in the variety of anti-dam, pro-dam and neutral sources used between the two papers, showing a similarity in framing decisions. This may have been due to the objectivity principle so instilled in all the reporters. While there was a balance of sources, certain kinds of sources were clearly used more often than others. For instance, both papers relied minimally on educational experts (neutral sources), even though the issue was highly controversial and technically complex. Perhaps because of the lack of scientific training of journalists, reporters were uncomfortable dealing with scientists and engineers who often spoke in jargon difficult to understand and interpret to readers. Also, because FEJI was not in full operation, reporters' networking abilities with educational experts may have been limited.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Fewer industry sources (pro-dam) and pro-dam NGOs — both local sources — were used by either paper because of limited financial commitment to travel to the area.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Reporters' opinions on finding a compromise to the controversy may have influenced them to use a balance of sources. Also, because journalists at both papers believe the national press plays an important role in national development, it is natural that they would try to use decision-makers in government as a major source.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Many sources were villagers (anti-dam). This may have been because both of the national papers considered villagers as

part of their audience in stories that effected rural-dwellers. The majority of sources were Indian government and anti-dam NGOs because these are both papers' biggest audience.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: No reporters discussed these factors in relation to source use.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: Few foreign-government donor sources (neutral) were used by either paper, possibly because this source was typically logged by research coders as the World Bank, which was very closed to the press. The courts (neutral) may not have been included much because the controversy had not yet made its way into the court system in India during the time under study.

Themes

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Differences between the two newspapers did not show themselves in framing decisions on themes. Because all the reporters were self-described environmental advocates, a majority of stories at both papers focused on environmental sustainability (ES) themes (especially "Protest" and "Human and Environmental Impacts") over economic development themes (ED). Also, the press relied heavily on information the NBA supplied to them, and the NBA's focus was clearly on sustainability issues. The NBA held a lot of protests, so that was news to be covered. Also, "Protest" stories could be more easily filed under deadline than other kinds of stories. Both "Protest" and "Impact" stories were considered more exciting news ("if it bleeds it leads"). Interestingly, despite a press ethic toward compromise of the controversy, articles on "Compromise over the Height" of the dam (ED theme) were limited.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: "Protest" stories fit the hard news criteria and with less space allocated for environmental stories, "Protest" stories could be fairly short and to the point. It was also easier for reporters to justify funding for travel to cover large demonstrations, rather than more complex aspects of the controversy, such as the themes of "Mistrust Between Players" or "Finance" considerations. These require more enterprise reporting, which was not encouraged. However, when ED themes were used, "Finance" was the one most included. This may have been due to the pressure on reporters from management to pay more attention to economic stories.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: "Protest" stories are typically highly politicized and the papers' management preferred to publish political stories over environmental ones. Journalists' views overrode management's pro-dam/economic development bias in Pro-government, thus both papers focused on ES themes. The fact that journalists felt the press played a key role in national development may have been a factor. "Human and Environmental Impact" is a theme often discussed in relation to development in India and if stories were published in the environment/development theme page, then this ES theme would have been used often. Also, "Protest" has always been a big part of India's democracy movement, so protest themes would have been resonant with the press.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: "Protest" and "Human and Environmental Impacts" may have been considered themes "simple" enough for the audience to grasp (according the editors), so there was more of a focus on these themes than others among both papers. A theme like "Top-down Development" (an ES theme) may have been considered too complex for the audience. Village readers would want to hear about "Protests" and "Human and Environmental Impacts" because these themes would effect them the most. The

anti-dam NGO community would want news of their movement's activities, which also involved these themes.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Advertiser pressure on newspapers did not work to get more pro-dam ED themes into press. This may have been because with "deep pockets" both papers could resist them. Management may not have been as concerned with content since the price war showed that circulation increased when prices were lowered, not necessarily when content of the papers was framed a certain way.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: The fact is, it was simply easier for reporters to gather information on "Protests" and "Impacts" because of the plethora of information supplied by the NBA. The NBA was more apt to provide reports on impacts than financial records, which were hard to attain from the World Bank and industry. "Protest" stories could be substantiated through direct observation — an important tool in reporting. Therefore, articles on protests may have been seen as more credible and objective. "Review of the Project" (an ES theme) was another major theme (the third theme most covered) touted by the NBA and could not be ignored by the press. The so-called "targeted campaign" of censorship by the government may have backfired against them, because the less information the press had on the dam, the more likely they were to focus on the negative aspects of the project, regardless of the paper's political ideology.

Summary:

This chapter has summarized both the findings of the content and contextual analyses, relating the results to the study's research questions about the portrayal of the Narmada Dam controversy in two of India's leading English-language dailies. The premise was that coverage in a newspaper which

supported the dam presupposed a pro-economic development bias while dissent implied a pro-environmental sustainability bias. Papers with opposing political ideologies were analyzed to detect framing devices that portrayed these biases between them. Likewise oversimplification and sensationalization of the issue were detected in this way. Contextual analysis was then used to explain the differences and similarities found.

The first section applied the research questions to compare the text on Narmada news between both newspapers. Despite the opposing political ideologies of the papers, the study found that articles in both used similar framing devices in terms of editorial tone, type of stories, use of sources and emphasis of themes. Specifically, regarding tone and themes, the text in both papers had an environmental sustainability bias. Source use was relatively balanced. In terms of story type, both papers used more episodic frames than thematic, exhibiting an over-simplification of the issue. The emphasis on certain themes over others also represented a simplification of the debate. The use of famous personalities (or "stars") in headlines sensationalized the issue.

Differences in framing between the papers were detected in the case of prominence, reflected in each one's use of stars in headlines. The pro-government paper used more pro-dam stars and the anti-dam paper used more anti-dam stars. These differences were also found in terms of pro- or anti-dam headlines, where Pro-government was more pro-dam and Anti-government was more anti-dam. Therefore, only regarding the most blatant aspect of coverage - headlines - and only to a limited degree, could it be said that the pro-government newspaper supported economic growth while the anti-government paper took an a pro-environmental stance. Otherwise, with the exception of headlines and sources, both papers supported the environmental sustainability

ethic over that of economic development. Both also presented the issue in an over-simplified and sensationalized manner.

The results of the content analysis were followed by the analysis of interviews with environmental journalists from the pro- and anti-government newspapers, relating those findings to the study's research questions. Background on each newspaper was provided, followed by a summary and comparison of influential political, economic and cultural factors at play within and between both. It was found that press performance between papers was primarily similar, except in the case of political ideology (an intra-organizational factor) and perceived target audience (an extra-organizational cultural factor).

The final section examined which contextual forces most contributed to the framing of the text on the Narmada within the pro-government and anti-government papers. Differences in internal political and external cultural factors help to explain the variations in prominence between the two papers. Furthermore, similarities in contextual forces between the two papers were also examined to identify which affected the portrayal of the controversy. According to the qualitative data, the following traditions or over-riding themes constraining coverage were repeatedly mentioned: objectivity and advocacy journalism, the democratic value of a free press, and the policy of economic liberalization, which created a market-based approach to journalism. Likewise cultural resonance played an important role. These factors affected bias in coverage, as well as over-simplifying and sensationalizing of the issue. The following final chapter discusses these findings and their implications.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Implications of Study:

The overall aim of this study was to examine the relationship between those factors, forces and actors that constrained press performance in English-language newspapers in India and the portrayal of environmental news in India's two opposing English-language newspapers. In examining framing of coverage of the Narmada Dam in light of the larger sustainable development debate at hand, it was found the papers had more in common than expected. The text on the Narmada Dam controversy was framed similarly, despite the opposing political ideologies of the papers. Likewise, variations in press performance between the journalists from each paper were minimal. The primary pattern of difference in framing between the two papers was reflected in terms of prominence via the headlines, which is the most blatant presentation of the issue. Regarding influences upon framing, variations between papers were found primarily in terms of their political stance (an intra-organizational political factor) and the perception of possible subtle differences in audience for each (an extra-organizational cultural factor).

Subsequent findings of this study lend serious doubt to the justification for a hypothesis that English-language papers in India with opposing political ideologies produce substantive differences in framing of environmental news. That being said, examination of the similarities in text, as well as the context of newspaper production, provide an opportunity to discuss the factors influencing framing of the Narmada Dam in light of the following over-riding themes or traditions in Indian environmental journalism: A) Democracy and

India's Free Press; B) Objectivity versus Advocacy; C) Market Journalism; D) Cultural Resonance.

A. Democracy and India's Free Press

Extra-organizational political factors, such as problems related to censorship and access to sources, played a role in the framing of Narmada news. Further, intra-organizational cultural factors of routines and professional norms of the beat affected coverage. According to journalists, these levels of influence lead to sensationalization and over-simplification of the Narmada story, as has been the case in environmental news in the U.S.¹³⁶ Interestingly, they also helped reporters balance the claims made by competing sources.

These findings are illustrated in the problem of government control of information gathering in environmental journalism in India. For example, formerly, censorship of the press had led to numerous clamp-downs on media critical of governmental policy. Despite India's declared democratic values to support freedom of speech, during Indira Gandhi's State of Emergency, publishers at Anti-government were arrested for not parroting the party line like most of the rest of the press. In order to gain editorial control, the administration tried to buy out the paper and restructure the board of directors.¹³⁷ The owner managed to stall the process for a time, however, finally, the paper was forcibly closed. Journalists continued to speak out against the government and eventually Gandhi's policies were overturned in a national election. Anti-government reopened its doors. At the time of this study, India's

¹³⁶ Sharon M. Friedman, "The Journalist's World," in *Scientists and Journalists: Reporting Science as News*, eds. Sharon M. Friedman, Sharon Dunwoody and Carol L. Rogers (NY: The Free Press, 1986), 17-41.

¹³⁷ Kuldip Nayar, *The Judgment: Inside Story of the Emergency in India* (New Delhi, India: Vikas Publishing House, 1977).

privately-owned newspaper industry had been able to overcome these kinds of overt government attempts to censor media. Still, environmental reporters covering the Narmada were often frustrated in their efforts to write on the environment and development debate, due to laws such as the Official Secrets Act (still in place in the U.K. and many of its former colonies like India), which seriously hindered press efforts to uncover facts on the case. The result, according to Indian journalists, was a sensationalization of news, such as the over-use of stars to publicize the controversy. In environmental news in the U.S., spectacular and unusual events, like the Three-Mile Island accident, dominate environmental journalism.¹³⁸ In India, reporting on the dramatic activities of actors involved in environmental controversy is an extension of this kind of coverage. It focuses on the human interest aspect of a story. According to interviewees, this was the case because information on actors in the controversy was more available. Stories on anti-dam leader hunger strikes were easier to produce than those on difficult to attain cost/benefit analyses the government compiled and then buried.

Problems in accessing information in India are great. While Article 19 of India's constitution is said to guarantee freedom of speech, the secretiveness of officials made it difficult for reporters to collect information on highly controversial issues involving the government, such as the Narmada dam. Reporters in the U.S. face similar difficulties, according to Friedman, who discusses the Reagan administration's suppression of information about cancer-causing chemicals.¹³⁹ Reporters in India complained they were unable to ensure the availability of relevant information, since India's public servants stonewalled the press in order to protect themselves from public scrutiny. According to

¹³⁸ Greenberg, et al., "Risk, Drama and Geography in Coverage of Environmental Risk by Network TV," 267-276.

¹³⁹ Friedman, "The Journalist's World," 17-41.

Indian journalists, without press laws, like the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, there was a greater likelihood of the sensationalization of news. Thus, newspapers relied on the use of stars in headlines.

Access to sources and the routinization of news affected framing as well. For instance, government officials only liked to talk "off-the-record," and industry, scientists and the World Bank gained a reputation for avoiding the press at all cost. In fact, a number of reporters felt the World Bank had a calculated policy to manipulate the media in favor of the dam in order to improve the image of the Bank, saying it was extremely difficult to get information from the lending institution. As one reporter said, "We could only get glossy brochures with a pro-dam perspective. They make you dance for any real information." Consequently, reporters were forced to rely heavily upon claimsmakers typically marginalized by the political system — sources opposed to the government-funded project. Just as Berkowitz found in studying the use of news sources in the U.S., interest groups often manipulate routine channels in India, such as press releases, hoping to build the press' agenda.¹⁴⁰ For example, it was typical that when reports on the Narmada were made available, it was only through the efforts of the anti-dam NGO, the NBA, which collected the documents via leaks in the ministries. In total, anti-dam sources more vigorously availed themselves to the media than foreign-government, Indian government, or government-supported industry officials, providing a plethora of press releases on the topic to the over-burdened journalists. Thus, anti-dam sources may have been included more in stories than they might have had the pro-dam sources been more forthcoming. This was revealed in the study which

¹⁴⁰ Berkowitz, "TV News Sources and News Channels: A Study in Agenda-Building," 508-513.

found that a balance of pro- and anti-dam sources were used in framing the Narmada story.

The lack of government cooperation to provide information on development projects also led to the oversimplification of coverage. This manifested in the over-reliance on the use of episodic news over more in-depth feature articles on the dam. Part of the problem of oversimplification of the issue may have been that reporters had to deal with the enormity of India's government bureaucracy within which journalists are forced to negotiate under deadline. The intense workload for reporters covering the environment, as well as other beats, limited what reporters could do, juggling their coverage of a variety of ministries and other sources involved in environmental stories.

Some reporters criticized their cohorts, saying information was possible to access within the country's democratically-oriented society but journalists were not always willing to work hard enough to get it. They said that it was a norm of the profession in India that the press felt they should be handed information. "They had to be fed it on a platter," one commented. Interestingly, this problem is said to be similar in the U.S. where journalists charge the Washington press corps with relying too heavily upon government handouts on environmental issues in the form of press releases, official speeches, news conferences or staged events.¹⁴¹ Consequently, government policies were often announced in the press but not evaluated.

Environmental journalists in India said they would have benefited from the aid of an organized information network within the profession at the time they were covering the Narmada story. Support for investigative reporting from the primary environmental journalism organization in India, the Forum of Environmental Journalists of India (FEJI), may have helped Narmada reporters

¹⁴¹ Friedman, "The Journalist's World," 17-41.

to overcome problems in information gathering, but, according to interviewees, the group lacked the initiative to provide that support. This was the case, they said, because leadership was weak and in severe need of restructuring. Those FEJI members interviewed also said that the group needed to develop the use of computer networking, which at the time of this study was limited in India. As reporters said, the Internet would prove an important direction for information gathering for environmental journalists in developing countries in the future. This was because access to accurate scientific data on environmental issues would broaden coverage of the environment/development debate considerably, creating less of a reliance on uncooperative government bureaucrats to provide information on controversial issues.

In summary: the extra-organizational political factor of government control through censorship of documents led to a sensationalization of the issue through the use of stars in headlines; the extra-organizational political factor of access to sources and the intra-organizational cultural factor of routines helped to create a balance of the use of claimsmakers; and the extra-organizational political factor of censorship of documents and the intra-organizational cultural factor of a professional norm, wherein reporters lacked support from an environmental journalism association, led to an oversimplification of the issue through a reliance on hard news.

B. Objectivity versus Advocacy

In examining Narmada news in each paper, a critical issue is advocacy versus objectivity. This involves intra-organizational cultural factors of professional norms, routines and gatekeeper bias, as well as the intra-organizational political factor of the historical development of the press. These factors led to bias in certain aspects of coverage but a balance as well.

Environmental journalism in the West is held up to a professional norm of objectivity in which credibility of reports must be rigorously maintained, letting the audience "come to its own conclusions."¹⁴² The Western perception of news coverage in developing countries has been that objectivity is lacking. However, this study found that in India this was not necessarily the case. Consequently, that may have been why expected differences in political ideology between the pro- and anti-government newspapers turned out to be minimal — because the norms of the profession regarding the objectivity/advocacy debate in writing were sometimes stronger than the publication owners' particular political stance on an issue.

Evidence suggests that the professional norm of objectivity was neither entirely rejected nor embraced in India but rather fell into a gray area, as is sometimes the case in the U.S. For instance, Rogers discusses what makes a good science story saying that the journalistic tradition in the U.S. is to seek after truth and fairness by using a two-handed approach: balancing information "'on the one hand' with information 'on the other hand'."¹⁴³ Yet as Gans found, achieving such a standard of total objectivity is rare.¹⁴⁴ While environmental journalists in the U.S. find the problem to be a daily struggle, they say their goal is to be fair and honest, letting the public decide 'truth' for themselves, according to the Jim Detjen, president of the International Federation of Environmental Journalists (IFEJ).¹⁴⁵ Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman state that

¹⁴² Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, 189.

¹⁴³ "What Makes a Good Science Story?" Panel discussion with Ira Flatow, Dennis S. O'Leary, Joann E. Rodgers, Stephen H. Schneider, and Robert J. Trotter in *Scientists and Journalists: Reporting Science as News*, eds. Sharon M. Friedman, Sharon Dunwoody and Carol L. Rogers (NY: The Free Press, 1986), 107.

¹⁴⁴ Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*.

¹⁴⁵ Jim Detjen, personal communication, 5 March 1997.

journalists often endorsed a participant role as well as a neutral role toward news production.¹⁴⁶ Based on this research, Weaver and Wilhoit suggest that U.S. journalists do not actually fit into these dichotomous belief systems, but rather, tend to follow one or more of three approaches toward press functions: adversarial, interpretive, and disseminator.¹⁴⁷ They assert that the dominant professional role is interpretive, followed closely by the disseminator orientation. In their study, a third of the time these roles were followed in tandem. The adversarial role was rated to be the least important. While Weaver and Wilhoit's categories were not explored in the Indian context, Detjen notes that reporters from other countries may not follow the objectivity/advocacy tradition.¹⁴⁸ Reporters in India said they applied the rules of objectivity while also taking certain sides in stories. Thus, just as the Weaver/Wilhoit study found of American journalism, Indian journalists are also extremely pluralistic in their conceptions of media roles.

