# Media and Development in Sikkim: A Study of Sikkim

# Newspapers

A Thesis Submitted

То

# Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the

# **Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

By

# Mahendra Prasad Gurung

Department of Mass Communication

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Manoj Kumar Das

Department of Mass Communication

School of Professional Studies

Sikkim University

December, 2022

## Declaration

I, Mahendra Prasad Gurung, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the thesis titled "Media and Development in Sikkim: A Study of Sikkim Newspapers" submitted to the Sikkim University in the partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Mahendra Brasned Gurring

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Mahendra Prasad Gurung PhD Registration No.: 15/Ph.D/MCM/03 Registration Date: 07/10/2015 Department of Mass Communication School of Professional Studies Sikkim University 6 माइल, सामदुर, तादोंग - 737102 गंगटोक, सिक्किम, भारत फोन-03592-251212, 251415, 251656 टेलीफैक्स - 251067 वेबसाइट - <u>www.cus.ac.in</u>



6th Mile, Samdur, Tadong-737102 Gangtok, Sikkim, India Ph. 03592-251212, 251415, 251656 Telefax : 251067 Website : <u>www.cus.ac.in</u>

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#### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled "Media and Development in Sikkim: A Study of Sikkim Newspapers" submitted to the Sikkim University in the partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Mass Communication embodies the result of *bona fide* research carried out by MAHENDRA PRASAD GURUNG under my guidance and supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship.

He has duly acknowledged all the assistance and help received during the investigation.

I recommend that the thesis be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

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Supervisor Dr Manoj Kumar Das Assistant Professor Department of Mass Communication

ognitule

Dr Manoj Kumar Das Head of the Department/In-Charge Department of Mass Communication Sikkim University 6 माइल, सामवुर, तार्दोग - 737102 गंगटोक, सिक्किम, भारत फोन-03592-251212, 251415, 251656 टेलीफैक्स - 251067 वेबसाइट - <u>www.cus.ac.in</u>



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#### "Media and Development in Sikkim: A Study of Sikkim Newspapers"

Submitted by Mahendra Prasad Gurung under the supervision of Dr Manoj Kumar Das, Assistant Professor, Department of Mass Communication, School of Professional Studies, Sikkim University.

Mahendra Prasad Gunng

Signature of the Scholar Mahendra Prasad Gurung

neas

Countersigned by the Supervisor Dr Manoj Kumar Das

Vetted by the Librarian

Dr Shri Ram

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## **Chapter I**

## Introduction

#### 1.1. Description of the Area of Concern

The role and form of newspapers or most of the communication media have been changing since its very inception. From its informative role on subjects of politics to social activities and economics to entertainment, it has served people in different times and situations according to the demands and needs of society. The very first newspaper in India - Bengal Gazette - was started to vent dissent against the company (Chalapathi Rau, 1974). Several newspapers emerged in India during the colonial rule but most of them serve the purpose of addressing the issues of independence from colonial rule in India. In post-independence India, the media had a different role than in pre-independence as they are obligated to serve the nationbuilding process of India (Chalapathi Rau, 1974). Dar, (2012) contends that generally, media play different roles in different conditions, "As a fourth estate, they provide checks and balances on the activities of the three arms of government; as agenda setters, they influence the issues on public agenda; as gatekeepers, they decide what information gets to the public; as a watchdog, they represent the interests of the people and as multipliers, they add to multiply messages". In the context of social change too, it has served society in different capacities around the world sometimes as an information disseminator and sometimes serving to persuade people in changing their behavior for the adoption of innovations. Media and its relationship with development has been realized after the concept of development surfaced post-Second World War when enormous funds were sanctioned for the reconstruction and development of first the European (Marshall Plan) and later third-world countries. In the context of funding large-scale development works especially in Third World

countries, media turned out to be the driving force to familiarize the concept of development among the people and it became essential for development irrespective of its form.

It is evident from the various studies conducted on the role of media in development that development requires assistance from the media for its implementation and execution effectively and also to reach an innumerable number of people properly and adequately. Communication plays an important role in any social change initiatives, in support of the argument Sparks (2007) writes, "If local communities were to identify their central problems, to articulate and define the goals of development projects, and to decide upon the appropriate measures to improve their condition, then communication was a necessary component of any developmental effort" (Sparks, 2007, 58). Therefore, it not just enforces the development initiatives but rather helps in identifying the issues of underdevelopment and helps in finding appropriate solutions for the betterment of the entire community in question. Since information is the precursor of knowledge, which is an essential component of social change, the role of communication in the path of progress of the human race is imperative.

In this context of the role that communication plays in the process of development or of social change at various levels, this research study is designed to understand the relationship between media, a newspaper in particular with development. Moreover, more than the relationship between media and development it attempts to check the role of local newspapers in reflecting the developmental initiatives undertaken in the state. The various developmental initiatives are taken by the government as well as by various other organizations and individuals in the state over one year period. The area

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in concern is the state of Sikkim, which witnessed a tremendous amount of development post-merger with the Indian union in 1975.

# 1.2. Conceptualizing Development, Development Communication & Development Journalism

Development can be understood in many ways but in simple terms, it is an upliftment of the socio-economic condition of an individual as well as the society as a whole. Economic freedom or the elevation of a person or a family from deplorable living conditions to better living conditions can be considered as development. It is more than an individual development and it needs to be looked into from a larger perspective. Development for Schramm (1964, 8), is the process of broad transformation of society. According to Schramm (1964), the transformation of all the areas from the building of "social overhead" which includes basic transport, irrigation, power facilities, and communication is also vital, as all these aspects of development go hand in hand with each other for the development of a country (Schramm, 1964, 8). Utilizing its human resources for optimum efficiency is another aspect of development, by providing education, better health facilities, skill development, and other essential living facilities. Mostly, development is achieved through economic growth, somewhat it is also true but economic growth is not a solitary goal of development. Rogers' (1974) understanding of development is based on the introduction of a social system to bring growth in the per capita income of individuals so that the standard of living will be enhanced by introducing modern methods of production but it must be ensured that the benefits of such method must be distributed among every individual in a society. For him "...development is a kind of aggregated modernization." On the other hand, the overexploitation of natural resources and several such negative effects of development have also been witnessed in the past. Several aspects like overconsumption of natural resources, higher unemployment, cultural identities, and democracy have been compromised to achieve economic growth in the modern world which largely brought inequality around the world in different societies (Schumacher, 1993).

The meaning of development is similar to everyone but approaches applied to attain it is different for different people Schumacher (1993) believes that development is to provide employment to all the poor, to address the livelihood needs of the majority unprivileged rather than to benefit minority rich and sufficient population (p.146). He contended that the "regional approach" should be followed, the meaning of which is, each region or district should be developed in its own way by providing employment not by increasing the production of a single individual but by increasing the employment as a whole to suffice the employability of all the poor and most importantly ensuring the provision of work opportunity is an obligation. The decentralized approach to development should be carried out and the internal structure should be made strong (Schumacher, 1993, 146-147).

For Moemeka (1994) development is not limited to improved economic conditions it is rather being able to acquire new knowledge and skills, understand one's environment, increase self-confidence to increase their potential, and understand their own limitations. In addition, it is about freedom, and equality, so one should be able to improve his own existing conditions in a positive direction (Moemeka, 1994, 11). Moreover, development has been fittingly defined by Inayatullah (1967, 101) as a change toward a society where one understands the values of humans and an individual is able to control his or her own environment or political destiny so that one is able to control their own fate. The practice of development communication and development journalism intends to help achieve the development goals for overall social change. It is well known that the concept and practice of development journalism emerged for the first time "...from the work of agricultural and extension communication specialists centered at academic institutions such as the University of Philippines at Los Banos (Shafer, 1998)", wherein agricultural extension communicators were successful in disseminating the information regarding the new rice variety developed by International Rice Research Institute (IRRI). The development journalism has been defined in many ways although it has been understood to have two different functions to fulfill its purpose. According to Waisbord (2010), the first set of studies identify with "...social and communitarian reporting" of "...the vast number of dispossessed and impoverished people", and address their social, economic, education, and health circumstances and challenges (p.149). Waisbord (2010) argues for the reshuffling of the priorities of journalism by encouraging that "journalism should educate people about issues of significant public interest" "instead of providing entertainment" and "A focus on ordinary people should be prioritized over elite information" (p.149).

The basic idea of development communication is to communicate developmental messages to people. Development Communication is a kind of communication, that "...highlights news of development projects, provides critical coverage of development planning and programs, and informs readers of how the development process is affecting them" (Sterling, 2009, 401). To define this concept in simple terms, "...development communication is concerned with the role of communication in social change..." (Melkote and Steeves, 2001, 20).

To compare development communication with development journalism, the former insists on rejecting traditional values and encourages the acceptance of modern western values, whereas the latter rejects this idea. Development Journalism, "Instead of seeing local culture as an obstacle to development, its proponents believed that the press needs to tap into historical and cultural traditions (Waisbord, 2010)". It is argued that "Local knowledge was not an impediment, but rather, a boon to development (Waisbord, 2010)". However, their approaches may be different but their motives are the same which is to further the cause of development. To support this idea Murthy (2000) insists that, "communication used to further development was called developmental journalism or developmental communication (p.24)".

The dissemination or presentation of development news can be considered the social responsibility of the media and they are expected to fulfill this responsibility by performing development journalism for the common good. Development communication in the context of third world countries brings its role from the 'social responsibility theory of press' advocated by Siebert et. al. in their '*Four Theories of the Press*', wherein media are obligated to fulfill the role of educating the masses. Further, the media are required to be socially responsible and play a constructive role in society by educating and informing people to maximize their participation in the process of nation-building (Murthy & Kumar, 2013, 3). The responsibility of the media in a developing country like India is not just to inform people about the basic functioning of the government but to motivate people to be involved in the process of nation-building (Vilanilam, 1975, 37).

Development journalism has become a crucial component of the progress of many third-world countries although its role and responsibilities have been debated and discussed on various fronts. Many consider the media should perform an advocacy role as a development agent by supporting the government decisions and policies in regard to development without criticizing them and many expect it to perform a critical role. Since the process of development involves the transformation of a traditional society to a modern one, it focuses on the growth of society or an individual on economic and social fronts. C Vani (2014) acknowledges the role of media or communication as an important component and development itself as communication-oriented. She believes that through constant creation of awareness, it helps in changing the opinion of people toward social change (p.159). She suggests that for the better functioning of democracy the press must work outside of government control but they should investigate, analyze and interpret the development plans of the government and should not depend wholly on government organizations for information (p.159).

Many believe that the western concept of development reporting disregarding the process of development and only focusing on reporting events is flawed (Murthy & Kumar, 2013). As far as the media is concerned, it plays an important role in educating and informing the general populace. Dependency on media for information has enabled it to become powerful in regard to the decision-making of news selection. However, no one can disregard the fact that the media is also responsible for a vibrant democracy in the modern world. Despite the positive aspect of the development journalism as a genre, it has been criticized for imposing upon journalists with undemocratic means and other restraints.

### **1.3.** Role of Communication in Development

Communication has been the biggest contributor to the process of development as it was recognized by policymakers and scholars concerning development. In the context of development in third-world countries, communication has played a major role. Irrespective of different models or approaches of development over the years it has assisted in various development initiatives by informing or making aware of various innovations, persuading the recipients to accept, and encouraging participation in the process of development implementation. Moemeka (1994) believed that the process of conversion of the country toward better communication plays an essential role by diffusing practical knowledge, maintaining an amiable relationship between people and the government, reducing inflation, and establishing efficient infrastructure (Moemeka, 1994, 28).

The role of communication in the dominant paradigm was a linear model or one-way process intended for behavioral change among the masses in developing countries. "A predominantly one-way flow of communication from government development agencies to the people was implied by the dominant paradigm" (Rogers, 1976, 20). The role of mass communication in development has been criticized after the 1960s aplenty in regard to elite ownership, control of mass media institutions, and the advertising of commercial products. Further, its credibility has been tarnished after the emergence of several dictatorial governments and its role as a propaganda vehicle of those governments (Rogers, 1976, 22). The uses of media in the later stages of the development process witnessed changes from a downward and hierarchical manner intended to impart persuasive messages to disseminating informative messages on development, making it an assistant in the development process. The dominant approach was gradually being discarded by people and it attracted severe criticisms

from individuals, hence the scholars and individuals involved in the development implementation process realized that "...the role of mass communication in facilitating development was often indirect and only contributory, rather than direct and powerful" (Rogers, 1976, 22).

Upon realizing the role that information play in the process of development, the United Nations showed intensity in recommending the expansion of mass communication infrastructure, in all parts of the world. Schramm too had endorsed the improvement of media infrastructure earlier than the initiation of financial and social improvement. He was also convinced of becoming the pathways to change effortless and quicker with the help of appropriate and potent communication (Schramm, 1964, 7). It is evident that the development process is tardy and it requires several factors to come together for its success including a change in the mentality or thinking process of an individual. To bring an awareness of the need for development or to accept the change information dissemination is extremely crucial. Therefore, the role of media or communication becomes crucial for a development process to complete. This was aptly put up by Schramme, "An adequate flow of information is, of course, required for knowledge to be shared between those who have more of it and those who have less on any given subject. An adequate flow of information is also needed if the ordinary people of a country are to be brought into the decision process" (Schramm, 1964, 8).

To support the argument on the crucial role of communication in development, Schramm (1964) has enumerated the three major functions of information in the development process. Firstly, the watchman function; as development begins in a particular place the people realize the need for information, and they seek knowledge about politics, modern lifestyles, and help from other countries who are technically advanced. As a result, a developing country needs an enormously greater amount of information from the horizon. Secondly, the policy function; developing country desires its people to participate in the decision-making process in the question of modernity, changing lifestyles, beliefs, new attitudes, new customs, etc. for that it requires plenty of information and persuasion. However, horizontal information is encouraged instead of vertical so that the policymakers are obliged to listen to the real issues, needs, and demands of its people hence the policy-making process may be broadened. The third is the teaching function; when a country is developing, everyone has new skills to learn: agricultural, mechanical and electronic, health, literacy, etc. "The country uses the information to raise the thirst for more information: to encourage them to send their children to school or to learn to read" (Schramm, 1964, 10). The teaching function of national communication is "to open to all the people the door to the wider world of modern technical knowledge and public affairs" (Schramm, 1964, 10).

In addition, Schramm insists, "Perhaps the most general way to describe what the enormously increased flow of information does in a developing nation is to say that it provides a climate for national development. It makes the expert knowledge available where it is needed, and provides a forum for discussion, leadership and decision making" (Schramm, 1964, 10). It is also true that information brings people closer to alien customs, cultures, arts, beliefs, etc. so that they may be emulated by people in various other places. It also enables the nationwide dialogue on various national policies and programmes by keeping the national goals and the national accomplishments always before the public. Therefore, it has been agreed that "...modern communication, wisely used, can help to weld together isolated

communities, disparate subcultures, self-centered individuals and groups, and separate developments into a truly national development" (Schramm, 1964, 10).

However, Schramm also suggested that only having the increasing number of media would not help, instead changing the approach to the dissemination of messages is more important. Schramm (1964) also asserted that the two-way communication process has been successful and the effectiveness of messages was increased (p.16). Consequently, since the media are considered the agents of national development they are entrusted to fulfill specific tasks. The important task is to change the behavior of people by introducing or making familiar foreign or developed customs and practices to the people. "Behind such changes in behavior must necessarily lie substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills, and social norms" (Schramm, 1964, 16). Schramm, (1964) insisted on the behavioral change approach, where he suggested that the development must be adopted through the use of media with continuous persuasion and participation of people in the process (p. 16). Schramm proposes two basic mechanisms for the accomplishment of such change, "First, the populace must become aware of a need which is not satisfied by present customs and behavior. Second, they must invent or borrow behavior that comes closer to meeting the need. A nation that wants to accelerate this process, as all developing nations do today, will try to make its people more widely and quickly aware of needs and of the opportunities for meeting them, will facilitate the decision process, and will help the people put the new practices smoothly and swiftly into effect" (Schramm, 1964, 16).

Schramm laid out three kinds of tasks for communication behind the social changes of national development. "In the first place, the populace must have information about national development: their attention must be focused on the need for change, the

opportunities inviting change, the methods and means of change; and, if possible, their aspirations for themselves and their country must be raised. In the second place, there must be the opportunity to participate intelligently in the decision process: the dialogue must be broadened to include all those who must decide to change; the leaders must have an opportunity to lead and the common people to be heard; the issues of change must be made clear, and the alternatives discussed; information must flow both up and down the hierarchy. And third, the needed skills must be taught: adults must be taught to read, children must be educated, farmers must learn the methods of modern farming, teachers, doctors, engineers must be trained, workers must master technical skills, people, in general, must learn more about how to keep themselves healthy and strong" (Schramm, 1964, 18-19).

However, it's evident that only one way of communicating developmental messages is not sufficient but accepting the suggestions and ideas from the people is vital. The development planners need to use various available media as well as different approaches to reach the people. The combination of media messages and face-to-face communication is understood to be an efficient and effective way of disseminating developmental messages (Schramm, 1964, 20).

According to Schramm (1964), there are four major campaign areas in which the information strategy has been used successfully, they are;

**Agriculture:** In the agriculture campaign, Schramm has given the example of the successful implementation of agricultural innovation in India where new methods of farming had been adopted with the help of information provided by mass media but relied hugely on the local level of news production by giving local people full

autonomy on information dissemination and the success was mostly relied on the field demonstrations to educate cultivators on use of new farming practices (p.21).

**Health:** The role of effective communication is pertinent here too and health development officers have discovered major steps to implementing them so that the development could be successful. One is to understand the life, beliefs, and attitudes of the villages and other social factors that affect their lives. Two, facilitating face-to-face communication in addition to the usage of mass media. Three, utilizing the optimum communication channels to bring out the total usefulness of the information (p.24).

**Literacy learning:** In literacy learning, Schramm (1964) explains the uses of different media in executing literacy programmes with equal help from teachers or coordinated teaching practice. He points out the French National Commission for UNESCO's explanation where literacy was considered "...a means to an end". Whereas, he also emphasizes the importance of understanding the grounded local culture and the local situation (p.24). He had also given an example of Italy where Television was used extensively to persuade adult learners to take up literacy learning through a television programme called *It's Never Too Late* (p.25).

**Formal Teaching:** Even in a formal system of teaching the role of media cannot be ignored especially in developing countries where resource persons to teach specialized subjects are scarce. In such scenarios, the media can amplify the reach of the limited specialized teachers on a large scale. Instructional television and radio have been very successful around the world and other aspects of instructional television and radio are to upgrade teachers as well as to improve classroom teachings (p.27).

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Schramm also emphasized the importance of research in regard to the implementation of development effectively so that the researcher will assist in making the development campaign as effective as possible with the help of information gathered from the research conducted. Schramm considers that the "...research must be considered closely allied to development" (p.36). Schramm also opines that "integrating and balancing the development" is crucial and according to him "Development starts where the media and their related services are" (p.37). Despite the financial constraints that developing countries face, the development of media infrastructure mustn't be ignored, it should be developed at par with other aspects of development are interrelated and reliant on others for growth. "...the growth of education and literacy would contribute to the growth of mass communication, but the growth of mass communication would also contribute to the growth of literacy and education, and none of these strands of development could go markedly faster than the others" (Schramm, 1964, 38).

Moemeka (1994) opines that communication plays two broad roles, one is the transformation role and the other is the socialization role. The transformational role should seek development in the direction of higher quality of life and social justice and socialization should strive to maintain some of the established values of society (Moemeka, 1994, 13). He believes that communication is essential in achieving development in the modern world. Development communication efforts in later stages ensured the understanding and inclusion of developing countries' circumstances such as climatic, historical, cultural, and social conditions including human and physical resources. The main components that are included in the alternative approach to development are the inclusion of integration of traditional and modern systems,

equality of distribution, quality of life, popular participation in decentralized selfdevelopment planning and execution, etc. According to Moemeka (1994), the Extension and Community Development method uses communication on useful and practical information for mostly rural populations on issues such as agriculture, home economics, health, civic responsibility, law and order, sanitation, etc. through face-toface and interpersonal modes of communication (Moemeka, 1994, 56). Due to mass illiteracy and a poor rural population, this method is applied in India. In this method, development agents are used to communicate interpersonally and practical knowledge was given.

Everett Rogers (Mar, 1974) has basically discussed the role of mass communication as well as interpersonal communication in affecting Development Communication. He highlighted the two points as actualities and potentials of communication in the process of development. Development according to Rogers is facilitated by modernization (technological developments) and its approaches. Modernization occurs at the individual level and development at the societal level hence, "...development is a kind of aggregated modernization". Development is feasible and becomes most effective whilst new thoughts or improvements are added to assist the earnings of human beings to achieve growth in regard to socio-economic benefits along with health, employment, infrastructures, etc.

Since initial efforts to development communication had failed in third-world countries Rogers (1974) listed a few reasons which had supposedly hindered the process of development communication which led to the rejection of new innovations, especially by people of less developed or third-world countries in contrast to European countries. It is understood that the failure to convince the people of development acceptance is not always with the contents of the message but because of the accessibility or exposure, trust or low credibility of medium or message irrelevancy, etc. Rogers (1974) suggests the use of interpersonal communication through group discussions for instance 'media forums' on existing media channels and also the use of traditional media of communications available in the area of implementation. He aptly mentions the various successful media forums around third-world countries including China where for many years the Chinese Communist Party had employed magazine and newspaper discussion groups as a means of indoctrination and learning among their party cadres and recruits.

In justification of using traditional folk media Rogers (1974) rightly argues that these media are already accepted in these localities, on the other hand, modern mass media itself represents innovation or modernization, and before it could disseminate the developmental message people first need to accept the modern mass media itself. To fulfill the need, mass media messages must be adequate in quality, interest-creation, and orientation to the information needs of village audiences.

Colin Sparks (2007) believed, to propagate social change the formal education system was one of the methods to encourage and adopt new beliefs and systems, although it turned out to be very slow. On the other hand, it is realized that the mass media has offered a much more efficient way of disseminating modernity than any other available technology (p.23). According to him, the "Transfer of knowledge was central to the project" (p.24) of development. As such, "there were gaps between knowing about something, having a positive attitude towards it, and changing behavior in accordance with those beliefs" (p.24). The task of development communication is to overcome those gaps and bring awareness among the people of

tradition. Overall the only method available was the mass media to disseminate the messages required for the development of the Third World Countries. "The media needed to tell people that life would be better if they accepted change" (p.31).

Khalid and Ahmad (2014) rightly support the idea of media having multiple roles, especially in developing countries because they help its people by creating trust between communicator and receiver on the various topics of development such as education, health, etc. In addition, they believed in the development of human resources along with economic growth in any developing country. Media, according to Khalid and Ahmad (2014) are a vital cog of society and rightly called the fourth estate of democracy in modern society they have been entrusted to perform various roles but when it comes to developing a country or a society, they have to perform specific roles mainly to advance the pro-government campaigns. The roles are summarized as follows (p.7);

- 1. The advocacy of a cooperative role for the press in nation-building and national development.
- 2. The role of the press as a catalyst for social and political change and
- 3. The duty of the press to;
- a. Educate instead of merely entertaining.
- b. Maintaining social stability and racial harmony.
- c. Aid in economic development and nation-building.

They argued that the newspapers on their own perform some functions to advance national development, and for that purpose, they perform a two-step function, "First, newspapers select certain events to attract the attention of the policy-makers and set an agenda for public actions; second, newspapers also frame the issues, telling the readers what is important to know" (Khalid & Ahmed, May, 2014, 7 cited from Murthy, 2006). Apart from that, the media also creates a situation for public discussions of issues by providing platforms for the expression of public opinions as well as views. Their agenda for public debate and creating issues is an important aspect that ultimately helps in the emergence of public opinion and in building up images through news reporting. Modern-day newspapers have the responsibility of shaping and molding public opinion through their editorials and lead articles and in addition to that, they should also cater to the different tastes of their audience through the various ingredients in their contents (p.9).

Since the process of development involves the transformation of a traditional society to a modern society, it focuses on the growth of society or an individual economically and socially. C Vani (2014, 159) acknowledges the role of media or communication as an important component and development itself as communication oriented. Vani (2014) believes that through constant creation of awareness, it helps in changing the opinion of people toward social change. It also suggested that for the better functioning of democracy the press must work outside of government control but they should investigate, analyze and interpret the development plans of the government and should not depend wholly on government organizations for information.

### 1.4. Development Communication in India

Print medium has been a very influential medium of communication as it allows flexibility in consuming them, unlike its counterparts. Moemeka (1994) believes that newspapers are a powerful medium of communication in comparison to other mediums due to their durability of influence on readers. Despite its slowness, the newspaper's strength lies in its lasting power and the readers can refer to it multiple times. It is undeniable that newspapers are out of the reach of illiterates but Moemeka (1994) believes that in rural areas the literates and semi-literates can help others to gain knowledge and they can act as opinion leaders for the purpose of development communication and they can be very influential (Moemeka, 1994, 103-104).

There was a huge growth in newspaper circulation in India, especially in the Hindi heartland during the 1990s. Robin Jeffrey (2010), highlighted the reason for the upsurge and its contributions toward social change and the dissemination of information regarding various aspects of social and political developments. He pointed out that basically, the newspaper's growth made two major changes in the Indian populace, one being the flourishing of the local language and another is, inculcating a habit of reading newspapers daily (p.6). He believed that the ideas of citizenship and nationhood were also carried by those newspapers and delivered to people and in such a way contributed a lot to nationalism. The reason for the sudden upsurge of newspaper readers according to him is due to specific economic and political circumstances and such circumstances obliged the newspaper owners to search for their readers in the countryside and small towns far from cities which engender the localization of their production and content and also simplify their language (p.8).

In the context of development communication in India, there has been a number of efforts made mostly by the government, the most significant are; Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), Radio Rural Forum, Kheda, etc. Murthy & Kumar (2013) asserted that even before the concept of development communication came into existence similar practice was executed by none other than Mahatma Gandhi through his journals *Young India* and *Harijan*. He advocated the use

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of local resources to produce the essentials for local needs and be self-sufficient. Murthy & Kumar (2013) believes that Gandhiji's stance of disapproving of the use of large-scale industries and support of agricultural-based development like the Khadi industry to support the unemployed in the villages are in line with development communication. In addition to that, Gandhiji's writings in his journals such as; against societal evils like untouchability, child marriage, and Hindu-Muslim unity which are hindrances to the development of the nation, and his emphasis on the education of all are all part of the development communication efforts (p.11-12).

Khalid and Ahmad (2014) claimed that one newspaper in India started development communication on its own when *The Hindustan Times* started development reporting in the 1950s by providing extensive reporting about the functioning and the problems of various public sector projects in India. Despite the huge obsession with discussing the subject of politics and urban issues by all the Indian newspapers, The Hindustan Times's effort was the first among the developing countries in creating an awareness of the role of communication in nation-building and development.

Apart from those, the efforts of the government during the post-independence period were commendable as they had been successful many times in their development communication efforts. Sharma & Uniyal (2016) believed that communication has been used as an empowerment tool in order to facilitate the participation of people in development activities (p.906). The case in point is the various development communication initiatives of the government of India through All India Radio (AIR) and Television broadcasting – Doordarshan, throughout the post-independence period. However, the use of mass media for development in India goes back to the time of rural radio broadcasts which was done during the 1940s. Later independent India's

earliest organized experiments started with communication development projects initiated by the Union Government in the 1950s. Different media like print media, radio broadcasts, and television had been used for development communication purposes. According to Sharma and Unniyal (2016), since print media was not involved in Development communication, the Government of India through the Press Information Bureau initiated sensitizing the media and involving them in media coverage of Rural Development Programs to ensure that these programs are portrayed in proper perspective. The Ministry also issued advertisements at regular intervals in the national and regional press through the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP) and published and circulated booklets on Gram Vikas Programs in regional languages.

It is well known that the biggest advantage of Radio as a means of communication is, that it is cheap and it can reach the illiterates with ease in comparison to its counterparts. Its ability to reach individuals such as illiterates and populations with lower socioeconomic status has made radio most important as they are generally the priority target group for rural development, family planning, and public health initiatives. Therefore, the Radio Rural Forum was one of the major and successful strategies of the Government implemented through All India Radio for implementing development programs in India. Through this experiment – which was started in 1956 and covered 156 villages – the subjects like agriculture, health, adult literacy, etc. were covered (Sharma and Unniyal, 2016). Apart from Radio Rural Forum, several local services of AIR were undertaken to promote local radio for education and development around the country.

Television has also been used effectively by the government as a development communication medium. After television came to India on 15th September 1959 as an experimental medium in social communication, many programs were undertaken to develop its people in various socioeconomic, educational, and health fields. From the very beginning of TV broadcasting in India, it has provided support to the education sector in the form of ETV (Educational Television), and STV (School Television). ETV was one of the major initiatives started in 1961 to support middle and higher secondary school education. School television (STV) was launched in October 1961 as an organized, systematic, and sequential support for formal school instruction. University Grants Commission (UGC) too had started the country-wide classroom initiative dedicated to higher education and started its telecast on Doordarshan in 1984 with the one-hour educational programme. These initiatives have been considered successful and found to be very useful in small towns (Sharma and Unnival. 2016, 909). Another educational initiative of Doordarshan, called Gyandarshan was started in 2000 in collaboration with the Ministry of Human Resource Development, and the Indira Gandhi National Open University. It offered programmes relating to preschool kids, primary and secondary school children, college and university students, youth seeking career opportunities, housewives, adults, and many other needy people in society. In another effort, the Department of Atomic Energy in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, All India Radio, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, and the Delhi Administration started Krishi Darshan, an agricultural program. The people had been provided with community TV sets and it was telecast on Wednesdays and Fridays for 20 minutes each day and served 80 villages around Delhi (Sharma and Unnival. 2016, 910).

Another significant and successful television programme was Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), which was a one-year project undertaken between the years 1975 to 1976. The Experiment covered six states of India and its programs generally covered development-oriented topics like agricultural modernization through hybrid seeds, better farming methods, and management, family planning, public health, social and educational improvement of women and children, etc. SITE is one of the most extensive educational and social research projects ever conducted in mass-mediated communication. The effectiveness of TV as a medium for educating the masses in rural areas was emphasized by this experiment (Sharma and Unniyal. 2016, 910).

Aimed at the development and local communication in the Kheda district of Gujarat, the Kheda Communication Project began in 1975 and continued till 1990. This project addressed the issues like social evils, alcoholism, caste discrimination, minimum wages, family planning, gender discrimination, and cooperatives. This was a participatory communication project which facilitated the participation of local people in the production of the programmes as actors, scriptwriters, directors, etc. in the production of Television serials, folk dramas, puppet shows, etc.

## 1.5. Brief background of Sikkim

Sikkim was merged with the Indian union in 1975 after the popular referendum upon liberating from the monarch, however, the planned economic development in Sikkim was started in 1954 - during the reign of the monarchy itself with the first Seven-Year plan (1954-61). The first plan was followed by a series of Five and four-year plans; second -1961-66, third – 1966-1971. The plans from 1954 to 1976 emphasized the construction of roads wherein 48% of the investments in each of the first three plans
till 1971 were invested in road construction alone. The investments of the fourth plan of 1971-1976 were distributed as road construction at 41%, and agriculture development at 16%. The thrust of plan activities changed from massive investment in road construction to rural development in the fifth plan. The sixth five-year plan (1980-1985) provided a major emphasis on the conservation of the environment in Sikkim (Karan, 1989).

Sikkim had its first census conducted in 1971 by the Government of India (GOI), as per the Census of India, the total population of Sikkim in its first census was 209843. In its latest census of the year 2011, the total population was 610577. Around 1 lakh population were added in each decade from 1971. As per the census 2011 on the urban and rural population of Sikkim, only 25% of the population resides in urban areas and the remaining 75% is in rural areas.

Significant improvements were witnessed over the various censuses conducted in each decade in Sikkim. The literacy rate of Sikkim according to the census of 1971 was only 17.74%, in 1981 it went as much as 34.05%, in 1991 56.94%, in 2001 69.68%, and in 2011 81.4%. The five censuses on the literacy rate of Sikkim reflected significant growth that had occurred upon Sikkim's merger with the Indian union. Even the report of Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (CSO, MOSPI, GOI), revealed a reduction in Infant Mortality Rates in Sikkim from 51.4 in 1990 to 30 in 2010. The proportion of households having access to improved sources of drinking water in 2005-2006 is 89% and in 2007-2008 went up to 91.9%. Significant development has also been witnessed in the area like the proportion of households having access to sanitation facilities wherein the Millennium Development Goals data reveals that in 2005-06 it was 77.6% and in 2007-08 it increased to 94.2% (MDG,

CSO, MOSPI-GOI). According to the report of Women & Men in India 2012, the participation of Women in polls in Sikkim was 82.86% (Central Statistical Office (CSO)).

According to Socio-Economic Statistics of India- 2011 on the incidence of crimes committed against women during 2009, Sikkim had 18 rape cases, 6 kidnappings, and abductions, 6 cruelty by husband, 10 molestations, 1 immoral traffic prevention, and no incidences of dowry deaths, sexual harassment, importation of girls, Indecent Representation of Women (P) Act, and Dowry Prohibition Act (Socio-Economic Statistics of India-2011). In the Incidence and Rate of total cognizable crimes committed against women in States and union territories during 2011, Sikkim ranked 29 (Women & Men in India 2012, central Statistical Office (CSO)).

Sikkim has witnessed several milestones in various developmental sectors in the last few decades. It received several accolades and awards from around the world in various fields of the development sector. Sikkim became India's 'Greenest State' in 1998, the first Nirmal Rajya in 2008, the first Open Defecation Free State in 2016, and the world's first Organic State in 2016. Sikkim bagged over 100 national awards including the cleanest state of India by the Swachh Sarvekshan Gramin 2016 report and the prestigious "Oscar for best policies", the Future Policy Gold Award 2018 by the UNFAO for becoming a 100% organic state. Sikkim also won the Best State for Comprehensive Development of Tourism Award during the National Tourism Awards 2016-17. Then Chief Minister of Sikkim Pawan Chamling claims that his first budget in 1994 allocated 70% for rural development. Consequently, the reduction of a graph on poverty has been seen from 41.43% in the year 1993 to 8.19% in 2011-12.

This particular fall in poverty has been considered the steepest reduction in poverty in the shortest possible time since World War II as acknowledged by the World Bank.

Apart from the recognition around the world, Sikkim implemented several major and essential policy decisions over the years after the merger, such as; the 'ban on the use of plastics' (1989), 'Capacity Building' (2003), CM's Rural Housing Scheme (Rs 15 lakh worth of the house for each family), CM's Meritorious Scholarship (CMMS) in 2009, Under CMMS, hundreds of class five toppers from poor families have been selected every year for sponsorships in the country's top schools. Students have availed themselves of free scholarships in the world's top 20 universities under the CM's Free Scholarship scheme.

Because of all these policy implementations for the overall development, Sikkim was acknowledged and appreciated over the years in various developmental fields such as Education, environmental protection, sanitation & cleanliness, etc. Among the many awards, Sikkim received Best state in Education in 2004, 2005, and 2009, Best Small State in Education in 2012, and Best State in Primary Education in 2008 by India Today Group. Best State in Water and Sanitation, 2009 and 2012, Best State in Environment 2012, and Best State in Citizen Security in 2011 and 2012 by IBN7. In its efforts in the area of sanitation the government has initiated the open defecation-free drive, Sikkim was acknowledged by the government of India and conferred with the Sikkim being declared as the first ODF (Open Defecation Free) State in March 2016, well ahead of the rest of the states of the country.

## 1.6. Historical Overview of Media in Sikkim

Discussion on media in Sikkim can be mostly limited to print media because all the other forms of media were almost nonexistent, as All India Radio started operating in

Sikkim as late as 1982, local television channels are limited to one or two towns and online media platforms started after the 2010s only. The history of print media in Sikkim started in 1956 when the Information Service of India, Gangtok, under the office of the Political Officer of Sikkim started one English weekly publication called *Bulletin*, and one Nepali publication called *Adhikari Vigyapti*. These publications printed at the Government of India Press, Gangtok mostly published the works done by the Indian Government and other affairs of India. Later in the same year Tashi Namgyal, then monarch of Sikkim also started publishing a darbar communique named *Sikkim Herald*. Sikkim Herald was published intending to promulgate the developmental work implemented by the king as well as to counter the publication of the Indian government in Sikkim. Sikkim Herald was originally published in English language but later in 1962, it was also published in Bhutia and Nepali languages (Basnett and Guha, 2014).

In the year 1957, a significant historical milestone was started in the history of the press in Sikkim when a Nepali monthly publication named '*Kanchendzonga*' was started by Kashiraj Pradhan with Nakul Pradhan as its editor. For starting a privately owned newspaper for the first time in Sikkim Kashiraj Pradhan was considered the father of journalism in Sikkim. Kanchendzonga has been considered an important publication in the history of Sikkim for having played a key role in creating harmony among different communities of Sikkim and in establishing integration as believed by an eminent journalist, Subash Deepak. In addition, Deepak acknowledges the contribution of *Kanchendzonga* in the propagation of Nepali literature and language because of the reason that it provided space for writers from different communities and regions for the publication of their writings. In consequence, Kanchendzonga

hugely contributed to encouraging young talents in the Nepali language and literature as opined by Subash Deepak.

The growth of print media in Sikkim was not significant during the immediate postmerger period as only a few weeklies came up and disappeared in no time. Only Sikkim Express started in the year 1976 as an English weekly and continues to produce until this day. A handful of journalists were stationed at the capital of Sikkim, Gangtok as correspondence to various national newspapers in India. Sikkim's first English monthly magazine was started by Santosh Nirash and her husband Prem Sagar Nirash in 1976, the name of the magazine was *Broader News and Views*. Prem Sagar Nirash was a journalist with the *London Telegraph* stationed at Gangtok (Mathew, S. 2022, March 1). Upon finding the lack of a Hindi language newspaper in Sikkim the Nirash duo started *Jamana Sadabahar* in 1987 (Mathew, S. 2022, March 1).

Since the emergence of print media in Sikkim, its growth has been lackluster however the period of the 2000s appeared to be a significant milestone in its growth because of the sudden emergence of a huge number of print publications. The report from the Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI) reveals the print publications registered with them from 2000 to 2015 as more than a hundred. The majority of publications were weekly, bi-weekly, some fortnightly, and a few monthlies, and dailies had also been registered.

The majority of publications that emerged during this time were able to survive mostly with the help of Government advertisements because of the limited circulation. The popular and significant publications were mostly dailies. The oldest surviving newspaper started as a weekly in 1976 was *Sikkim Express*, but it also converted to a

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daily only during this period in May, 2003, and became the first English daily in the state of Sikkim. Hamro Prajashakti, a widely circulated Nepali daily newspaper was started in the year 200, as a weekly however it was converted to a daily after three years in 2003. Another Nepali daily named *Samay Dainik* started publishing from Gangtok on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2004. The official website of Samay Dainik claims of giving the highest priority to the news on rural journalism and developmental issues from its earliest publications in Sikkim. *Himalayan Mirror*, another English-language daily newspaper also started publishing in Sikkim from the state capital Gangtok in 2005.

The Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI) which releases annual reports on the circulation and registered print publications in India has revealed the circulation figures and registered print publications from Sikkim as well. The annual report 'Press in India Chapters (2013-14)' reveals that there was a total of five new publications registered from Sikkim in the one-year period, they were four weeklies and one daily. Due to the addition of those publications, the total number of registered newspapers and periodicals rose to 109 comprising 15 dailies, two tri-bi/weeklies, 82 weeklies, one fortnightly, three monthlies, three quarterlies, and three with other periodicities. However, the report stated that out of 109 registered publications, only 30 publications had submitted their annual statements from the State of Sikkim in 2013-14. They were 14 dailies, 14 weeklies, and two monthlies. The circulation data reveals that the 30 publications claimed a total circulation of 6,59,961 copies. The share of dailies was 5,48,599 copies, the weeklies and monthlies contributed the remaining 86,196 & 25,166 copies per publishing day. Sikkim Express, an English daily was the leading newspaper with a circulation of 63,941 copies. The languagewise circulation reveals that the total six Nepali dailies combined have the highest circulation with 250465 copies and English from the five combined dailies has a total of 232115 copies of circulation.

The annual report 'Press in India Chapters (2014-15)' reveals that a total of five new publications were registered in that year. They were three dailies, one monthly and one weekly. Thus, the total number of registered newspapers and periodicals rose to 114 comprising 18 dailies, two tri-bi/weeklies, 83 weeklies, one fortnightly, four monthlies, three quarterlies, and three with other periodicities. However, out of 114 registered publications, only 23 publications submitted their annual statements from the state of Sikkim in 2014-15. They were 17 dailies, five weeklies, and one monthly. As per data from the above 23 publications a total circulation of 6,96,130 copies was claimed by the publications. The share of dailies in it was 6,56,980 copies, the weeklies and monthlies contributed the remaining 21,150 & 18,000 copies per publishing day respectively. Sikkim Express, an English daily was the leading newspaper with a circulation of 65,271 copies. The language-wise circulation reveals that from the total six Nepali dailies have the highest combined circulation with 252771 and English dailies from five dailies combined have 239764 copies of circulation in the year.

The annual report 'Press in India Chapters (2015-16)' reveals that no new publication was registered in 2015-16 in the State. Due to this, the total number of registered newspapers and periodicals remained the same as the previous year with 114. However, out of 114 registered publications, only 23 publications submitted their Annual Statements in 2015-16. They were 17 Dailies, five Weeklies, and one monthly. As per the data from the above 23 publications, a total circulation of 8,31,349 copies was claimed by the publications. The dailies claimed to sell 7,87,020

copies, weeklies 27,679, and monthlies 16,650 copies per publishing day. Sikkim Express, an English daily remained the leading newspaper with a circulation of 69,316 copies. The report also states that the English daily with a total of five dailies has the highest circulation with 286952 and it was followed by Nepali dailies with 267969 copies from six dailies combined.

The annual report 'Press in India Chapters (2016-17)' reveals that only two new publication was registered during the one-year period in the State. Due to this, the total number of registered newspapers and periodicals increased to 116, comprising 19 dailies, two tri-bi weeklies, 84 weeklies, one fortnightly, four monthlies, three quarterlies, and three with other periodicities. However, out of 116 registered publications, only 28 publications submitted their Annual Statements in 2016-17. They were 18 dailies, nine weeklies, and one monthly. As per data from the above 28 publications, a total circulation of 6,68,270 copies was claimed by the publications. The share of dailies in it was 6,17,670 copies, of weeklies was 32,600 and of monthlies was 18,000 copies per publishing day. Sikkim Express, an English daily again was the leading newspaper with a circulation of 48,291 copies per publishing day. The language-wise circulation with 234024 and from six Nepali dailies combined have the second highest number of circulation with 219072 copies of circulation in the year.

The annual report 'Press in India Chapters (2020-21)' reveals that there is no new publication registered in 2020-21 in the State, and out of 120 registered publications, only 17 publications submitted their annual statements from the State of Sikkim in 2020-21. They were 15 dailies and two weeklies. As per the Annual Statement filed

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by the publishers in 2020-21, *Sikkim Express*, an English daily had claimed circulation of 37,492 copies per publishing day. According to language-wise circulation data English with five dailies collectively has 92222 and Nepali with four dailies has 74384 circulations in a year.

The annual reports published by RNI from 2013-14 to 2020-21 have revealed that the dominant language-wise newspapers in Sikkim have been Nepali and English. However, the annual reports have only given the figure of the top circulating newspaper with Sikkim Express taking top circulation each year.

### 1.7. Development Communication in Sikkim

Sikkim became a part of India in 1975 upon democratic movement and the popular referendum, after more than 300 years of the monarchy under the Namgyal dynasty. Sikkim as the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of the Indian union was far behind many Indian states in various developmental sectors hence it was in need of multifaceted development aid. Sikkim had a few seven-year, and five-year plans that started in the year 1954 and went on until its merger with India in 1975 with the help of the government of India but those plans were not sufficient as they were mostly concentrated on the development of roads and agriculture. However, upon its merger with India, Sikkim was engulfed in the process of development at rather rapid pace. The statistics on various development sectors conducted and released by census and other development measuring agencies have revealed tremendous growth. Post-merger Sikkim has been doing exceptional jobs in different developmental areas like education, health, environmental conservation, eco-tourism, and most recently organic farming.

After the integration into the Indian union, Sikkim witnessed efforts in planned developments in many areas. It also heralded the era of a free press integrating into a

democratic country. The press, while remaining awake to the compulsion of the market, also started making its presence felt as an initiator of a debate on development discourse. The role of newspapers as an agent of change or at least inspiring people to get engaged in a particular mediated society has been recognized worldwide. When it comes to the role of newspapers in the development of any underdeveloped state they can be very useful as was evident in the past. Not only development but politics also cannot be separated from it, as it is aptly said that, "...politics and the press were inseparable in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when Indian journalism saw its birth. It was understandable because politics then was geared to the twin tasks of social reform and political emancipation of the country" (Bhargava, 2007:14).

This study intended to understand the role of communication in developmental purposes and how it impacts people and to what extent in the context of Sikkim. The amount of contribution that the newspaper's communique has made to the development of Sikkim in the different developmental parameters has been accessed. The inquiry into the role of local newspapers of Sikkim in these areas of rapid developmental initiatives required to be studied and studied on the aspects of development journalism is the sole priority of this particular research. In regard to the study of development communication or development journalism, there's no such study conducted until now in Sikkim despite the huge developmental initiatives taking place since the merger with India. A state with a mere 7096 square kilometers area has managed to accommodate Hydroelectricity dams, Pharmaceutical companies, and many such industrial units in little more than a four-decade of merger with India. The environmental hazards of such capitalist ventures have not been studied yet however, these projects have generated ample employment in the recent past not only for local residents but for people from neighboring states.

#### 1.8. Objectives of the Study

The relationship between media and development has been a subject of intense debate and as of now, it continues to baffle media researchers about the nature of the exact relationship between the two. So it is important to find out how one influences the other. In this context, the research has tried to analyze and address the relationship between media and development in Sikkim with the following objectives in hand. The objectives are as follows;

- 1. To explore the developmental news coverage of Sikkim newspapers
- 2. To understand the priority areas of developmental reporting by the Sikkim press
- 3. To explore if the developmental stories reported in Sikkim Press are government propaganda in terms of sources
- 4. To assess if the coverage of developmental stories in Sikkim Press reflects any specific editorial policy
- 5. To measure the ratio of positive news and negative news between the newspapers under consideration
- 6. To understand if Sikkim Press covers individual actors of development

The following research questions have been framed to address the objectives within the scope of the present study,

## **1.9. Research Questions**

- 1. How is the developmental priority determined by the newspaper?
- 2. What are the most widely covered developmental issues in Sikkim newspapers?
- 3. What is the proportion of coverage of developmental issues in the Sikkim newspaper?
- 4. What is the pattern of developmental journalism in the Sikkim press?

- 5. What kind of developmental bias is portrayed in the Sikkim press?
- 6. Does the Sikkim press have any role in prioritizing the developmental agenda?
- 7. Does the Sikkim press try to set the agenda on development?
- 8. Does the press in Sikkim try to undertake an investigation in the context of developmental issues?
- 9. What percentage of sources and actors (individuals described in news stories) represented in development journalism in Sikkim are government, NGO, or intellectual authority figures, and what percentage are citizen beneficiaries or participants in development programs?
- 10. Is there a difference between the newspapers in sources used?

# 1.10. Method

A mixed methodology of quantitative as well as qualitative was applied for the study wherein the development news of the selected newspapers have been studied. The technique of content analysis was employed for the analysis of newspapers contents. The five development parameters considered for the selection of news items were; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity and sanitation, and safe drinking water. The analysis was undertaken with the help of numbers and sizes of the stories -measured in column centimeters, placement of stories (front-page and inside pages), editorials, sources, orientations, etc. as these signify the preference provided to the subjects in question.

# **Chapter II**

# **Literature Review and Conceptual Framework**

#### 2.1. Literature Review

Literature review chapter deals with understanding the previous research works relevant to this subject of study. An attempt has been made to understand the most recent and the earliest works of literature a researcher could find in the area. This study is focused on understanding the role of newspapers published in Sikkim in the development of Sikkim and its people. Four major newspapers published in Sikkim are considered for the purpose and were analyzed for understanding the extent to which development news was given priority and prominence. Appropriate works of literature for the said purpose have been reviewed and presented here in this chapter for understanding similar studies in the field and finding the research holes.

Research of media content, especially newspapers, has been a long practice in media research studies. The content analysis technique is systematic and appropriate as far as the study of media is concerned although this method also applies to various other social science researches. The studies have been conducted in various parts of India and around the world, with small and large newspapers, English and language, and national and regional newspapers, with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods. The content analysis of newspapers from various other places has also been incorporated in the literature review. The subject of analysis of various developmental aspects like health, education, sanitation, rural development, etc. has been covered in the literature reviews. Most of these studies on newspapers in a developing country like India is conspicuous by its absence. Traditionally the newspapers have not given

much preference to developmental issues like health, education, or family planning unless and until there is starvation death, or an epidemic, and that too in consonance with the business policy and framing technique of the newspapers and focused more on politics, crime, etc. and have been bent on following the market-oriented journalism instead of value-based journalism (Murthy et. al., 2010).

The most recent study on newspaper content by Gilbertson & Pandit (2019) presents the results from the first systematic review of newspaper reporting on VAWG (Violence against Women and Girls) in India and asks to what extent this coverage complies with guidelines for such reporting. The research involved gathering all articles on violence against women in Delhi editions of four newspapers, the two most widely read English newspapers-Times of India (ToI) and Hindustan Times-and the two most widely read Hindi language newspapers-Dainik Jagran and Hindustan-over two months in mid-2017. A total of 725 English articles and 804 Hindi articles were collected and analyzed. All the hard copies were collected and scanned by the researcher to find the reports on the subject from the four newspapers during the study period. The selection of stories was made in regard to reports on gender-based violence; i.e. male vs females. The coding system was replicated from two previous studies of reporting on VAWG in Australian media (Morgan and Politoff 2012; Simons and Morgan 2018). Further, the researchers made the coding system more suited to the Indian context by adding questions about caste and forms of violence such as dowry harassment, acid attack, and set on fire (p.42).

Their result of the study presented that, during the study period, VAWG stories appeared at an average of 6.3 stories per paper per day. The number of stories varied between papers—an average of 6.5 stories per day in the TOI, 5.4 per day in

*Hindustan Times*, 7.9 per day in *Dainik Jagran*, and 5.3 per day in *Hindustan*. Some of these were articles that merely mentioned VAWG in the context of another topic (p.42). Despite the plentiful amount of articles published, they failed to provide information about the social context, causes, and statistics of the VAWG, majority of articles, - 85.2% of English articles and 94.2% of Hindi articles- focused on individual incidents. The reports that appeared are mostly incident-based reporting, only a few challenged the myths surrounding VAWG, and victim blaming (p.42). Calling for actions against VAWG, and law reforms were rare (p.43). Discussion of problems with the way VAWG is handled by institutions like the police, the criminal justice system, politicians, social services, and healthcare practitioners was much more common, appearing in 46 Hindi articles (14.6%) and 89 English articles (21.2%) (p.43).