The culture of objectivity and advocacy in environmental journalism in India likely found precedence in India's socio-historical context. For instance, although the principle of objectivity was inherited from a press system borne under British rule, Indian newspapers played a seminal role in the country's nationalist struggle and were not afraid to take a stand in their reports, voicing criticism of colonial domination. Likewise, in a shift from the days when development journalism was expected to fully support government policies, journalists today regularly question the validity of government-funded

¹⁴⁶ John Johnstone, Edward Slawski, and William Bowman, *The News People*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

¹⁴⁷ David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and their Work* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

¹⁴⁸ Jim Detjen, personal communication, 15 August 1997.

industrial development projects, expressing their dissent either openly or in more subtle ways in the news.

Participants in the study viewed environmental advocacy journalism as a norm of the profession. As one defined it, "it is being sensitive to an environmental issue, lobbying for it and trying to spread the word." Of those included in the study, all characterized themselves as advocates for the environment, as well as "development writers," and were forthright in their criticism of the Narmada Dam project organizers, although some expressed the view that both sides might consider a compromise at some point. In the case of news on the Narmada, reporters gave great support to covering the issue, and thus overcoming the limits imposed by gatekeepers in the culture of the newsroom. They often had to fight for space to present the issue, and despite enormous criticism that compromised the credibility of their reputations, fight they did. Some journalists even spent their own salaries in order to cover the issue on location, instead of just relying on the plethora of press releases received in the newsroom regarding the project. As one reporter pointed out, the only way to be an environmental advocate in India was to push for "sustained reporting with follow-up action," since otherwise coverage of environmental problems tended to be only cyclic.

Journalists said they expressed their views by demonstrating a certain tone in their writing. Thus the historically-rooted advocacy norm elicited a certain bias in the text. For example, in editorials, which are expected to be opinionated, editors wrote about their dissent to the project. This was also the case on any feature-style stories (literally in features and hard/news features, as operationalized in the study). Loaded words, phrases or metaphors portrayed a judgmental attitude toward governmental supporters of the dam. Editorials registered their mistrust of project promoters, such as the World Bank,

questioning the overall legitimacy of government or foreign-imposed development. Foremost was the viewpoint that modernization would decimate India's cultural integrity by destroying tribal village practices. Those practices were said to show a commitment to land preservation, without which India would not survive. In total, the tone of Narmada editorials was unequivocally against the Narmada development in India or this type of top-down macro-development projects within the developing world in general, because the costs outweighed the benefits, showing that the principle of sustainability, as operationalized within this research, prevailed in this form of the text on Narmada coverage.

It should be noted that, despite the tenacity of anti-dam sentiment in editorials, data analysis showed that editors did not bias coverage by increasing the number of editorials: approximately 80 percent of the articles in this study were coded as hard news. The fact that the hard news type of story was used most often may be attributable to the trend to overcome advocacy in journalism, since hard news is seen to be more objective, although it has also been viewed as a way to oversimplify coverage of an issue.

Interestingly, some journalists felt the objectivity argument was later used to manipulate coverage to be more in favor of the project when in fact it was gatekeeper bias that played a stronger role. For instance, at Pro-government, the paper's owners received a lot of pressure from pro-dam business interests to avoid coverage of the dam altogether, or to present it in a positive light. Thus, despite the environmental advocacy of reporters at the paper, this pressure may have managed to filter into the most overt aspect of coverage — headlines, which were written by editors closely linked to management. The study found that the pro-government paper used more pro-dam headlines than the anti-government paper.

One journalist interviewed said that later on in the controversy, Pro-government's editors buckled even more under that pressure, forcing a standard of objectivity with which she and many others did not agree. Her explanation of the phenomenon helps to express the views of Indian environmental journalists on the subject of advocacy and objectivity nicely. She felt it was not necessary to present all versions of a story in every case if, in the reporter's opinion, the facts were accurate. "If you see a lot of people being beaten up, you are going to report that, she said. "You are not going to sit back and say, 'let us be objective and present both sides of the story'." In kind, journalists covering the Narmada debate felt they were often unfairly criticized by their superiors, particularly one executive editor who was in favor of the project. Even the use of certain words in the language of stories were under scrutiny. For instance, if a story characterized a beating by government police against anti-dam protesters as "brutal," the author might be accused of expressing too much bias in favor of the anti-dam movement.

Overcoming pressure to follow publisher position on the environment and development debate may have only been possible by the most veteran reporters, as Breed found with U.S. journalists, since experienced newspeople are experts at using their knowledge to subvert policy.¹⁴⁹ As is the norm, old-time staffers were the ones typically writing editorials. Thus, the study showed that despite enormous pressure to conform to the enforced objectivity standards within the journalistic profession in India, it was found that, in general, an environmental ethic was supported in the framing of themes in coverage on the dam. This was reflected in the dominance of environmental sustainability themes used in stories in both newspapers under study. These themes were

¹⁴⁹ Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," 326-335.

overwhelmingly focused on the anti-dam aspects of the story, such as the negative impacts of the project and anti-dam protests.

It is a testament to Indian reporters' commitment to advocacy journalism that a general environmental ethic was portrayed in coverage, given the constraints imposed by an industry-advertisement dependent media. However, the devotion to the so-called "pure" ethic of objectivity was also cherished by Indian reporters and did reveal itself somewhat in the text as well. In terms of the use of sources, reporters felt there was a bias in favor of including anti-dam, urban-based sources in the news on the Narmada. The data confirmed, however, that rural-based anti-dam village sources were included in stories a sizable percentage of the time, overturning the urban-bias myth. Likewise, pro-dam government sources were utilized to a large extent as well. This finding is interesting given that reporters complained that government officials would only talk off-the-record. Off-the-record sources create problems in credibility, for when source names are left out of the news, the nagging question of the believability of an article's assertions arise. Consequently, reporters interviewed were skeptical of certain reports, charging journalists in the profession with occasionally "making 'the facts' up" in order to get their own viewpoints across on an issue. Of course bias in this way would be nearly impossible to detect.

Routines may have also been a factor in creating a balance of source use. As Coulson and Lacy found in their study of economic news of motor vehicle emission standards in U.S. newspapers, specialty reporters tended to provide more balanced coverage than general assignment reporters.¹⁵⁰ Thus, those with more experience covering environmental and scientific issues tended to be more balanced in their reporting. In the case of India, those interviewed considered

¹⁵⁰ David C. Coulson and Stephen Lacy, "Newspaper Economic Coverage of Motor Vehicle Standards" (Paper presented at the AEJMC, Chicago, August 1997).

themselves environmental reporters, although they also carried the burden of covering other beats, especially when the legislature was in session in government. Beat reporting routinizes news gathering and helps journalists to cultivate a greater variety of sources than those covering an issue for the first time. This may have contributed to a balancing of claimsmakers in Narmada news.

The characterization of environmental reporters in India becomes important when trying to establish how debates over the environment are portrayed. Indian reporters from the English-language press felt the media play an important role in national development, saying their voice is critical in setting governmental policy. To a lesser degree, they felt that they did help to educate the public, although the local-language press was seen to have an overall greater impact on India's general public. Reporters said the national press was viewed as more objective than local newspapers because it was less open to the forces of corruption, an issue considered of great importance in India.

In short, the study found that the intra-organizational cultural factor of professional norms toward objectivity, versus advocacy, led to an environmental bias in terms of tone of coverage and themes. The intra-organizational political factor of the historical development of the press also likely affected how tone and themes were framed as well. The intra-organizational cultural factor of gatekeeper bias constrained the framing of headlines in papers while objectivity norms and routines regarding beat specialization helped to balance use of claimsmakers.

C. Market Journalism

The coverage of environmental news in India was driven by market forces, such as the pressure to maintain circulation and advertising, as well as internal policies. These fall under the rubric of both intra- and extra-organizational economic factors, both of which tended to affect how the sustainability/development debate was framed.

According to interviews with journalists, market-oriented journalism led to a pattern of sensationalization of Narmada Dam coverage. In other words, the press felt they had to encourage circulation of the paper by publicizing the actions of the key players involved. Consequently the issue became sensationalized via the use of famous people involved in the controversy. For instance, the analysis of the text on the use of stars in headlines as a framing device, showed that, to a limited degree, the need to sensationalize the issue affected whether prominent players were featured in Narmada news. It was found that anti-government paper articles were somewhat more likely than the pro-government ones to focus on anti-dam personalities. However, within each paper there was more of a focus on anti-dam rather than pro-dam stars. This shows that it was less important whether a difference in political ideology between the two papers existed than that the issue in both be framed in terms of the actions of the more popular stars, since journalists felt that could affect sales of papers. This finding — that the perception of the buying audience is an important explanatory factor in the framing of environmental news — is similar to Gandy's findings in the U.S., wherein perception of the racial makeup of the audience led to framing decisions on coverage of minorities in the news.¹⁵¹ As Gandy found, news was targeted toward a certain audience as a manifestation of the papers' economic interests to maintain circulation.

¹⁵¹ Gandy, "From Bad to Worse: The Media's Framing of Race and Risk," 39-48.

The anti-dam view was seen as more popular overall for the urban-based part of both papers' audience. According to interviews, this was especially so after 1992 when both papers introduced their environment and development theme page in which most Narmada stories became "ghettoized." The anti-dam NGO community were known to follow that page closely. Early on in the controversy, anti-dam champions Medha Patkar and Himanshu Thakkar were idolized in much the same way that India has been known to idolize its beloved human rights activists, such as Mahatma Gandhi. Within the urban centers, which are the primary target audiences for both papers under study, journalists felt their highly educated audience was skeptical of the motives of the primary promoter of the dam, the Gujarat state prime minister Chimanbhai Patel. This may have led to less of an emphasis in headlines on his actions than on those of the anti-dam NBA leaders, showing that sensationalization was one way in which Narmada news was framed in favor of those who pushed for an environmental sustainability ethic.

Interestingly, while India's environmental problems escalated, the mainstream media's support for environmental protectionism lessened considerably in the mid-1990s, according to the journalists, although this study did not analyze articles from that time period to substantiate the claim. Beginning in July 1991 when India's government embraced economic liberalization of the country, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's administration made changes in policy regarding trade, foreign investment, industry and so on, constituting a direction for the economy highly supportive of privatization of the public sector.¹⁵² The implication was that industry-driven development would be supported for the good of the country. Interviewees

¹⁵² A.N. Agrawal, *Indian Economy: Problems of Development and Planning*, (New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Limited, 1993).

said that political ideology of management within newsrooms shifted; therefore, news coverage of issues underwent a change toward a more business orientation. Ownership of newspapers in India is said to give complete independence to its managing editors who are expected to be non-partisan and promote democratic values of a free press. However, Pro-government's business orientation particularly affected journalists who explained that, by 1994, it became the paper's unofficial policy to exclude any stories focusing on Patkar. The executive editor of the paper, a pro-dam and industry advocate, unilaterally decided that readers were "burnt out" on Medha news and would respond negatively to "one more story on the 'dam queen'."¹⁵³ Pro-government reporters were told that every time a story was published on Patkar, sales in Gujarat would decline. In fact, industry-supported advertising would threaten to drop. There was also concern that the World Bank would suspend its loans for the project (which eventually happened). As the issue evolved, and despite a perception that the urban audience did not necessarily support the dam, the pro-government newspaper began to sour on the anti-dam movement, favoring its pro-industry audience in Gujarat.

These kinds of unilateral editorial policies weakened morale in the newsroom, ultimately leading to the resignation of several prominent journalists at the paper. Likewise, journalists from Anti-government said they felt disappointed with their paper in the 1990s because the country's shift toward economic liberalization affected the paper's agenda as well. Stories targeted at the anti-dam NGO community became low priority and the amount of newshole devoted to Patkar's anti-dam actions was said to have been reduced. In fact, in a surprising move, Anti-government discontinued its environment theme page for an indefinite period of time. Some felt, this move was to better

¹⁵³ Anonymous source, personal communication, 12 November 1995.

woo industry, which provided far more advertising support for the paper than the anti-dam factions.

Although an environmental ethic was supported, both papers showed an overall lack of financial commitment to cover environmental stories in-depth, as is the case in the U.S. According to a 1996 survey on the state of American environmental journalism, Detjen reported that 38 percent of journalists included in the study said the most serious problem they faced was a lack of adequate resources for research and travel.¹⁵⁴ In India, reporters were not specifically assigned to an environment beat, therefore it was difficult for them to explore the issue as deeply as they would have liked. In terms of framing of the sustainability and development debate in the press in India, this was another reason for oversimplification of Narmada news. For instance, the prototypical news peg used to illustrate the Narmada story was overwhelmingly episodic — hard news — in nature, as opposed to thematic. According to the interviews with journalists, this was due to monetary constraints, which restricted the amount of time reporters had to cover the issue, allowing for only a limited news hole for environmental news. Editors were influenced by their papers' lack of financial commitment to cover rural-based environmental news in-depth. Likewise, editors felt readers would only be interested in "those kinds of stories" when a "newsworthy" event occurred. Therefore, coverage focused primarily on current events related to the issue, which were often in the form of hard news as disaster coverage or crisis reporting. But just as Iyengar found in examining how television frames

¹⁵⁴ Survey conducted by the Environmental Journalism Program, Michigan State University (Paper presented at the Society of the Environmental Journalists, St. Louis, MO, October 17-20, 1996).

political issues in the west, when news in India is portrayed as discrete events, readers are left in the dark about who shares responsibility for a problem.¹⁵⁵

According to Friedman and Friedman, crisis reporting has traditionally been the bread and butter of the environmental beat in Asia (as is in the West as well).¹⁵⁶ This study found that in Narmada coverage this was also true. Because of a lack of financial commitment, this led to a bias toward environmental sustainability themes. Themes in the text often focused on the negative, disaster-oriented news of the dam, such as the suicidal drowning of villagers during the Manebeli area protest, since that was considered newsworthy. As journalists said, this may have been because only when a large-scale protests against the project took place were they given the resources to go to the region to cover the story first-hand. Thus information gathering was hindered due to financial restraints.

As Iyengar explains of episodic and thematic frames, the former tends to omit the presentation of the socio-historical context of a controversy, focusing on events or individuals rather than linking players with structural problems in society. As Liebler found to a limited degree in the study of the framing of civil disorder, U.S. media were more likely to rely on episodic, crisis-oriented themes than thematic ones.¹⁵⁷ Thus was the case in the framing of science and technology in the Canadian press, wherein Einsiedel states hard news tended to dominate. For Indian environmental reporting, coverage focused predominantly on the most overt aspects of the controversy as well. Thus, journalists complained Narmada news often lacked information on the

¹⁵⁵ Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?: How Television Frames Political Issues*.

¹⁵⁶ S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, *Reporting on the Environment: A Handbook for Journalists*.

¹⁵⁷ Carol M. Liebler, "Individual, Organizational and Social Structural Influences on Newspaper Framing of Civil Disorder" (Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada, May 1997).

complexities of India's environmental sustainability/economic development debate. They felt certain critical themes were marginalized, such as the continuing dependence of developing countries on western capital (referring to the World Bank), the effects of colonial development policies on current attempts at modernization and examination of technological alternatives to large scale development projects. Reporters suggested that a more holistic presentation of environmental issues would encompass an examination of the causes and solutions to problems associated with poverty, as well as an examination of compromise in the controversy.

Due to extra-organizational economic externalities, the pressure to maintain paper circulation and advertising led to sensationalism in coverage through the use of stars in headlines. The intra-organizational economic factor of a lack of financial commitment created an over-simplification of coverage in the form of an over-reliance on crisis reporting (hard news) on the controversy. Likewise, a lack of financial commitment led to a bias toward crisis-oriented environmental sustainability themes.

D. Cultural Resonance

Cultural resonance (conceptualized as the values inherent in a culture) acted as an extra-organizational factor that played an important part in the sensationalization, simplification and bias of the story in the press. For instance, the Narmada narrative was framed as a "disaster narrative," or drama. This finding was similar to research on news on environmental controversies in the West, such as the Exxon Valdez oil spill, in which it was found that the long-standing conflict between environmentalists and the petroleum industry became

focused around the players in a catastrophic incident, as in a morality play.¹⁵⁸ This is one example of coverage of environmental issues that become sensationalized. Like the cultural metaphor in the West — society's Faustian bargain with the devil over its use of petroleum products — Indian religious mythology, with its morality plays involving victims, villains and heroes, may filter into news coverage of environmental issues.

Thus, headlines on the Narmada were filled with key players willing to sacrifice their lives or political careers for the cause. For example, traditionally, environmental and human rights advocates in India viewed those in charge of development projects negatively — as power holders or oppressors trying to impose an unpopular policy from the top down. Likewise, personalities who fought for environmental sustainability, such as anti-dam NBA leaders or poor villagers directly affected by the project, were seen as the victims or heroes in the controversy. Thus, it made sense that there was a focus on the stars in the controversy, since under the rubric of a morality play, the pro-dam villains in the controversy had to face the anti-dam heroes in a fight for good over evil.

The study confirmed previous research in the West, such as Bendix and Liebler's study of U.S. news coverage of the causes behind deforestation of the Brazilian Rainforest, that accounts of environmental issues in developing countries are often crisis-oriented.¹⁵⁹ Bias of Western news concerning developing countries is affected by cultural resonance, according to Hansen's study on Western coverage of the Bhopal disaster in India.¹⁶⁰ In the case of Indian coverage, bias through cultural resonance also likely affected which

¹⁵⁸ Daley and O'Neill, "'Sad is too Mild a Word:' Press Coverage of the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill," 42-57.

¹⁵⁹ Bendix and Liebler, "Environmental Degradation in Brazilian Amazonia: Perspectives in US News Media," 474-485.

¹⁶⁰ Hansen, "The Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," 443-458.

themes dominated the development/sustainability debate, because the press worked to emphasize only those themes most consonant with the culture (or target audience). For example, democratic values in India have historically been publicized through non-violent protest of injustices, and demands to overturn oppressive government policies. Regarding India's Narmada Dam controversy, this theme appears to have prevailed.

This study found that the focus of most coverage in both papers was on the environmental sustainability themes of protest and human and environmental impacts, as well as review of the project's policy agenda. Other economic development themes included the pragmatic financial aspects of the project, involving the discussion of India's economic growth as well as the benefits of macro hydro-electric dams representing independence from western technology. Yet, only to a much lesser degree did articles focus on these economic development themes. Since the predominant themes emphasized were those of an environmental protectionism position, both sides of the Indian value system were not fully presented. Based on this finding it can be determined the debate was framed portraying a crisis-oriented version of the issue. That becomes clear when examining what was least prominently emphasized. For instance, the environmental sustainability theme of top-down development theory — where development imposed on villagers from power holders in government is viewed as destructive to people and nature — is a point often discussed by anti-dam advocates as an explanatory factor for their dissension to the dam. Yet it was also often left out of coverage since it may have been considered too academic for the audience. Likewise, the economic development theme of compromising over the height of the dams was virtually ignored, providing a sense of limitation on any possible solutions to the problem. Themes emphasized tended to oversimplify the issues, focusing on

the most blatant dramatic power play in the form of protest over the oppression of the poor and the rape of the environment versus India's push toward modernization. Therefore, identifying what was left out becomes equally important in understanding how the overall context of the debate was framed in India as well.

In summary, the extra-organizational factor of the cultural resonance of the target audience led to the sensationalization of the story through the use of stars in headlines. Likewise, audiences' perceived values constrained reporting toward the use of environmental sustainability themes.

The Hierarchy of Contextual Influences on Framing the Environment in India:

The Shoemaker and Reese model of the levels of influences on mass media content illustrates that, respectively, the individual, media routines, organization, extramedia and ideological constraints on the press are hierarchical.¹⁶¹ The implication is that macro-level factors are the most influential in predicting the portrayal of news content. By combining the "levels of influence" paradigm with framing theory, inquiry into the linkage of content with constraints on press performance is facilitated. For instance, in Liebler's investigation of the framing of civil disorder in newspapers in the U.S., she found that social structural variables predicted framing most consistently.¹⁶² The task of assigning a hierarchy remains confounded, however, since as Liebler found, the organizational level was not necessarily subsumed by more macro-level factors. In fact, newsroom diversity also played a significant role in the framing of controversies. In examining which levels may be most influential,

¹⁶¹ Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*.

¹⁶² Liebler, "Individual, Organizational and Social Structural Influences on Newspaper Framing of Civil Disorder."

she finds that factors operative on different levels change with the context.¹⁶³ Liebler's research, among others', provided a basis for study into the levels of influence on environmental news frames in a non-western context. Likewise, a contextualism approach toward press performance lent inspiration for the reconceptualization of the classic Shoemaker and Reese model making it possible to examine a new framework of a hierarchy of extra- and intra-organizational political, economic and cultural levels of influences on framing.¹⁶⁴

By examining environmental reporting in India, this study expanded Friedman and Friedman's assertion on environmental news production in Asia: that the socio-historical context there encompasses a complexity of political, economic and cultural constraints.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, it found agreement for Friedman's statement that environmental reporting around the world is no easy task, wherein charges of sensationalism, oversimplification and bias of environmental news must be grounded in consideration for the constraints affecting press performance.¹⁶⁶ Through the qualitative data, this research was able to provide a contradiction to Shah's findings that no one level of influence of societal, occupational or communicator factors in India necessarily dominates.¹⁶⁷ In fact, the study found that the intra-organizational cultural level was most important in constraining environmental reporting in the country, followed by factors on the extra-organizational political level. These levels

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Bella Mody, "Development Communication: From Media Effects to Media Contexts," 35-37.

¹⁶⁵ S. M. Friedman and K. A. Friedman, "Environmental Journalism: Guardian of the Asian Commons," 7-37.

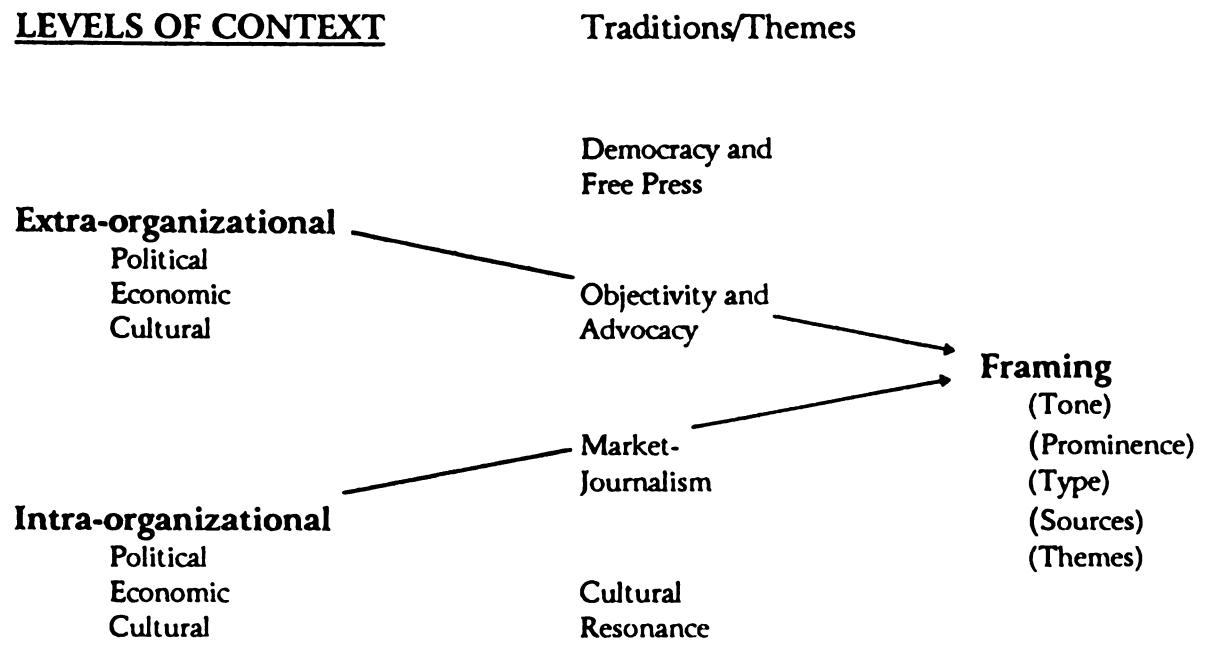
¹⁶⁶ Friedman, "Environmental Reporting: Problem Child of the Media," *Environment* 25, no. 10 (1983): 24-29.

¹⁶⁷ Shah, "Factors Influencing Development News Production at Three Indian Dailies," 1034-1041.

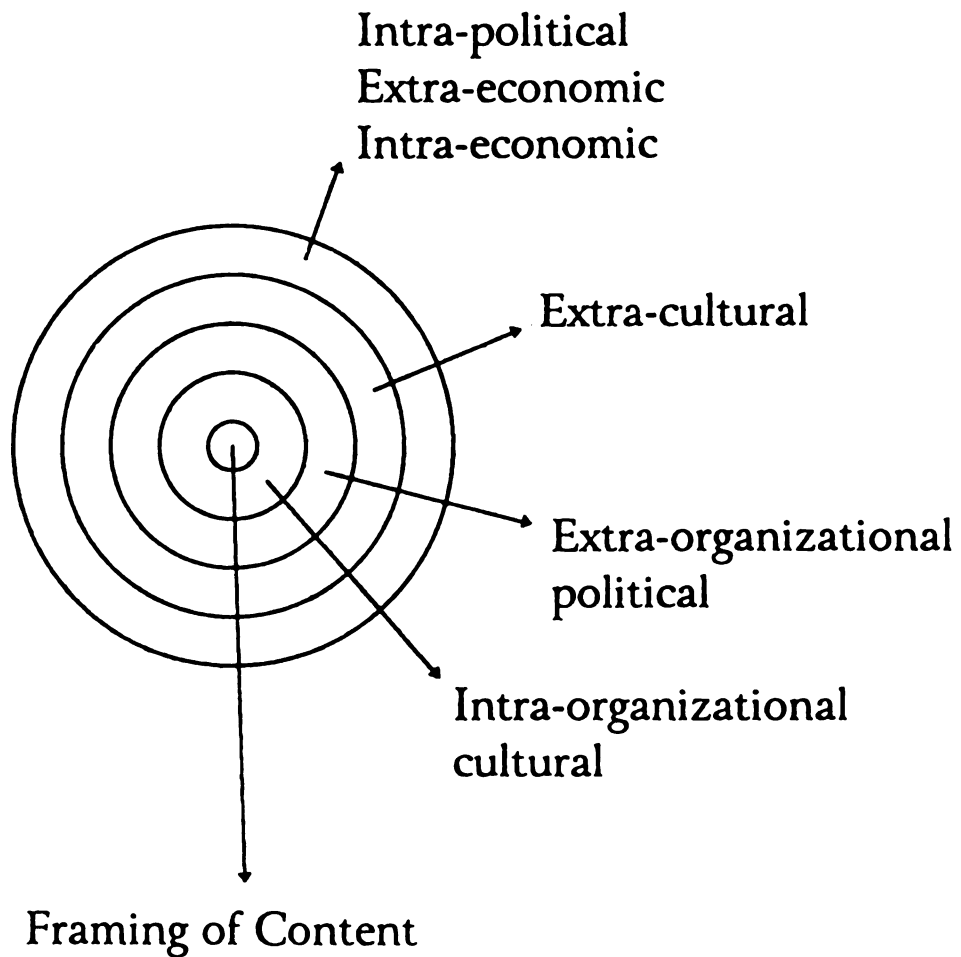
subsumed the extra-organizational cultural level, which was the next most important. Less critical in framing of Indian environmental news were the intra-organizational political level and, interestingly, given the importance of financial concerns in developing countries, the intra- and extra-organizational economic levels, which were found to exert an equal strength of influence upon framing. Thus, contrary to the Shoemaker/Reese model, ideology was not the over-riding force driving press performance in the portrayal of environmental news in India.

Based on these findings it was possible to show that the classic model of hierarchy of levels of influence varied when applied to in a Third World context, wherein the macro-level was not the most dominant in predicting framing. The study also showed that the Shoemaker/Reese model could be adapted depending upon the context of the content under study. Influential levels of influence may vary based on which particular environmental controversy in a country (e.g. India) is examined. Thus the following figure and model illustrates the influences upon environmental reporting in India.

FIGURE 3
Contextual Forces and Framing
on Pro-government versus Anti-government
on Environmental Journalism in India



Model 2
Hierarchy of Intra- and Extra-organizational
Influences on Environmental News Content
in the Indian English-language Press



In trying to determine which frame prevailed in Indian news — environmental sustainability or economic development — the study found that, in some ways, both papers tended to be somewhat biased against the project. However, both also tended to over-simplify and sensationalize news on the dam, thereby superficially presenting the issue of sustainability. The study showed that news frames legitimize certain ideas while marginalizing others; the framing of environmental news in India was not value neutral.¹⁶⁸ In other words, the sustainability perspective was legitimized in the press but only to a certain degree. The ethic of environmental sustainability tended to prevail in coverage of the dam, yet within limits, moderated by a highly constrained media system.

Hypotheses for Future Testing:

Based on analyses of both the text and context data, the following hypotheses can be generated for subsequent testing:

(H1): The intra-organizational cultural level will be the strongest level predicting framing of environmental news in India compared to the intra-organizational political and economic levels or the extra-organizational political, economic and cultural levels.

(H2): Sensationalization of environmental news in India through the over-use of stars in headlines is related to circulation and advertising pressures (extra-organizational economic factors), in addition to resonance of the target audience

¹⁶⁸ Liebler, "Individual, Organizational and Social Structural Influences on Newspaper Framing of Civil Disorder."

(an extra-organizational cultural factor), and government control (an extra-organizational political factor), such as censorship of documents.

(H3): Over-simplification of environmental news in India through the dominance of episodic frames is related to a lack of financial commitment of newspapers (IE), in addition to government control (EP), such as censorship of documents, and professional norms (IC), such as a lack of support from an environmental journalism support network.

(H4): The use of a balance of sources in environmental news in India is related to reporters' access to sources (EP), in addition to professional norms toward the traditions of objectivity and advocacy in journalism (IC), and news routines (IC), such as expertise coverage of the environmental beat or use of press releases.

(H5): An environmental sustainability bias in terms of tone used to frame environmental news in India is related to professional norms toward the traditions of objectivity and advocacy (IC), and the historical development of the press (IP), such as the influence of British colonialism and development journalism.

(H6): An environmental sustainability bias in terms of themes used to frame environmental news in India is related to professional norms toward objectivity and advocacy (IC), in addition to a lack of financial commitment (IE), the cultural resonance of the target audience (EC), and the historical development of the press (IP), such as the influence of British colonialism and development journalism.

(H7): A bias in headlines used to frame environmental news in India is related to gatekeeper bias in journalism (IC).

Significance of Study:

Theoretical perspectives examined in communication literature on environmental journalism have predominantly been based on press performance in a Western context. This study has begun to address the validity of those assumptions in the Third World by focusing on the case of Indian press coverage of one highly controversial issue. For instance, through this study it was possible to confirm that the trend in the West toward an over-reliance on disaster coverage of environmental issues is also the case in India as well.

By combining framing theory with the notion of the hierarchy of influences, the investigation provided evidence for the basis of generating new hypotheses for further research on environmental reporting in developing countries. From a methodological standpoint, new measures of bias and sensationalization emerged, especially in relation to the examination of stars in headlines and themes representative of environmental sustainability and economic development paradigms. Likewise, the coding of claimsmakers as "simply mentioned" in stories, not just quoted, provided a new measurement of source use previously limited in communication methodologies to date. In kind, much was learned about ensuring reliability of studies conducted by Western researchers in a developing country such as India. For instance, flexibility and creativity in defining and refining definitions of variables are critical in order to establish a reliable level of inter-coder agreement. Also, selection of coders comfortable within the world of journalism and Indian and Western cultures is important as well.

It is necessary to examine the way in which the press throughout the world portray development projects, since they help set the political agenda for policies with great environmental and societal impacts. Likewise, investigating the forces, factors and actors that constrain the press is critical in order to

understand those that hinder or try to manipulate performance. Since media in India have the potential to be such a powerful force toward social change, it is useful to explore the culture of environmental journalism there.

The study has implications on an international level in its examination of the World Bank's relationship to the press in a Third World context. Since the Bank represents the Western power structure in developing nations around the world, it is valuable to know the way in which they dealt with the Indian press and how that affected the portrayal of foreign intervention into the matters of developing countries. It is telling that since the Bank avoided the press, editors mistrusted the institution. Consequently, public opinion of the Bank grew suspicious and eventually they had to withdraw support for the project rather than risk further criticism of their actions.

Finally, the study also examined the role of the Forum of Environmental Journalists of India, a networking group for reporters covering the environment. We found that the association needs to rally support if it is to provide any substantive guidance to reporters in the country in the future. Extending help to organizations of this kind is critical if the state of environmental journalism in the developing world is to continue to improve. This could come from groups, like the International Federation of Environmental Journalists, which could offer grants to bolster computer networking services among members in developing countries. Communication between environmental organizations in Third World nations is essential if journalists there are going to know the important part they play in increasing awareness of environmental problems within and across their boundaries.

Future Research:

Future research is needed to explore a variety of aspects of environmental reporting in the Third World. For instance, new hypotheses on freedom of the press, advocacy, market forces and cultural resonance could be generated by applying the constructs related to framing theory and the hierarchy of influences. Comparative studies of environmental news coverage are recommended in both developing and industrialized countries. In kind, comparisons could evaluate countries with differing political systems, or different kinds of media within one country could be explored. These studies could evaluate the media by extending the study into new levels of contextual influence or variables within the levels not previously explored. Likewise, there could be more of an emphasis on the effect of individual differences between journalists in places such as India, including those related to religion, caste, gender and so on. Finally, a longitudinal study of various environmental issues covered over a number of years by the Third World media would help illuminate the effect socio-historical forces play upon the environmental sustainability and economic development debate in the developing nations of the world. Quantitative study into amount of newshole of environmental news in the Third World would also be useful. This type of study might help in predictions of the direction of environmental journalism in the future.

Conclusion:

A combination of intra- and extra-organizational contextual factors constrained press performance in India; construction of the environmental sustainability and economic development debate was mediated by several issues. Political, economic and cultural constraints upon two of the country's leading English-language newspapers were found to be similar, except for

political ideology (an intra-organizational factor) and perceived target audience (an extra-organizational cultural factor).

Despite the opposing political ideologies of the newspapers under study, both portrayed the Narmada Dam controversy similarly, except in the case of headlines: the pro-government paper tended to support the dam, while the anti-government paper opposed it. Differences in internal political, and external cultural factors help to explain the variation found between the two papers in this case. Based on this one difference, however, it cannot be said that pro-government papers in India will necessarily support economic development while only anti-government papers support environmental sustainability. In fact the study found that, in terms of certain variables, such as editorial tone, story type and theme emphasis, both supported the environmentalism ethic over that of modernization, at least before the implementation of India's economic liberalization policies. In terms of source use, the controversy was framed in a balanced manner. However, both papers also over-simplified and sensationalized the dam story, presenting the issue of sustainability in a somewhat superficial manner. It is likely that because of the overwhelming similarities in contextual forces constraining press performance in India, framing of the sustainability/development debate was found to be somewhat uniform between Indian national newspapers, with the sustainability paradigm legitimized in the press to a certain degree.

The study found that the most prominent contextual factors influencing the framing of environmental news in India tended to be those related to the freedom of the press within India's democracy: traditions of objectivity and advocacy journalism, a market-based approach to journalism, and the values inherent in Indian culture. Factors on the intra-organizational cultural level were found to be the most dominant in affecting framing of environmental news

in India. This finding is in contrast to the Shoemaker and Reese model which shows the macro-level of ideology to be most influential on news content in the West. Perhaps this is the case because the day-to-day pragmatic constraints upon Indian reporters are more influential than the overall issues related to ideology operating within Western society. These findings may be generalized to environmental journalism in other developing countries as well.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Appendix A

Interview Schedule:

Intra-Organizational Cultural Values:

How did you come to be a journalist?