Several positive reporting were also found in the sample dailies as many criticisms and suggestions were made by the media reports, such as; changes in the justice system, problems with the medical and legal systems which were making it difficult for survivors to get justice, the article about a new online portal for government employees to report sexual harassment at work mentions the passing of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace, and the widespread failure to implement the act were found.

As for the source of the news, police were the most frequently quoted or paraphrased source—used in 57.5% of Hindi articles and 62.9% of English articles. When one considers legal and criminal justice professionals together including police, judges, magistrates, and lawyers, they are quoted or paraphrased in a startling 74.1% of Hindi articles and 88.0% of English articles as sources. Representatives from organizations

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working on VAWG were quoted or paraphrased in only 4.0% of Hindi and 5.5% of English articles with sources (p.43).

In regard to victim-blaming of news reports, the researchers didn't find a significant amount of reports to prove such a system is prevalent in Indian newspapers. They found the overall tone of only 4.3% of English articles (17 of 391) and 3.3% of Hindi articles (10 of 304) to be victim-blaming. In regard to preference of newsworthiness by newspapers, VAWG incidents were found to be more newsworthy than others. Rape was discussed in 45.7% of English and 43.0% of Hindi articles, and murder was mentioned in 23.8% of English and 23.9% of Hindi articles (p.44).

For a news article to be sensationalist, it was considered that those headlines that use particularly emotive verbs or adjectives or provided unnecessary details that were likely to be particularly enticing to readers. Under this category, they found that 17.9% of English (75 of 419) and 36.4% of Hindi (115 of 316) headlines were sensationalist. The difference reflects the greater use of emotive language in Hindi articles. They defined excessive detail as articles that provided enough detail to give the reader a vivid picture of the crime. This was a highly prevalent problem, a feature of 45.3% of English articles (190 of 419) and 57.0% of Hindi articles (3.6%) and nine Hindi articles (2.8%) (p.44).

The relationship aspect of victim and perpetrator has been reported by the sample newspapers as it was found that 18.4% of Hindi and 19.2% of English articles reported on violence that had been perpetrated by a husband or other family member (p.45).

On the question of "Who Gets Media Attention?", the researchers found that VAWG incidents from rural India were under-reported. Although the newspaper editions chosen for the study were urban-based, only 6.6% of English and 4.9% of Hindi articles reported violence that had happened in the rural context (p.46).

Although PCI guidelines advise against identifying a person's caste or community, only two English and no Hindi articles explicitly described the violence in relation to caste. Similarly, only three articles in each language explicitly described violence in relation to religion (p.46).

This research found that victim blaming is not very prevalent in Indian media. Although, the media lacked in several fronts of VAWG reporting, such as;

- 1. A high proportion of reports are incident-based, and it has failed to recognize VAWG as a systematic social problem,
- 2. Domestic violence has not been given much attention, when it did they were rarely named "domestic violence", and explanations were provided in most articles about domestic violence which could imply that the victim was "asking for it". (p.47),
- Almost no articles provided information about support and resources available for survivors and VAWG experts were very rarely cited
- 4. Differences were evident between Hindi and English newspapers, with Hindi papers tending to use more emotive language that was at times sensationalist.

Therefore, the researchers opine that mainstream newspapers are required to improve on reporting violence against women and girls. Maheshwar et. al. (2017) conducted a longitudinal study on two popular daily newspapers in India namely, *The Hindu* (English) and *Eenadu* (Telugu). The study looked into the coverage of health and nutrition-related messages at two distant time points *viz*., February, 2010 and October, 2015. The study measured the number of articles and space occupied (in column centimeters) by four different variables; 1.Health News, 2.Health visuals, 3.Nutrition news, and 4.Nutrition visuals.

Two newspapers were analyzed for a month in two different time periods and the total number of pages of each newspaper was counted including supplementary pages (Art & Culture, Metro Plus, Melange, Sunday Magazine) of *The Hindu* and district supplementary pages of *Eenadu*. Total news space and the area of coverage of health and nutrition-related reports were calculated and compared for each newspaper. All the other space occupied by all types of advertisements, television programmes schedules, stock market index, weather reports, crossword puzzles, etc. was deducted from the total number of pages to arrive at the number of actual news pages available. All the space for educational news or articles or features on health and nutrition topics was measured (including visuals, if any) on a column-centimeter basis.

As per the results accrued in the month of February, 2010, of the total available space for all kinds of news, the space occupied by health news and visuals in both the studied newspapers was 2.30%, whereas nutrition news and visuals were only 0.99% in these dailies. For the month of October, 2015, health news and visuals got 2.26% space in both the newspapers and 1.11% space for nutrition news and visuals.

The trend of *Eenadu* in the dissemination of health and nutrition-related information in a gap of 5 years, has shown a 50 to 100 percent increase in the coverage of 1.Nutrition-related visuals and 2.Nutrition-related reports and 3.Health-related visuals. Even in health-related reports, a ten percent increase is evident in *Eenadu* coverage. Whereas, this trend is seen as reversed in *The Hindu*, English language newspaper. The number of health-related reports (45) published in February, 2010 in *The Hindu* has dropped to 38 in October, 2015. Similarly, nutrition-related reports (21) and visuals (21) published in *The Hindu* during February, 2010 have reduced to 15 and 19 respectively in October, 2015. The only rise evident in *The Hindu* was health-related visuals, which almost doubled (24) in October, 2015 compared to only 13 visuals that appeared in February, 2010.

In regard to the regularity of health and nutrition messages; both newspapers have been consistent in their publications. *Eenadu* was more persistent as all its issues in October, 2015 had one or the other articles on health or nutrition, whereas, in February 2010, these messages appeared at a gap of 3-7 days time intervals. Similarly, *The Hindu* published its quota of health or nutrition-related articles once in two days at least in February, 2010, and remained the same in October, 2015. Although, it was evident that the frequency of appearance increased in both the dailies, messages on the most important pages of the newspapers – page one or editorial page - didn't appear in single reports during the study period at both the time-points.

Overall coverage of health and nutrition-related messages in terms of news space has not significantly increased in Indian prime print media. Tragically total news space occupied by health-related information in both newspapers has in fact slightly reduced over the last 5-year period.

Research for a conference was conducted on the assumption that "The mass media can shape the public's opinions about health-related issues by emphasizing certain features in their coverage, such as the causes of problems, availability of the treatment, pre and post-disease care and precaution". The researchers Heena Kausar & Govind Ji Pandey, (October 2016), used a content analysis method in which four national newspapers of Lucknow editions were selected. With the objectives of; analyzing the coverage of newspapers on different health-related issues, checking the accuracy of the information given in news, features, and articles, and, analyzing the frequency of publishing health-related news. Two national daily English newspapers; *Times of India* and *Hindustan Times* and two national daily Hindi newspapers; *Dainik Jagran* and *Hindustan* were chosen. These four newspapers were chosen as they had the highest readership in the Lucknow area. Thirty-two news stories, articles, research news, and features were collected from all four newspapers from 5<sup>th</sup> April 2016 to 5<sup>th</sup> June 2016. Telephonic interviews were also conducted for the research.

To achieve the first objective the numbers of newspaper issues were collected during the study period and mapped them. To achieve the second objective the researchers interviewed the concerned reporters of the newspapers. Further, their responses are recorded and tabulated to ascertain the accuracy of their responses with the parameters designed by the researchers. To understand the third objective, all the news articles from the four newspapers during the study period were counted separately. The researchers concluded that "In health promotion work the successful exchange of information between the practitioner and target audience is an area that has received mixed attention".

Raut & Kakade, (2016) looks at the dire need for environmental degradation awareness among people and tries to check the credibility of Kannada newspapers in creating awareness about climate change. Objectives of the Study:

• To study the preferred news of Prajavani and Vijay Karnataka newspapers.

- To calculate the number of climate change news covered in Prajavani and Vijay Karnataka newspapers.
- To analyze the columns, editorials, and news coverage of climate change in Prajavani and Vijay Karnataka newspapers.
- To know how Kannada newspapers cover climate change stories in the context of awareness.
- To know which newspaper is best for making people understand Climate Change.

Content analysis for four months period from July to October was considered for two major newspapers; *Prajavani* and *Vijay* from Karnataka. 14 categories namely, Politics, International, Advertisements, Health, Education, Corruption, Women and Children, Environment and climate change, Crime and Accident, Rural Development and Agriculture, Sports, Business, Film/Entertainment, and Others. This other category is inclusive of Human rights, Science and Technology, Regional, Human rights protest, Development, Judiciary, Entertainment, Disputes, Religion, etc. were considered. The numbers and space of news from each category mentioned were studied. Each category's news number and space are calculated. The data collected is analyzed with the help of statistical tools like percentages, averages, ratios, and weighted averages to make projections and to draw meaningful conclusions further substantiated through statistical tests.

After a detailed analysis of its contents, it is found that top priority was given to advertisements in the period of 4 months. Political news was in 2<sup>nd</sup> place. Both newspapers significantly neglected Climate-related issues. There were only 193 climate-related issues with 29227.5 sq cm, which includes 91 columns (0.38%), 83

news (0.35%), 14 articles (0.06%), 5 editorials (0.02%), which means climate change columns were covered more in comparison with editorials, news, and articles.

Swamy et. al. (Sept. 2015) conducted a study for the period of four months; from September to December 2014. The developmental news under; Agriculture, Education, Health, Politics, Drinking Water, Road- transportation, Electricity, Employment, Shelter, Women and Children, Sports and Social Development, Weather, housing, entertainment, Strike, and Commercial were analyzed. The content of the newspaper was calculated as per its news coverage, circulation, and space provided to different areas of development.

Objectives of the study:

- To know how much importance is given to regional news by Small and Medium newspapers.
- To evaluate the space given to development news.
- To study which developmental issues are getting importance in Small Newspapers.
- To know which category of developmental news is highlighted and which category is neglected in Small Newspapers.
- To assess the quality of developmental news of Small Newspapers.
- To investigate the space given to national and international development news.

After the analysis, the researcher concluded that *Suddimoola* being a small regional newspaper with decent coverage has worked efficiently for the welfare of people by providing ample coverage of developmental news concerning the local people. It tried to bring the attention of the government through its coverage of local problems like water, road, power cut, seeds for farmers, drainage, cheats in pesticides, municipality,

and problems in local governments, and gave daily half-page columns in the paper to these developmental issues.

The problem of sanitation in India has been a huge issue around the corner as it invites plenty of health-related harm to its population. Since the media plays a crucial role in bringing awareness among the people, the research conducted by Abhilasha R. & Kakade, (2015) lies under this problem of sanitation in Kannada and the media/newspapers coverage of this. Although the government has implemented programs to eradicate open defecation in India, behavioral changes also play an important role in using the toilets built by the government regularly. In such situations, Mass media can become a catalyst for changing the attitude of the masses. Media fulfills the purpose of informing, entertaining, and educating people (p.10).

Objectives of the study:

- To find out the pattern of news coverage in Kannada Newspapers.
- To find the average level of news coverage on sanitation-related issues in the Kannada Newspapers.
- To find out the space allotted to issues related to sanitation.
- To find out the type of sanitation news covered in newspapers.
- To find out the opinion of journalists on sanitation coverage in regional newspapers.

Content analysis was applied to study two leading Kannada newspapers (Gulbarga editions) – *Prajavani* and *Vijaya Karnataka*, for a period of 6 months. The language newspapers were considered for the study as they were expected to be more effective in communicating with native people. The time period for the study was from  $3^{rd}$  October 2014 to March 2015. Systematic selection is done, and each day of the week

is represented by both newspapers. A total of 24 issues for each newspaper were analyzed qualitatively. To get the perspective of journalists, in-depth interviews of print media journalists have been conducted. Newspaper reports on sanitation, special stories, editorials, interviews, photos, and letters to the editors were accounted for. After a detailed analysis of both newspapers, it was observed that; the coverage of both newspapers was not satisfactory. Only in cases of major events in the subject the coverage on sanitation was made. No special and in-depth stories were published on the subject. Both the newspapers gave the least importance to sanitation, comparatively, *Vijaya Karnataka* published more sanitation news than *Prajavani*. *Vijaya Karnataka* had 0.5% coverage whereas *Prajavani* had only 0.16% coverage on sanitation during the study period. It was also observed from the interviews that the journalists lacked proper knowledge of the "science of sanitation".

C Vani, (2014) selected Eenadu, Deccan Chronicle, and Andhra Jyoti, from March 2013 to August 2013 for the application of content analysis research. With the objective of ascertaining the role of regional print media in publishing development news, the research work discusses the developmental news published in the three leading newspapers in major cities of Andhra Pradesh, India. The main edition of all three newspapers published by Tirupati was considered.

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- To determine the extent of coverage of development news in *Eenadu*, Deccan Chronicle, and *Andhra Jyoti*
- To ascertain the role of regional print media in publishing development news.
- To find out how these three regional newspapers differ in covering development news.

Exposing the data to content analysis techniques, the study focused on the areas like news reports, editorials, and letters to the editor. Six months were selected randomly and the newspapers were selected randomly with 3 issues dated the 4<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 24<sup>th</sup> of each paper every month. A total of 54 copies from all three papers were selected for the study. While selecting the items, the researcher studied all the articles pertaining to the development issues with a special focus on how the newspapers have covered the issue, and the study was based on three parameters, namely;

- 1. The importance given to the developmental news stories
- 2. Amount of space and location, page allotted for development stories
- 3. The presentation of stories using visuals and other graphic

Post analysis, it was understood that not much importance was given to development news by any of the newspapers under study. Very less editorials were published, not a single letter to the editor was found and the majority of the stories were published on the inside pages. The photographs were fewer on developmental news. English newspapers were better in terms of coverage of developmental news than the language press. Instead of giving importance to development news, the newspapers concentrated on subjects like politics, economics, sports, arts, etc. Hence, it's realized that the newspapers failed in helping to shape public opinion on vital issues like development.

Dr. A. K. Singh, (2011) employed a qualitative content analysis method in his study through the observation method. The 10 samples from the newspaper *Hindustan* (Hindi) from June and July 2010 were considered and randomly selected. An irregular marking method has been applied for random sampling. All pages except sports, business, and economics have been taken for the study purpose. All the stories of the

selected issues have been analyzed to know the content of the material. The subjects of Health, Education, Agriculture, and Rural Development, Urban Development, and Environment have been considered the developmental news.

His objective was to find the trend of coverage of Government development programmes in newspapers. Following are his objectives;

- What is the coverage of the development programme in the newspaper?
- How is a development programme being given priority on the front page of a newspaper?
- What is the coverage of the development programme on the editorial page?
- What is the reaction of people to the development programme?

After observing the contents of newspapers the researcher found that the newspapers have ignored the developmental news comprehensively, instead, the newspapers did cover the topics like Crime, accidents, forgery, strikes, and politics in most parts of the newspaper. Only during the time of controversies, the newspaper has given coverage to development stories.

In conclusion, it has been noted by Singh (ibid) that very few informative news were produced in the newspaper which could be taken for analysis, including no front-page news, no regular columns, no editorials, and no feedback and opinions taken from the readers. No follow-up news was attempted even in cases where the initial news was reported. No reviews of the progress or success or failure stories were done. No coordination was seen between media and development agencies for the implementation of the development programmes. Interviews with the officer with the development programme were not done. Developmental news made it to the print only on occasions of inaugurations but without any details of the development programme. Unless there is malpractice or corruption the development programme didn't make it to the news. Essentially, it was understood as argued by Singh (ibid) that the dissemination of information about development programmes is considered a part of government advertisement.

The objective of Mudgal's, (2011) study was to understand whether rural issues are addressed in the mainstream newspapers of India. It attempts to understand the media coverage of major issues of agrarian crisis, malnutrition, farmers' suicides, and rural poverty. The study was conducted in the year 2009 and for the content analysis, the top six newspapers were chosen specifically for single urban editions. Mumbai edition of *The Times of India*, the Chennai edition of *The Hindu*, and the Delhi edition of the *Hindustan Times* as for the Hindi newspapers, all the Delhi editions of *Dainik Jagaran, Dainik Bhaskar*, and *Amar Ujala* were chosen for the study.

The selection of city editions of these sample newspapers is made as it caters to predominantly urban readerships. The selection of newspapers was on the basis of the Indian Newspaper Survey II which was made public in November 2009, and all the top 6 newspapers were selected for this study. The time frame of the study was the year 2009. The days were selected to cover every month of the year and every day of the week evenly and thoroughly during the time period. Four newspapers were selected every month in such a way that at least three weekdays and one each of either Saturday or Sunday got covered over a total of 48 days. Hence, 48 copies of each of the six newspapers were obtained

The highest number of news items relating to rural amongst English newspapers are found in *The Hindu*, and *Dainik Bhaskar* had the highest among the Hindi

newspapers. The biggest portion (36%) of news items were on issues relating to crime, violence, accidents, and disasters. It's found that the coverage by all these six dailies of rural issues continues to be almost negligible (p.93). "The most prominently dis-played news items from rural India, such as the lead items or other front-page news stories, also tend to be about violence, disas-ter, accidents or crime rather than about what is considered by many as significant rural is-sues like displacement, poverty, malnutrition or farmers' suicides (p.94)".

It was found that "A routine rural story is a brief, single or double column item on the inside pages and is straight and matter of fact. Explanations or backgrounders or the likely causes of an incident are rare. A considerably large number of stories are displayed in the "briefs" sections which carry just a paragraph or two in a column so tagged (p.94)". The glaring issue that was detected in reporting rural stories in these newspapers is the lack of authentic sources of news as the researcher mentioned that "The highest number of news stories (50%) had either unidentified sources or were without any sources et. al. (p.95)". The remaining news was mostly retrieved from government or bureaucratic sources.

In its conclusion, the researcher states that despite the government's efforts to eradicate poverty by allocating huge amounts of funds the media failed to give these stories prominence which was reflected in their minuscule coverage in their newspapers. In the cases of stories being reported "the real issues are defined by the official (establishment) sources who seem to have a stake in promoting the positive side (p.97)". When the anti-government reports were published the in-depth analysis was lacking.

The content analysis study by Melkote et. al. (February, 2010) was undertaken with the four leading English newspapers; The Hindustan Times, The Indian Express, The Times of India, Hindustan Times, and The Hindu. The samples for the study covered 30 consecutive days of the above dailies from September 1, 2006, to September 30, 2006. The study was based on the priorities of sample newspapers on market-driven journalism vs value-based journalism. The study is a simple *descriptive* and *analytical content analysis,* though the quantitative estimates of the first page contents were carried out to find out the differences among the four English newspapers.

The study focused on the front page of the sample newspapers concerning; the coverage, photos, and advertisements. In respect of coverage, the analysis deals with how different newspapers prioritized the news and reported it under different categories such as political or public affairs, economics, crime, legal, and social. Further, the analysis also dwells on different market-driven strategies the print media newsrooms resort to as space-filling strategies in lieu of the news by making up the first page with long headlines for shorter news items, and large fonts for shorter titles. This is besides using photos for all important characters of news and allowing the precious first-page space with advertisements.

In the analysis of priorities of reporting on sample newspapers, it was found that news items that prioritize and are presented here in their order of preference; the top priority was given to political news in all the sample newspapers and it was followed by Crime, Legal, Social, Economic, and Investigative. In regard to the process of analysis of the page layout of the four news dailies, it was found that long headlines were preferred over short headlines, large size fonts over small fonts, and too many photos and advertisements were used, some of which running in the place of banner

headlines (p.51). In comparison to earlier news value, the advertisement rarely appeared on the front pages of any newspapers although the market-driven strategy of newspaper understudy had most of the advertisements appear on the front pages. It was found that most educational institutions and banks were the prominent advertisers on the first page (p.52).

It's concluded from the study that Indian newspapers also acquired the contours of market-driven journalism similar to the US, especially after the 1990s economic policy implementation.

Intending to understand the role of newspapers in development, Murthy (2000) undertook the study of four dailies, two in English; *The Hindu, Indian Express*, and two in Telugu; *Andra Jyothi* and *Eenadu*, all published from Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. The time period for the study was one year from 1<sup>st</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1995. The content analysis method was applied to understand the "frequency, space, and direction of coverage" of developmental news in these dailies. All the news items were studied including the editorials and letters to the editor. The study was categorized into two different subjects, one development, and two others. Under the category of development, there were 12 sub-themes that were considered for analysis; they were; health, education, literacy, transport & communication, agriculture, industry, housing, population planning, energy, ecology, human rights, and national integration.

A continuous week and constructed week methods of sampling were used to obtain a sample of 168 editions consisting of 42 issues per newspaper. Space for all news items was measured in cubic centimeters with a standard scale. The photographs inside the news items were also treated as part of a news item. The research content

analyzed a total of 18,457 news items, 693 letters to the editor, and 252 editorials, from the four dailies, however, only 1086 (5.8%) of the total number of news items in all newspapers came up under the development category.

The four dailies under study differed significantly in their coverage of developmental news. The *Eenadu* was on top and *Andra Jyothi* gave the least coverage among the four dailies under study. As per the treatment given to developmental news, The Hindu reported favorable news whereas other newspapers were critical of its reports on developmental stories.

In his conclusion, Murthy, (2000) declared that the overall coverage of developmental news in four dailies understudy was "neither significant nor encouraging". Despite the government's priority on literacy and population, the sample dailies provided less coverage than other themes of development. In-depth coverage of developmental issues was lacking. The analysis of letters to the editor and editorials too was not satisfactory. Murthy, (2000) states, "The possible reasons for inadequate coverage of developmental news in the Indian press may include; a) keenness of newspapers to cover political, sensational and entertainment news to boost circulation, b) lack of research or in-depth study by journalists on covering developmental news (p.29)".

A research article by Shah, (1990) was conducted to examine the factors influencing the production of development news in three major newspapers in India; *The Economic Times* (an English-language, financial daily), *The Hindustan Times* (an English-language, general-interest daily), and the *Navbharat Times* (a Hindilanguage, general interest daily). New Delhi editions of all three newspapers were examined for the study. The sample of items was from issues of the three newspapers published on one randomly chosen day from each month in the calendar year 1985. In

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addition, newspapers from three consecutive days in December 1985 were also analyzed. Almost all the contents of newspapers like the news stories, features, columns, editorials, and letters to the editor were analyzed, and photographs, advertisements, weather forecasts, etc. were not analyzed. The basic features of the stories were coded during the coding procedures, the number of development news items and the topics covered by the items, the content characteristics such as actors covered, sources used, and geographical focus like; urban, rural, regional, national, or international were considered. Data about societal, organizational- and communicatorlevel factors influencing development news production was retrieved from the interviews with 14 Indian journalists, supplemented by mail questionnaires from 38 other Indian journalism educators, government officials, and mass media researchers; and nonparticipant observation in the newsrooms of the three dailies (p.1036).

The specific research questions addressed in this study are:

- 1. What are the characteristics of development news: the topics, actors, and setting most frequently covered, and sources most frequently used? What proportion of the total news content is development news?
- 2. In what ways do societal-level factors, such as government-media relations, journalism traditions, and journalism education influence the development news content?
- 3. In what ways do organizational-level factors, such as newsroom training, time pressure, space constraints, personnel matters, and financial resources, influence the development news content?
- 4. In what ways do communicator-level factors, such as journalists' role conceptions and news values, influence the development news content?

The results of the data showed that from the 2,382 news stories, features, columns, editorials, and letters to the editor, there were only 378 (or about 16%) stories that fit the definition of development news. On categorizing the actors covered in these development stories, staggeringly 55% of the actors were from the established order (heads of state, legislators, members of the ruling party, ministers, ambassadors, members of the armed forces, police, industry, and corporate officials). *Only* 3 percent of the items covered actors belonging to political opposition groups (p.1037). The news sources too mostly were from the people in power. The coverage of the news reports revealed that only 11% of the items covered rural areas where major developmental works are undertaken (p.1038).

In the analysis of factors influencing the development news production, the researcher analyzes the societal, organizational, and communicator factors that relate to the media organization. The relationship between media and government as a societal factor that has influenced the growth of media has played a huge role. The researcher suggested that the control and increase in the price of newsprint by the government have resulted in the production of development news. As the financial pressure compelled them to reduce their manpower and as a result, the decrease of development news from rural areas in newspapers was significant in the years succeeding 1975 (p.1038).

Although, the majority of developmental news was sourced from the government and its affiliated agencies since the development plans and policies were coming out from them in the form of Five Year Plans, etc. but investigative reports, in-depth analysis, and critical reporting of such development plans were lacking. Researchers believed that such a journalistic tradition of critical analysis of development news is not there in India. Researchers also found out from the interviews of journalists that only 21.6 percent of the journalists felt it was extremely important to emphasize the process of national development. The content analysis findings lend support to this survey result: only 15.1% of the items reported development as a process rather than as an event. (p.1040).

Among the earliest research on newspaper content analysis in India, JV Vilanilam, (1975) studies the two leading newspapers of India; *The Times of India*, the largest circulated English newspaper, and the other, *Malayala Manorama*, the largest circulated language newspaper. News, editorials, comments, features, and letters to the editor pertaining to developmental categories were analyzed from each issue collected for the analysis.

The developmental areas that had been covered for the study were; administrative reforms, agricultural development and food production, economic activity (planning, foreign aid, etc.), education and literacy, employment and labor welfare, family planning, health, hygiene, and medicine, housing industrial, scientific and technological development, mass media, national integration, rural and urban development, social change, and telecommunication, tourism and transport development, etc.

Vilanilam (ibid) found that the two newspapers under study considered parliament and state legislature proceedings, strikes, personal news, about ministers, personnel changes, inauguration and dedications, inter-party and intra-party political affairs, quasi-political organizations, etc. more newsworthy and significant than what was happening in the fields of family planning, employment, labor welfare, housing, land

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reforms, health, hygiene, and medicine, social change, national integration, education and literacy (p.40).

A few similar studies on newspaper content have also been reviewed from different parts of the world on developmental subjects like health, rural development, environment, etc., and they are presented here in the subsequent pages.

The research by Awofeso et. al. (2018) was conducted on the premise that obesity among children (age 5–17 years) in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has been a major concern as Childhood obesity is one of the 10 top health priorities in the UAE. The study examines the quality, frequency, sources, scope, and framing of childhood obesity in popular social media and three leading UAE newspapers from January 1, 2014, and December 31, 2017. During the review period, 152 newspaper articles from three leading national newspapers – *Gulf News, The National,* and *Al Ittihad* and 57 Facebook posts, 50 Twitter posts, and 14 posted YouTube videos, related to childhood obesity were studied for the purpose. Newspapers have been popular among parents as the results show 87% trust in government-supported newspapers. Whereas, social media is popular among children although very few children access social media sites to seek health information, rather they are exposed to fast food advertisements on social media platforms.

The study sought to analyze the frequency of UAE's leading newspapers' coverage of childhood obesity and examine how obesity is framed in terms of sources of information, defining the problem, attributing causes, and presenting solutions. The newspaper articles were searched on the electronic databases of newspapers using keywords and later the eligible articles were reviewed for possible classification as Alarmist, Reassuring or Neutral. Similar search methods were adopted in finding the

social media contents on various government accounts responsible for health care policymaking and regulation as well as delivery of publicly funded health care services within UAE on their three popular social media platforms – Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. Eligible social media posts were categorized by content, number of views, number of likes, and number of social media content were analyzed on their attributes such as; objectivity, relevance, reliability, comprehensibility, and value-added. In addition, the contents are determined by the framing properties of articles or posts, how well articles address behavioral, structural, and environmental factors related to childhood obesity, and the potential readership of such articles.

It was indicated that there is low public engagement with social media posts by government health agencies which was reflected in lower numbers of views. Neutral reporting by newspapers on the subject was detected as there were no articles with overtly alarmist slants or those focused on child obesity and stigma or discrimination. It was found that UAE newspapers are currently playing a constructive role in contributing to efforts to address childhood obesity by raising awareness and reporting on efforts by stakeholders to address this health issue.

Moshrefzadeh, A, et. al. (2013) conducted qualitative content analysis research on local newspaper coverage of the implementation of smoke-free bylaws in the city of Vancouver. The research attempted "to understand the potential influence of news media on public perception of the bylaw", by their frequency, approach, and the slant of their stories.

The research reflected that the coverage of the local newspapers was low considering only 90 stories were found over the period of two years (1 January 2010 to 31 December 2011). However, the majority of stories related to bylaws were presented
with a positive slant with 38.9%, 30% neutral, and 22.2% negative. The slant analysis in two different categories of news articles and letters showed that half of the news articles held a positive slant and only 7.4% were negative. All the letters to the editor were negative towards the bylaws but considering the few numbers of letters against the more positive news articles the researchers concluded that the "readers were left with an overall generally supportive slant towards the smoke-free bylaw".

In the analysis of the news approach, wherein the health approach was given more prominence, the researchers believed that the presentation of news with the health approach made it for the people to view the ban on health issues as a salient issue. However, despite the overwhelming indication in the letters to the editor of 'regulating individual behavior within a public environment', such discussion is lacking. In addition, the coverage of equity issues was also lacking.

The research by Kayode & Adeniran, (2012) tries to understand the role of media in achieving the Millennium Development Goals of Nigeria through the analysis of two prominent Nigerian national newspapers, *The PUNCH*, and *The Guardian*. The study covered all 182 editions of each sampled newspaper published from January 1, 2008, to June 30, 2008. A total of 364 editions' contents were analyzed. Since the research was intended to examine newspaper coverage of the MDGs, any other development issue not contained in the MDGs was excluded from the study. The units of analysis selected were straight news, news analysis, features and opinions, and editorials published on the MDGs. The study sought answers to the following questions:

- 1. What development issue is most emphasized in Nigerian newspapers?
- 2. What level of prominence is given to development issues reported in Nigerian newspapers?

3. How do Nigerian newspapers acquire the information they publish on development issues?

They examined the percentage of MDGs stories compared to the total number of stories published in each of the newspapers. It was found that *The Guardian* published 3.3% of MDG-related news and *The PUNCH* published a mere 2.6%. Altogether, 2.9% MGDs news was published in the two sampled newspapers during the study period.

The next examination was of the frequency distribution of news coverage on 8 different MDGs goals and the result showed varying levels of coverage of these goals by both newspapers. Research findings showed that issues relating to *poverty and hunger, environmental sustainability,* and *global partnership* are the most reported MDGs in the Nigerian media. Issues pertaining to *universal primary education, child health,* and *maternal health* are the least reported.

Another aspect of the examination was made with the placements of MDGs' stories in their newspapers. Options in this category included the front page, back page, editorial page, and other inside pages. Under this analysis, it was found that the placement of most of the MDG-related articles shows that both newspapers gave little importance to the MDGs as most stories were placed on the inside pages of both newspapers. Reported issues are hardly featured on the front and editorial pages.

Another variable was 'source', as this was done to examine whether reporters identify the source of stories published. The results showed that most of the news came from event coverage and happenings, which reflected the newspapers' reliance on events for the coverage. The investigative reports were lacking and no critical analysis of development reports was presented. The researchers summed up that the Nigerian media failed to set an agenda for public discussion and failed to raise issues for both government and the public for a larger discussion of issues pertinent to the development of the country. The media also failed in their role as disseminators of positive development news, as posited by the development media theory.

Ifenkwe, (2008) conducted a content analysis study to ascertain the level of coverage and reportage of environmental and rural development information, in 5 leading newspapers of Nigeria for the period of one year from January to December 2006. The content analysis of five (5) major national news dailies of Nigeria, namely, *The Champion, The Sun, This Day, The Guardian,* and *The Punch* was done. The seven components of rural development: agriculture, nutrition, health, population/family planning, environmental quality, road construction/maintenance, and rural electrification were looked at in the sample newspapers. Newspaper coverage and reportage of rural development and environmental preservation activities were reviewed for each quarter of the year. Apart from quantitatively ascertaining how newspapers handled rural development news items, the mode of reporting adopted in presenting such information was also reviewed. Articles considered relevant were identified; classified and enumerated using percentages and frequency counts, and the results were presented along with tables.

As per the Quarterly Trends in Newspaper Coverage (January-March, 2006) it was found that Agriculture/nutrition issues (32.58%), followed by health (31.07%), and rural infrastructures (17.5%) were the most widely reported in this quarter. The trend was attributed to the usual high intensity of agricultural activities that takes place in the first quarter of the year (p.43). During the second quarter (April-June), the health

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sub-sector dominated press attention (31.20%), it was followed by agriculture/nutrition (26.88%) and environmental matters (17.18%). Agriculture/ nutrition, and rural infrastructure news decreased by 6% and 2% respectively. Activities of World Health Day held on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2006 and global health care concerns are attributed to an increase in media attention to health information by the researchers. The second quarter was also high on environmental news which is because of the World Environment Day commemoration on 5<sup>th</sup> June (p.44). During the third quarter (July-September) agriculture/nutrition received the highest (28.26%) level of publicity, followed by health (26.10%) and population/family planning (18.04%). The Champion (32.0%) was followed by The Guardian (20.88%) and The Sun (18.17%) in reporting rural development. 2006 was a census year in Nigeria, and World Population Day too was celebrated on July 11, 2006, but the news coverage was not adequate as per the researcher's findings. During the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter (October-December, 2006) news coverage in agriculture/nutrition, and population/family planning sub-sectors dropped by four and two percent respectively as compared to Q3. This was in spite of the fact that World Food Day was celebrated on October 16, 2006 (p.45). As a result of many community development projects launched in this period, lots of reports about basic infrastructural (feeder roads, electricity, etc.) development were published. The Sun had the highest coverage (34.50%) of rural development news in this quarter, followed by The Champion (19.24%) and The Guardian (19.05%). The health sector received the highest level (27.80%) of press attention, followed by agriculture/nutrition (24.05%), rural infrastructures (17.12%), population/family planning (15.77%), and environmental issues (15.20%) (p. 46).

In the analysis of editorials, the health sub-sector received the highest editorial attention (26.16%), followed by agriculture/nutrition (25%). And rural infrastructures

(19%). Population/Family planning issues received the least editorial attention (14.0%), with a rating that was slightly below that on environmental matters (16.0%). *Overall, The Sun's* editorial/opinion offerings in the rural development sector were highest (33.4%), followed by *The Punch* (26.2%), and *The Champion* (19.50%). *This Day* newspapers utilized their editorial column least (9.59%) in rural development advocacy (p.47).

*In regard to features* on rural development, *The Champion* newspaper devoted the largest portion of its space (23.84%) followed by *The Punch* (22.84%) and *The Sun* (19.17%). Features articles in the health subsector predominated (29.0%), followed by those in agriculture/nutrition (27%). Population/family planning matters received the least attention (14%) as features stories (p.48).

The use of newspapers as an advertising medium for rural development messages in 2006 was highest in the Sun Newspapers (47.0%), and least in *The Champion* newspapers (7.6%). This Day, The Punch and The Guardian newspapers used their medium less extensively in luring the public to rural development programmes and services. The health sub-sector received the highest proportion of advertorials (44.0%), followed by agriculture/nutrition (32%). Each of the other sub-sectors had less than 20 percent (p.48). *The Guardian* newspapers showed the highest level of involvement in photo documentation of rural development news (32.53%) in 2006. It was followed by *The Punch* newspapers (20.24%) and *This day* newspapers (10.60%). Pictures/cartoons were used most frequently in disseminating agriculture/nutrition messages (29.0%), followed by environmental (23.0%), health (21.0%), and population/family planning messages (11.0%) (p.49).

A reasonable effort was made by the newspapers to cover agricultural and environmental matters in 2006. *Daily Champion* newspapers performed best in overall advocacy for rural development and environmental conservation in 2006, followed by *The Punch* and *The Guardian* newspapers.

Rural development news coverage was highest (31.48%) in the fourth quarter, and least in the third quarter (17.79%) of the year. Sixty-nine percent of rural development information/news appeared as features, while others were presented as editorials (13.04%), advertorials (9.27%), and pictorials (8.38%). The Sun newspapers (23.65%) could easily pass as the best print medium in reporting environmental and rural development news, followed by The Punch (22.5%) and The Champion (21.3%) newspapers. The Sun newspapers also exhibited consistent leadership in promoting activities in the health and population/family planning sub-sectors, while The Champion disseminated more information on rural infrastructures and environmental matters. It is suggested that the newspapers need to improve on their advocacy role in order to enhance their credibility as promoters of issues of public interest.

An article on health-related issues conducted with the content analysis methods by Gugsa, et. al. (2016) is premised on the United Nations Millennium Development Goal 5 (MDG 5) which is directed toward improving maternal health. With the objective of examining the newspaper coverage of maternal health in three countries that have made varying progress towards the MDG 5 – Bangladesh (on track), Rwanda (making progress, but not on track), and South Africa (no progress) – the researchers analyzed each country's leading national English-language newspapers. The newspapers were; Bangladesh's *The Daily Star*, Rwanda's *The New Times/The Sunday Times*, and South Africa's *Sunday Times/The Times*. The number of maternal

health articles published from 1 January 2008 to 31 March 2013 was quantified and conducted a content analysis of a subset of 190 articles published from 1 October 2010 to 31 March 2013. The important aspect of maternal health which is of course family planning is included in the content analysis of this study.

The selection of newspapers for study from all three countries was made on the basis of the highest circulated English newspaper and published on both print and the internet. In cases of the highest circulated English language newspaper was not a daily newspaper, the researchers combined it with an affiliated sister newspaper in order to get at least 6-7 days a week. The 'constructed week' sampling technique was adopted for the selection of samples. With the help of this technique, a total of 190 articles were sampled; 75 articles from The Daily Star (Bangladesh), 64 articles from The New Times/The Sunday Times (Rwanda), and 51 articles from Sunday Times/The Times (South Africa) were collected.

The content analysis was done in both quantitative as well as qualitative methods. In a quantitative method, the researchers quantified the number of articles published on maternal health annually for each newspaper. The number and nature of the articles, types of articles (news vs. editorial), purpose, regional focus, and length.

For the qualitative analysis, 'agenda-setting' theory was applied to identify the three main frameworks used to present maternal health issues; (A) 'rights-based' frameworks describing maternal health as a human right, (B) 'policy-based' frameworks presenting maternal health challenges as part of economic or social development with specific policy solutions, and (C) frameworks discussing maternal health as an 'ethical or 'moral' issues (p.6). The frequency of these above-mentioned frameworks in each newspaper was quantified and analyzed whether written directly

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by the journalist or quoted from an interview. The coding was also done on the basis of narrative elements, story tone (negative, neutral, positive, or mixed), protagonist, antagonist, story dimensions (statistics, facts, aetiologies), solutions, and target audience (p.6).

The qualitative analysis of the newspaper coverage discovered that the frequency of newspaper coverage on maternal health in all three newspapers had increased over the period of time from 2008 to 2012. The fastest increase in news articles was Bangladesh's The Daily Star followed by Rwanda's The New Times/The Sunday Times and South Africa's Sunday Times/The Times had the slowest growth of coverage (p.6). Although, the in-depth analysis of maternal health reports was not done by both the newspapers from Rwanda and South Africa as all their reports on the subject were from the news coverage of specific events, meetings, and conferences. Whereas The Daily Star from Bangladesh had 1 of every 7 (13%) reports on maternal health was in-depth coverage (p.6). At the same time significantly higher numbers, about 37% of maternal health coverage were found in the form of opinion-based (letters, opinions, and op-eds) on The Daily Star (Bangladesh) in comparison to other newspapers. The researchers claimed that "Opinion-based articles in The Daily Star often included strong opinions that supported or challenged the government's stance on particular policies and shaped perceptions of solutions (p.7).

Even in the area of creating awareness in regard to maternal health, The Daily Star stood first with 61% of its news reports suggesting or advocating for raising awareness of maternal health. The other newspapers had meager coverage of 39% suggesting similar awareness (p.7). On emphasizing the local issues The Daily Star (Bangladesh) and The New Times/The Sunday Times (Rwanda) had a staggeringly

higher proportion with 93% and 91% of coverage respectively. In comparison, South Africa's Sunday Times/The Times had only 59% of local coverage (p.7). On discussing MDG 5 in regard to maternal health The Daily Star had 36% whereas only 9% of articles were from Rwanda and no articles from South Africa.

The qualitative framework analysis suggests that Bangladesh's The Daily Star and Rwanda's The New Times/The Sunday Times used rights-based or policy-based framing in higher proportion (83% and 69% respectively) than South Africa's Sunday Times/The Times with only 41% used such framing (p.7). South Africa's Sunday Times/The Times used moral or ethical framing significantly more (39%) than other newspapers under study. Also, South African newspapers had more (63%) negative tone in their reportage of maternal health as compared to other newspapers (p.8).

There were significant differences in coverage among the newspapers from three different countries but all the newspapers published articles that mentioned limited awareness, poor advocacy, and financial barriers as the main obstacles to accessing family planning (p.10).

- Differences in volume and frequency of publication: the researchers believe that the global prioritization of maternal health issues in low-income countries could have been the reason for higher news coverage of low-income countries like Bangladesh and Rwanda and not South Africa, which is slightly better placed in upper-middle-income countries.
- Differences in in-depth reporting on maternal health: The Daily Star of Bangladesh had plenty of in-depth reporting compared to other newspapers from the two countries, which the researchers believe that in-depth coverage and initiating roundtable forums featuring different organizations and experts help in

public discussion, bridges potential gaps in knowledge, allows active promotion of maternal health concerns and creates a favorable environment for strong maternal health policymaking (p.11)".

- **Differences in types of articles:** the opinion-based articles found in The Daily Star (Bangladesh) contained strong viewpoints, challenging or supporting the government's motivation for particular policy initiatives and shaping perceptions of solutions. Such opinions-based articles, the researchers believe, provide useful measures of public opinion on social issues and further help in the policy decision-making process (p.11).
- **Differences in framing**: The newspapers of Bangladesh and Rwanda have been found to be performing rights-based and policy-based media framing. According to the researchers, the policy-based framing describes a health issue in the context of increasing readers' sense of social responsibility and desire for policy decisions, and the right-based framing demands accountability. The researchers believe in the possibility that such framings by the highly circulated newspapers could be the reason for stimulating action on MDG 5 (p.12).
- **Differences in tone**: the researchers believe that the negative tone of maternal health reports presented by South Africa's Sunday Times/The Times (almost two-thirds) will have a negative impact on the people which will result in discouraging people to seek medical aid. The researchers suggested balanced reports to encourage safe maternal and reproductive health practices (p.12).
- Differences in context: There was a clear difference among the countries' newspaper reports as far as the contexts are concerned. Bangladesh's paper discussed family planning in the context of slowing population growth. Whereas

the newspapers from Rwanda and South Africa emphasized family planning in the context of reducing adolescent pregnancy in the two countries.

Another article that deals with the health issue are by Calloway, et. al. (2006) deals with the issue of Genital Human Papillomavirus (HPV). HPV is one of the major health issues concerning not only the United States but several countries around the globe. Of the 100 types of HPV 30 affect genital areas and a few cause cervical cancer which is fatal in nature (p.803). Therefore, the study deals with understanding media coverage of this deadly virus primarily focusing on cervical cancer and the media's role in informing the public on the available effective vaccines for mitigating virus infection. The content analysis method was adopted to find out the news coverage of the HPV vaccine and its efficacy. The study period was from January 1, 2003, to June 17, 2005, wherein the Lexis-Nexis database was used to identify 25 articles on HPV that were published in 285 U.S. newspapers. The coding schema captured information about the news event and source, as well as HPV and cervical cancer, transmission, vaccine, the potential impact of the vaccine, and its relationship to PAP tests. The database was searched using General News and U.S. News for the news category and Major Papers as the news source. The search was limited to news, and, thus, it did not include editorials or feature stories (p.804).

The coding schema was designed to capture information about eight main categories: the news event generating the article, the news source, information on HPV and cervical cancer, information on HPV transmission, information on the vaccine (including the manufacturers, types of HPV referenced, potential recipients), the impact of the vaccine, Pap tests, and HPV, and issues or concerns (p.806). In the data searched, it is found that most of the articles appeared in either the news or health sections, and the majority of the news story resulted from the reports of clinical trials, typically as a publication or release of scientific data, although 1 article reported a press conference.

After the analysis of the data the authors concluded that U.S. newspapers have provided information on the experimental status and efficacy of the HPV vaccine, newspapers also explained the link between HPV and cervical cancer, and have identified the two manufacturers by name while frequently relying on them as a news source. Further, the authors were critical of their reports as the news articles have discussed the implications of the vaccine, but the language used to describe the potential effects may have contributed to confusion among readers. They also lamented the failure of newspapers to provide detailed information about HPV as they were less common, with relatively few articles reporting any of the following three important facts; most HPV infections are short-lived and resolve on their own, only a small percentage of HPV infections (p.807).

If only relying on newspapers for information, readers could get an incomplete picture or fail to understand the complexity of the association between HPV infection and cervical cancer. This, in turn, could influence the public's willingness to accept a vaccine. Recommendations for the vaccine's target populations have not been finalized, and thus, the articles reflected the lack of consensus among scientists (p.808). Also, newspapers failed to provide clear information on the vaccines, the newspapers failed to communicate properly about the state of vaccines available for patients. The reviews of several pieces of research on the coverage of media from India as well as around the world on the various issues relating to the development of human society reveal major issues. They found the coverage of the issues is mostly insignificant, biased, and unsatisfactory which was not expected of the media that are considered the fourth estate of democracy, and they are expected to address the issues of development in a proactive as well as in a positive way, especially in the developing countries.

A review of newspaper reporting on VAWG (Violence against Women and Girls) in India by Gilbertson & Pandit (2019) reveals the failure of newspapers in addressing the issue as the researcher felt that the newspapers failed to recognize VAWG as a systematic social problem, the domestic violence was ignored, even the information on support and resources available for the survivors were lacking and mostly Hindi newspapers were trying to make these issues sensationalist. A longitudinal study conducted within five years gap on two popular daily newspapers by Maheshwar et. al. (2017) reflected that there was no increase in health and nutrition-related news items between the two different time periods of five years. Instead, the researchers found that the total news space occupied by health-related information in both newspapers has in fact slightly reduced as compared to the previous time period of data collection. Heena Kausar & Govind Ji Pandey (October, 2016) from their content analysis of the four newspapers in Lucknow found out that, in health, promotion works in the exchange of information between the practitioner and target audience received mixed attention. With the intention of finding the credibility of Kannada newspapers in creating awareness about climate change, Raut & Kakade (2016) found that the climate change issue has been ignored significantly whereas the advertisements occupied the maximum space and politics came second in occupying the space in the select newspapers in the study period. On the issue of sanitation in Kannada Abhilasha R & Kakade (2015) analyzed the newspapers' coverage and it was observed that the coverage of both newspapers was not satisfactory and they gave the least importance to sanitation. The coverage was made only in cases of major events and there were no special and in-depth stories. The researcher concluded from the interviews that the journalists lacked proper knowledge of the "science of sanitation". To understand the role of regional print media in publishing development news, C Vani (2014) concluded from the research that less importance was given to the development news, fewer editorials were published, absence of letters to the editor, and the majority of development-related news was published on the inside pages of newspapers under consideration. Rather, the subjects like politics, economics, sports arts, etc were given more space than developmental issues. In comparison between the English and the language press, English performed better than language. With the objective of finding the trend of coverage of Government development programs in newspapers, Singh (2011) employed a qualitative content analysis method in his study through the observation method. He found that the newspapers ignored the developmental news comprehensively, instead the newspapers covered topics like crime, accidents, forgery, strikes, and politics extensively. Only during the time of controversies, the newspaper was found to have given coverage to development stories. Mudgal's (2011) study to understand whether the rural issues are addressed by the mainstream newspapers of India and the attempt to understand the media coverage of major issues of agrarian crisis, malnutrition, farmers' suicides, and rural poverty. The results showed that the media failed to give these stories any prominence; whereas the explanations or backgrounders or the likely causes of an incident are rare, and a considerably large number of stories are displayed in the "briefs" sections which carry just a paragraph or two in a column. Melkote et. al. (February, 2010) studied the priorities of newspapers between marketdriven journalism and value-based journalism where the researchers concluded that the top priority was given to political news in all the sample newspapers and it was followed by Crime, Legal, Social, Economic, and Investigative. Murthy (2000) in his attempt to understand the role of newspapers in development declared that the overall coverage of developmental news was "neither significant nor encouraging". He contended that despite the government's priority on literacy and population, the sample dailies provided less coverage of these than other themes of development. Also, the in-depth coverage of developmental issues was lacking. Shah (1990) attempts to examine the factors influencing the production of development news and concludes that the newspapers have been heavily reliant on the government and its affiliated agencies and as a result, investigative reports, in-depth analysis, and critical reporting of such development plans were lacking. JV Vilanilam (1975) found that the newspapers were more concerned about the news other than family planning, employment, labor welfare, housing, land reforms, health, hygiene, medicine, social change, national integration, education, and literacy.

However, despite the disinterest of the majority of Indian newspapers in addressing the issues of development the researcher found one research that was positive towards the development issue. Swamy et. al. (Sept. 2015) concluded upon conducting content analysis research on the small newspaper Suddimoola, that the newspaper has done decent coverage and has worked efficiently for the welfare of people by providing ample coverage to developmental news concerning the local people. It has tried to bring the attention of the government through its coverage of local problems like water, road, power cut, seeds for farmers, drainage, cheats in pesticides, municipality, and problems in local governments, and gave daily half-page columns in the paper to these developmental issues.

Similar research was undertaken with both quantitative and qualitative approaches with content analysis techniques from beyond the country too isn't great as most of them failed to address and highlight the development issues adequately, however, a few of them made some attempts to address the developmental issues. Awofeso et. al. (2018) research on the health issue of obesity among children in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with social media content and newspapers contents indicated that there is low public engagement with social media posts by government health agencies which was reflected by the lower numbers of views and neutral reporting by newspapers on the subject was detected as there were no articles with overtly alarmist slant or those focused on child obesity and stigma or discrimination. It was concluded that UAE newspapers were playing a constructive role in contributing to efforts to address childhood obesity by raising awareness and reporting on efforts by stakeholders to address this health issue. Moshrefzadeh, et. al. (2013) study of local newspapers' coverage of the implementation of smoke-free bylaws in the city of Vancouver with a qualitative content analysis research reveals that the health approach was given more prominence, where the researchers believed that the presentation of news with the health approach made it for the people to view the ban with health issues as a salient issue. However, despite the overwhelming indication in the letters to the editor of 'regulating individual behavior within a public environment', such discussion is lacking. In addition, the coverage of equity issues was also lacking. Kayode & Adeniran's (2012) attempt in understanding the role of media in achieving the Millennium Development Goals of Nigeria was undertaken with two major newspapers of the country where only 2.9% MGDs news was published in the two sampled newspapers during the study period. Upon studying the placement of MDG stories on the front page, back page, editorial page, and other pages, it was found that the reported issues are hardly featured on the front and editorial pages. The result of the source variable showed that most of the news came from event coverage and happenings, which reflected the newspapers' reliance on events for the news items. The investigative reports were lacking and no critical analysis of development reports was presented. Therefore, the researchers concluded that the Nigerian media failed to set an agenda for public discussion and failed to raise issues for both government and the public for a larger discussion of issues pertinent to the development of the country. The media also failed in their role as disseminators of positive development news, as posited by the development media theory. To understand the level of coverage and reportage of environmental and rural development information in five leading newspapers of Nigeria, Ifenkwe (2008) conducted a content analysis study where The Sun newspaper was found to have exhibited consistent leadership in promoting activities in the health and population/family planning sub-sectors, while The Champion disseminated more information on rural infrastructures and environmental matters. However, the researcher suggested that the newspapers need to improve on their advocacy role in order to enhance their credibility as promoters of issues of public interest. Research on health-related issues premised on the United Nations Millennium Development Goal 5 (MDG 5) by Gugsa, et. al. (2016) conducted to examine the newspaper coverage of maternal health in three countries found different results from the three different countries. The differences were found in volume and frequency of publication, in-depth reporting on maternal health, types of articles, framing, tone, and in context. Another work, undertaken by Calloway, et. al. (2006) on the issue of Genital Human Papillomavirus (HPV) suggests that the U.S. newspapers have provided information on the experimental status and efficacy of the HPV vaccine, and newspapers also explained the link between HPV and cervical cancer, and have identified the two manufacturers by name while frequently relying on them as a news source. However, the authors were critical of their reports as the news articles have discussed the implications of the vaccine, but the language used to describe the potential effects may have contributed to confusion among readers. They also lamented the failure of newspapers to provide detailed information about HPV as they were less common, with relatively few articles reporting on the basic facts of the virus through their coverage of the issue. Therefore, the researcher contended that by only relying on newspapers for information, readers could get an incomplete picture or fail to understand the complexity of the association between HPV infection and cervical cancer. This, in turn, could influence the public's willingness to accept a vaccine. It also declared that the newspapers failed to provide clear information on the vaccines, and the newspapers failed to communicate properly about the state of vaccines available for patients.