What is your background (prompt only if necessary: "journalism education," "professional history")?

(Later ask about family life, etc. if appropriate)

How did you come to be a journalist at the paper?

How did you become interested in environmental issues?

How did you come to cover environmental stories?

How do you select the stories you write?

What is it like to work at the paper?

How do you receive assignments?

What is the chain of command in the newsroom?

What are the editors like to work for?

Give some background on your experiences in covering the Narmada Dam issue?

How do you select the sources you use in your stories? (How do you find/meet them?)

What is your relationships to sources? Do you like to call on them regularly or do you prefer not to call them regularly?

What kinds of information sources do you like to use in stories (press releases, scientific reports, journals, etc.)?

What kind of deadlines do you work under?

What do you think about science training (prompt only if necessary: "how much did you get" and "were you satisfied with the experience")?

What approach do you take in covering the environment? What do you think about India's press tradition toward environmental advocacy?

How do you feel about being a reporter covering environmental problems?

What do you think about environmental journalism organizations, like the Asian Forum of Environmental Journalists or the Society for Environmental Journalists?

Do you ever want to participate in their events (like training sessions)?

(If yes, then "can you participate?")

How do you view your job?

Intra-Organizational Economic Factors:

Tell a bit about the owner(s) of the paper and the paper's history in terms of management?

What kind of management policies affect the way you do your job?

Are reporters part of a union? If so, explain how the unions work and what you think of them.

What wire services and news agencies do the newspaper subscribe to?

What do you think of computers for research? Do you use them for research in the newsrooms? If not, is there anywhere else that you use them?

How many reporters cover environmental issues?

Do they (you) work on stories other than those on environmental issues? (If yes, what kinds and how much?)

Do you feel you are given support to cover environmental issues? For instance, if you would like to travel out of the city to cover a story, is it possible to arrange that with your editors? Would they pay for you to undergo some training in your field?

Do you feel you get your stories into print when you want to? In the paper, are you satisfied with the amount of space you get covering environmental stories?

Intra-Organizational Political Factors:

What is the "political ideology" of the paper (explain the term generally)?

Does the owner's political views tend to influence what you can write about or say in an article?

Does the editor's political views tend to influence what you can write about or say in an article?

What do you think is the role of the press in national development?

What is your opinion on India's economic growth?

What is your view on the political situation in India in terms of the environment, and the Narmada Dam in particular?

How do you relate to special interest groups (such as the NBA?) or government officials.

Extra-Organizational Political Factors:

What is it like trying to get access to government or other official documents (e.g. from the World Bank) on environmental issues like the Narmada?

Are there sources you would like to interview but whom you cannot gain access to?

What kinds of events or activities by sources or players in the Narmada Dam issue have gotten the press' attention?

Whom do you typically use as sources in an environmental stories and why?

Is there information on stories that you know about that does not get into the news? Why do you think it doesn't?

Have you ever known any of the press to be arrested for their activities? (if yes, what were the circumstances?)

Do the press ever operate under censorship by the government? (If yes, describe the circumstance?)

Have you ever worried about libel suits?

Extra-Organizational Economic Factors:

Are there any information sources from the media that you use to get more information on the environment (other domestic or foreign media, wire services, Indian vernacular press)?

Is there much competition in your field, and if so, in what way?

Does your work involve accounting for the desires of the paper's advertisers? (anything specific on advertising and the dam issue?)

Does the issue of newspaper circulation affect the way you write your stories?

Extra-Organizational Cultural Factors:

Who is the audience you write for?

What do you think is their interest in environmental issues?

What do you think is their interest in the Narmada Dam stories?

Misc. Questions

If you wanted to, is there anything you would change about the way you have to cover the environment?

What would you change about the way that you have had to cover the Narmada Dam issue?

Editors: Interview Schedule***(Includes some questions above modified for editors)**Intra-Organizational Cultural Values:Intra-Organizational Economic Factors:Intra-Organizational Political Factors:Extra-Organizational Political Factors:Extra-Organizational Economic Factors:Extra-Organizational Cultural Factors:**Publishers: Interview Schedule*****(Includes some questions above modified for publishers)**

Discuss circulation and advertising revenue issues.

Intra-Organizational Cultural Values:Intra-Organizational Economic Factors:Intra-Organizational Political Factors:Extra-Organizational Political Factors:Extra-Organizational Economic Factors:Extra-Organizational Cultural Factors:

Appendix B

Appendix B

Content Analysis Coding Book

INDIAN ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNALISM STUDY Story Coding Form (See coding grid at end for entry)

Coder initials _____

Headline/ Author (only if name included) _____

Column	VAR NAMES	CODING RESULT
--------	-----------	---------------

A. ID

1-3 (VAR01)	STORY NUMBER	___ _ _
-------------	--------------	---------

4-5 (VAR02)	NEWSPAPER	___ _
-------------	-----------	-------

(01) Times of India	(02) Indian Express
(03) Economic Times	(04) Financial Express
(05) Hindu	(06) Hindustan Times
(07) Independent	(08) Pioneer
(09) Statesman	(10) Telegraph
(11) Business Standard	(12) Patriot
(99) Other	

6-11 (VAR03)	DATE	___ _ _ _ _
--------------	------	-------------

B. PROMINENCE

12 (VAR04)	HEADLINES FOCUS ON STARS	___
------------	--------------------------	-----

(1) headline named anti-dam person
(2) headline named pro-dam person
(3) headline named person - unidentified stance
(9) No name in headline

13 (VAR05)	HEADLINE/INTRO PRO-DAM/ANTI-DAM	___
------------	---------------------------------	-----

(1) pro-dam topic
(2) anti-dam topic
(3) conditional pro-dam topic
(9) undetermined

C. TYPE

14 (VAR06) STORY TYPE _____

(1) hard news	(2) feature
(3) hard news/feature	(4) editorial
(9) other	

D. KINDS OF SOURCES

15-16 (VAR07)	FORGOV DONOR SOURCE	_____
17-18 (VAR08)	INDIAN GOV	_____
19-20 (VAR09)	INDUSTRY	_____
21-22 (VAR 10)	EDUCAT EXPERTS	_____
23-24 (VAR11)	COURTS	_____
25-26 (VAR12)	VILLAGERS	_____
27-28 (VAR13)	ANTI-DAM NGOS	_____
29-30 (VAR14)	PRO-DAM NGOs	_____
31-32 (VAR15)	OTHER	_____
33-34 (VAR16)	UN-ID SOURCES	_____
35-36 (VAR17)	SOURCE TOTAL	_____

(Pro-dam = Var. 7,8,9,14; Anti/Neutral = 10,11,12,13)

E. MAJOR THEME EMPHASIS

37-38 (VAR18)	MAJOR EMPHASIS	_____																	
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>(Sustainability Themes)</td> <td>(Economics/Number Themes)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(01) HUMAN/ENVIR IMPACTS</td> <td>(06) MACRODAM DEV.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(02) PROJECT REVIEW</td> <td>(07) NUMBER DEBATES</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(03) MISTRUST OF PROJECT/RED TAPE</td> <td>(08) HEIGHT</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>COMPROMISE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(04) TOP-DOWN THEORY</td> <td>(09) FINANCE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(05) PROTEST</td> <td>(10) MISTRUST ANTI-DAM</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>(11) OTHER</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>(12) UNDETERMINED</td> </tr> </table>		(Sustainability Themes)	(Economics/Number Themes)	(01) HUMAN/ENVIR IMPACTS	(06) MACRODAM DEV.	(02) PROJECT REVIEW	(07) NUMBER DEBATES	(03) MISTRUST OF PROJECT/RED TAPE	(08) HEIGHT		COMPROMISE	(04) TOP-DOWN THEORY	(09) FINANCE	(05) PROTEST	(10) MISTRUST ANTI-DAM		(11) OTHER		(12) UNDETERMINED
(Sustainability Themes)	(Economics/Number Themes)																		
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(02) PROJECT REVIEW	(07) NUMBER DEBATES																		
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	COMPROMISE																		
(04) TOP-DOWN THEORY	(09) FINANCE																		
(05) PROTEST	(10) MISTRUST ANTI-DAM																		
	(11) OTHER																		
	(12) UNDETERMINED																		

E. OPINION PIECES: BIAS

39 (VAR19) EDITORIAL BIAS _____

(1) Pro-dam	(2) Anti-dam
(3) Undetermined	(9) Does not apply

	Headline
	Coder ID
	Var 1 Story Number
	Var 2 Newspaper
	Var 3 Date
	Var 4 Focus on Stars
	Var 5 Pro-Dam/Anti-Dam
	Var 6 Story Type
	Var 7 Forger Donor
	Var 8 Indian Gov
	Var 9 Industry
	Var 10 Educat Experts
	Var 11 Courts
	Var 12 Villagers
	Var 13 Anti-Dam Ngos
	Var 14 Pro-Dam Ngos
	Var 15 Other
	Var 16 UN-ID
	Var 17 Total
	Var 18
	Major Emphasis
	Var 19 Editorial Bias

Appendix C

Appendix C

FRAMING STUDY: STORY CODING DEFINITIONS

A. Identification

(SPSS Column Number)

Headline/Author _____

The whole headline will be copied for identification purposes. Also include the reporters name if it is in the byline.

Coder initials _____

1. (VAR01) **Story number** ____ ____ ____ (1-3)

The story number is a three-digit number assigned for identification purposes that will be hand-written on the Xerox-copied article page.

2. (VAR02) **Newspaper** ____ ____ (4-5)

The name of the newspaper is associated with a two-digit number assigned to each paper. "The" is dropped from the names on this list.

(01)	Times of India	(TOI)
(02)	Indian Express	(IE)
(03)	Economic Times	(ET)
(04)	Financial Express	(FE)
(05)	Hindu	(Hindu)
(06)	Hindustan Times	(HT)
(07)	Independent	(IND)
(08)	Pioneer	(PIO)
(09)	Statesman	(STM)
(10)	Telegraph	(TELE)
(11)	Business Standard	(BS)
(12)	Patriot	(PAT)
(99)	Other	

3. (VAR03) **Date** ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ (6-11)

The date is the month, day and year of the paper in which the story appears. It is a six-digit number. *It is important to note that the date in India is written differently than in the U.S. For example, August 4, 1959 is written in India as 4/8/59. For coding: August 4, 1959 (or 4/8/59) will be converted to a six-digit number, such as 080459, which is the normal order in the U.S. *Also: Ignore the date given in the byline (in some articles). Only use the date written in by hand on the copied article.

B. Prominence

1. (VAR04) Headlines: Focus on stars ____ (12)

A story may or may not focus on the actions or statements of a particular well-known personality involved in the Narmada Dam controversy in the headline of the story. This person may be against the building of the dam or for it.

Whether the person is pro-dam or anti-dam can typically be determined by reading the headline and/or what they say on the topic near the beginning of the story.

Anti-dam personalities can include the following Narmada Bachao Andolan anti-dam activists: Medha Patkar, Baba Amte, Maneka Gandhi, Sundarla Bahuguna, B.D. Sharma, Rajni Kothari, and others.

Pro-dam personalities can include: Chief Minister of Gujarat Chimanbhai Patel, the wife of Gujarat Chief Minister Urmilaben Patel, and others.

CODING PROCEDURE:

If a particular person is named in the headline of the story, then try to determine if they are for or against the dam. Code the headline accordingly: code "1" for anti-dam personality in headline; "2" for pro-dam personality in headline; "3" for personality of unidentified stance on the dam in headline; "4" if no person is named in the headline.

- (1) headline named anti-dam person
- (2) headline named pro-dam person
- (3) headline named personality - unidentified stance
- (9) no name in headline

* If necessary, to determine whether the person is anti-dam or pro-dam, coding of this variable can be conducted after coding of other variables in the story have begun.

2. (VAR05) Headlines/lead: Pro-Dam/Anti-Dam ____ (13)

It may be apparent from the headlines and introduction (lead) of the article that the piece is either about a pro-dam topic, an anti-dam topic, a topic that is pro-dam, but with conditions, or a topic that is impossible to determine according to these categorizations.

Pro-Dam Topics: will focus on the actions of pro-dam players or general pro-dam activities, perspectives, philosophies and so on, and will relate specifically to the fact that the project will be implemented — that the project will not be stopped. The topics involve dam information that is biased in favor of the project.

By reading the headline (and lead if necessary) it would be possible to determine if the following are "pro-dam" topics:

Examples:	"State Government Committed to Project"
	"Narmada Authorities Procure Funding"
	"Increase in World Bank Aid Likely"
	"No SSP Compromise on Dam Height"
	"Environment Not At Risk in Valley"

Anti-Dam Topics: will focus on the actions of anti-dam players or any general anti-dam activities, perspectives, philosophies and so on. They will tend to relate specifically to efforts to curtail the project. The topics involve any and all dam information that is biased against the project.

By reading the headline (and lead if necessary) it would be possible to determine the following are "anti-dam" topics:

Examples:	"Narmada Project: Waste of Funds"
	"Baba Amte Says Narmada Must Go"
	"Harsud Protest Draws 50,000"
	"Narmada Activists Allege Police Repression"

Conditional Topics: will focus on the activities, perspectives, philosophies and so on, of those who accept that the project will be implemented, yet may have criticisms of the process, seek compromise on certain aspects of the project, or engage in a review of certain policies. This could relate to debates on implementation (rehabilitation for instance) and so on. The emphasis is not on fighting with anti-dam forces over WHETHER the dam should be implemented - the project is seen as a given - but to focus on details of the project as it continues. This may include simple status updates on implementation.

Topics will typically involve a struggle between pro-dam players (mostly government and industry) about the dam, or a willingness of government players to discuss certain aspects of implementation of the project with anti-dam forces.

Examples:

A) "Elections Divide M.P. and Gujarat Over Dam"

B) "Opposition Grills Government Over Rehabilitation

or

C) "Gujarat to Discuss Impact on Narmada Oustees"

By reading the headline (and lead if necessary) of letter D, it would be possible to determine that the Gujarat panel is a pro-dam force, and that they will not discuss curtailing the project, but will discuss details on the impact of the project on people of the area.

Undetermined Topic: will not fit into any of the categories above.

CODING PROCEDURE: Read the headline of the article. If the meaning is clear, code the category. However, if the meaning of the headline is unclear, then read the first one or two paragraphs of the article to understand the topic of the headline. Then code the piece into the above categories. Code "1" for pro-dam topic, "2" for anti-dam topic, "3" for pro-dam with conditions, or "9" for undetermined.

- (1) pro-dam topic
- (2) anti-dam topic
- (3) conditional pro-dam topic
- (9) undetermined

C. Episodic or Thematic Frames

2. (VAR06) Story type ____

(14)

A story will be categorized as either: hard news; feature; hard news/ feature; editorial; or other.

CODING PROCEDURE

After reading the first five paragraphs of an article on the Narmada Dam project (not including the headline), the story should be classified. If paragraphs are quite long (cover half a column of a full page), read only the first two to three paragraphs to determine the type. If an article is a hard news story, it will be coded as a "1." If it is a feature only, it will be coded as a "2." It will be coded as a "3" if the story is deemed hard news/feature. Editorials will be coded as a "4," with all other categorizations being coded as a "9."

- (1) hard news
- (2) feature
- (3) hard news/feature
- (4) editorial
- (9) other

"HARD NEWS" is any story on the Narmada Dam that is focused or based on a current event. An event is something that has happened (typically recently or will happen in the near future). It could be a demonstration, a report publication, a governmental policy decision, a committee meeting, a conference, a discovery in research, a disaster, an accident and so on. For instance, a story that begins by discussing the February 23, 1992 findings of the Independent Review Commission report, which was a cost/benefit analysis of the Narmada Dam project, could be considered a hard news story if it is written around the time the report was published.

To be a current event, the event should have occurred on the same day or within the last week or "fortnight" (two weeks) prior to the date the article was published. Likewise, the event could be coming up within the next week or fortnight after the article publication date. Terms like, "today," "yesterday," "tomorrow," "in a fortnight," etc., are also cues that the article is a hard news story.

IMPORTANT NOTE: an exact time element will not always be mentioned or may be hard to discern within stories in the Indian press. For instance, the word "recent" may be used — or no time element is used at all — yet the story is clearly geared around an event. In that case, use the definition of hard news above to try to decide how to code the story.

Stories that discuss a current event for the first five paragraphs of the story will be coded as hard news. Some hard news stories, however, employ a "delayed lead style." A lead is the beginning of the story and should indicate what the story is about. In a "hard news lead" a summary of a current event will be discussed. In a "delayed lead" the news event is not discussed until after the first one or several of paragraphs. Therefore, if a story begins with a non-current event lead, but then discusses a current event no later than paragraph five, it will be coded as a hard news story.

In addition, stories that are four paragraphs or less will be coded as hard news unless they very clearly appear to be other types.

A "FEATURE" is analysis and discussion of an issue (often controversial issues like the Narmada dam project). A feature story may examine the background and history of an issue. It may provide explanation and offer speculation about the future. It may encompass a question/answer format (as in an interview) or a profile on a person. A feature is not based on a current event. If a current event is NOT discussed in the first five paragraphs of the story, that is the CUE that the article is a feature story only. Also, check the last paragraph to identify if it is a feature.

A "HARD NEWS/FEATURE" is a story which is based on a current event but then provides analysis/discussion on the topic. To qualify for this category, the event should be mentioned near the beginning of the story, but by the second, or at least fifth paragraph, the story should shift into a feature mode.

An "EDITORIAL" emphasizes the writer's opinion on the topic published in the newspaper. It may (or may not) use any of the personal pronouns, "I, me, my," or "us, our, we," and so on. It may contain questions throughout the article. It may also begin and/or conclude with an opinion or a question; therefore, if there is a question of whether something is an editorial, read the last two paragraphs to be sure.