### **2.2. Conceptual Framework**

The extraordinary relationship between the rise and strengthening of democracy and the growth of newspapers has been emphatically laid down by Robin Jeffrey (2010). He argued that the ideas of citizenship and nationhood were carried by the newspapers and the idea of a nation also involves the idea of development. The success of the Marshall Plan in rebuilding post-war Europe was the driving force for the replication of similar developmental plans in other Third World Countries of the world under the Britton Hoods School of development communication. The concept of development viz modernization model was widely replicated around the world, as the so-called dominant paradigm of development hugely shaped the application of communication for development programs. Development has been an intriguing phenomenon to define and measure society. Each society has identified its development goals and has to strive to meet the needs of its people. Development communication was considered to be the systematic use of communication for national development (Lent, 1979).

2.2.1. The Development Riddle: The term Development communication, which originated in Los Banos University of Philippines refers to "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a nation from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic and social equality and the larger fulfillment of human potential" (Quebrel, 1975). Essentially it was a concern of the so-called First world countries to develop the so-called third world countries after the Second World War. Narula and Pearce (1986) posit, "Economically the third world comprises those nations whose gross national product and per capita income fall below the standard set by the industrialized nations. Politically, the Third World comprises those nations, who have made a deliberate decision to remain non-aligned in the struggle between Capitalist or Democratic West and Communist East". Consequently, the decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a spurt in thinking of communication as an integral process of development. The impetus came from Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm who believed the modern means of communication will expose the residents of traditional and which was otherwise in their eyes primitive should be exposed to Western health care, value system, rationality, education, and various ways of lives dubbed as modern. The dominant idea advocated "behavioral change" and "move away from the traditional culture" which they considered deterrents to development. The theorists like Rogers, Lerner, and Schramm initially believed that the failure of positive outcomes of the implementation of development was due to the lack of knowledge and they believed, that with the proper information dissemination behavior could be changed. The traditional cultural practices were also considered a hindrance to development as they resisted the new innovations and their benefits. Their contention, later to be known as the Dominant paradigm of development envisaged a world where modern communication gadgets would bombard the laggards with information pools to get them out of the chains of poverty and traditional ways of living. It is fair enough to argue that communication as a tool of propaganda and a means of creating favorable public opinion through opinion leaders was the contribution of the Second World War.

This dominant notion of development was challenged in the consequent decades by many who didn't consider the top-down model of information bombing adequate enough to remove the century-old corpus of local knowledge firmly ingrained in tradition. Colin Sparks (2007) wrote development as aided by western countries is supposed to bring rapid change and yet they didn't "allow the normal process of historical development to produce indigenous versions of modernity within the cultures of developing countries" (p.29). Consequently, a major academic and intellectual discourse on development occurred afterward. He added, "The aim of the dominant paradigm was not to freeze the unequal relations between the rich countries and the poor countries, or the rich and the poor within countries, but to provoke social change" (p.20). Structuralist theoreticians like Everett M. Rogers and Singhal (1989) claimed that societies are poor as they are illiterate, with inadequate resources or without enough infrastructure to use resources, traditionalistic, and have been made dependent on larger economies. Instead of considering modern mass communication

systems as a panacea, they urged to treat it as a consequent factor in social awareness and information richness. The idea of economic development as well as GDP centrism was replaced by holistic betterment. Singhal and Rogers (1989) advocated the following changes in the 'new paradigm of development':

- 1. Greater equality in the distribution of development investments, information, and the consequent socio-economic benefits focusing on weaker sections of the population like the poor, women, and racial and ethnic minorities.
- 2. Popular participation, knowledge-sharing, and empowerment to facilitate selfdevelopment efforts by individuals, groups, and communities.
- 3. Self-reliance and independence in development, emphasizing the potential for local resources. Self-reliance became a key concept at both the national and local levels, implying that every nation, perhaps every village, could develop in its own way.

The structural theories argued for a political consensus-based approach taking into consideration cultural identity and autonomy in the thinking process in Third world countries instead of imposing an alien way of life. Communication in their view was to act as a facilitator to deliver a comparative view of life instead of a magic multiplier. Singhal and Rogers (1989) also argued about the facilitating role of mass media. They pointed out that mass media should focus on;

- Firstly, providing technical information about development problems and possibilities, and appropriate innovations.
- Secondly, to widely circulate information about self-development accomplishments by local groups, so that other such groups could profit from formers' experiences.

While the Structuralist paradigm theorized about cosmetic changes, the Dependency theorists probed deeper into the root cause of the nations being poor. Frank (1967) established how a nation's malady is the contribution of a historical process, and how its abysmal existence is an imperialistic design to continue exploitation. They contended that rich and advanced nations are thus also an outcome of a historical process. In their view communication has a much lesser role to play in removing the historical injustice other than circulating relevant information to strategize the present in the context of the past.

With the removal of the aura around the dominant paradigm, the theorization about effective communication for development witnessed the emergence of many alternative theories. Schumacher (2011) talked about grassroots participation and the use of appropriate technologies like the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka or base Christian communities in Latin America. According to Schumacher (2011), the development process added by the United States of America to thirdworld countries resulted in "unemployment and mass migration to cities" as the development projects were concentrated in major cities and towns. Development according to Schumacher (2011) is to provide employment to all the poor, to address the livelihood needs of the majority unprivileged rather than to benefit the minority rich and sufficient population (p.146). Hedebro (1982) and Servaes (1988) believed that in the critique of Dominant and Structuralist ideas of development, a new paradigm emerged which they called another development and attributed it to Inaytullah (1967). The idea of another development refers to a process of development that is a multidimensional, organic, and dialectical process. It rejects any straight-jacket formula for development and hammers the idea of society-specific development. It looks at development as a holistic one that includes the social,

political, cultural, and traditional identities of the societies and evolves through a dialectical process.

This idea of another development has been echoed in many societies across Latin America and the Middle East on the basis of Freirian ideas of Conscientization in Latin America through Radio schools or the Communitarian approaches of Mazid Tehranian. The concept of Ummah or Community as proposed by Tehranian and Hanid Mowlana refers to the community instead of talking about the nation-state, dialogue rather than monologue, and emancipation rather than alienation. The participatory (alternative) paradigm of development advocated the importance of engagement or the role of people with whom the development is meant. The opinions of the masses are regarded as vital in this paradigm. The participatory paradigm 'recognized wide cultural differences between different parts of the world, notably between the 'West' and the 'East'. In support of the participatory paradigm, Sparks (2007) wrote, "Only by allowing the people who experience the projected social transformation to define the goals, scope, pace, and nature of the projected changes was it possible to ensure that they are fully engaged with the project" (p.57). Mattelart (1983) argued about the overlooking of self-reliance in development paradigms and brought into focus Gandhiji or the movement of Mao Zedong or even Paulo Freire. These self-reliance movements talk about the restoration of dignity to human lives and have ushered in many new movements like self-determination, democratization, gender movements, and ecological issues. In a way, it has given birth to new politics.

**2.2.2. Development Journalism:** The term Development Journalism was popularized by two journalists, Juan Mercado and Alan Chalkley as argued by Lent (1976). Essentially it looks at the role of journalists as committed soldiers of development.

The role of a journalist is to look at a development project and involve people by effectively disseminating their voices and opinion about the project (Murthy, 2001). Development journalism was initially considered economic journalism as in the late sixties development was synonymous with economic improvement. Allan Chalkley, as quoted in Lent (1976) opines, that development journalism is more than just presenting facts; it gives a critical estimate of various development projects and plans adopted by government agencies. According to Chalkey and Mercado, the journalists have to involve the local people in the process of development and their role is to inspire this process of participation. It requires a certain amount of media credibility of the journalists instead of espousing the cause of the state, applying their minds to the process of development instead of a particular project.

Mazharul Haque (1986) in an effort to focus on the categories of news to be defined as developmental news has termed health, education, literacy, communication, agriculture, industry, housing, population planning, national integration, energy, and ecology as developmental news. For Vilanilam (1975) development journalism is "...journalism that deals with the process of development in developing nations". News relating to administrative reforms, agricultural development and food production, economic activity, education, employment, and labor welfare, family planning, health, hygiene and medicine, housing, scientific and technological development, mass communications, national integration, rural and urban development, social reforms, telecommunication, tourism and transport development (Murthy, 2001). Later Vilanilam (2009) cited some additional indicators in the dictionary of development news such as energy issues, environment and ecology, foreign news and features, globalization and global markets/stock exchanges/share markets, governmental news, cultural matters, crimes, Dalits, chess, cricket, and other games and sports, human interest stories, Iraqi situation, judiciary, land reforms, and land acquisition, Mullapperiyar and other dams in India, national development, nuclear energy and development, political news, reservation, Sachar committee report, terrorism, and toilets.

Shelton Guneratne (1978) considers analytical interpretation, subtle investigation, constructive and sincere criticism, and direct association with the grassroots rather than with the elite as the hallmark of developmental journalism. It should be pro-Third World, pro-development/liberation, and pro-marginalized and poor groups. For Gunaratne (1978) information in development, and journalism should originate from the poor, the rural, the weak, the marginalized, the voiceless, and not the powerful, the elite, or the rich. It's not only the sound bites or government leaks or a scoop but the journalist should be driven by an idea to analyze each developmental project in the context of national and global interest

According to Aggrawala, (1978), in development reporting "the journalist should critically evaluate and report the relevance of a development project, the difference between the planned scheme and its actual implementation; and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is". His contention is that developmental journalism has a responsibility to reflect the alternative viewpoint. The journalist should be more oriented to the process of development rather than the project of development. The reporting has to take into consideration a broader perspective and larger socio-economic and cultural interests of the people. The nature of reporting should not be instantaneous and rather critically evaluate the developmental aspects and the context of development. The reporting should not be event-oriented meaning the reporter should be able to escape the public

relations tricks. The journalist has a responsibility to critically evaluate the relevance, action, and impact of development (Ogan, 1982).

The Second Press Commission of India (1982) stated "development reporting should tell the story of what is going wrong. The press should investigate the reasons for success as well as the failure of various development programmes affecting the lives of common people at different places under different conditions" (Murthy, 2001). Murthy (2001) identifies development news as news relating to "health, education, literacy, transport and communication, agriculture, industry, housing, population control, energy, ecology, human rights, and national integration". M.V. Kamath (2011) identified the main purposes of development reporting as laid out in the Manual for News Agency Reporters published by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication:

- 1. The purpose of development reporting is to create a sense of involvement, to spread the realization that the future comes out of present efforts, that development can be nobody's gift, least of all of the aid given by affluent countries, but is the result of one's own labour.
- 2. Development reporting must concern itself with the people. It must show them how to improve their bargaining power with society. It must make them realize that their future is in their hands. It must describe the process of backbone building.
- Development reporting must describe the people actually at work in new projects and processes. It must describe the process of change and modernization, the new discoveries and the products. It must describe terms and conditions of development.

- 4. An important aspect of development reporting is success stories of people who have adopted new technologies, tried new methods, and benefitted themselves and helped society.
- 5. Development reporting, by its very nature, is devoid of the kind of sensational interest that an eruption or a calamity or a political confrontation produces. It does not carry the stamp of immediacy that 'events' do.
- 6. Development reporting, to be effective, requires considerable investigative and research skill on the part of the journalist, apart from firm grasp of trends in economic thought, planning and development.

Murthy (2001) quotes Forsythe on the objectives of development journalism:

- 1. Development journalism has a basic purpose: to inform, to educate and to entertain.
- 2. Its objective is to investigate, analyze, interpret, and to commit oneself to development.
- 3. It should give accurate development information that facilitates the development process itself;
- 4. It should aim at promoting mutual understanding between the leaders and the people by carrying policy and other messages of the state to the people and relaying people's needs and aspirations to the people;
- 5. It has to motivate people and policy towards what people need, and to stimulate people for maximum participation in development;
- 6. It should encourage and inform people about productive attitudes, i.e., co-operation in long-term national efforts, attitudes favorable to work such as agriculture, good health practices, acceptance of new innovations, etc., and

7. It should help to build a common fund of knowledge and ideas that favor the cohesion of the social structure and enable people to become actively engaged in national development.

While development journalists are expected to serve the society without being guided by the government machinery in terms of assessing the impact or feasibility of developmental projects and act like NGOs in identifying the need and grievances of the people, many consider it propaganda journalism especially in developing nations, Stevenson (1994) Hatchens (1996). Lent (1978) describes Asian Developmental Journalism as "Government -says –so Journalism". There have been arguments with reference to the Chinese style of developmental journalism as to how journalism can take the shape of benevolent authoritarianism. It has been found in most developing countries that reporting a development project is essentially flattering to people in power. However, Bourgault (1995) argues, that development journalism should aspire to "promoting grassroots, non-violent, socially responsible, ecologically sensitive, personally empowering, democratic, dialogical and humanistic forms of communication".

McQuail (1987) deliberates on the role and responsibilities of mass media in the process of conducting development journalism as,

- 1. The mass media should make a positive contribution to the national development process;
- 2. The state or government should be able to restrict the freedom of journalists and the mass media.

- 3. The freedom of the media should be subordinated to their responsibility to contribute to nation-building, promoting economic growth, and the development needs of society.
- 4. The mass media should give priority to information about national, cultural, and language issues and encourage national autonomy.

Khalid and Ahmad (2014, 10) believe that a news report fulfills the minimum criteria for development journalism if it consists of at least one of the following points:

- Stresses the process and not the event,
- Maintains a critical perspective on development plans,
- Emphasizes people's needs,
- Presents a background for development issues,
- Predicts future needs and considers the effect of plans on people,
- Compares the development process to similar processes in other places,
- Compares the plan with implemented results and
- Critically surveys stories of success, and points out people's needs.

Another definition of development explains that the "development news should refer to the needs of people, which may vary from country to country or from region to region, but generally include primary needs, such as food, housing, and employment; secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources and electricity; and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition, and dignity (Shah, 1990, p.1036 cited from Agarwal, 1979)".

The theoretical understanding of development communication or development journalism that we know today has a long history as it evolved and transformed throughout the decades for its purpose, usability, and its role in development. It is a well-known fact that development communication emerged as a result of developmental aid for the overall transformation of economic structures of so-called third world countries post-WWII. However, the development that was expected was not achieved with the ideas of the modernization model and the dominant communication model too failed comprehensively for several reasons which the people rejected. Consequently, the various other approaches that emerged to replace the top-down model somehow helped to achieve its goals in later years. The understanding of traditional culture as deterrents of development and their advocacy of "behavioral change" is the basis of the dominant or modernization model of development advocated by Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm. They also believed that the modern means of communication would expose the traditional residents to Western health care, value system, rationality, education, and various ways of life considered modern. However, new ideas emerged later, and alternatives to the dominant paradigm were advocated. In this regard, Rogers and Singhal (1989) believed that instead of making the poor countries dependent on larger economies and considering modern mass communication systems as a panacea, they urged to treat it as a consequent factor in social awareness and information richness. Therefore, the idea of economic development, as well as GDP centrism, was replaced by holistic betterment

The alternative model of development conceptualized by several other social scientists like Schumacher (2011), and Inaytullah (1967) believed that development is multidimensional, organic, and a dialectical process, and rejects the straight jacket formula and instead opines on society-specific development. The participatory paradigm of development advocated the importance of the role of engagement of people whom the development is meant for. The participatory development paradigm

also gave emphasis on self-reliance as proposed by Gandhiji, or the movement of Mao Zedong and even Paulo Freire.

The theoretical progression of development communication led to the emergence of development journalism in later years where journalists are required to contribute to the process of development. It is understood that the role of a journalist is to look at a development project and involve people by effectively disseminating their voices and opinion about the project (Murthy, 2001). Instead of reporting on events, development journalists must critically evaluate the relevance, action, and impact of development (Ogan, 1982). They are to help people to take participation in the development process. The development journalist needs to ensure the assessment and implementation of developmental works and also needs to critically evaluate its efficacy on people (Aggrawala, 1978). It also means they do not just report the positives of development, they also must report the wrongs in it so that they can be reevaluated for the betterment of society as per the conditions and locations of the development undertaken. It is important that the development journalist must identify and report the success stories of people who have adopted new technologies, tried new methods, benefitted themselves, and helped society (Kamath, 2011). However, a journalist must possess knowledge that requires considerable investigative and research skills. One of the major objectives of development journalism (Murthy, 2001) is to motivate people and policy toward what people need and to stimulate people for maximum participation in development. In addition, they should also need to encourage and inform people about productive attitudes, and it should help to build a common fund of knowledge and ideas that favor the cohesion of the social structure and enable people to become actively engaged in national development. The study rests and derives its theoretical underpinnings from the idea propagated by McQuail

(1987) that journalist has a responsibility to contribute to the development of society in a holistic manner and even if it is at the cost of sacrificing the so-called freedom of speech propagated by the libertarian theory of the press. The conflict between Libertarian theory of the Press and Social Responsibility theory of the Press has as yet remained unresolved but this work while studying the role of Sikkim Press in advancing the causes of development in the state has used the social responsibility theory advanced by MCQuail (1987) as the starting point of the study.

In the context of the source of the news, the development journalist must not rely on the government for the developmental news and they should also not be guided by them so that the process of development must remain democratic, dialogical, socially responsible, and promote grassroots, etc. (Bourgault, 1995).

# Chapter III

# Methodology

#### **3.1. Introduction**

The study of messages is crucial in media studies as it comprises various meanings depending upon the sender and their intentions or motives. Understanding the meaning of the message is not easy as it requires a systematic method to do it. The process of study of a media text is the process to understand its meaning. The media texts are directed toward the people to bring awareness as well as to influence their decisions. In their 'Propaganda Model' Herman & Chomsky (1988) went on to say that mainstream media serves the elite interests uncompromisingly by allowing elite perspectives in their media content. Several studies have proved the effects of the media in influencing people's decisions, behaviors, cultures, and many other issues associated with these. Therefore it is pertinent to study and understand the messages or contents of the media to understand their meanings and intentions. Therefore, McQuail (2010) has rightly pointed out that, "The most accessible evidence of how mass communication works is provided by its content (p.285)". However, McQuail has further added that the embedded meanings of the messages are not fixed, rather complex and the meaning is ambiguous and not self-evident. Therefore, it requires systematic methodologies to study the messages to understand their meanings. Our understanding of media's generalizations and biases towards particular things or issues which consequently leads to its biasness has mostly been due to the pattern or standardized forms of media content that people encounter (McQuail, 2010). On the importance of studying media content, two reasons have been given, "First, media content is a powerful source of meaning about the social world. Second, while media content does not equate with social reality, it is essential that we examine how media content represents, or more accurately 'represents' the realities involved in social, economic, and political relationships" (Khalid & Ahmed. May, 2014, 8 cited from Devereux, 2003).

The present study on the print media concerning the area of development is basically motivated to understand two major issues such as "Describing and comparing media output and to characterize the content of particular media and channels" (McQuail, 2010). "A recurrent issue in media research has been the relation between media messages and 'reality'. The most basic question is whether media content does, or should, reflect the social reality, and if so, which or whose reality" (McQuail, 2010). As the information theory suggests the analysis of media content can be made from its informativeness, readability, diversity, and information flow. The study of media content in regard to the density and depth of the information presented in a story or stories will ascertain the effectiveness as well as the intentions behind the representation of a particular issue or an event. These factors of information theory are efficient measures to understand the biases of the contents or of the producers of the particular contents through which their intentions can be reflected and probably be ascertained. Hence, this study is based on the assumption that "Information quality and the informativeness of texts are measurable" (McQuail, 2010, 296).

### 3.2. Content analysis as a research technique

Among the several methods to understand the meaning of messages, 'content analysis' is one of them. Content analysis is a method to understand the texts of the media in a systematic way. The method of Content analysis is applied in many other social science subjects including media and mass communication studies. Content analysis is conducted in multiple disciplines but the current study concentrates on media text produced by the print media. As any scientific research irrespective of the subject area follows prescribed systematic methods to understand the phenomena, the content analysis is bound by them. Emphasizing the importance of applying or following a systematic approach Tuchman (2002) believes, "all good content analysis must be systematic, methodologically based, and transparently reported" (p.4). This methodology tries to understand the media texts presented to the public in the process of dissemination of information. Tuchman (2002) defines "content analysis as a family of research techniques for making systematic, credible, or valid and replicable inferences from texts and other forms of communication" (p.7). According to Gaye Tuchman (2002), Content analysis is "...a systematic determination of what is disseminated as news" (p.80). Gunter (2002) too supports content analysis being systematic and also emphasizes the importance of being objective. "Content analysis is, first, systematic in that it utilizes a principled form of media output sampling and content coding. Second, it is objective that the researcher's own idiosyncrasies and biases should not affect the analysis" (p.220). Krippendorf (1980) refers to content analyses as a research tool for making replicating and making valid references from data to their context. Kerlinger (2000) mentions that "Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (Kerlinger, 2000).

## 3.3. Analysis of News as Content

Analysis Among the two basic approaches to content analysis, the application of a dominant approach in content analysis is done when the text can be fairly understood in quantitative analysis by adopting systematic methodologies. "In fact, it is assumed that the numerical balance of elements in the text (such as the number of words or the space/time allocated to a set of topics) is a reliable guide to the overall meaning"

(McQuail, 2010, 303). On the other hand, an alternative approach to content analysis is "...based on precisely the reverse assumption - that the concealed or latent meanings are the most significant, and these cannot be directly read from the numerical data" (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991). However, the researchers have used the basic content analysis which is understood as a hybrid research approach. It routinely involves coding unstructured data, which is a core technique of qualitative research. However, the coded data are most often analyzed and reduced using descriptive statistics, a core technique of quantitative research. Thus, content analysis requires knowledge and skills derived from both qualitative and quantitative research. It is a research method that combines techniques from both research traditions (Tuchman, 2002, 13). Gunter (2002) believes that "content analysis is quantifiable in that its main focus is on counting occurrences of predefined entities in a media text" (p.220). Gunter (2002) further asserts that the "quantitative content analysis is designed to provide a descriptive account of what a media text (film, TV programme, advertisement, newspaper report, etc.) contains" (p.220). In regard to the study of texts in the content analysis method, Krippendorff (2004) confirms that the content analysis is not limited to written words but "images, maps sounds, signs, symbols, and even numerical records may be included as data that is, they may be considered as texts" (p.19). The understanding of the meaning of media messages, the reading of the text, their uses within the social context where it is produced, and understanding and analyzing them are integral parts of the process of content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004, 19). Under the performance discourse of media, the contents of media can be analyzed in different ways through editorials, advocacy media, and the amount of investigative reporting available in the media (McQuail, 2010). Content diversity is another aspect of understanding media content and their preferences, as a wide range
of choices for the audience, an opportunity for voice, and a true or sufficient reflection in media of the varied reality of experience in society (McQuail, 2010, 297) are the areas that could determine the media's preference. Further, the "Lack of diversity can be established only by identifying sources, references, events, types of content, and so on, which are missing or under-represented" (McQuail, 2010, 298).

Data is an important component of empirical analysis as the research starts with the data. The data here is basically texts that are meant to be read, interpreted, and understood. Reading, understanding, and re-articulation of data results in the texts (Krippendorff, 2004, 30). Further, understanding the texts in the context of their use is also important (Krippendorff, 2004, 33). "Content analysis is an unobtrusive technique that allows researchers to analyze relatively unstructured data in view of the meanings, symbolic qualities and expressive contents they have and of the communicative roles, they play in the lives of the data's sources" (Krippendorff, 2004, 44).

The selection of samples for any kind of research is paramount considering the ocean of data available for consideration in any given topic. However, it requires a proper and appropriate application of methods in the selection of samples. In regard to the question of the selection of samples, Krippendorff mentioned that "…content analysts are rarely interested in accurate representations of the textual universe; rather, their concern is that the texts of interest are relevant to the research question and help to answer it fairly. Texts must be sampled in view of what they mean, the interpretations they enable, and the information they contain. Thus, the content analysts have to sample their texts to give their research questions a fair chance of being answered correctly" (Krippendorff, 2004, 113). Therefore, the research samples considered for

this particular study are completely limited to the development parameters prescribed by the researcher.

On the importance of studying media content, two reasons have been given, "First, media content is a powerful source of meaning about the social world. Second, while media content does not equate with social reality, it is essential that we examine how media content represents, or more accurately 'represents' the realities involved in social, economic, and political relationships" (Khalid & Ahmed, May, 2014, 8 cited from Devereux, 2003).

### 3.4: Analysis of Newspaper Content

The content analysis technique was employed for the purpose of this study, wherein the news stories related to development from the selected newspapers have been studied with quantitative as well as qualitative methodology. The five development parameters considered for the selection of news items are; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, and sanitation & safe drinking water. The mixed-method analysis was undertaken with the help of numbers and size of the stories, placement of stories (front-page and inside pages), editorials, sources, orientations, etc. as these signify the preference provided to the subject in question.

**3.5: Population of the Study:** All the newspapers published in Sikkim.

**3.5.1: Sample:** Sikkim Express (English language daily), Himalayan Mirror (English language daily), Hamro Prajashakti (Nepali language daily), Samay Dainik (Nepali language daily).

**3.5.2: Sampling Justification:** A total of four (4) local dailies of Sikkim were selected for the study. Two each from Nepali and English newspapers have been

chosen as the readers are divided mostly into these two categories. All four newspapers chosen for the purpose of the work are the most widely circulated newspapers in each category.

Content analysis as a research technique usually employs conceptual analysis and relational analysis. The current work employs conceptual analysis. The year 2016-17 was chosen as a study year in accordance with the most accepted practice in the conceptual analysis of choosing an uneventful year (Priest. S, H, 1996) to find out the normal pattern of publication in newspapers of any particular category of story. 2016-17 in Sikkim was an uneventful year without any election or any natural disaster which might have influenced the normal pattern of newspaper coverage of regular categories of stories.

**3.5.3: Sampling technique and Selection:** The researcher has taken up four most widely circulated of the given period for the purpose of the study. The stories of the newspapers under consideration have been scanned for a period of one year. The 12 months period starts in June 2016 and ends in May 2017. The newspapers as samples have been taken based on a one-week periodicity in each month. In the first month, the week began on Monday, in the second month it is Tuesday, and in the third month it is Wednesday, and similar patterns were followed throughout the 12 months study period. This systematic selection was expected to eliminate the probability of error, in total 84 issues of each newspaper were expected to be collected for the entire study period representing more than 20% of the population. However, because of holidays and other geographical constraint-related issues, 299 newspapers could be collected and these 299 newspapers published 790 news stories as a unit of analysis excluding editorial on the coded categories which were analyzed. The editorials have been

analyzed separately, however, the selection of editorials was made on the basis of two different categories. The first category was; the editorials that were written on any issues of Sikkim and the other is editorials written on the five parameters of development irrespective of the area that the editorials were discussing. As a result, a total of 66 editorials have been selected during the study period by selected four newspapers.

### 3.6: Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was the news items published on the selected development parameters such as; Education, Health, Women Empowerment, Employment Opportunity, and, Sanitation and Safe Drinking water. All the news items related to the particular indicator have been selected as the development news for instance; stories such as students and teacher achievements, admission or enrolment, up-gradation of school, the inauguration of the new facility in respect to school, stories on any kind of activities in any educational institutions have been considered for Education parameter. For health, the stories such as health camps and other health-related activities, infrastructure development, blood donation camps, achievements, etc. have been considered. For Women Empowerment, the stories that directly or indirectly help empower women such as training and awareness programmes specifically for women, etc. For employment opportunity stories that help the livelihood of people, issues, and controversies related to employment generation, training that helps make people self-reliant or self-employed, and government initiatives of various activities that encourage and help people in income generation. Stories on safe drinking water were fewer but the stories on sanitation alone were many. The stories related to cleanliness were considered for sanitation and safe drinking water.

All four newspapers are eight (8) pages of broadsheet daily newspapers. Sikkim Express published supplements in addition to daily eight pages occasionally but for the study purpose, the additional supplements were not considered to bring uniformity among all the newspapers. Since only the news articles were considered for the quantitative analysis, sports, poems and stories, international news, and news not related to Sikkim were not considered. The photographs for the selected news items were measured along with the concerned stories.

#### **3.7: The Research Gap**

The objectives of the study have been framed after a thorough review of the previous literature in Indian and global contexts. While doing the review it was found no such work to evaluate the pattern of development news reporting in the context of Sikkim press was undertaken. In addition, during the literature review, no such research was found which has applied both the quantitative and qualitative indicators. Therefore, this research work has been undertaken to fill the void in the existing literature, particularly in Sikkim.

#### 3.8: The social significance of the Study

The role of the newspaper in establishing the cornerstone of a developed mechanical as well as a civil society is well established. It has been accepted in the last two hundred years of its existence that a thriving newspaper culture can initiate a process of dialogue crucial to the survival of civil society as well as the public sphere. Print culture is not only important for initiating a dialogical metropolis but it is also conceived as an important discussion forum for the cure of developmental ills. The utility of newspapers in pointing fingers at the lopsided developmental process as well as the uneven distribution of developmental resources is recognized in a liberal society with democratic norms firmly in place while the role of newspapers in development, when society is firmly entrenched in the collective discourse of the idea of recognizing the role of print media in development though information provision or cultivating appropriate attitudes towards development is yet to take a concrete shape in many developing societies.

Sikkim newspapers have a history of more than fifty years but there has rarely been an attempt to interpret the role of the newspaper as a democratic institution in the context of Sikkim. The history of democratic politics in the state is of recent origin and print media is considered generally a positive contributor to the process. But other than advancing the causes of democracy, the media also have a very serious role in outlining the contours of development as well as integrating the process with a larger democratic discourse. So, the researcher has attempted to explore the potential of print media in developmental discourse.

This research has tried to contribute to the pool of knowledge available on the issue of development communication. Since the research of this kind in Sikkim newspaper has not been done before and hence, the research has highlighted the problems of developmental communication or development journalism in Sikkim and possibilities for future reference. It has explored the contributions of newspapers in terms of social change in the state.

**3.9: Analysis Approaches:** The study has adopted both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

**3.9.1: Qualitative Analysis:** The qualitative analysis (Hansen, 1993, Berelson, 2000, Reich, 2011) includes editorial analysis wherein the editorials written in the four newspapers on the issues of Sikkim and on the topics of five development parameters

chosen for this study were taken into consideration. The indicators for the qualitative content analysis are as follows;

**3.9.1.(i):** Sources of the story: The sources of the stories were divided into two categories such as; correspondence or reporters and press releases or agencies.

**3.9.1.(ii): Type of reports:** Type of reports such as hard news, features, and policy announcements.

**3.9.1.(iii): Orientation of the story:** In the orientation, the categorizations have been made as proactive, reactive, and critical.

**3.9.1.(iv): The slant of the story:** The slant of the story is pro-development, neutral, and pro-government.

**3.9.1.(v):** Front-page stories: The front-page stories on development have been counted for all four newspapers and compared with the numbers of development news published on subsequent pages.

**3.9.1.(vi): Editorial analysis:** The editorials belonging to two different categories, editorials written on the issues of the state of Sikkim and editorials written on the selected development parameters were selected and analyzed qualitatively. Rhetorical devices like metaphor, simile, adjectives, metonymy and synecdoche were used to understand the tone of the editorials.

**3.9.2: Quantitative Analysis:** Upon the selection of news items for the study, these were counted and measured on the basis of columns centimeters. The measured stories were entered on the excel sheet and then exposed to the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for the quantitative analysis of collected data. The

interpretation of data has been done with the help of a bar graph, pie chart, boxplot, crosstab, paired t-test, ANOVA, Bonferroni test, etc.

**3.9.2.(i):** Cross-tabulation: It was undertaken to find out the relationship between weekdays and news stories on a given day of the week.

**3.9.2.(ii): ANOVA:** Anova test was undertaken to find out if developmental stories or what type of developmental stories have a definite presence by measuring their significance in the newspapers under consideration.

**3.9.2.(iii): Multiple Comparisons:** Multiple comparisons through Bonferroni tests through a non-parametric method were undertaken to ensure that false positives are reduced. Therefore each developmental issue as coded under the current research framework which has been treated as a dependent variable was put to Bonferroni tests.

**3.9.2.(iv): Regression:** Multiple regression was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Multiple regression was adopted as a statistical technique since it's a parametric test to understand the relative importance of different developmental stories in the context of Sikkim.

## 3.10: Coding

The coding was done with the help of Holsti's (1969) method. Holsti's method simply counts up the number of the same judgments and divides this sum by the total number of judgments. The sample was coded by two assigned coders who were trained by the researcher with regard to the coding sheet and related instructions. The coders coded the news items published in the four newspapers based on the selected development parameters such as; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, and, sanitation and safe drinking water. The results from both coders were analyzed and compared.

#### **3.11: Inter-coder reliability**

The stories published in the select four newspapers in the context of Sikkim exclusively have been coded for the purpose of the current work. The coding of the sample was done by two coders. To assure reliability, the researcher has conducted inter-coder reliability. It was done using Holsti's method (1969), which counts up the number of judgments that are the same and divides this sum by the total number of judgments made. Holsti's method (ibid) is considered appropriate for the percentage analysis of coding agreement between two coders assigned to code different units of the sample. The formula proposed by Holsti's reliability is  $2M \div N1 + N2$  where 2Mstands for the percentage of agreement between two coders. N1 and N2 are the numbers of two coders' consensus decisions, where 'M' stands for the total number of coding events about whose categories the two coders agreed upon, and N1 and N2 are the numbers of decisions the coders have made respectively. Coders were assigned to code mainly the total number of news published each day in the newspapers taken up for the study and the stories published that fit the parameters of development news. For ascertaining inter-coder reliability, both the coders interchanged the issues of four newspapers (Himalayan Mirror, Samay Dainik, Hamro Prajashakti, and Sikkim Express) coded. Each then checked what the other had coded and the results were compared. The sample which was coded for inter-coder reliability consisted of 68 issues, more than 20% of the total sample size of 299 issues of four newspapers together. Any consensus measuring above 10% of the sample is considered adequate for purposes of determining inter-coder reliability (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken

2005, Wimmer and Dominick 1997, 128, Pamela J. Shoemaker et. al., 2003). Intercoder reliability agreement is important to understand "the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion" (Lombard et al., 2002). Category reliability measures a researcher's ability to operationally define the categories to help independent coders to agree on coding decisions (Kassarjian, 1977).

**3.11.1: Intercoder Reliability Test using Holsti's Method-** Two coders were trained on identifying the stories published in each newspaper under the chosen categories of development as defined within the framework of the work. One of the coders identified 890 stories falling within the defined parameters and qualifying as stories of development during the period of the study while another coder identified 886 stories as having the same qualities. After swapping the newspapers both agreed on 790 stories as stories of development as has been operationally defined.

Holsti's reliability  $2M \div N1 + N2 = 2x790 \div 886 + 890 = .889$ 

The agreement score of .889 above is an acceptable score according to Holsti's reliability index.

#### 3.12: Validity

The measurement procedure for the validity was replicated with reference to Rajan Zed (1996) which he applied in his study. The measurements of the stories were done with the help of a ruler and they were measured in columns centimeters.

The dissimilarities in width and column measurements were found among the four newspapers at various points in time during the study period. The standard numbers of columns for all four newspapers were 8 wherein to avoid the dissimilarities in the size of news items, the researcher measured 4.2 as the standard column width. Therefore,

the formulae for measurement of news items were;  $8 \div 4.2$  x the length of the news items.

Following this standard formula for the measurement of the area of each news item, the entire story was measured as the length multiplied by the width. It has been mentioned earlier that the text and the picture have been measured as a single news item and the standalone picture with the caption relating to the development parameter too were measured following the same formulae as they are considered as a news item.

Thus, to measure the area of each news item a standard formula for measuring them was followed, which is length multiplied by width. To understand the total space of a particular news story, the researcher first analyzed both pictures and text together, the calculation of the area occupied by the news item included the amount of space occupied by any pictures accompanying the news item. Then the researcher separately measured the pictures including the caption of the picture to know the space occupied by a particular picture. A standalone picture was treated as a news item and space was calculated using the same procedure described for a text news item. The gutters were included in the calculation of area because they were considered as part of the space occupied by news items.

#### 3.13: Operational Definitions

The operational definitions are given to describe the variables as an indicator in the process of measuring them in the following study. The operational definition is an important component of a scientific investigation as has been explained by Sager (1976), it is "central to the conduct of empirical inquiry". Because "It is the means by which the variables of any research questions are identified and measured". therefore,

it has been described as the "physical properties or the empirically observable attributes of any given variable" (Sager, 1976).

The following variables like development, media, development communication, newspapers, newshole, and Sikkim has been defined to explain and understand them in the context of this study.

**3.13.1: Development:** Development is a multifaceted ideology and it integrates various disciplines such as social, political, economic, etc. but the economic factor across the spectrum dominates the discourse on development. According to Myrdal (1974) "Development must be understood as the movement upward of the entire social system, where there is circular causation between conditions and changes with cumulative effects". Slim (1995) asserts that "Development is essentially about change: not just any change, but a definite improvement — a change for the better". However, "It must make sense to people and be in line with their values and their capacity. Development must therefore be appropriate — culturally, socially, economically, technologically, and environmentally" (Slim, 1995). Hence, development can be understood not just with the increase in economic status but the overall growth of an individual including his or her social, educational, health, political, economic, etc. in the social system.

In the context of the present study, development refers to the all-round development of the state of Sikkim from education to the eradication of poverty, health to hygiene, and infrastructure to the improvement of the social and economic status of its people.

**3.13.2. Indicators of Development:** Although there are numerous areas that come under development sectors, only five basic indicators of development were considered for the purpose of this study.

**3.13.2.(i): Education:** All the issues relating to the education sector of the state were analyzed such as; problems with schools, infrastructures, insufficient faculties, teacher training, etc.

**3.13.2.(ii): Health Care:** All the major and minor health-related publications such as; infrastructure development, Infant Mortality Rate, health index, etc.

**3.13.2.(iii): Employment Opportunity**: The news reports related to providing employment or availability of employment from the government, the organized sector as well as unorganized sectors, the news that encourages various options of employment and discussions on the employment options in the state in comparison to other states, etc.

**3.13.2.(iv): Women Empowerment:** The women-related issues like women's safety, women-specific provisions or special facilities and relaxations on education, employment, etc. Achievements of women in various fields of importance etc.

**3.13.2.(v): Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water**: Providing enough and safe drinking water through government facilities to people as Sikkim is prone to landslides which disrupts the water connections and wash away the water sources, especially in monsoon seasons. The news in this category could also be on the cleanliness drives.

**3.13.3. Media:** Media is basically a plural of the word medium. It is a channel of communication to transmit information from the source to the receiver. The media can be in any form as; "The media are surely anything associated with film, television, radio, magazines, and newspapers". (Purvis, T. 2006). They are invaluable for the information they provide, however, "They filter and frame everyday realities, through their singular and multiple representations, providing touchstones, references,

for the conduct of everyday life, for the production and maintenance of common sense" (Silverstone, 1999). "A news outlet's role is to find out fresh information on matters of public interest and to relay it to readers as quickly and as accurately as possible in an honest and balanced way" (Randall, & Crew, 2021).

**3.13.4. Development Communication:** It is the communication wherein the developmental works and initiatives will be given priority in the first place for the all-around social change of any underdeveloped or developing society. Through such a kind of communication, the general people are made aware of different developmental initiatives. Development communication for Moemeka (1994) is "...the application of the processes of communication to the development process" (p.12).

**3.13.5.** Newspaper: A newspaper is nothing but a piece of paper but it is highly valued for the information it provides regularly. After collecting in\formation from around the world the people involved in it process them and disseminate them to people in a standardized format. The daily newspapers are printed and circulated among the people regularly to fulfill the information needs of the general populace. Similarly, these publications are dependent upon the circulation and the readership it gets consistently. "The struggle for existence in the case of the newspaper has been a struggle for circulation. The newspaper that is not read ceases to be an influence in the community. The power of the press may be roughly measured by the number of people who read it" (Park, 1923).

**3.13.6.** Newshole: The frequency of news has been measured with reference to the newshole of each newspaper. The newshole is defined as the space for news after subtracting the advertising space from the total print space in each copy of newspapers in the context of the select newspapers of the present study.

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**3.13.7. Sikkim:** Sikkim is a state to have merged with the Union of India in 1976 located in a geographically distant and hilly region and is significant for India as it borders three neighboring countries with Bhutia to the southeast, Nepal to the west, and China to its northern part. Sikkim is one of the smallest states of India with 7096 square kilometers of area with Gangtok as its capital, Sikkim comprises mostly rural areas scattered around its mountainous region. The majority of Sikkim's population is of Nepali origin, followed by Bhutia, Lepcha, and people from other parts of India. The lingua franca of the state is Nepali and the official language is English. However, Sikkim is multilingual and is well known for its cultural and religious diversity.

**3.13.8.** Actors of Development: M.V. Kamath (2011) while identifying the main purposes of development reporting as laid out in the Manual for News Agency Reporters published by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication suggests that the actors of development as, an important aspect of development reporting is success stories of people who have adopted new technologies, tried new methods, and benefitted themselves and helped society.

#### 3.14: Profile of the four daily newspapers of Sikkim

**3.14.1:** Sikkim Express (English Daily): Sikkim Express started out as a weekly edition in April 1976 but converted into a daily in May 2003 and became the first English daily in the state of Sikkim. It is one of the oldest and most popular newspapers that existed in Sikkim. It is printed, published, and owned by Mrs. Krishna Chettri and printed at Choice International Daragaon, Tadong, Gangtok, and published at Nam Nam Gangtok. Its Associate editor is Bijoy Gurung and the editor is Amit Patro.

Since Sikkim Express is a local newspaper of Sikkim its contents are mostly dominated by news related to and originating from the state of Sikkim. However, important national and international news is also given coverage regularly on its dedicated pages. Apart from the local news, the news from neighboring areas of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Siliguri is preferred for coverage. The major portion of its first page is covered with local news including the hard and significant news of regional, national and international importance. The second page is dedicated to local news and advertisements, and the third page also has local news and advertisements including a few national news is also given space in it. The fourth page is dedicated to editorials, features, and letters to the editors (if any). The fifth page has international news on its upper half and the lower half has regional news from other North-Eastern states. The sixth page is dedicated to Business and entertainment, wherein the upper half is dedicated to Entertainment, which consists of glamour news from Bollywood and Hollywood, and the lower half page is dedicated to business. The seventh page is dedicated to sports and the eighth page is not specific to anything but mostly covered local news in addition to regional, and national news.

**3.14.2: Himalayan Mirror** (English Daily): Himalayan Mirror, an English daily, started publishing in September 2005, from Gangtok. Mirror too is eight (8) pages of broadsheet paper. It is edited, printed, and owned by Anjan Upadhyaya from Gairi Gaon, Tadong, Gangtok, and printed at Pabi Publication House at Ranipool, Gangtok, Sikkim.

The contents of Himalayan Mirror are divided as the first page gives space to all the important news from local, regional, and national but is mostly dominated by local news. The second page is the Northeast section where advertisement too occupies lots

of space most of the time. The third page is dedicated to 'Business & Entertainment', wherein its upper half is Business and the lower half is entertainment. The fourth page is editorials and features. The fifth page comprises different topics throughout the week, the major topics covered on the fifth page include health, travel, lifestyles, food, science, technology, etc. However, articles are mostly written in the format of the features in this section. The sixth-page covers 'National and International' with its upper half-covering national news and its lower half-covering international. The seventh page is sports and the eighth is 'Region-Nation' wherein important news from local, regional, and national are given space.

**3.14.3: Samay Dainik** (Nepali Daily): Samay Dainik, a Nepali newspaper started its daily publication in Gangtok on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2004. Through their website, Samay Dainik newspaper also claimed of providing the highest priority to development journalism and rural news from the beginning. It is published and printed by SK Pradhan at Nirman Photo Offset Pvt. Ltd. Indira Bypass, Tadong, Gangtok. Its chief editor is Robin Rai and the editor is Dilliram Dulal.

Samay Dainik has given the majority of its space to local news of Sikkim and only a few are from GTA (Gorkhaland Territorial Administration - Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kerseong). The second page is again local news along with advertisements. The third page is dedicated to 'Darjeeling' (the news from the GTA region). The fourth page has editorials and feature writings. The fifth page comprises features and a few literary writeups like poems and short stories etc. The sixth page covers national news, but sometimes local and regional news is also published on it. The seventh page publishes entertainment along with glamour news. The eighth page is dedicated to sports but even then local sports news has been given more prominence.

**3.14.4: Hamro Prajashakti** (Nepali Daily): Hamro Prajashakti was started publishing as a weekly Nepali newspaper in 2000, and in the year 2003 it became a daily newspaper. Mr. Punya Koirala was the founder editor, and presently Mr. Anjan Upadhyay is the editor as well as publisher. Hamro Prajashakti publishes from Sikkim's capital Gangtok and is the oldest Nepali daily in the country. A local edition of Hamro Prajashakti is also being published from Guwahati in Assam. Hamro Prajashakti is the largest circulated and widely read Nepali daily in Sikkim. It is edited, printed, and owned by Anjan Upadhyaya at Gairigoan, Tadong, Sikkim, and printed at Siliguri Press Pvt. Ltd. Pariwahan Nagar, Matigada, Siliguri. It RNI number is SIKNEP/2000/03113.

Unlike other newspapers in Sikkim, Hamro Prajashakti has given equal coverage to Sikkim and the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). Its front page is covered with news of local, and regional importance, the majority of which are divided between Sikkim and GTA. The second page is similar news in addition to advertisements. The third page is all GTA news, the fourth and fifth are editorials, features, etc. sixth is sports, seventh is a mix of local, regional, and national news. The eighth is mostly Sikkim news and just one or two regional or national news are also published on it.

The four newspapers considered for the study are divided into the two most spoken languages of Sikkim which are English, and Nepali. They are the most widely circulated newspapers. All four dailies are eight (8) page broadsheet newspapers with eight columns with a total area of 3200 column centimeters. The four newspapers considered for the study are; Sikkim Express and Himalayan Mirror in English, Hamro Prajashakti, and Samay Dainik in Nepali languages. Sikkim Express is one of the oldest periodicals in Sikkim and was converted into a daily in the 2000s. Despite being an English daily, Sikkim Express remained the most popular and widely circulated newspaper in Sikkim. Hamro Prajashakti a Nepali daily, was started in 2000 as a weekly but it was converted into a daily newspaper after three years and played a significant role over the years in the state with its anti-establishment stance. Samay Dainik started as a Nepali daily and remained loyal to the government over the years and remained appreciative of their works. Himalayan Mirror, started in 2005 as a sister publication of Hamro Prajashakti, remained neutral in its journalistic approach in contrast to its Hamro Prajashakti. All four newspapers started their publications from Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim but Hamro Prajashakti also publishes another edition from Guwahati.

# **Chapter IV**

# **Results and Discussion**

## 4.1: Quantitative Analysis

**4.1.1: Data Interpretation:** Interpretation is an important stage of data analysis especially in quantitative data as it helps in making sense of our data and eventually helps in becoming data meaningful. Leonelli, (2014) "...define data as mobile pieces of information, which are collected, stored and disseminated in order to be used as evidence for claims about specific processes or entities".

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
Hamro Prajashakti	35	19.3346	13.31725	2.25103	14.7599	23.9092	0.00	49.67
Himalayan Mirror	35	10.6280	8.54681	1.44468	7.6921	13.5639	0.00	30.58
Samay Dainik	35	27.1234	21.89229	3.70047	19.6032	34.6437	0.00	85.17
Sikkim Express	35	23.7914	16.19066	2.73672	18.2297	29.3531	2.55	81.50
Total	140	20.2194	16.76832	1.41718	17.4173	23.0214	0.00	85.17

Table-4.1.1: Average of Columns and newspapers

**Explanation:** The table shows that Samay Dainik out of the four newspapers shows higher deviation. The confidence level is 95% which means that the figures presented in the above table represent reality for 95% of the sample. In the context of developmental content published in the newspapers under consideration, though high deviation is considered less reliable since dispersion is more, it may imply that subject to the presentation of other parametric statistical tests presented afterward that Samay Dainik has covered more developmental stories compared to other newspapers.

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
EDUCATION	28	39.3339	21.33930	4.03275	31.0594	47.6084	5.82	85.17
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	28	15.6125	10.66336	2.01519	11.4777	19.7473	0.00	39.64
HEALTH	28	22.6979	11.63960	2.19968	18.1845	27.2112	2.00	49.17
SANI & WATER	28	15.3639	10.25334	1.93770	11.3881	19.3398	1.86	50.09
WOMEN EMP.	28	8.0886	7.31582	1.38256	5.2518	10.9254	0.00	23.42
Total	140	20.2194	16.76832	1.41718	17.4173	23.0214	0.00	85.17

Table-4.1.2: Average of Columns and News type

**Explanation:** Corresponding to the Average of columns in newspapers, Education is highly deviated with 21.33930 compared to health, employment opportunity, and women empowerment which are less deviated with 7.31582. The previous table has already shown that Samay Dainik is more deviated than other newspapers. It is

precise as their coverage of educational stories outweighs other categories of developmental stories as encoded for this work.

					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
Fri	20	22.2125	12.86429	2.87654	16.1918	28.2332	1.33	57.67
Mon	20	8.8915	10.71703	2.39640	3.8758	13.9072	0.00	47.45
Sat	20	24.7670	23.28835	5.20743	13.8677	35.6663	3.17	85.17
Sun	20	24.1180	18.38116	4.11015	15.5154	32.7206	0.00	73.73
Thu	20	18.5540	14.88520	3.32843	11.5875	25.5205	0.00	59.79
Tue	20	21.7550	16.18429	3.61892	14.1805	29.3295	0.00	57.33
Wed	20	21.2375	15.14767	3.38712	14.1482	28.3268	2.33	53.92
Total	140	20.2194	16.76832	1.41718	17.4173	23.0214	0.00	85.17

Table-4.1.3: Average of Columns and weekdays

**Explanation:** Corresponding to the average of columns in weekday newspapers, Saturday newspapers have deviated highly with 23.28835 and it is even more than Monday and Sunday. Sunday and Monday usually feature more stock stories as the previous two days are normally holidays and less number of popular stories are available for publication compared to working days. Compared to other working days in a week, Friday papers are less deviated with 12.26429. It is difficult to ascertain the deviation but the trend shows that stories coded as developmental for the purpose of this work are published may be more as a space-fillers or maybe to serve as

propaganda items for the political powers since newspapers in a small state and with very even low publication figure are more vulnerable to political and financial powers.