In addition, it may contain "loaded words": loaded words or phrases tend to foster a judgmental attitude. For instance, the "fanatical" activists, the project is a "mockery," or "The government's game is transparent." An editorial may refer briefly to a current event and/or it may provide some analysis like a feature but it always comes back to the writer's own judgments on the issue.

"OTHER" types of stories will include those stories that don't seem to fit into any of the above categories.

D. Kinds of Claims-makers (Sources)

"CLAIMS-MAKERS" are kinds of sources. They are the many people or groups (and the documents they produce) that are referred to in news coverage.

Sources involved in the dam controversy can be identified, then characterized by the kind of source they are (the type of group they are affiliated with). They can then be coded to fit into a number of different appropriate categories.

1. Kinds of Sources ____ (15-34)

Sources are those that are quoted or paraphrased in news stories. In addition, for this study, they are also those that are merely mentioned in the story.

On sources "MENTIONED": This refers to including sources that are in the story, but are not quoted or paraphrased. It is important to include all relevant sources in a story, yet this could be difficult in this study, because some news stories lack direct attribution of certain highly relevant sources — such as villagers impacted by the dam project. Therefore, statements such as, "villagers are desperate"; "activists are outraged over the project"; "Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel seems unconcerned about the seismic activity in the region"; and so on, will merit the inclusion of the subject of the statement (the "villagers," "activists," or "Chief Minister Patel" etc.) as a source to be coded.

COUNTING KINDS OF SOURCES:

Sources will be categorized based on their affiliations (the kind of source they are). The total number of similar kinds of sources then will be added up in each category and noted on the coding sheet under the correct variable as a two-digit number, such as 01, 03, 10, 12, etc. If no sources for a category exist, "00" should be added to the coding sheet.

- (VAR07) FORGOV DONOR SOURCE
- (VAR08) INDIAN GOV
- (VAR09) INDUSTRY
- (VAR 10) EDUCAT EXPERTS
- (VAR11) COURTS
- (VAR12) VILLAGERS
- (VAR13) ANTI-DAM NGOS
- (VAR14) PRO-DAM NGOs
- (VAR15) OTHER
- (VAR16) UN-ID SOURCES

2. Total number of sources ____ ____ (35-36)

Finally, the total number of all the kinds of sources should be calculated and coded as a two-digit number, such as 02, 07, 14, etc. The coder should be careful

not to miscalculate the totals. (These should be double checked before data entry into the computer from the coding sheet).

(VAR17 SOURCE TOTAL)

COUNTING PROCEDURE:

The idea of this part of the study is to identify and count accurately all the kinds of sources included in the story, not missing any or counting any more times than they appear. Because of the variations in references (see below), this is a painstaking process and care must be taken to 1) continuously refer to the reference list; 2) use common sense where sources are ambiguous; 3) to double check work, assessing that the choices made are correct, and 4) to double check counting method.

An article should be read all the way through, keeping track of how many of each kind of source was used (this should be done as coding is conducted by writing on the article page the appropriate variable number next to the source indicated, then carefully totaling all the similar kinds of variables at the end). Do not count any sources in the headline or "deck" (semi-large type below the main headline before the article text). Those totals should then be entered into the coding sheet under the correct variable heading.

The majority of sources will be counted ONLY ONCE (see *exceptions below), even if that source is quoted or mentioned several times in a story. Try not to be confused if they are referred to in a different way from the first mention but represent EXACTLY THE SAME AS THE FIRST MENTION, such as:

COUNT ONCE (GOVERNMENT):

First Reference:	"The government of India..."
Second Reference:	"The Center..."
Third Reference:	"The borrower..."

COUNT ONCE (GOVERNMENT):

First Reference:	"Gujarat says..."
Second Reference:	"The state authorities..."
Third Reference:	"Officials from Gujarat..."

COUNT ONCE (VILLAGERS):

First Reference:	"The villagers of Manebeli..."
Second Reference:	"Project-affected-

	peoples (from Manebeli)..."
Third Reference:	"Tribals (from Manebeli)..."
Fourth Reference:	Manebeli, pop. 10,000, is...

COUNT ONCE (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

First Reference:	"Protesters..."
Second Reference:	"Activists on the march..."
Third Reference:	"Environmentalists acting to..."
Fourth Reference:	"The massive gathering of people..."

However, if a **KIND OF SOURCE (ORGANIZATION/AFFILIATION)** is mentioned (government officials; Narmada Bachao Andolan anti-dam activists, the villagers of Harsud, etc.), code that source once. BUT, if the **NAME** of a member of that group appears (Chief Minister Patel; (NBA leader) Medha Patkar; Manebeli villager Mohan Mohan) then count that SPECIFIC person as another, similar kind of source.

COUNT ONCE (Government):

"India warns that..."

COUNT AGAIN (GOVERNMENT):

"Minister of Water Resources, Mr. S.T. Sukla..."

OR:

COUNT ONCE (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"Environmentalists..."

COUNT AGAIN (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"Baba Amte..."

This can be the same even in the same sentence if a particular person is specifically mentioned (perhaps set off by a comma) in reference to the group.

COUNT ONCE (Government):

Sentence one: "Officials in the
government..."

COUNT AGAIN (GOVERNMENT):

Sentence one: "..., including Prime Minister Rao,..."

Likewise, THERE ARE DIFFERENT SOURCES FROM WITHIN THE LIST OF "KINDS OF SOURCES" (or FROM WITHIN THE SAME ORGANIZATIONS) that need to be counted but are not named specifically. THEREFORE: If an ORGANIZATION/AFFILIATION/KIND OF SOURCE is mentioned (government officials; Narmada Bachao Andolan activists, the villagers of Harsud, etc.), code it ONCE as a source. THEN, if a specific person of THAT organization/kind of source is mentioned (drawing attention to the that category again), **BUT THEIR NAME IS NOT USED**, then count it again as ANOTHER similar kind of source, separate from the first mention. THE KEY HERE IS THAT THE NEW SPECIFIC SOURCE IS FROM WITHIN THE GROUP THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN MENTIONED - but is highlighted as yet another/different source TO BE COUNTED AGAIN.

COUNT ONCE (GOVERNMENT):

"The state intends to..."
"Maharashtra..."

COUNT AGAIN (GOVERNMENT):

"Officials from the ministry say..."

COUNT AGAIN (GOVERNMENT):

"In a cabinet decision..."

COUNT AGAIN (GOVERNMENT):

"The Maharashtra legislature..."

COUNT AGAIN TWO MORE TIMES (GOVERNMENT):

"Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh demand..."

OR

COUNT ONCE (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"Environmentalists declare that..."

COUNT AGAIN (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"50,000 protesters intend to..."

COUNT AGAIN (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"Leaders are planning..."

COUNT AGAIN (ANTI-DAM NGOS):

"Anti-dam non-governmental organizations..."

- VILLAGERS/PROJECT-AFFECTED-PEOPLES: In the case of villagers, since names are rarely mentioned, villagers are difficult to count accurately. Count them once when first mentioned, THEN only count them again if names are used or new places where they come from are mentioned.

Note the following if found in the same articles in this order:

Count Once: "Harsud villagers said..."

Don't Count Again:

"Landed farmers and encroachers want..."

Count Again: "But oustees from Dhule feel..."

Count Three Times:

"Project-Affected-Persons from Gujarat, M.P. and Maharashtra..."

Count Again: Mohan Hiralal from M.P. demands..."

Count Twice: "Local business owners from Manebeli, such as Mohanbhai..."

*Total number of villagers counted from examples above = 8.

*****Note other counting tips below:**

CATEGORIZING AND COUNTING MULTIPLE SOURCES:

- If the quote mentions something multiple sources within a group said (for instance, "Government officials commented..." or "Activists said..." etc.), it will be counted as only ONE source. If names are mentioned, they should be counted individually, categorizing each as best as possible.

- If two or more different kinds of groups are cited together in a quote (for instance, "government and environmental spokesmen said"), each individual kind of source should be counted as ONE source each and then categorized accordingly.

DUAL AFFILIATIONS: *EXCEPTION to counting sources once only:

- Some sources may have dual affiliations. In other words, they may be characterized as two kinds of sources at once (see reference list of names for SOME of those with dual affiliations frequently mentioned in the stories). For instance: a national government official may also act as an activist with an anti-dam non-governmental organization; Or an impacted villager may be an activist involved in a rally with an anti-dam non-governmental organization. In these cases, place the source in the TWO categories that best fit. That means that source WILL BE COUNTED TWICE.

UNSPECIFIED TERMS

- Some unspecified terms like, "the international community" do not tell which kind of specific source is being referenced according to the categories set up or the reference list. They cross the boundary of one category or another. In these cases, the best guide to identifying the kind of source mentioned is use the context of the statement or article to assess categorizations.

For instance: Source may be pro or anti-dam. Thus, the "international community" refers to pro-dam OR anti-dam non-governmental organizations (based on the context).

Some Rules to Help Identify Source Category:

The "international community" — will be anti-dam NGOs, unless otherwise stated.

"Environmentalists" — will be anti-dam NGOs.

"Activists" - will be anti-dam NGOs or pro-dam NGOs based on the context of the statements being made.

NOTE: If terms: "environmentalists" and "activists (humanists)" are used together, count each separately.

"project authorities"; "project engineers", "project contractors" unspecified sources are government sources unless agency name appears to clarify: NOTE: However, if government is separated from "project authorities, etc." in same sentence — "government and project authorities say..." — then count "authorities" as industry not government.

Some unspecified terms are nearly impossible to categorize without the context of the story or are just too general. In some cases, if the context does not give enough information to assesses these very generalized sources terms, then it is impossible to do so. For instance, there are times when it will be difficult to

assess terms like: "NGO community; "vested interests"; "opponents of the dam"; "proponents of the dam," etc.

RULE: In these cases, only if it is impossible to categorize them, mark them as "un-identified."

UNSPECIFIED/DUAL AFFILIATION SOURCES:

On occasion, unspecified sources may be counted as dual affiliation sources and COUNTED TWICE.

For instance, in the case of "project officials" or "authorities," these could be government or industry officials OR both, depending on the information provided in the article. For instance, project authorities from the Sardar Sarovar Development Corporation could be government and industry both.

Rule: If it is not specifically made clear that both kinds of sources are being referred to, code them as government sources.

****Try to avoid doubling up categories wherever possible. Use the context of the story to make this assessment.**

CONSULTANTS/COMMISSIONED/HIRED EXPERT SOURCES:

A consultant/commissioned/hired expert source will typically be identified as such in an article. These include engineers, scientists, lawyers, economists, etc. who have been hired by the national and state governments, the Narmada Dam resistance movement, local industries and so on to gather and present information on the issue. Thus, they represent the kind of groups they are working for and should be coded as such. Therefore, a "lawyer" working for an Indian anti-dam NGO will be categorized based on their affiliation with the NGO and not into the category of courts — unless they are affiliated with the court only.

However, if the courts are mentioned in the context of the lawyer's work for the Anti-dam NGO, then count both the courts category and the Anti-dam NGO category.

Likewise, if an economist (educational experts) conducts a study through a named university or institution, for instance, but the study is said to be commissioned by the government — count as a dual source (educational experts and government).

*** One exception to this rule is the "Independent Review Commission."**

Although the Commission was hired by the World Bank to review the study, it worked independently of the Bank and was at times, at odds with the Bank.

Thus the Independent Commission fits into the category of Foreign Governmental Donor source, as does the World Bank. If the World Bank is

mentioned with the Commission — "The World Bank's Independent Review" — code each separately.

If it is unclear whether a person or group is being used as a consultant, then code the source under the appropriate category, such as "educational experts" (who conduct studies in their own right), lawyers of the "court," and so on.

"FORMER" SOURCES:

Regarding the term "former," some sources may have played one role at one period in the Narmada Dam struggle, then moved on to another role at a later time. In this case, categorize the source based on the context of the time period of that particular story being coded. For instance, a source may have been a national government official in 1989, but in 1991, become a "former politician," turned pro-dam activist. In this case, for stories in 1991, the source will be categorized as a pro-dam activist. The key is to follow the writing in the articles for that source referred to as a "former" politician, or "former" activist and so on.

NOTE: Be aware that, occasionally, sources will have moved from one role to another as well as have a dual affiliation. For instance, a former chief minister could have become a minister and a pro-dam activist. Therefore some sources will be "former" kinds of sources with dual affiliations. Include them in each category that applies.

**DEFINITIONS OF KINDS OF SOURCES:
(SEE SPECIFIC EXAMPLES IN DETAILED REFERENCE LIST BELOW)**

(VAR07 FOREIGN-GOVERNMENT DONORS)

those formally affiliated with inter-governmental donor agencies (such as U.S.A.I.D. or the World Bank, etc.), or those commissioned by them (such as engineers, economists, scientists, etc.). Foreign governments as donors and potential donors fit into this category, as well as those formally affiliated with inter-governmental diplomacy organizations (such as the United Nations), or those commissioned by them (such as engineers, scientists, economists, etc.). This also includes the Bradford Morse Commission, which conducted the "Report of the Independent Review."

(VAR08 INDIAN GOVERNMENT)

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Indian national government officials (such as the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, etc.), or those they commission (engineers, scientists, economists, etc.).

Also, the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal.

STATE GOVERNMENT — GUJARAT

officials representing the state government of Gujarat (Chief Minister, Chief Secretary, Narmada project organizations, etc.) [see list], or those it commissions (engineers, scientists, etc.).

STATE GOVERNMENT — MAHARASHTRA

officials representing the state government of Maharashtra, or those it commissions (engineers, scientists, etc.).

STATE GOVERNMENT — MADHYA PRADESH

officials representing the state government of Madhya Pradesh, or those it commissions (engineers, scientists, etc.).

STATE GOVERNMENT — RAJASTHAN

officials representing the state government of Rajasthan, or those it commissions (engineers, scientists, etc.).

STATE GOVERNMENT — GENERAL

The four concerned states above, and those they commission (engineers etc.), if not mentioned by name and unable to identify by dateline (city name), the dateline reference list, or story context. This also includes political party leaders, and members if not identified, which state they are affiliated with (see list below for names of parties)

(VAR09 INDUSTRY)

those formally affiliated with international, national, state or localized industries, or those they commission (engineers, scientists, etc.).

(VAR10 EDUCATIONAL EXPERTS)

scientists, engineers, economists, etc. formally affiliated with domestic or foreign educational institutions (such as universities, think tanks, etc.) or those experts unaffiliated with educational institutions.

Note: "Intellectuals," "Writers," etc. who represent the anti-dam movement will not be coded in this category.

(VAR11 COURTS)

those from within the court system (such a judges, lawyers, etc.).

(VAR12 VILLAGERS)**NEGATIVELY IMPACTED VILLAGERS**

villagers negatively impacted by the Narmada Dam and similar development projects (often farmer families) not specified as formally affiliated with any government, agency, organization or institution — often referred to as "the villagers of ...", "project-affected persons," "oustees" (those forced to leave their land), "landless encroachers" (those with no formal title to government-owned land or communal lands), and so on.

BENEFITING VILLAGERS

those villagers (often farmer families) from drought-ridden areas not specified as formally affiliated with any government, agency, organization or institution who are said to benefit from the project. They are sometimes referred to as "the villagers of ... (in regions identified below)."

(VAR13 ANTI-DAM NGOS)**INTERNATIONAL ANTI-DAM NGOS**

those activists affiliated with or supportive of anti-dam international non-governmental organizations, or those they commission (engineers, scientists, etc.).

DOMESTIC ANTI-DAM NGOS

those activists affiliated with or supportive of anti-dam Indian non-governmental organizations, such as the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), or those they commission (such as engineers, scientists, etc.).

(VAR14 PRO-DAM NGOS)**INTERNATIONAL PRO-DAM NGOS**

those activists affiliated with or supportive of pro-dam international non-governmental organizations, or those they commission (engineers, scientists, etc.).

DOMESTIC PRO-DAM NGOS

those activists affiliated with or supportive of pro-dam Indian non-governmental organizations, or those they commission (such as engineers, scientists, etc.).

(VAR15 OTHER)

other kinds of sources: those specified but not listed above, such as Indian citizens in general — not affected by or involved with the project — and the press **ONLY** if they specifically add something to the story, **NOT** if sources are only said to have spoken with them, such as "in a press conference the prime minister said...").

(VAR16 UN-ID SOURCES) unidentifiable sources: those not identified in the story or impossible to identify. * Coders should try to determine a kind of source whenever possible. Read through a whole story once before categorizing a source as "unidentifiable." Often a source will be quoted a second time with more biographical information given than in the first citation.

(VAR 17 TOTAL SOURCES) (Mentioned above)

E. Major Emphasis of Kinds of Themes

1. Emphasis on Subthemes

This study examines two larger theme categories:
 sustainability issues
 versus
 economics/quantification issues

Within these larger categories, different subthemes can be identified. Coding will be conducted to identify which subtheme is most emphasized in coverage of the Narmada Dam issue.

Subthemes are statements on the issue that are presented in stories. They are said to be simplified arguments, but in coding, just think of them as statements, discussion points or debates on the issue.

Stories will be coded identifying the major subthemes emphasized.

(VAR18) MAJOR EMPHASIS	— —	(37-38)
(Sustainability Themes)		(Economics/Number Themes)
(01) HUMAN/ENVIR IMPACTS		(06) MACRODAM DEVELOP.
(02) PROJECT REVIEW		(07) NUMBER DEBATES
(03) MISTRUST OF PROJECT/RED TAPE		(08) HEIGHT COMPROMISE
(04) TOP-DOWN THEORY		(09) FINANCE
(05) PROTEST		(10) MISTRUST ANTI-DAMMERS
	(11) OTHER	
	(12) UNDETERMINED	

Major subtheme emphasis: is defined as any subtheme that is used most frequently in the first FIVE paragraphs of the article. This is based on the "inverted pyramid" technique, in which the most important information of the story is presented toward the beginning.

CODING PROCEDURE: the first FIVE paragraphs should be categorized according to subthemes (not including the headline or deck). Then the one most often identified is the major subtheme. That subtheme code number should then be added to the coding sheet. If the article is less than five paragraphs long then count the number of themes per article and code the subtheme most often identified.

As coding is conducted, write on the article page the correct category number next to the theme indicated. If the statement under question does not fit into any of the categories below, code it as "OTHER" and a one or two-word comment should be written on the coding sheet of what the coder thinks the statement is about.

Themes:

To figure out which themes are present, the first five paragraphs of the story should be read carefully, paragraph by paragraph, trying to identify which themes are referenced. NOTE: Not every sentence has to be identified with a theme (for instance, a record of names of people who attended a meeting is listed; or sometimes, in features, the beginning just sets the scene for the piece; etc.).

COUNTING THEMES:

Coders should try to pick out the over-riding themes of each paragraph. Typically, there may be one or more per paragraph. Once a theme is identified, it should be noted once. When another theme is identified, it should be noted once. This should be done paragraph by paragraph. If the same theme carries over to the next paragraph, then it should be counted again.

NOTE: This categorization requires common sense. Occasionally (only occasionally!), the counting method above may not reflect the true emphasis of an article. For instance, If an unusually long paragraph that takes up most of the article focuses on one theme, then another theme is mentioned briefly twice in two non-consecutive short sentences, it may not make sense to code the two briefly mentioned themes as the major emphasis. In this case, use common sense to make the judgment.

Rule: If an two or more subthemes are used an equal number of times in the first five paragraphs, then the headline of the article should be the determining factor on which subtheme is the major emphasis of the piece. If the headline does not clarify the matter, the major emphasis will be the first tangible theme in the article (in features, for example, it may be necessary to skim through the beginning part to get to the substance of the article). It may prove necessary to skim the article in full to decide, if the above methods do not help determine the major emphasis of the article.

ASSESSING THEMES:

Themes can be assessed by looking at the points, statements and key words that are included in the article, paragraph by paragraph. For instance, the word "compensation" in a paragraph may or may not relate to the variable "HUMAN/ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS" depending on the context of the statement it is used in. Other examples include: "anti-dam movements," which may relate to the variable "PROTESTS." The sentence, "implementation of

rehabilitation is slow," may relate to the variable, "RED TAPE"; or "meeting energy needs" could relate to the variable, "MACRO-DAM BENEFITS."

THEME DEFINITIONS:

SUSTAINABILITY SUBTHEMES:

HUMAN/ENVIRON IMPACTS (01) human aspects of rehabilitation and relocation, as well as plant and animal aspects.

- HUMAN IMPACTS relate to statements, debates or discussion on the impact of relocation and rehabilitation (R & R) on people. It involves the quality of life for human beings (villagers) affected by the Narmada Dam and similar projects. These include positive and negative impacts on people's way of life. NOTE: impacts on people outside the Narmada Valley fall under the theme of MACRODAM BENEFITS.

Examples include: eviction of village "oustees," loss of livelihood through submergence of land, forced relocation, lack of compensation for relocation, shelter and rehabilitation, health risks of rehabilitation, preservation or desecration of traditional religious cultures, submersion of religious temples, destruction of the Narmada as a "holy" river, treatment of low status "project-affected peoples," discrimination of "tribal peoples," and so on, as well as the benefits of relocation and rehabilitation.

In addition, If the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal award is mentioned then this theme is generally considered to be present. The highly controversial 1979 award provides compensation in money, land, etc. for displaced families.

- ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS relate to statements, debates or discussion on the impact of these kinds of projects on nature and the ecology of the environment, such as the submergence of land. This may relate to protection or lack of protection against extinction of endangered plant and/or animal species, loss of habitat or destruction of flora and fauna and so on. It is concerned particularly with issues of "ecology."

This theme also relates to debates or discussion over care (protection or lack of protection) of land and water resources. This can be viewed in terms of issues relating to deforestation, denuding and afforestation of forested lands for fuel, cultivation of fisheries, soil erosion, siltation and soil conservation and so on.

PROJECT REVIEW (02) review of the project.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion over allowing a REVIEW of the project and REVIEW of policies of the project — taking seriously the findings of those who conducted studies or reviews.

Examples include: anti-dam activists demanding an analysis of the dam or a halt in construction, while project authorities refuse to talk about the issue and state, specifically in reaction to criticisms, that they plan to continue the project. Anti-dam activists may point to the “Report of the Independent Review,” which eventually strengthened the case against building the dam.

Words like, “review,” “dialogue,” “deadlock,” “stalemate,” “negotiation,” “meetings,” “settlement,” and so on may be mentioned. In addition, the Indian courts could be mentioned.

There may also be statements, debates or discussion within and among the anti-dam groups about the project, or within and among the pro-dam groups about the project. For instance, some pro-dam sources are concerned with the issue of oustee rehabilitation and want to discuss that with other pro-dam sources.

MISTRUST OF PROJECT/RED TAPE (03) mistrust of the project organizers/stagnation.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion over possible forms of cover-up (or “conspiracy”) among “vested” players (government officials, industry, the World Bank, etc., as beneficiaries) who are said to suppress information on the project (such as blueprints of the project, environmental impact reports), or give false or inaccurate misinformation or no information.

The focus is on suspicion of vested project authorities and financiers.

This may be subtle: For instance, the word “alleged” may appear in the article. Likewise, a statement that no information is available from the World Bank may portray a mistrust in the project; or claims may be refuted, as in someone simply contradicting an assertion made about a piece of official business conducted by a government official (A minister said she never received an important memo said to be sent by the chief minister).

This may be overt: There may be admissions of anger, disappointment, disbelief etc. in policies and decisions. If it is an anti-dam editorial, parts of the article may fall into this category at times.

There could also be a concern over a lack of credibility of government engineering practices. This relates to the danger associated with construction of the dam (such as questions of floods due to structural damage from earthquakes, etc.), which could adversely affect people and animals.

There may be times when the "Official Secrets Act" gets mentioned if this theme is present.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion over stagnation of players and agencies involved. Inactivity is a major factor in this theme.

In addition, there may be inaction in decision-making by officials about the project (tardiness in paying relocation compensation, slowness of courts to decide if project should go further or be stopped, lack of decisions by governments to give clearances, and so on).

It could relate to failure in implementation of various aspects of the project, including inaction in following the court's directive to review the project or give clearances and so on.

TOP-DOWN THEORY (04) national development.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion over large, expensive, foreign-imposed or nationally-imposed development strategies that are viewed as destructive to people and nature. **The focus is: large scale development SUCH AS THE NARMADA DAM, seen as unhelpful and destructive.

These include issues of the theory about "top-down" or "trickle-down" development (developmental) models (where development comes to the villagers from those controlling-agencies in power above them), the lack of "people's participation" in large development projects; the assertion that large development does not benefit those most in need, imperialism of pro-dam international, national or state governments and organizations, promotion of inappropriate technologies or more new projects; North-South "developed/developing country" debates over the environment (like those discussed during the "Earth Summit"), and so on.

PROTEST (05) protest related to the project.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion (which may be held for a variety of reasons) about protests or actions for or against construction of the dam.

The actions (resistance) may be in the form of marches, petitions, hunger strikes, group suicides ("sacrifice" drownings), rallies and so on. This theme examines issues of democracy, human rights abuses, campaigns, government actions for or against protesters, non-violence or Gandhian principles, etc.

ECONOMIC AND NUMBER-ASSOCIATED SUBTHEMES:

MACRODAM BENEFITS (06) benefits of macro hydro-electric dams.

This relates to statements, debates or discussion over the benefits of large-scale hydro-electric dams, such as irrigation of drought-ridden agricultural lands or villages, energy-production, and so on. Also, included is references to implementation of resource policy, water policy and so on.

This theme tends to reflect positive statements about the benefits of large-scale development projects like the Narmada Dam.

Includes positive and negative impacts on people affected by the project OUTSIDE the Narmada Valley (not in the submergence zone but said to receive water from the dam).

If not part of "PROJECT REVIEW," simple statements that the dam project construction will be implemented, statements of support, progress reports, etc. fit into this category.

Article may generally discuss government policy on resources.

Phrases like the dam being called "the lifeline of Gujarat" fit in this category.

NUMBER DEBATES (07) the question of accuracy of numbers.

This entails statements, debate or discussion on the accuracy of number estimates related to the project.

This could include the question of number estimates on the following: amount of people affected, number of different kinds of animals or plants affected, loss of soil in inches, cost of project, financial benefits, acreage to be submerged, years to complete (could include dates), and so on.

This theme is present if number amounts are mentioned in a context in which they are being questioned or scrutinized. Thus, for example, if just the estimated cost of the project is mentioned, it is not enough to count as presence of this theme. However, if the estimated cost is presented in a way that it becomes a matter of disagreement, then this theme is present.

This theme is also likely present when number estimates mentioned in a story are compared with other similar number estimates. For instance, "Project authorities say the project will be completed by the year 2003, however, anti-

dam activists project that dam construction will carry on until 2015." OR "Anti-dam activists claimed that the actual number of people to be relocated was much more than the official estimates."

Monetary and Acreage Equivalencies: Indian currency is in "rupees." One "lakh" rupees equals 100,000 rupees; one "crore" rupees equals 10 million rupees. Ex. Rs. 100 crore is 1 billion rupees or approximately \$30 million; "Hectares" are used instead of acres. One hectare equals approximately two and a half acres.)

HEIGHT COMPROMISE (08) compromise on height of dams.

This primarily involves statements, debate and negotiation specifically on the issue of compromise over the height of dams — whether they should be lowered or raised, not whether the project should be stopped.

If the height of the dam is mentioned, that is not enough to count this theme as present, however, if the issue relates to compromise or the lack of compromise over the dam height, then this theme is present.

FINANCE (09) finances of the project.

This examines statements, debates or discussion related to finances: who pays for the project, how it is paid for and how money is being spent?

Articles might discuss loans for the project (the building of the dams), as well as financial responsibility for implementation. They may refer to the issues of fiscal planning, financial provisions, the allocation and administration of resources (such as land or water) for development, paying for completion of the project and other on-going projects, aid, lenders, credit, loans, economic losses, and so on.

Note: if the World Bank or the Planning Commission is mentioned, then it is may be a finance theme, depending on the context of the article.

MISTRUST OF ANTI-DAMMERS (10) mistrust of anti-dam sentiment.

This relates to statements, debate or discussion on impeding India's economic developmental "progress" by those who are influencing others to resist the project. This theme focuses on the idea that those who try to stop dam construction are blamed, denounced and accused of hindering the country's "positive" economic growth and development. There is a mistrust of anti-dam forces - their intentions, motives and actions.

Examples: Pro-dam forces may accuse Indians working against developments, like the dam, of being "unpatriotic." By stopping large development, they are said to be working as "agents of the west," involved in a "plot" to keep India dependent upon the First World. They may be portrayed as "traitors" against "Mother India."

Anti-dam advocates may deny these kinds of charges.

Pro-dam advocates urge people to take a stand against the anti-dam advocates.

OTHER THEMES (11) other focus.

This includes any theme not identified above.

UNDETERMINED THEMES (12) undetermined focus.

This category is to be used only if it is impossible to determine which theme represents the major emphasis.

F. Bias

(VAR19) EDITORIAL BIAS _____ (39)

This variable is a factor if the story type is coded as an "editorial" or "feature" piece. If the story is not an editorial, then code as directed below.

Since an "editorial" emphasizes the writer's opinion, it will reflect a bias in favor of the dam project or against the dam project.

This bias can be assessed by examining the judgmental, or "loaded" words or phrases used by the author of the article: loaded words or phrases tend to foster a judgmental attitude. For instance, those "fanatical" Narmada enthusiasts (pro-dam), or the project is a "mockery" (anti-dam). It may imply a sense of mistrust of players involved in the controversy, such as "The government's game is transparent" (anti-dam), or "Anti-dam forces are at it again, trying to manipulate the villagers of Manebeli" (pro-dam). Bias may also be seen in the form of a question or an assertion. For instance, "Why does the government continue to fund this ill-fated project? (anti-dam)" or "NBA leader Medha Patkar must end her hunger strike" (pro-dam).

On occasion, it may be difficult to determine if the writer is pro-dam or anti-dam, however, this category should be avoided if possible.

CODING PROCEDURE: The first five paragraphs and the last three paragraphs of the story should be read, looking for any opinions. If the writer is pro-dam, code a "1" for pro-dam. Code a "2" for anti-dam and "3" for undetermined. Code a "9" if editorial bias does not apply (not an editorial type article).

- (1) Pro-dam
- (2) Anti-dam
- (3) Undetermined
- (9) Does not apply (not an editorial piece)

Narmada Dam/Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP)
Story Source List of Groups/Organizations/Reference Terms

(These are examples: the list is not all-inclusive)

SOURCES (For time period between 1989 & 1993)

****** For unidentified terms like "officials," authorities," "project engineers," etc.; for government/industry officials: can look to datelines (and/or see dateline and geography reference list below) to see which states' officials are being referenced.

****** For "former" kinds of sources or sources with dual affiliations, see reference list below.

NOTE: Also, watch for differences in initials to distinguish between people (ex: Mr. G.I. Patel vs. C. Patel).

RULE: To assess categorizations, assess the CONTEXT in which the source is referenced.

*Remember about dual or triple affiliations (not all are listed, so assessing the context of the story is critical).

(VAR07) FOREIGN GOVERNMENT DONORS AND POTENTIAL DONORS:

* All countries' governmental agencies or bodies other than India's (EX: a senate subcommittee of the U.S. Congress). The governments may be referred to as "the United States" or "Brazil" (but don't confuse with straight geographical reference); "The West" or "North"; The "South" or East" (if not India).

* Diplomatic organizations like: The United Nations

* The World Bank ("the Bank"); ("the lender" or "funding agency");

member countries of the World Bank

Director of India Department of World Bank, Heinz Virgin

World Bank President

International Development Association (a part of loan)

* Independent Review Commission (*NOT A DUAL SOURCE). The Commission published a report by Bradford Morse (former United Nations Development Program administrator and U.S. Congressman) and Justice Thomas Berger (worked on the Sardar Sarovar Project).

* Overseas Development Assistance

* US Agency for International Development (USAID)

- * Multilateral Development Banks (MDB)

(VAR08) INDIAN GOVERNMENT:

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

"Officials" OR "the government"; "the state" (unless specified otherwise); "India"; "the central government"; "the Center"; "union" officials; "bureaucrats"; "the military"; "GOI" (government of India); "planners"; "the borrower"; "Delhi;" "politicians"; "the country"

"Lok Sabha" (house of the people); "Rajya Sabha" (council of states)

- * Congress I Party (Pradesh Congress I)
- * Prime Minister: P.V. Narasimha Rao (Former PMs were Jawaharlal Nehru ("Neruvian tradition"), Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Chandra Shekhar, Singh and so on)
- * Other former politicians (*if they represent the central government)
- * President of central government
- * Minister of State (assistant secretary to central government)
- * MPs (Members of Parliament) (not to be confused with the state of Madhya Pradesh - referred to as MP OR M.P.)
- * Union Ministries, departments, and commissions, such as the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Water Resources (and the National Water Board), Power, Finance, etc. or the Central Water Commission and the Planning Commission (committee led by Jayant Patil)
- *** Narmada Valley Control Authority (NCA) (part of Water Resources Ministry - S.C. Verma former chairman) (the highest decision-making body on the project)
- *** Narmada Valley Development Authority/Agency (NVDA)
- * Union Secretary of Social Welfare
- * Comptroller and Auditor General of India
- * Dam Safety Panel (has water resources development minister)
- *Khosla Commission
- * The Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal

REMEMBER: NOT SARDAR SAROVAR PROJECT

GUJARAT STATE GOVERNMENT

"Gujarat" (don't confuse with straight geographical reference); "GOG" (government of Gujarat); "The state" (see dateline for city and examine context of story. To be based on context — not to be confused with the Central Government);

"Assembly House"; Congress MLA (Member of Congress Party elected to legislative assembly of the state); "officials"; "the (local) police"; "the (local) authorities"; "district officials" (local)

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors": these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources unless an agency name appears to clarify what they are: NOTE: If government is separated from "project authorities," etc. ("Sardar Sarovar authorities") in same sentence - "government and project authorities say..." — then count "project authorities" as industry only.

* Sardar Sarovar Development Corporation (also industry): NOTE: If government referred to in same sentence - "the government and the SSDC" - count SSDC as industry only.

- * Chief or Executive Engineer and Plant Officer (also could be industry)
- * Chief Minister (Ex: Amarsinh Choudhary. Most active was Chimanbhai Patel who was Choudhary's successor. Patel died in 1994).
- * Governor
- * Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee (Congress I for Gujarat: Pro dam)
- * Chief Secretary (was H.K. Khan in 1990)
- * Irrigation Minister
- * Chunibhai Vaidya, Yoginder Alagh and others specified

*Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Ltd. (SSNNL) and Chairmen Sanat Mehta and C.C. Patel (also industry, NOTE: SEE BELOW)

- * Gujarat State Rehabilitation Department (Mr. Anup Kumar associated)
Sardar Sarovar Rehabilitation Agency
- * State Minister
- * State Rehabilitation Minister and Secretary
- * State Planning Board

* Minister for Narmada Development ("Narmada minister") Babubhai Patel (former chief minister; became president of pro-dam NGO)

MAHARASHTRA STATE GOVERNMENT:

"Maharashtra" (don't confuse with straight geographical reference);
"Assembly House"; Congress MLA (Member of Congress Party elected to legislative assembly of the state); "officials"; "the state" (based on context - not to be confused with the Central Government); "the (local) police"; "the (local) authorities"; "district officials" (local)

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors": these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources, unless an agency

name appears to clarify what they are. NOTE: If government is separated from "project authorities, etc." in same sentence - "government and project authorities say..." - then count "project authorities" as industry only.