#### 4.1.2: Corresponding Figures: Bar Graph and Pie Chart

**4.1.2.1: Bar Graph:** Bar graphs are visual representations of data and they are represented in various different forms. The bar graph is "sometimes referred to as a horizontal bar, horizontal columns, or rotated column graph. Bar graphs are a family of charts that display quantitative information by means of a series of horizontal rectangles. Sometimes the term bar graph is used to refer to graphs with vertical rectangles. Bar graphs are most frequently used to show and/or compare the values of multiple entities at a given point in time" (Harris, 1999).



Figure-4.1.1: Type of News and Average of Columns

**Explanation:** The above bar graph shows the comparison between the five different categories of news such as; education, health, employment opportunity, sanitation & safe drinking water, and women empowerment. The comparison graph shows that

some parameters received exceedingly more coverage than few others. Compared to all categories a bar of education is seen to be having tall graph whereas women empowerment has the smallest graph and the other three categories have an average height. The tallest graph means the highest priority whereas the smallest graph illustrates the least priority.



Figure-4.1.2: Newspapers and Average of columns

**Explanation:** The above bar graph shows the comparison between different newspapers. When compared to all newspapers, Samay Danik has given more priority whereas Hamro Prajashakti shows less priority for developmental stories. The reasons can be many, like less inclination to buy the view of the public relations department of the government or more dependence on their own news sources who decide at the initial stage what constitutes a news story.

Figure-4.1.3: Weekdays and Average of columns



**Explanation:** The above bar graph shows the comparison between different weekdays of newspapers. When compared to all weekdays of newspapers Saturday is having more priority whereas Monday features less number of stories on development. It could be that the stock of soft stories of development collected over the whole week is emptied on Saturday.

**4.1.2.2: Pie Chart:** The pie chart is an information graphic that is used to show "the relative sizes of components to one another and to the whole" (Harris, 1996, p.280).

Here, the pie chart has tried to show the amount of coverage given by the four newspapers on different developmental parameters chosen for the study like; education, health, employment opportunity, women empowerment, and sanitation & safe drinking water. These charts basically reflect the comparison of coverage distributed among the four newspapers separately in five different parameters.

#### **Figure-4.1.4: Newspapers and Education**



**Explanation:** In the analysis of newspapers and education, from the above chart it is visible that Samay Dainik has given high importance to education-related news whereas the Himalayan Mirror has given less importance to publishing stories on Education. However, Sikkim Express and Hamro Prajashakti have given an almost similar amount of coverage on education news. This reflects the amount of attention given by the four newspapers to the developmental parameter like education, wherein Samay Dainik clearly stands out whereas Himalayan Mirror disappoints.





**Explanation:** For the Health parameter, it is shown from the above chart that Sikkim Express has given high importance and Himalayan Mirror has given less importance to publishing news articles related to health. However, there aren't too many differences between the four newspapers in their coverage.

**Figure-4.1.6:** Newspapers and Women Empowerment



**Explanation:** From the above chart, it is found that Samay Dainik and Sikkim Express have given higher importance and Himalayan Mirror has given less importance to publishing news stories and articles on the topic of women empowerment. Himalayan Mirror has disappointed again in the category of women empowerment among the four newspapers but at the same time, Samay Dainik and Sikkim express continue to provide maximum coverage among the four, and Hamro Prajashakti with average coverage.



Figure-4.1.7: Newspapers and Employment Opportunity

**Explanation:** From the above chart Samay Dainik Newspaper has given higher importance and Himalayan Mirror has given less importance to publishing articles on the topic of employment opportunity. The coverage of Samay Dainik for employment opportunity is significantly higher in comparison with the other three newspapers,

albeit Hamro Prajashakti came second, Sikkim Express was third, and as usual, Himalayan Mirror was with least coverage.



Figure-4.1.8: Newspapers and Sanitation and Safe Drinking Water

**Explanation:** In publishing news stories on sanitation and water, it is visible on the above chart that Samay Dainik newspaper has given much higher importance and the Himalayan Mirror has given the least importance. At the same time, Sikkim Express came second and Hamro Prajashakti, slightly lesser than Sikkim Express, is in the third position.

**4.1.2.2.1: Pie Chart for each Day of the constructed week:** The following pie chart will express the distribution of coverage among all seven days in a week by all four newspapers collectively, and they are shown separately in five different developmental parameters.

**Figure-4.1.9: Education for each Day of the Constructed Week** 



**Explanation:** In the education parameter of development, it is observed from the above chart that the maximum number of news items were published during Saturday, and it was followed by Thursday, Tuesday, Friday, Sunday, Wednesday and Monday had gotten the least coverage by the four newspapers collectively.

Figure-4.1.10: Health for each Day of the Constructed Week



**Explanation:** For the Health related news items Wednesday received the maximum coverage, followed by Sunday, Thursday, Saturday, Tuesday, and Friday and again Monday got the least number of news items for all four newspapers.

**Figure-4.1.11: Employment Opportunity for each Day of the Constructed Week** 



**Explanation:** For the Employment Opportunity category, it is seen from the above chart, that Friday was given maximum coverage followed by Saturday, Thursday, Sunday, Tuesday, and Wednesday whereas Monday was given the least coverage again.

Figure-4.1.12: Women Empowerment for each day of the Constructed Week



**Explanation:** For the women empowerment parameter, it is observed from the above chart that Friday was given maximum coverage followed by Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. However, Monday was given the least coverage during the study period.

Figure-4.1.13: Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water for each day of the Constructed Week



**Explanation:** From the above chart for the Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water parameter, it is observed that the maximum amount of coverage was given on Sunday and it was followed by Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Wednesday, Saturday and the least amount of news items related to this category was published on Monday.

From the above analysis of newspapers and their coverages throughout the seven days of a week, it is found that the developmental news was published in the least number on Mondays throughout all the five parameters of development. Whereas, the news items published during other days fluctuated frequently among different parameters of development.

**4.1.3. Boxplot:** Boxplot is a type of chart in descriptive statistics which is employed for exploratory data analysis. It is helpful for sharing the distribution of numerical data and quartiles by the presentation of data skewness and averages. It is a dataset of five-number summaries which includes minimum and maximum scores in addition to the first quartile, median, and upper quartile.

Hadley Wickham suggested "Box plots use robust summary statistics that are always located at actual data points..... They are particularly useful for comparing distributions across groups".



**Table-4.1.4: Boxplot for Newspapers and Education** 

**Explanation:** From the above box plot for newspapers vs education, Samay Dainik has more outliers compared to all other Newspapers.

Samay Dainik has the outlier above the upper quartile of the boxplot which is 1.5 times the median score. It connotes that Samy Dainik has got more numbers of stories on education compared to other newspapers as the outliers are found at the higher end of the actual data points.

#### Table-4.1.5: Boxplot for Newspapers and Health



**Explanation:** From the above box plot for Newspapers and Health, the newspaper named Himalayan Mirror has more outliers compared to all other newspapers. In any statistical analysis, outliers are difficult to explain but it is found that the Himalayan Mirror in this analysis has outliers at the lower quartile of the distributions across groups. Therefore, the boxplot above implies that Himalayan Mirror published less number of stories on health across the distribution spectrum.

**Table-4.1.6: Boxplot for Newspapers and Women Empowerment** 



**Explanation:** From the above boxplot for Newspapers vs Women Empowerment, the Sikkim Express has more outliers compared to all other newspapers. Sikkim Express has published enough number of stories on the issue comparatively and its outliers are outside the whiskers and 1.5 outside the upper quartile of the median and the boxplot table above reveals that.

Table-4.1.7: Boxplot for Newspapers and Employment Opportunity





 Table-4.1.8: Boxplot for Newspapers and Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water



**Explanation:** From the above box plot for Newspapers vs Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water the Newspaper named Himalayan Mirror has more outliers compared to all other Newspapers. With regard to the most of categories of stories coded as developmental stories within the purview of the current work, Himalayan Mirror presents outliers in more categories of stories as it has the lowest number of stories in most of the categories, and outliers are found to outride whiskers of the lower quartile.

**4.1.4: Cross Tabulation:** Construction of the week can sometimes create a bias or room for error in content analysis of newspaper stories on given issues. Therefore, the week was constructed without any fixed day and every week started on the next day of the previous week. It means if a week started on Monday for the compilation of stories, then next week, Tuesday was chosen as the starting point of the next week. Therefore, the weekdays became a variable, and Cross-tabulation was undertaken to find out the relationship between weekdays and the news stories on a given day of the week.
				EDUC	ATION	
				Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
			Fri	40.33	45.26	2048.06
			Mon	11.91	22.32	498.09
			Sat	47.92	57.55	3312.45
			Sun	35.73	40.25	1619.82
	Hamro Prajashakti	Weekday	Thu	38.79	63.18	3992.18
			Tue	49.67	47.75	2280.24
			Wed	41.33	45.69	2087.52
			Fri	17.92	33.57	1126.99
			Mon	5.82	13.01	169.36
			Sat	16.83	25.22	635.97
	Himalayan Mirror		Sun	26.45	30.59	935.87
		Weekday	Thu	15.57	27.12	735.65
			Tue	30.58	42.55	1810.63
D			Wed	9.08	17.25	297.72
Papers			Fri	57.67	91.94	8452.97
			Mon	11.00	25.10	630.20
			Sat	85.17	105.43	11116.15
	Samay Dainik	Weekday	Sun	73.73	65.98	4352.82
			Thu	59.79	90.41	8174.03
			Tue	57.33	103.58	10728.06
			Wed	53.92	73.15	5350.81
			Fri	27.17	34.74	1206.88
			Mon	47.45	56.11	3148.87
			Sat	81.50	65.41	4279.00
	Sikkim Express	Weekday	Sun	30.91	32.49	1055.89
			Thu	39.86	58.33	3402.59
			Tue	48.92	47.13	2221.54
			Wed	39.00	79.05	6248.55

# Table-4.1.9: Newspapers and Education

**Explanation:** Corresponding to all the newspapers, Samay Dainik has highly deviated with 105.43 when the weekday is Saturday and Himalayan Mirror is less deviated with 13.01 when the weekday is Monday over a period of one year.

				HEALT	Ή	
				Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
			Fri	19.33	35.54	1262.97
			Mon	10.82	29.86	891.36
			Sat	18.75	31.91	1018.02
	Hamro Prajashakti	Weekday	Sun	15.09	27.35	748.29
			Thu	29.29	44.48	1978.22
			Tue	20.17	41.22	1699.24
			Wed	35.25	52.60	2766.93
			Fri	12.58	27.04	730.99
			Mon	2.55	8.44	71.27
	Himalayan Mirror		Sat	16.25	29.99	899.11
		Weekday	Sun	27.27	42.67	1820.82
			Thu	19.57	32.06	1027.80
			Tue	21.17	32.56	1059.97
Demons			Wed	24.17	52.40	2745.24
Papers			Fri	13.75	24.44	597.48
			Mon	2.00	6.63	44.00
			Sat	15.67	29.92	894.97
	Samay Dainik	Weekday	Sun	44.82	92.95	8640.56
			Thu	22.50	45.99	2114.73
			Tue	17.08	22.20	492.99
			Wed	41.33	55.57	3088.42
			Fri	32.58	37.59	1413.17
			Mon	13.00	17.05	290.80
			Sat	49.17	53.42	2854.15
	Sikkim Express	Weekday	Sun	33.45	50.42	2541.87
			Thu	17.93	25.56	653.15
			Tue	23.83	40.24	1619.42
			Wed	36.17	40.09	1607.61

# Table-4.1.10: Newspapers and Health

**Explanation:** Corresponding to all the newspapers, Samay Dainik is highly deviated with 92.95 when the weekday is Sunday and also less deviated with 6.63 when the weekday is a Monday.

				WOM	EN EMP.	
				Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance
			Fri	8.25	24.24	587.66
			Mon	.00	.00	.00
		Weekday	Sat	21.33	45.00	2024.97
	Hamro Prajashakti		Sun	3.27	10.85	117.82
			Thu	4.00	14.97	224.00
			Tue	.00	.00	.00
			Wed	8.42	19.80	391.90
		Weekday	Fri	1.33	4.62	21.33
			Mon	.00	.00	.00
	Himalayan Mirror		Sat	3.17	10.97	120.33
			Sun	13.55	24.27	589.07
			Thu	1.43	5.35	28.57
			Tue	2.92	6.82	46.45
D			Wed	2.33	8.08	65.33
Papers			Fri	22.92	62.90	3956.63
			Mon	1.82	6.03	36.36
			Sat	9.33	32.33	1045.33
	Samay Dainik	Weekday	Sun	8.64	28.64	820.45
			Thu	.00	.00	.00
			Tue	11.42	32.48	1054.99
			Wed	23.42	32.45	1052.81
			Fri	19.75	26.19	685.84
			Mon	2.55	8.44	71.27
			Sat	11.17	22.00	483.97
	Sikkim Express	Weekday	Sun	10.18	19.52	381.16
			Thu	8.36	19.33	373.79
			Tue	16.50	46.26	2139.55
			Wed	10.42	27.59	760.99

Table-4.1.11: Newspapers and Women Empowerment

**Explanation:** Corresponding to the newspapers, Samay Dainik has highly deviated with 62.90 when the weekday is Friday and Hamro Prajashakti, Himalayan Mirror, Samay Dainik are less deviated with 0.00 where weekdays are Tuesday, Monday, and Thursday.

				EMPLOYN	IENT OPPO	RTUNITY
				Mean	Standard	Variance
					Deviation	
			Fri	27.00	37.08	1374.73
			Mon	21.36	39.86	1588.65
			Sat	21.25	27.73	768.75
	Hamro Prajashakti	Weekday	Sun	5.91	13.69	187.29
			Thu	17.71	37.27	1388.99
			Tue	11.92	27.83	774.63
			Wed	24.17	29.82	889.42
			Fri	14.17	37.22	1385.61
			Mon	8.18	19.11	365.16
	Himalayan Mirror		Sat	11.08	22.42	502.81
		Weekday	Sun	.00	.00	.00
			Thu	2.71	10.16	103.14
			Tue	6.67	16.26	264.42
Damana			Wed	2.50	8.66	75.00
Papers			Fri	38.92	68.08	4634.63
			Mon	.00	.00	.00
			Sat	21.42	28.42	807.90
	Samay Dainik	Weekday	Sun	39.64	100.26	10052.85
			Thu	21.00	30.33	920.00
			Tue	23.50	32.38	1048.27
			Wed	11.83	21.96	482.33
			Fri	26.25	40.34	1627.30
			Mon	4.82	12.30	151.36
			Sat	25.58	28.31	801.54
	Sikkim Express	Weekday	Sun	18.09	27.26	742.89
			Thu	15.14	28.40	806.75
			Tue	7.75	18.20	331.30
			Wed	8.58	19.70	388.08

 Table-4.1.12: Newspapers and Employment Opportunity

**Explanation:** Corresponding to all the newspapers, Samay Dainik has highly deviated with 100.26 when the weekday is a Sunday and Himalayan Mirror, Samay Dainik is less deviated with 0.00 when weekdays are Sunday and Monday respectively.

				SANITA		SAFE
				DRINKIN	IG WATER	
				Mean	Standard	Variance
					Deviation	
			Fri	11.58	26.63	709.36
			Mon	9.55	16.73	279.87
			Sat	9.75	22.84	521.84
	Hamro Prajashakti	Weekday	Sun	8.82	19.68	387.36
			Thu	17.21	32.81	1076.34
			Tue	12.83	22.43	503.06
			Wed	18.00	34.38	1182.18
			Fri	13.67	27.57	759.88
			Mon	6.00	13.54	183.20
			Sat	4.50	15.59	243.00
	Himalayan Mirror	Weekday	Sun	15.27	26.80	718.42
			Thu	1.86	6.95	48.29
			Tue	6.50	15.23	232.09
Demons			Wed	8.33	24.02	576.79
Papers			Fri	22.25	33.80	1142.75
			Mon	4.27	10.81	116.82
			Sat	10.17	23.24	539.97
	Samay Dainik	Weekday	Sun	50.09	44.71	1999.29
			Thu	18.50	42.10	1772.12
			Tue	36.92	54.75	2997.17
			Wed	17.50	35.11	1232.64
			Fri	16.83	31.62	999.61
			Mon	14.73	18.47	341.02
			Sat	15.33	28.09	788.79
	Sikkim Express	Weekday	Sun	21.45	23.56	555.07
			Thu	19.86	32.37	1047.82
			Tue	29.42	31.02	962.45
			Wed	9.00	19.90	396.18

 Table-4.1.13: Newspapers and Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water

**Explanation:** It is found that corresponding to the newspaper Samay Dainik has highly deviated with 54.75 when the weekday is Tuesday and Himalayan Mirror is less deviated with 6.95 when the weekday is Thursday over a period of one year.

**4.1.5. Paired T-Test:** The current work used Paired T-test which is a parametric procedure to measure the unknown parameters as the paired sample t-test makes several assumptions. Normally a paired sample t-test considers the observations as the differences between two sets of values, and the observations are independent of one another. Since the dependent variable must be continuous at the interval or ratio level, the data analysis method opted for paired t-tests as it is engaged in the analysis of different dependent variables over a period of time at regular intervals. The test also reveals that there are no outliers and the dependent variable is found to be normally distributed which is essential for the paired t-test.

Paire	d Samples Test								
		Paired Diffe	erences				t	df	Sig. (2-
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confid of the Diffe	lence Interval rence			tailed)
				Mean	Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	EDUCATION – HEALTH	16.74107	69.91941	3.81442	9.23784	24.24430	4.389	335	.000
Pair 2	EDUCATION - WOMEN EMP.	31.47619	63.00400	3.43715	24.71507	38.23731	9.158	335	.000
Pair 3	EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	23.86905	66.45713	3.62553	16.73737	31.00073	6.584	335	.000
Pair 4	EDUCATION - SANI & WATER	24.20833	64.23170	3.50413	17.31547	31.10120	6.909	335	.000
Pair 5	HEALTH - WOMEN EMP.	14.73512	46.45651	2.53441	9.74975	19.72048	5.814	335	.000
Pair 6	HEALTH - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	7.12798	52.38433	2.85780	1.50648	12.74947	2.494	335	.013
Pair 7	HEALTH - SANI & WATER	7.46726	48.25268	2.63240	2.28915	12.64538	2.837	335	.005
Pair 8	WOMEN EMP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	-7.60714	40.69567	2.22013	-11.97430	-3.23999	-3.426	335	.001
Pair 9	WOMEN EMP SANI & WATER	-7.26786	36.09184	1.96897	-11.14096	-3.39475	-3.691	335	.000
Pair 10	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - SANI & WATER	.33929	43.82568	2.39089	-4.36376	5.04233	.142	335	.887

 Table-4.1.14: Paired T-test table for News-type

**Explanation:** In the above paired sample T-test table of Average of columns and news-type employment opportunity – sanitation & safe drinking water exceeds 0.025, so it's having no significance among all other categories.

		Paired Differ	ences				t	df	Sig. (2-		
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference						tailed)
					Lower	Upper					
Pair 1	Weekday - EDUCATION	-35.47917	59.21965	3.23070	-41.83418	-29.12416	- 10.982	335	.000		
Pair 2	Weekday - HEALTH	-18.73810	39.96778	2.18042	-23.02714	-14.44905	-8.594	335	.000		
Pair 3	Weekday - WOMEN EMP.	-4.00298	24.79811	1.35285	-6.66412	-1.34183	-2.959	335	.003		
Pair 4	Weekday - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	-11.61012	34.20133	1.86584	-15.28035	-7.93989	-6.222	335	.000		
Pair 5	Weekday - SANI & WATER	-11.27083	28.96855	1.58036	-14.37952	-8.16215	-7.132	335	.000		

 Table-4.1.15: Paired T-test table for News-type and Weekdays

**Explanation:** In the above paired sample T-test table of Average of columns and Weekdays, no category exceeds 0.025, all variables are statistically significant. This table shows that in terms of print space on an average day, newspapers under consideration attach moderately decent importance to developmental issues such as sanitation and safe drinking water, employment opportunity, women empowerment, health, and education.

 Table-4.1.16: Paired T-test table for Month and News-type

Paire	ed Samples Test								
		Paired Diff	ferences				t	df	Sig. (2-
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% ( Interval Difference Lower	Confidence of the Upper			tailed)
Pair 1	Month - EDUCATION	2.97321	62.40787	3.40463	-3.72393	9.67036	.873	335	.383
Pair 2	Month - HEALTH	19.71429	48.71227	2.65747	14.48685	24.94172	7.418	335	.000
Pair 3	Month - WOMEN EMP.	34.44940	35.12116	1.91602	30.68047	38.21834	17.980	335	.000
Pair 4	Month - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	26.84226	42.95630	2.34346	22.23251	31.45201	11.454	335	.000
Pair 5	Month - SANI & WATER	27.18155	41.83899	2.28250	22.69170	31.67139	11.909	335	.000

**Explanation:** In the above paired sample T-test table of Average of Month vs. News Type education exceeds 0.025, so it's having no significance among all other categories. When taken as a whole month, it is found that developmental stories are drowned under the collective weight of other categories of stories though on a particular day or even on an average day, developmental stories may turn out to be significant in comparison with other categories of news.

		Paired Differ	ences				t	df	Sig. (2- tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confid of the Differe	ence Interval			taneu)
				wicali	Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Year - EDUCATION	1976.88988	59.31301	3.23579	1970.52485	1983.25491	610.945	335	.000
Pair 2	Year - HEALTH	1993.63095	40.14549	2.19012	1989.32284	1997.93907	910.286	335	.000
Pair 3	Year - WOMEN EMP.	2008.36607	24.68137	1.34648	2005.71745	2011.01469	1491.569	335	.000
Pair 4	Year - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	2000.75893	33.96458	1.85292	1997.11410	2004.40375	1079.787	335	.000
Pair 5	Year - SANI & WATER	2001.09821	28.95183	1.57945	1997.99132	2004.20511	1266.958	335	.000

Table-4.1.17: Paired T-test table for Year and News-type

**Explanation:** In the above Paired sample T-test table of the average of columns vis-avis year, no category exceeds 0.025, so all variables are statistically significant. Even over the whole period, taken as independently, the issues defined as indicators of development are considered as significant in all newspapers.

## Table-4.1.18: Paired T-test table for Newspaper Hamro Prajashakti and

Papers	apers			rences				t	df	Sig.
			Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confid of the Differ	ence Interval			(2- tailed)
						Lower	Upper			
Hamro Prajashakti	Pair 1	EDUCATION - HEALTH	16.67857	58.79168	6.41470	3.91999	29.43715	2.600	83	.011
	Pair 2	EDUCATION - WOMEN EMP.	31.78571	53.98395	5.89013	20.07048	43.50095	5.396	83	.000
	Pair 3	EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	19.73810	57.07955	6.22789	7.35107	32.12512	3.169	83	.002
	Pair 4	EDUCATION - SANI & WATER	25.58333	56.37957	6.15152	13.34822	37.81845	4.159	83	.000
	Pair 5	HEALTH - WOMEN EMP.	15.10714	45.52876	4.96759	5.22680	24.98749	3.041	83	.003
	Pair 6	HEALTH - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	3.05952	46.04564	5.02399	-6.93299	13.05204	.609	83	.544
	Pair 7	HEALTH - SANI & WATER	8.90476	48.87028	5.33218	-1.70074	19.51026	1.670	83	.099
	Pair 8	WOMEN EMP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	-12.04762	39.60829	4.32162	-20.64315	-3.45209	-2.788	83	.007
	Pair 9	WOMEN EMP SANI & WATER	-6.20238	33.61754	3.66797	-13.49784	1.09307	-1.691	83	.095
	Pair 10	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - SANI & WATER	5.84524	36.87997	4.02393	-2.15821	13.84868	1.453	83	.150

#### News-type

**Explanation:** In the above Paired sample T-test table of Hamro Prajashakti and News-type, health- employment opportunity, health- sanitation and safe drinking water, women empowerment – sanitation and safe drinking water and employment opportunity – sanitation & safe drinking water in Hamro Prajashakti newspaper exceed 0.025. Therefore it has no significance among all variables. These issues are unrelated to each other and newspaper reporting has no definite pattern with regard to these issues when taken together as development is a concerted effort instead of being a sporadic attempt by newspapers in highlighting the success or failure of it.

Papers	Paired	Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-		
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% C Interval Difference	Confidence of the			tailed)		
				Lower	Upper					
Himalayan Mirror	Pair 1	EDUCATION - HEALTH	30952	43.41727	4.73721	-9.73165	9.11260	065	83	.948
	Pair 2	EDUCATION - WOMEN EMP.	14.04762	30.81265	3.36194	7.36086	20.73437	4.178	83	.000
	Pair 3	EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	11.01190	36.56435	3.98950	3.07695	18.94686	2.760	83	.007
	Pair 4	EDUCATION - SANI & WATER	9.64286	33.81653	3.68969	2.30422	16.98149	2.613	83	.011
	Pair 5	HEALTH - WOMEN EMP.	14.35714	35.20222	3.84088	6.71779	21.99649	3.738	83	.000
	Pair 6	HEALTH - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	11.32143	41.26469	4.50235	2.36644	20.27642	2.515	83	.014
	Pair 7	HEALTH - SANI & WATER	9.95238	38.58332	4.20979	1.57929	18.32547	2.364	83	.020
	Pair 8	WOMEN EMP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	-3.03571	23.40345	2.55353	-8.11457	2.04315	-1.189	83	.238
	Pair 9	WOMEN EMP SANI & WATER	-4.40476	22.98460	2.50783	-9.39273	.58320	-1.756	83	.083
	Pair 10	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - SANI & WATER	-1.36905	27.47432	2.99769	-7.33134	4.59324	457	83	.649

# Table-4.1.19: Paired T-test table for Himalayan Mirror and News-type

**Explanation:** In the above Paired sample T-test table of Himalayan Mirror and Newstype, education - health, women empowerment – employment opportunity, women empowerment – sanitation and safe drinking water and employment opportunity – sanitation and safe drinking water in Himalayan Mirror newspaper exceed 0.025. So it has no significance among all variables.