- * Chief Minister
- * Governor
- * State Minister
- * State Rehabilitation Minister and Secretary
- * Chief or Executive Engineer and Plant Officer (could also be industry)
- * State Planning Board

MADHYA PRADESH STATE GOVERNMENT:

"Madhya Pradesh" (don't confuse with straight geographical reference);
 "Assembly House", Congress MLA (Member of Congress Party elected to legislative assembly of the state); "officials"; "the state" (based on context — not to be confused with the Central Government); "the (local) police"; "the (local) authorities"; "district officials" (local)

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors": these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources, unless an agency name appears to clarify what they are: NOTE: If government is separated from "project authorities, etc." in same sentence - "government and project authorities say..." - then count "project authorities" as industry only.

- * Chief Minister (S.C. Shukla, Sunderlal Patwa, etc.)
- * Governor
- * State Minister
- * State Rehabilitation Minister and Secretary
- * Chief or Executive Engineer and Plant Officer (could also be industry)
- * State Planning Board

Minister for Narmada Development (Narmada Minister)

RAJASTHAN STATE GOVERNMENT:

"Rajasthan" (don't confuse with straight geographical reference);
 "Assembly House"; Congress MLA (Member of Congress Party elected to legislative assembly of the state); "officials"; "the state" (based on context - not to be confused with the Central Government); "the (local) police"; "the (local) authorities"; "district officials" (local)

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors": these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources, unless an agency name appears to clarify what they are. NOTE: If government is separated from

"project authorities, etc." in same sentence - "government and project authorities say..." - then count "project authorities" as industry only.

- * Chief Minister
- * Governor
- * State Minister
- * State Rehabilitation Minister and Secretary
- * Chief or Executive Engineer and Plant Officer (could also be industry)
- * State Planning Board

STATE GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL:

Congress MLA (Member of Congress Party elected to legislative assembly of the state); "officials", "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors" and "the state" and all state posts.

- * Other Indian states, such as Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Sikkim, etc.

Opposition political party leaders and members not identified with a state government, such as "left-wing political parties"; "Leftist political parties" or specifically:

- * Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) ("BJP government") (State Gov. Pro dam)
- * Janata Dal (JD) (JD government) (mostly pro-dam); (other off-shoots of the Janata party, such as the Yuva Janata & the Chhatra Janata -- youth wings)
- * Communist Party of India (anti-dam)
- * Democratic Youth Federation (anti-dam)

AND SO ON...

(VAR09) INDUSTRY:

Chief or Executive Engineer and Plant Officer (could also be government); "the private sector"; certain "corporations"; "business"; (not local Narmada Valley shops); "large agribusiness"; "Chemical industry"; banks and financial institutions (except multilateral lenders like the World Bank); technologists; "private interests"; and so on.

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers", "project contractors" these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources, unless an agency name appears to clarify what they are: NOTE: If government is separated from "project authorities, etc." in same sentence - "government and project authorities say..." - then count "project authorities" as industry only.

*Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam (Agency) Ltd. (SSNN) and Chairmans Sanat Mehta and C.C. Patel (**also Gujarat government)

* Sardar Sarovar Development Corporation (also Gujarat government)

* (Gujarat) Chamber of Commerce and Industry (pro) (GCC). President is Jagdish Jhaveri

* Narmada Abhiyan (a group of industrialists)

* Jai Prakash Associates

* Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited

* Karnataka Power Corporation

* Gujarat Mineral Development Corporation

* Indian funding agencies such as: Reserve Bank of India; Provident Fund; Unit Trust of India

* Narmada Power Corporation Nigam (Narmada Nigam)

* Forest Development Corporation

* Large landowners (rich, better-off, landed farmers but not Project-Affected Peoples)

(VAR10) EDUCATIONAL EXPERTS:

"The scientific community"; "economists;" sometimes those who hold seminars; and so on

* Maharaja Sayajirao University

* Tata Institute of Social Sciences

* INTACH (The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage)

* Osmania University

* Vijay Paranjapape (economist) - against the dam

(VAR11) COURTS:

"The magistrate"

* The Supreme Court

* The Gujarat High Court

* Lawyers

(VAR 12) VILLAGERS:

IMPORTANT **See counting procedure above to count accurately

*****NOTE:** If they are villager demonstrators, they are to be coded twice under "villagers" and "anti-dam NGOS."

"Communities" ; those from "far flung places"

NEGATIVELY IMPACTED VILLAGERS:

Those people who may potentially be or already are "relocated and rehabilitated" or have been negatively impacted by the Narmada Dam and similar development projects.

The villagers of Manebeli, Harsud and others in the Narmada Valley

"The villagers of ..."; "families from..."; "farmers from..." "local business" owners (not industry if comprised of owners from project-affected areas)

"Tribals" (often referred to in Hindi as "adivasis" (the original dwellers); "oustees"; "project-affected persons"; "displaced persons"; "landless laborers"; "encroachers"; "poor farmers"; "a village patel (headman)"; "agriculturists"; "major sons"

- * Villagers allocated land
- * Village government leaders

BENEFITING VILLAGERS:

The villagers from Saurashtra and Kutch and other drought-ridden districts in different states said to be the beneficiaries of the project.

"The village of ..."; "families from..."; "farmers from..."

(The other beneficiaries will be industry, but large businesses or industries mentioned outside the Narmada Dam region should be placed in the "industry" category.)

(VAR13) ANTI-DAM NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ("NGOS"):**INTERNATIONAL ANTI-DAM NGOS:**

People from countries other than India (such as West Germany, USA, UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan and so on) who actively support anti-dam organizations. Also can include anti-dam "NRI" (Non Resident Indians)

"Environmentalists"; "greens;" "voluntary organizations"; international "trade union organizations" international "anti-dam lobbyists"; "activists; "Narmada activists"

- * Lawyers (work with anti-dam international activists)
- * The Wapenhans Report on the World Bank
- * International community / forum
- * Natural Resources Defense Council
- * International Rivers Network

- * Environmental Defense Fund
- * Friends of the Earth
- * Oxfam

DOMESTIC ANTI-DAM NGOS:

Note: "Andolan" means "movement": "the movement"

"Narmada activists;" "environmentalists;" "activists;" "extremists"; anti-dam "voluntary organizations"; "trade union organizations"; anti-dam "farm labor organizations"; "a citizen's committee to review the project"; "Sangharsh Yatra" (anti-dam demonstrators); Gandhian principles.

- * Villager-demonstrators (NOTE: Code as villager and anti-dam NGO)

- * Lawyers (work with anti-dam domestic activists)

Important activists of the movement:

- * NBA leader Medha Patkar
- * Baba Amte
- * Sundarla Bahuguna
- * Rajni Kothari
- * Ashish Kothari
- * Smitu Kothari
- * Swami Agnivesh
- * Girish Patel
- * Shabana Azmi
- * Srilatha Swaminathan
- * Satinath Sarangi
- * Claude Alvarez
- * Ramesh Billorey
- * B.D. Sharma (NOTE: SEE BELOW)
- * Ms. Maneka Gandhi (NOTE: SEE BELOW)

Anti-Dam Orgs or activists:

- * Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA)
- * Khedut Mazdoor Chetna Sangathan
- * Jal Sankat Nivaran Samiti
- * Multiple Action Group
- * Lok Adhikar Sangh
- * Janhitvadi Vikas Manch (Action Committee Against Destructive Development)
- * Bharat Jan Andolan
- * Jan Vikas Andolan (People's Development Movement)
- * Azadi Bachao Andolan
- * Indian People's Front

- * Human Rights Campaign on Narmada
- * Keshubhai
- * Kalpavriksh
- * ALCOM
- * Saheli
- * Ankur
- * Sruti
- * CENDIT
- * All India Federation of Trade Unions
- * Dalit Student Federation
- * Himalaya Bachao Andolan
- * Lokayan
- * IIT Nature Club
- * People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL)
- * People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR)
- * Bhopal Gas Pidet Mahila Udyog Sangathan
- * Karjan Jalashay
- * Yojana Saugharsh
- * Narmada Jyot, Yuva Janata and Chandra Janata
- * Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal (initially supported dam, then changed and became anti-dam)
- * Narayan Desai (Narayanbhai)

Other anti-dam types of groups:

- * Anti-dam "Gandhian" activists
- * Women's groups
- * Student organizations
- * Social workers
- * Actors
- * Labor unions
- * Anti-dam religious groups (see list in this category above) (also found in pro-dam camp)
- * Artists
- * Writers
- * "Intellectuals"

(VAR14) PRO-DAM NGOs:

INTERNATIONAL PRO-DAM NGOs:

People from countries other than India (such as West Germany, USA, UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan and so on) who actively support anti-dam organizations.

Also can include anti-dam "NRI" (Non Resident Indians). These are mostly Gujaratis living abroad.

- * Activists
- * Lawyers (work with pro-dam international activists)

DOMESTIC PRO-DAM NGOs:

Note: "Andolan" means "movement"

"The people of Gujarat" (could include "tribals", "middle class", etc.).

Pro-dam "voluntary organizations"; pro-dam "lobbyists"; "trade union organizations"; pro-dam "farm labor organizations"; "Shanti Yatra" (pro-dam demonstrations); villagers from other states; "activists"

- * Lawyers (work with pro-dam domestic activists)
- * Pro-dam "Gandhian" activists
- * Bharat Ekta Andolan (President Urmilaben Patel, wife of Gujarat Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel) (NOTE: IF Bharat Ekta Andolan President Urmilaben Patel is mentioned specifically as "the wife of Gujarat Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel," then count them each separately (pro-dam NGO and government); The same is true for any other chief ministers' wives involved in pro-dam activities, such as G.C. Chimanbhai Mehta's wife).
- * Lok Swaraj Manch (President is minister for Narmada Development Babubhai Patel: he was Chief Minister of Gujarat) (NOTE: SEE BELOW)
- * Harivallabh Parikh (pro dam Gandhian social worker in Gujarat)
- * Chunibhai Vaidya
- * Krishnaprasad Patel
- * Swami Sachidanand
- * Chunibhai Vaidya (Gandhian activist)
- * Pro-dam student organizations (like those from Maharaja Sayajirao University)
- * Pro-dam political leaders
- * Pro-dam religious groups (such as the Swami Narian Sect or Niketan Ashram)
- * Friends of Nature Society
- * SETU (Achyut Yagnik is activist formerly anti-dam)
- * ARCH-Vahini (Anil Patel is activist formerly anti-dam)
- * Gandhian Sadavichar organization
- * Gujarat "Narmada Foundation"
- * Foundation Trust
- * Shramik Vikas Sansthan
- * Anand Niketan

(VAR15) OTHER:

Non-impacted, unaffected or uninvolved Indian citizens ("countrymen"; "the people", "people of the country" etc.)

*****The news media ONLY if they specifically add something to the story, NOT if sources are only said to have spoken with them, such as "in a press conference the prime minister said..."): Count once, no matter how many different kinds of media are mentioned, unless different specific journalists' names are used.

COUNT ONCE:

"According to the BBC, national press and the Gujarat papers, which covered the event extensively..."

DON'T COUNT AGAIN:

"the media blitz..."

COUNT AGAIN:

"Mr. Choudary, of the Nav Bharat Times, says..."

NOTE: Ignore reference if it mentions name of newspaper article published in: EX: In the Times of India, "as told to a Times of India reporter..."

Those whose affiliation does not fit into this list, such the militia in the Punjab and Kashmir, TADA (unrelated to this issue)

Doctors and hospital officials, etc.

(VAR16) UNIDENTIFIED:

"Others"; "Other people;" if not identified with a kind of source (Note how this is not the variable "other" above). NOTE: "Others at the anti-dam demonstration" should be in the Anti-Dam NGO category.

Some sources are not identified on purpose (such as off the record sources): "according to sources..."

Some unspecified terms are nearly impossible to categorize without the context of the story or are just too general. In some cases, if the context does not give enough information to assesses these very generalized sources terms, then it is impossible to do so. For instance, there are times when it will be difficult to assess terms like: "NGO community"; "vested interests"; "opponents of the dam"; "proponents of the dam," etc.

RULE: In these cases, only if it is impossible to categorize them, mark them as "un-identified."

It is often difficult to identify sources in stories. However, it is critical to try to avoid this category as much as possible.

To accomplish this 1) read stories all the way through and/or re-read them if necessary; 2) use this reference list of organizations, and 3) place stories into their geographical context whenever possible by looking at datelines and using the dateline reference list.

The keys to choosing categories are to think of the context of the story and to use common sense.

REFERENCE LIST FOR MISC. SOURCE TYPES

"FORMER" KINDS OF SOURCES:

* Ms. Maneka Gandhi (during this struggle she was first the union environment minister; then became an activist with anti-dam non-governmental organizations)

NOTE: * Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal (initially supported the dam, then changed and became anti-dam: code as anti-dam, unless specific statement reflects pro-dam stance.)

"FORMER AND/OR DUAL AFFILIATION" KINDS OF SOURCES (for counting: include source in each relevant category = count twice):

* Minister for Narmada Development Babubhai Patel (became president of pro-dam NGO; was former chief minister)

* B.D. Sharma (Commissioner of the national government's Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (AS WELL AS activist for anti-dam non-governmental organizations)

* Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam Ltd. and Chairmen Sanat Mehta and C.C. Patel (industry and Gujarat government);

* Sardar Sarovar Development Corporation (industry and government): NOTE: If government referred to in same sentence - "the government and the SSDC" - count SSDC as industry only.

IF Bharat Ekta Andolan President Urmilaben Patel is mentioned specifically as "the wife of Gujarat Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel," then count them each separately (pro-dam NGO and government); The same is true for any prime ministers' wives, such as G.C. Chimanbhai Mehta's wife).

UNSPECIFIED TERMS: MAY BE DUAL AFFILIATION SOURCES:
(The best guide to identifying the kind of source mentioned is **use the context** of the statement or article to assess categorizations)

*NOTE: "project authorities"; "project engineers"; "project contractors": these unspecified sources are government AND industry sources, unless an agency

name appears to clarify what they are: NOTE: If government is separated from "project authorities, etc." in same sentence — "government and project authorities say..." — then count "project authorities" as industry only.

- "The international community" can refer to pro-dam OR anti-dam international non-governmental organizations (based on the context).

"Environmentalists" — based on the context, determine if they fit into international anti-dam NGOs or domestic anti-dam NGOs — or both.
 RULE: If the story does not mention an international component — assume they are domestic activists and vice versa.

"Activists" — based on the context, determine if they are international or domestic activists AND if they fit into anti-dam NGOs or pro-dam NGOs.
 RULE: If the story does not mention an international component — assume they are domestic activists and vice versa.

***NOTE: If they are village demonstrators, they are to be coded twice, under both villagers and anti-dam NGOS.

Some unspecified terms are nearly impossible to categorize without the context of the story or are just too general. In some cases, if the context does not give enough information to assesses these very generalized source terms, then it is impossible to do so. For instance, there are times when it will be difficult to assess terms like: "NGO community"; "vested interests"; "opponents of the dam"; "proponents of the dam"; "protagonists" etc.

RULE: In these cases, only if it is impossible to categorize them, mark them as "un-identified".

SPECIAL POINTS:

(See counting specifics above)

For the "other" category

*****This includes the news media

NOTE: Ignore reference if it mentions name of newspaper article is published in:

EX: In the Times of India, "as told to a Times of India reporter..."; or Times of India news agencies/Express news agencies)

DATELINE GEOGRAPHY REFERENCE LIST FOR STATES:**GUJARAT STATE GOVERNMENT (pro-dam):**

The capital is Ahmadabad. Baroda is in Gujarat. Kheda District is in Gujarat. Kutch and Saurashtra are in G.

**** NOTE:** Ferkuwa (or Ferkuva) on the M.P./Gujarat border is in Madhya Pradesh Gujarat. However, in 1990 march, when anti-dam demonstrators were forced to camp on M.P. side for most of time, authorities dealing with the protest were administratively on the Gujarat side.

MADHYA PRADESH STATE GOVERNMENT (less pro-dam):

The capital is Bhopal. Village of Harsud is in MP

MAHARASHTRA STATE GOVERNMENT:

The capital is Bombay. Pune and Manebeli Villages are in Maharashtra. Dhule District is in this state.

RAJASTHAN STATE GOVERNMENT:

The capital is Jaipur. The districts of Saurashtra and Kutch, the drought-ridden areas said to benefit from the dam, are in Rajasthan.

Appendix D

Appendix D

Interviews: Contextual Analysis:

The following observations were taken from interviews with journalists from Progovernment:

Journalist P1:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Regarding professional norms, Journalist P1 did not attain a degree in journalism but studied commerce and post-graduate work in sociology. She came to the profession as a freelancer. She started as a reporter at Progovernment in 1987, working her way up to "principle correspondent." She expressed great pride in the paper and environmental reporting in India in general. While not designated to an environment beat, she tended to mostly cover environmental stories, or at least stories with environmental angles. She views herself as an environmental advocate, which she said means "sustained reporting with follow-up action." Advocacy, however, does not preclude presenting all versions of the story. Objectivity is an important principle to reporters in India. She is a member of the Forum of Environmental Journalists of India (FEJI), but said the organization is basically defunct. She would like to see it be more of an information resource than it has been in the past.

Her news-gathering routines on the environment beat were affected by the NBA because the organization presented an endless diet of information in the form of press releases, press conferences, press tours, demonstrations, and so on. The NBA built a strong rapport with the reporter helping her to meet deadline pressures. "Journalists are not willing to run around looking for information. They have to be fed on a platter." This is so, she believed, because

of the intense workload wherein only one reporter is assigned to cover the state capital per state. She expressed frustration with government and World Bank sources, who seemed to hold back information.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Management policies were forced on reporters, affecting the way they did their jobs, according to Journalist P1. Often they were directly told what subjects to cover and how a particular "special page" (the environmental page) should look. In the last three to five years Progovernment has become more pro-business, putting an emphasis on economic stories and sales of the paper. There were no official environment reporters, so reporters had to juggle their coverage of the various ministries. It was difficult to sell environment stories to management and editors because they were more interested in stories on politics and the economy, which tend not to offend government or corporate interests. Financial commitment to the beat was limited, especially because it often required travel to rural areas, which was costly in terms of time and money. Therefore reporters often financed their own travel. More often they covered the story from afar. This was often the case in the Narmada story and many reporters criticized each other for that. Space for environmental stories is limited more so today than in the past.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Journalist P1 said the political ideology of the paper's management (its publishers, managers and editors) was pro-establishment or pro-government. She did not say if they were pro- or anti-Narmada Dam. Personally, she was skeptical of the top-down nature of the Narmada project in which the project-affected-persons "seem to sacrifice more than they receive." While the press did play a role in national development, they focused more on politics and the economy than on environmental issues.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: The paper's audience was viewed as primarily the urban elite, yet there was an irony as the editors tend to patronize

the audience by declaring that they are typically unable to grasp complex issues of public debate. Editors told reporters that the audience was not interested in the environment, were not ready for it and have a short attention span for it (though polling was not done to confirm this). Consequently, environmental stories were limited in length and ghettoized to the environment page.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Advertisers actually called management and suggested what the content of the paper should be. There was a lot of competition from other newspapers, especially non-English newspapers (Hindi-language papers' circulation has increased). Geographically, much environmental coverage was in local (regional) papers. Also, because of television, graphics had become more important. Progovernment began a price war in 1995, which increased circulation. This impressed management so much, they became less concerned with content. This weakened journalists' autonomy.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: India has a strong tradition of freedom of the press, but there has not been much investigative journalism. Consequently, government policies are announced in the press but not often evaluated, except by the government itself. Government sources were very closed to the media. Covering politics generated power, access and contacts for reporters. Covering the environment had a counter effect.

Journalist P2:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist P2 studied for a year at Cambridge and then worked in England as a reporter for a year receiving on-the-job training. He returned to India in 1969 and was made assistant editor for Progovernment, leapfrogging the hierarchy ("caste system," he called it) typically in place because of his overseas experience. Later, he worked briefly for Antigovernment but eventually returned to Progovernment, freelancing at times. By 1981, he became interested in environmental issues and development,

writing a book on the subject. Today the environment has become a "respectable beat," no longer seen as an issue only covered by women reporters. In 1994, he left the paper when management policies became "too oppressive" to allow him to do his job the way he wanted.

The Narmada story generated interest because it got international attention (even before it became an issue in India). It was a very people-oriented movement and the leader, Medha Patkar, was very charismatic. It represented the merging of two movements: human activists and environmentalists. It fit many of the news values of a good news story. By 1989 (during the Harsud demonstration) it became the biggest environmental story in India. Also, the NBA made it relatively easy to gain access to information on the story.

Journalist P2 played three roles at the paper: overseeing news from local editions in the region, writing features, or writing "signed editorials" (as a columnist) for the editorial page. Although he supported India's tradition of environmental advocacy, he said it was important to report both sides of an issue accurately or risk losing credibility. Even in editorials, he said the fact that he wrote for a "big establishment paper" affected how he presented his arguments, taking a middle of the road, "democratic" approach. He was often ridiculed for being "pro-environment." He was a member of FEJI but said there was little action in the organization. He blamed this on the fact that the membership is quite spread out geographically and communication is difficult in India. While he believed that environmental reporters try to educate themselves more than the average journalist in India, he thought that most Indian journalists did not read enough, research stories, cross check information, nor understand the technical jargon of the beat.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Journalist P2 said that he typically had to fight for space to get an environmental article published, however his reputation gained him much leverage.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Journalist P2 said that he understood the pro-dam argument (that so much has been spent on the dam so far that it cannot be stopped) and he blamed the anti-dam movement for not compromising earlier. For instance, they should have suggested alternatives, which would have made it easier to fight the dam. He wrote about alternatives in his columns. He personally was against the dam's top-down approach toward development, but admitted that India does need to deal with its electricity and drought problems, which were highly emotive issues in the affected states. He was skeptical of the pressure on the press by the Indian business lobby abroad, which is comprised primarily of pro-dam Gujaratis.

He said the press had been at the forefront of the freedom struggle in India and its role in national development was extremely important. English-language papers greatly influenced what went into print in the local "language-press." The national press also sets the political agenda. He said that Progovernment was pro-government and that meant pro-dam, which forced him to juggle his personal views with that of the paper's. He said his views as an editor would subtly influence what reporters wrote about the dam, except for the local editions, which were avidly pro-dam. More recently (between 1993 and 1994), a new executive editor, who had ties to the World Bank, took over, instituting a policy that Journalist P2 and his colleagues found highly condescending. Eventually, four senior editors left the paper, including Journalist P2.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Much of the audience in Gujarat was pro-dam.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Reporters at local editions of the paper would complain when Journalist P2 would write against the Narmada project, claiming that circulation would drop in pro-dam areas.

There was great competition from television, which promised higher salaries. However, the TV business was still too disorganized to deliver all that it promised. Also TV had less credibility than newspapers since it was so recently government-run.

Newspapers are more market-oriented these days, and libel is not an issue.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: While there was not overt censorship, it was difficult to get access to government and industry information. Records could be retained as company property. Certain laws, such as the Official Secrets Act, allowed government agencies to legally withhold information, even from the Parliament. Officials often refused to be named, even if they were referred to in a federally-sponsored official report, therefore most sources were mentioned off-the-record in news reports. The division of ministries made it difficult to attain information. Misinformation and disinformation were commonly disseminated.

Journalist P3:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist P3 received a bachelor's degree in English literature, history and French, and a masters in English. She began working as a sub-editor and reporter in 1984 for magazines and news agencies, focusing on women's issues, development and the environment. From 1989 to 1995 she worked at Progovernment.

In covering the Narmada, the NBA provided a lot of information to the press. Medha Patkar became the "star of the movement" - the "glitterati" - and the press sensationalized the issue. Journalist P3 wrote many articles about the

Narmada and related issues, which led to criticism from some of her editors.

Writing on the environment became a stigma against her. Since she was viewed as an advocate, her reputation as a credible journalist was damaged. She thought that Progovernment was "a bad place to work" and quit in 1995. She was a member of FEJI.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: She spent her own money to travel to the Narmada region because the paper did not provide a travel budget. The paper did not encourage enterprise or investigative reporting and she had to fight for space in covering the issue.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Journalist P3 was against the dam. The paper's owners received a lot of pressure from Gujarati business interests (pro-dam) not to cover the project or cover it in a positive light. Journalist P3 believed that, eventually, the paper's editors buckled under that pressure forcing a standard of objectivity with which she did not agree. If the facts were accurate, she did not feel it was necessary to present both sides of the issue in every story. "If you see a lot of people being beaten up, you are going to report that," she said. "You are not going to sit back and say, 'let us be objective'." She was also criticized as being biased because she used certain language in her stories, for instance, characterizing the beating of demonstrators as "brutal." She said this standard of objectivity was not applied as heavily in other types of reporting but was indicative of environmental journalism in India. She said the fate of environmental reporting at Progovernment was "doomed" when the new executive editor (who had worked for the World Bank) came to the paper, since he set an anti-environmental agenda in the newsroom. Since his arrival, a "tacit ban" on Narmada stories was introduced, particularly anything that mentioned Medha Patkar.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: (Not discussed)

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: There was a lot of pressure from advertisers to run pro-dam stories. Many ads by the Narmada authorities that supported the dam were run in the paper.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: The NBA often tried to pressure reporters to use the information the organization provided for publicity, which created tensions between reporters, editors and the activists. It was difficult to get confirmation of information from government and industry authorities, although it helped that Journalist P3 was from a large, established paper. "They make you dance for the information," she said. Stories were often delayed, waiting for confirmation of facts. Sometimes industry sources threatened to call up the editor and have a story banned.

Journalists P4:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist P4 was an engineer and academic who became involved in political activism and, eventually, in 1977, journalism. In 1981, he began work at Progovernment as a special correspondent and assistant editor. Then he wrote for the editorial page and is now a syndicated columnist writing on the environment and other issues. He thought environmental advocacy was a positive position since it made people aware of critical issues, such as deforestation, and how to combat them. He was critical of Narmada coverage because he thought the press did not explore the issues deeply enough. "It focuses very often on episodic stories," such as a fast, a protest, or a report, instead of debate of alternatives and compromise. He was not a member of FEJI.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Journalist P4 said that no reporter at the paper was assigned specifically to the environment beat, which meant there was too much for each reporter to cover and too little time for analysis of environmental policies and other issues. "Editors don't seem to understand the

importance of the environment." However, Journalist P4 said that he had an editor who was very supportive and often ran his stories on the front page. He said that there used to be some support for travel to cover stories, or training for reporters, but now that had changed. He would only discuss the matter further, off-the-record.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: The press played a crucial role in national development, framing the discussion on the dichotomy between economic development and environmental sustainability. In terms of the Narmada, he said the media had made a serious contribution to the public debate on the issue; however, the paper should have taken a stand against the project, which it did not. He was generally against large dams but did not classify himself as a total "rejectionist" of the project.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: He felt that the English-language press was an elite medium but that information in the papers did filter through to a general audience and was somewhat accessible.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Occasionally, libel suits over environmental issues arose, but it was rare. While there was competition from television, Journalist P4 did not see TV as a viable medium for reporting on the environment because it was "too superficial" and too "elitist" (expensive for the average person in India).

Extra-organizational Political Factors: It was difficult to gain access to information from sources on environmental stories. Sometimes documents were leaked to the press and, on occasion, agencies had tried to get certain reporters arrested under the Official Secrets Act (including Journalist P4), but had been unsuccessful. Censorship was not overt but came in the form of subtle government pressure on newspaper publishers. For instance, publishers were threatened with blackmail. Progovernment could afford to be relatively

independent, but Journalist P4 said editors tended to be weak, fearing arrest. He said, during the State of Emergency under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Antigovernment publishers were arrested and the power supply to the paper was cut off. Smaller papers were at even greater risk for government manipulation.

Journalist P5:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist P5 worked in academia for 12 years teaching economics, then moved into journalism in 1990. He began as associate editor of a large English-language daily (at a sister paper to Progovernment), starting work for Progovernment in 1993 as a business and economics editor. Now he is an editorial page editor. In terms of environmental advocacy, he said, "We have tried to tread a very narrow path between supporting environmental causes and supporting developmental causes...I have tried to take a balanced position as often as possible." Journalist P5 said for stories to be published they must be controversial, and the Narmada fit into that formula. He complained, however, that there was not enough analysis of issues overall.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: He said it was a battle to get environmental stories into the paper because there was a bias in favor of political and business stories. The environment was covered only cyclically, with no sustained interest. He said that, today, there is more financial support for training of environmental journalists. The environment had become a more "sexy" subject. Although the cost of newsprint was rising, he said Progovernment had deep pockets and could absorb the costs.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Up to 1993, the paper was considered very much a pro-establishment paper, supporting the government in power. However, since economic liberalization in India, the influence of the

government over the economy had decreased and the private sector, including the newspaper industry, had become much more ideologically independent of the government. He felt that with the arrival of the new executive editor (from the World Bank) and himself, the paper became more liberal and critical of government (this is the opposite of what other reporters said).

In the past, the press saw itself as part of a nation-building process, but currently, the press' role in national development has shifted away from government, to the marketplace. The press saw itself as defender of consumer interests and rights. Journalist P5 said it was not the government who should decide what was right for India, but consumers themselves.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: (Not discussed)

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: The Press Council of India often mediated complaints that could have led to libel cases in the courts. They operated as an ombudsman. Also, Progovernment lowered its prices in 1994, increasing its circulation and beating out other papers. Foreign newspapers were banned and there was no foreign investment of newspapers. TV was widely available and relatively inexpensive so there was a sense of competition with newspapers. Journalist P5 thought this would change a bit when pay channels are introduced.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: In terms of sources and information,

Journalist P5 said, "the government at all levels is extremely secretive."

Therefore, most information was given off-the-record. This led to problems of objectivity among reporting. "How do you prove you have substantiated information?" he asked.

The following observations were taken from interviews with journalists from Antigovernment:

Journalist A1:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist A1 is the development editor for Antigovernment. She started as a trainee reporter, working over half her career for Progovernment. She had been in the business for 30 years. She had no formal science training but did not see this as a hindrance. She was a member of FEJI but saw little activity in the group because "journalists are too busy to participate." She started covering the environment when only women worked that beat. She did not consider herself an environmental activist but did take sides in certain stories. She said she did this by eliciting a certain "tone" in her articles. She said there was a lot of tension in the newsroom. There was a great deal of uncertainty in the profession, and one always had to prove oneself. She complained that the competition and jealousy among reporters was fierce. Before, one had to just be a good journalist to get the best assignments; now, journalists had to agree with the managers' philosophies. She was struggling with whether to become a manager, although she preferred writing, to administrative work. However, she was frustrated that she did not have higher status after so many years in the profession.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: A recent hiring practice was to put employees under contract (2-3 years) instead of regular salary. One could receive a slightly higher pay scale that way but could be fired at the end of the period. There were unions for the reporters but they were not very effective.

There were no reporters covering the environment beat exclusively and it was difficult to get environment stories on the front page. Journalist A1 often had to fight to get her articles in the paper because they were not considered high priority. In fact, the development theme page, which she primarily wrote

for, was dropped at a certain point (it ran for two years). The reason was said to be a newsprint shortage but Journalist A1 was skeptical of that and felt it was a new editor's influence that canceled the page. She had some financial support to travel to the region to cover the Narmada story but has done much of her writing from reports only. With a limit of 600 to 800 words, it did not seem worth it to travel to the area. The paper subscribed to a number of wire services but did not yet fully utilize computers or the Internet.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: Journalist A1 said Antigovernment was definitely anti-establishment since it was very critical of the government. The paper's development theme page contributed much to national development in India. She felt that she personally had done a lot over the years to bring environmental issues to the media's attention. She was against large top-down development projects like the dam but at this point felt that it was time to compromise on the issue.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist A1 felt there was a big audience among the NGO community for the development theme page (no market survey had been conducted).

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: Antigovernment did not value the NGO readership because the stories NGOs were interested in did not promote the kind of advertisers the paper needed for financial success. Also, NGOs did not tend to advertise in the paper. There was a lot of competition from other newspapers and other media, including television. Accuracy was considered highly important to avoid having one's work brought before the Press Council, or result in libel suits.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: It was difficult to get information on the Narmada from the government or the World Bank, especially on deadline. Most information in reports, etc., was provided by the NBA. Reporters were

often criticized for the articles they wrote, by groups who disagreed with the content mentioned in the stories.

Journalist A2:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist A2 viewed himself as an environmental activist that became a journalist in order to use the media to promote an environmental message. Having worked as a reporter for **Antigovernment** for a number of years, he left to begin a new environmental magazine. He was originally fighting for the protection of wildlife. He was avidly against the dam. He felt the NBA got the media's attention so well because they treated the project not as a local issue but as one representative of the negative aspects of development. He was a member of FEJI but said the organization was not engaged in any activities. He thought that there was a problem because the reporters involved were not good at networking but instead wanted to be the center of attention. Reporters, he felt, were too competitive with each other to share information. "I think the person who should run this (organization) should be an administrator with a pathological need to disseminate information." He suggested that FEJI should raise funds to give environmental reporters at papers around India e-mail accounts.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: (Not discussed)

Intra-organizational Political Factors: He said that the new executive editor at **Progovernment** definitely influenced content of the paper in favor of the World Bank and the dam.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: (Not discussed)

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: (Not discussed)

Extra-organizational Political Factors: He felt that the World Bank had a calculated policy to manipulate the media in favor of the dam and improve the image of the Bank. He said it was difficult to get valid information from the

World Bank — only glossy brochures with a very one sided perspective. He said the Bank tempted decision-makers in ministries (who dealt with the press) by rewarding them with consulting-jobs abroad, and so on, if they looked favorably upon the Bank's objectives. Most information for stories was obtained through the NBA. He said that newspapers in Gujarat are pro-dam/pro-government because of the power of business interests there.

Journalist A3:

Intra-organizational Cultural Factors: Journalist A3 is a special correspondent with Antigovernment, starting as a trainee 13 years prior. She did not cover the environment beat exclusively but defined herself as a development writer. She had written quite a bit on the Narmada. Although she was personally against the dam, she said she wrote according to a standard of objectivity. She felt that it was not the newspapers that took a stand against the project, but individual reporters. She was not a member of FEJI because she was not aware of it. She said an organization would help if it provided reference material, contacts for stories, and also short term training programs.

Intra-organizational Economic Factors: Most of what she wrote tended to eventually get published in the paper, however, since liberalization, the environment was viewed as far less important than financial and political news. Market journalism was now the norm. She said she had the support of the executive editor to travel if necessary. Computers were in use in the newsroom but the paper was not yet equipped for e-mail or the Internet.

Intra-organizational Political Factors: She said the paper had been avidly anti-establishment, but was less so in recent years. It had, however, a subtle policy. Now, with a new editor-in-chief, the paper had tried to gain back some credibility it had lost by being so far to the left. She believed that the local press were more influential on development issues than the national English-

language press; however, the national press had an important impact on policy-making. Also, it had an affect on the regional press since national stories are reprinted.

Extra-organizational Cultural Factors: Stories filtered down to illiterate villagers, since people read the local papers aloud to others. She said the national papers were more respected because people viewed them as more objective.

Extra-organizational Economic Factors: The paper lowered its rates in response to Progovernment doing the same. Other papers have followed suit.

Extra-organizational Political Factors: She felt it was not difficult to get "official information" from the government. However, she often had to use off-the-record sources. The World Bank was very inaccessible. Most information came from the NBA and other NGOs and industry sources.

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