Papers			Paired Diff	erences				t	df	Sig.
			Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Interval Difference Lower	Confidence of the Upper			(2- tailed)
Samay Dainik	Pair 1	EDUCATION - HEALTH	34.92857	95.29975	10.39806	14.24726	55.60989	3.359	83	.001
	Pair 2	EDUCATION - WOMEN EMP.	46.40476	87.81184	9.58106	27.34843	65.46110	4.843	83	.000
	Pair 3	EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	35.00000	95.31798	10.40004	14.31473	55.68527	3.365	83	.001
	Pair 4	EDUCATION - SANI & WATER	34.75000	90.73912	9.90045	15.05840	54.44160	3.510	83	.001
	Pair 5	HEALTH - WOMEN EMP.	11.47619	57.64191	6.28925	-1.03287	23.98525	1.825	83	.072
	Pair 6	HEALTH - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	.07143	71.74197	7.82769	-15.49753	15.64039	.009	83	.993
	Pair 7	HEALTH - SANI & WATER	17857	60.23311	6.57197	-13.24996	12.89282	027	83	.978
	Pair 8	WOMEN EMP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	- 11.40476	56.58539	6.17397	-23.68454	.87502	-1.847	83	.068
	Pair 9	WOMEN EMP SANI & WATER	- 11.65476	48.27793	5.26755	-22.13172	-1.17781	-2.213	83	.030
	Pair 10	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - SANI & WATER	25000	64.15359	6.99973	-14.17218	13.67218	036	83	.972
Sikkim Express	Pair 1	EDUCATION - HEALTH	15.66667	68.39491	7.46250	.82406	30.50927	2.099	83	.039
	Pair 2	EDUCATION - WOMEN EMP.	33.66667	62.52177	6.82168	20.09861	47.23472	4.935	83	.000
	Pair 3	EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	29.72619	61.64909	6.72647	16.34752	43.10486	4.419	83	.000
	Pair 4	EDUCATION - SANI & WATER	26.85714	61.31867	6.69042	13.55018	40.16411	4.014	83	.000
	Pair 5	HEALTH - WOMEN EMP.	18.00000	45.32506	4.94537	8.16386	27.83614	3.640	83	.000
	Pair 6	HEALTH - EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	14.05952	44.40947	4.84547	4.42208	23.69697	2.902	83	.005
	Pair 7	HEALTH - SANITATION & SAFE DRINKING WATER	11.19048	42.55471	4.64310	1.95554	20.42541	2.410	83	.018
	Pair 8	WOMEN EMP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	-3.94048	36.00915	3.92892	-11.75494	3.87399	-1.003	83	.319
	Pair 9	WOMEN EMP SANI & WATER	-6.80952	35.20285	3.84095	-14.44901	.82996	-1.773	83	.080
	Pair 10	EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - SANI & WATER	-2.86905	38.43341	4.19343	-11.20961	5.47151	684	83	.496

# Table-4.1.20: Paired T-test table for Newspapers, Samay Dainik and SikkimExpress and News-type

**Explanation:** In the above Paired sample T-test table of Samay Dainik and Newstype, health – women empowerment, health – employment opportunity, health – sanitation and safe drinking water and employment opportunity – sanitation and safe drinking water from the newspaper named as Samay Dainik exceed 0.025. So these are having no significance among all variables.

**4.1.6: ANOVA Tables:** ANOVA test was undertaken to find out if developmental stories or what type of developmental stories have a definite presence by measuring their significance in the newspapers under consideration.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
NEWS HOLE IN Col. Cm	Between Groups	7439517.971	6	1239919.662		
	Within Groups	260555863.455	329	791963.111	1.566	.156
	Total	267995381.426	335		-	
EDUCATION	Between Groups	38598.316	6	6433.053		
	Within Groups	1138011.443	329	3459.001	1.860	.087
	Total	1176609.759	335			
HEALTH	Between Groups	20490.814	6	3415.136		
	Within Groups	519609.758	329	1579.361	2.162	.046
	Total	540100.571	335			
WOMEN EMP.	Between Groups	5513.320	6	918.887		
	Within Groups	198942.820	329	604.689	1.520	.171
	Total	204456.140	335			
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY	Between Groups	10111.781	6	1685.297		
	Within Groups	376205.859	329	1143.483	1.474	.186
	Total	386317.640	335		-	
SANI & WATER	Between Groups	8680.188	6	1446.698		
	Within Groups	273036.738	329	829.899	1.743	.110
	Total	281716.926	335		1	

**Explanation:** From the above ANOVA table for weekdays, only one variable-Health is significant. Health variable with 95% significance above which means weekdays are affected by this variable. It also implies that health stories will increase proportionately with the increase in newsholes which is found after subtracting the non-news space including advertising from the total print space. It is to be noted that all weekdays are not equal in this case.

		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
NEWS HOLE IN	Between	309058.025	1	309058.025	.386	.535
Col. Cm	Groups					
	Within	267686323.401	334	801456.058		
	Groups					
	Total	267995381.426	335			
EDUCATION	Between	10471.378	1	10471.378	2.999	.084
	Groups					
	Within	1166138.381	334	3491.432		
	Groups					
	Total	1176609.759	335			
HEALTH	Between	233.192	1	233.192	.144	.704
	Groups					
	Within	539867.380	334	1616.369		
	Groups					
	Total	540100.571	335			
WOMEN EMP.	Between	664.288	1	664.288	1.089	.298
	Groups					
	Within	203791.852	334	610.155		
	Groups					
	Total	204456.140	335			
EMPLOYMENT	Between	8.982	1	8.982	.008	.930
OPPORTUNITY	Groups					
	Within	386308.658	334	1156.613		
	Groups					
	Total	386317.640	335			
SANI & WATER	Between	3054.086	1	3054.086	3.661	.057
	Groups					
	Within	278662.840	334	834.320		
	Groups					
	Total	281716.926	335			

 Table-4.1.22: ANOVA table for Year vs news-type

**Explanation:** From the above ANOVA table, it is found that for a period of one year, no variable which means the developmental issues as coded within the framework of the current work, as well as the news space, is found to be significant. It implies that newspapers taken together over a period of one year would not show any increase or decrease in the publication of developmental stories if the news hole increases in comparison with total print space.

		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
NEWS HOLE IN	Between	193980917.176	83	2337119.484	7.957	.000
Col. Cm	Groups					
	Within	74014464.250	252	293708.191		
	Groups					
	Total	267995381.426	335			
EDUCATION	Between	629300.509	83	7581.934	3.491	.000
	Groups					
	Within	547309.250	252	2171.862		
	Groups					
	Total	1176609.759	335			
HEALTH	Between	350595.571	83	4224.043	5.617	.000
	Groups					
	Within	189505.000	252	752.004		
	Groups					
	Total	540100.571	335			
WOMEN EMP.	Between	83309.890	83	1003.734	2.088	.000
	Groups					
	Within	121146.250	252	480.739		
	Groups					
	Total	204456.140	335			
EMPLOYMENT	Between	170051.390	83	2048.812	2.387	.000
OPPORTUNITY	Groups					
	Within	216266.250	252	858.199		
	Groups					
	Total	386317.640	335			
SANITATION &	Between	137428.676	83	1655.767	2.892	.000
SAFE DRINKING	Groups					
WATER	Within	144288.250	252	572.572	1	
	Groups					
	Total	281716.926	335			

Table-4.1.23: ANOVA table for months and news-type

**Explanation:** When it comes to month-wise analysis, the above ANOVA table for months illustrates all the variables like news holes in column centimeter, education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, sanitation and safe drinking water are statistically significant which means months are affected by all these variables but it is also to be mentioned that all months are not equal in this case.

		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
NEWS HOLE IN	Between	2502882.890	3	834294.297	1.043	.374
Col. Cm	Groups					
	Within	265492498.536	332	799676.200		
	Groups					
	Total	267995381.426	335			
EDUCATION	Between	70266.723	3	23422.241	7.029	.000
	Groups					
	Within	1106343.036	332	3332.359		
	Groups					
	Total	1176609.759	335			
HEALTH	Between	5830.881	3	1943.627	1.208	.307
	Groups					
	Within	534269.690	332	1609.246		
	Groups					
	Total	540100.571	335			
WOMEN EMP.	Between	3614.818	3	1204.939	1.992	.115
	Groups					
	Within	200841.321	332	604.944		
	Groups					
	Total	204456.140	335			
EMPLOYMENT	Between	11632.842	3	3877.614	3.436	.017
OPPORTUNITY	Groups					
	Within	374684.798	332	1128.569		
	Groups					
	Total	386317.640	335		]	
SANITATION &	Between	10427.676	3	3475.892	4.254	.006
SAFE	Groups					
DRINKING	Within	271289.250	332	817.136		
WATER	Groups					
	Total	281716.926	335		1	

Table-4.1.24: ANOVA table for newspapers and News-type

**Explanation:** The above ANOVA table for newspapers illustrate that in all the newspapers like Hamro Prajashakti, Samay Dainik, Sikkim Express, Himalayan Mirror, three variables which are education, employment opportunity, and sanitation and safe drinking water are found to be significant, which implies that these newspapers are affected by these issues. The above table also points out that the degree of sensitivity towards these issues varies from newspaper to newspaper as all are not equal in this case.

**4.1.7: Multiple Comparisons:** Multiple comparisons through Bonferroni tests through non-parametric tests were undertaken to ensure that false positives are reduced. Therefore each developmental issue as coded under the current research framework which has been treated as a dependent variable was put to Bonferroni tests.

# 4.1.7.1: Education vis-a-vis Newspapers: Dependent Variable-Education.

(I) Papers	(J) Papers	Mean	Std.	Sig.	95% (	Confidence
		Difference (I-J)	Error		Interval	
					Lower	Upper
					Bound	Bound
Hamro	Himalayan	20.85714	8.90741	.119	-2.7845	44.4988
Prajashakti	Mirror					
	Samay	-19.04762	8.90741	.199	-42.6893	4.5941
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-6.67857	8.90741	1.000	-30.3203	16.9631
	Express					
Himalayan	Hamro	-20.85714	8.90741	.119	-44.4988	2.7845
Mirror	Prajashakti					
	Samay	-39.90476*	8.90741	.000	-63.5464	-16.2631
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-27.53571*	8.90741	.013	-51.1774	-3.8940
	Express					
Samay	Hamro	19.04762	8.90741	.199	-4.5941	42.6893
Dainik	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	39.90476 <sup>*</sup>	8.90741	.000	16.2631	63.5464
	Mirror					
	Sikkim	12.36905	8.90741	.995	-11.2726	36.0107
	Express					
Sikkim	Hamro	6.67857	8.90741	1.000	-16.9631	30.3203
Express	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	27.53571*	8.90741	.013	3.8940	51.1774
	Mirror					
	Samay	-12.36905	8.90741	.995	-36.0107	11.2726
	Dainik					
*. The mean of	difference is sig	nificant at the 0.0	5 level.			

## Table-4.1.25: Bonferroni

**Explanation:** As the above table illustrates, Education is a significant variable in the newspapers like Himalayan Mirror as well as Samay Dainik and Sikkim Express based on the Bonferroni test.

# 4.1.7.2: Health vis-a-vis Newspapers: Dependent Variable-Health.

(I) Papers	(J) Papers	Mean	Std.	Sig.	95% (	Confidence
		Difference (I-J)	Error	_	Interval	
					Lower	Upper
					Bound	Bound
Hamro	Himalayan	3.86905	6.18994	1.000	-12.5601	20.2982
Prajashakti	Mirror					
	Samay	79762	6.18994	1.000	-17.2267	15.6315
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-7.69048	6.18994	1.000	-24.1196	8.7386
	Express					
Himalayan	Hamro	-3.86905	6.18994	1.000	-20.2982	12.5601
Mirror	Prajashakti					
	Samay	-4.66667	6.18994	1.000	-21.0958	11.7624
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-11.55952	6.18994	.376	-27.9886	4.8696
	Express					
Samay	Hamro	.79762	6.18994	1.000	-15.6315	17.2267
Dainik	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	4.66667	6.18994	1.000	-11.7624	21.0958
	Mirror					
	Sikkim	-6.89286	6.18994	1.000	-23.3220	9.5362
	Express					
Sikkim	Hamro	7.69048	6.18994	1.000	-8.7386	24.1196
Express	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	11.55952	6.18994	.376	-4.8696	27.9886
	Mirror					
	Samay	6.89286	6.18994	1.000	-9.5362	23.3220
	Dainik					

# Table-4.1.26: Bonferroni

**Explanation:** From the above table, it is found that Health is not a significant variable in the newspapers under discussion.

# 4.1.7.3: Multiple Comparisons: Dependent Variable-Women Empowerment.

## Table-4.1.27: Bonferroni

(I) Papers	(J) Papers	Mean	Std.	Sig.	95% (	Confidence
		Difference (I-J)	Error		Interval	
					Lower	Upper
					Bound	Bound
Hamro	Himalayan	3.11905	3.79518	1.000	-6.9540	13.1921
Prajashakti	Mirror					
	Samay	-4.42857	3.79518	1.000	-14.5016	5.6445
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-4.79762	3.79518	1.000	-14.8706	5.2754
	Express					
Himalayan	Hamro	-3.11905	3.79518	1.000	-13.1921	6.9540
Mirror	Prajashakti					
	Samay	-7.54762	3.79518	.285	-17.6206	2.5254
	Dainik					
	Sikkim	-7.91667	3.79518	.226	-17.9897	2.1564
	Express					
Samay	Hamro	4.42857	3.79518	1.000	-5.6445	14.5016
Dainik	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	7.54762	3.79518	.285	-2.5254	17.6206
	Mirror					
	Sikkim	36905	3.79518	1.000	-10.4421	9.7040
	Express					
Sikkim	Hamro	4.79762	3.79518	1.000	-5.2754	14.8706
Express	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	7.91667	3.79518	.226	-2.1564	17.9897
	Mirror					
	Samay	.36905	3.79518	1.000	-9.7040	10.4421
	Dainik					

**Explanation:** The above table shows that there is no significance associated with the variable women empowerment. This is true in the case of 95% of newspapers as the confidence level is 95%.

# 4.1.7.4: Multiple Comparisons: Dependent Variable-Employment Opportunity

# Table-4.1.28: Bonferroni

(I) Papers	(J) Papers	Mean	Std.	Sig.	95%	Confidence
		Difference (I-J)	Error		Interval	
					Lower	Upper
					Bound	Bound
Hamro	Himalayan	12.13095	5.18369	.119	-1.6274	25.8893
Prajashakti	Mirror					
	Samay Dainik	-3.78571	5.18369	1.000	-17.5441	9.9726
	Sikkim	3.30952	5.18369	1.000	-10.4488	17.0679
	Express					
Himalayan	Hamro	-12.13095	5.18369	.119	-25.8893	1.6274
Mirror	Prajashakti					
	Samay Dainik	-15.91667*	5.18369	.014	-29.6750	-2.1583
	Sikkim	-8.82143	5.18369	.538	-22.5798	4.9369
	Express					
Samay Dainik	Hamro	3.78571	5.18369	1.000	-9.9726	17.5441
	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	15.91667*	5.18369	.014	2.1583	29.6750
	Mirror					
	Sikkim	7.09524	5.18369	1.000	-6.6631	20.8536
	Express					
Sikkim	Hamro	-3.30952	5.18369	1.000	-17.0679	10.4488
Express	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	8.82143	5.18369	.538	-4.9369	22.5798
	Mirror					
	Samay Dainik	-7.09524	5.18369	1.000	-20.8536	6.6631

**Explanation:** Employment opportunity as is illustrated by the above table is a significant variable in Himalayan Mirror as well as Samay Dainik and true in case 95% newspapers taken for the purpose of the study.

**4.1.7.5: Multiple Comparisons:** Dependent Variable-Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water.

(I) Papers	(J) Papers	Mean	Std.	Sig.	95%	Confidence
		Difference (I-J)	Error		Interval	
					Lower	Upper
					Bound	Bound
Hamro	Himalayan	4.91667	4.41085	1.000	-6.7904	16.6238
Prajashakti	Mirror					
	Samay Dainik	-9.88095	4.41085	.154	-21.5881	1.8262
	Sikkim	-5.40476	4.41085	1.000	-17.1119	6.3024
	Express					
Himalayan	Hamro	-4.91667	4.41085	1.000	-16.6238	6.7904
Mirror	Prajashakti					
	Samay Dainik	-14.79762*	4.41085	.005	-26.5047	-3.0905
	Sikkim	-10.32143	4.41085	.119	-22.0285	1.3857
	Express					
Samay Dainik	Hamro	9.88095	4.41085	.154	-1.8262	21.5881
	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	14.79762*	4.41085	.005	3.0905	26.5047
	Mirror					
	Sikkim	4.47619		1.000	-7.2309	16.1833
	Express		4.41085			
Sikkim	Hamro	5.40476	4.41085	1.000	-6.3024	17.1119
Express	Prajashakti					
	Himalayan	10.32143	4.41085	.119	-1.3857	22.0285
	Mirror					
	Samay Dainik	-4.47619	4.41085	1.000	-16.1833	7.2309
*. The mean dif	fference is signifi	cant at the 0.05 lev	vel.			

## Table-4.1.29: Bonferroni

**Explanation:** Sanitation and Drinking water in the above table are found as significant with regard to Himalayan Mirror and Samay Dainik.

**4.1.8: Regression:** Multiple regression was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Moreover, the following tables explain the extent of linear relationships between the dependent variables like education, sanitation & safe drinking water, health, employment opportunity, and women empowerment, and a number of other independent (or control) variables. Thus, it can be further derived that the coefficients measure the amount of change in the dependent variable with one unit change in the independent variable while controlling for all other variables in the equation. Multiple regression was used by the researcher to make the relationship non-spurious so that the exact empirical relationship between predictors and criterion variables is maintained.

The predictor variable as an independent variable is here known for the purpose of regression analysis in the newspapers, weekdays, and months whereas the dependent or criterion variables are the developmental stories as coded under the research scheme of the current work.

Model	R	R Square Adjusted R Std.		Std. E	d. Error of the Estimate		
			Square				
1	.139 <sup>a</sup>	.019	.010		58.95	551	
a. Pred	ctors: (Consta	unt), Weekday, Pa	apers, Mon	th			
ANOV	A						
Model		Sum of	df	Mean Square		F	Sig.
		Squares					
1	Regression	22660.189	3	7553.39	96	2.173	.091 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	1153949.570	332	3475.75	52		
	Total	1176609.759	335				
a. Depe	ndent Variabl	e: EDUCATION	ſ	•		•	
b. Pred	ictors: (Consta	ant), Weekday, P	apers, Mon	th			
	× ×	,, ,,	1 /				

Table-4.1.30: Education vis-a-vis Newspapers, Weekdays and Months

Coefficients <sup>a</sup>								
Model		Unstandardiz	zed	Standardized	t	Sig.		
		Coefficients		Coefficients				
		В	Std. Error	Beta				
1	(Constant)	13.018	11.519		1.130	.259		
	Papers	5.994	2.877	.113	2.084	.038		
	Month	.171	.133	.070	1.287	.199		
	Weekday	1.052	1.616	.035	.651	.516		
a. Dep	endent Varia	ble: Education						

**Explanation:** From the above table, Education is found to be significant in the newspapers which are taken for analysis like Hamro Prajashakti, Himalayan Mirror, Samay Dainik and Sikkim Express. The above multiple regression was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Moreover, the above table explains the extent of linear relationships between the dependent variable education and a number of other independent (or control) variables. Thus, it can be further derived that the above coefficients measure the amount of change in the dependent variable with one unit change in the independent variable while controlling for all other variables in the equation. Multiple regression was used by the researcher to make the relationship non-spurious so that the exact empirical relationship between predictors and criterion variables is maintained.

Having kept the other predictors constant here, the above table clearly indicates that the criterion variables are significantly correlated with only one predictor like the newspapers. The select newspapers are significant variables and a powerful cause for coverage of issues related to education. Moreover, it showed an insignificant relationship of education with the weekdays and months. The other two predictor variables such as; weekdays and months have no role in deciding the coverage of issues related to education.

Model	Summary							
Model	R		R Square		Adjusted R Square		Std. Error of th	
1	.169 <sup>a</sup> .029			.020		39.7525	5	
a. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), '	Weekday, I	Papers	s, Mon	th		
ANOV	'A <sup>a</sup>							
Model		Sun	n of	df		Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squ	ares					
1	Regression	154	15452.565 3			5150.855	3.259	.022 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	524	648.006	332		1580.265		
	Total	540	100.571	335				
a. Dep	pendent Varia	able: F	Iealth	•				
b. Pre	dictors: (Con	stant),	Weekday	, Pape	rs, Mo	nth		
Coeffic	cients <sup>a</sup>							
Model		Unsta	andardized	indardized		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coef	ficients			Coefficients		
		В	S	Std. Er	ror	Beta		
1	(Constant)	12.51	6 7	.767			1.611	.108
	Papers	2.774	1	.940		.077	1.430	.154
	Month	156	).	090		094	-1.741	.083
	Weekday	2.462	2 1	.090		.122	2.260	.024
a. Depe	endent Variał	ole: He	alth					

## Table-4.1.31: Health vis-a-vis Newspapers, Weekdays and Months

**Explanation:** The above multiple regression was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Moreover, the above table explains the extent of linear relationships between the dependent variable Health and a number of other independent (or control variables). Thus, it can be further derived that the above coefficients measure the amount of change in the dependent variable with one unit change in the independent variable while controlling for all other variables in the equation. Multiple regression was used by the researcher to make the relationship non-spurious so that the exact empirical relationship between predictors and criterion variables is maintained.

Having kept the other predictors constant here, the above table clearly indicates that the criterion variables are significantly correlated with only one predictor like the Weekdays i.e. the weekdays are significant variables and a powerful cause for coverage of issues related to Health. Moreover, it showed an insignificant relationship of health with the newspapers and month. It means health is significant on weekdays irrespective of newspapers and months which have no role in deciding the coverage of issues related to health.

 Table-4.1.32:
 Women
 Empowerment
 vis-a-vis
 Newspapers,
 Weekdays
 and

 Months
 <t

Model	Summary									
Model	R		R Square		Adju	sted R Square	Std.	Erro	r of	the
							Estimate			
1	.103 <sup>a</sup>		.011		.002		24.68	8291		
a. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), '	Weekday, I	Papers,	, Mon	th				
ANOV	'A <sup>a</sup>									
Model		Sun	n of	df		Mean Square	F		Sig.	
		Squ	ares							
1	Regression	2186.414 3		3		728.805	1.196	5	.311 <sup>b</sup>	1
	Residual	202	269.726	332		609.246				
	Total	204	456.140	335						
a. Depe	endent Varial	ole: W	omen Emp	owern	nent			•		
b. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), '	Weekday, I	Papers	, Mon	th				
Coeffi	cients <sup>a</sup>									
Model		Unsta	ndardized			Standardized	t		Sig.	
		Coef	ficients			Coefficients				
		В	S	td. Err	or	Beta				
1	(Constant)	4.013	4	.823			.832		.406	
	Papers	2.194	. 1	.204		.099	1.82	2	.069	
	Month	028	).	)56		028	506	5	.613	
	Weekday	062		676		005	092	2	.927	
a.	Dependent V	/ariabl	e: Women	Empo	werm	ent	•			

**Explanation:** The above table shows that when it comes to women empowerment as a dependent variable, there is no significant relationship between predictor variables and criterion variables like; women empowerment.

# Table-4.1.33: Employment Opportunity vis-a-vis newspapers, Weekdays, and

Model	Summary							
Model	R		R Square	e	Adju	sted R Square	Std. Error of th	
							Estin	nate
1	.111 <sup>a</sup> .012			.003		33.90	)244	
a. Predictors: (Constant), Weekday, Newspapers, Month						•		
ANOV	'A <sup>a</sup>							
Model		Sun	1 O	f df		Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squ	ares					
1	Regression	472	4725.062 3			1575.021	1.370	) .252 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	381	592.578	592.578 332		1149.375		
	Total	386	317.640 33					
a. Depe	endent Varial	ole: En	nploymen	t Oppo	rtunity	7		
b. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), V	Weekday,	Papers	s, Mon	th		
Coeffic	cients <sup>a</sup>							
Model		Unsta	indardized	1		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coeff	ficients			Coefficients		
		В	¢,	Std. Er	ror	Beta		
1	(Constant)	23.72	3 (	6.624			3.58	1.000
	Papers	.599	-	1.654		.020	.362	.718
	Month	080		.076		057	-1.04	.296
	Weekday	-1.52	2.	.929		090	-1.63	.102
a. Depe	endent Varial	ole: En	nploymen	t Oppo	ortunity	/		·

## Months

**Explanation:** From the above table, it is found that in case of employment opportunity as a criterion variable, there is no significant relationship with predictor variables like newspapers, weekdays and months.

## Table-4.1.34: Sanitation and Safe Drinking Water vis-a-vis Newspapers,

Model	Summary							
Model	R		R Square		Adju	sted R Square	Std.	Error of the
							Estin	nate
1	.264 <sup>a</sup>		.070	.061			28.09	9494
a. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), V	Weekday, N	Vewsp	apers,	Month		
ANOV	'A <sup>a</sup>							
Model		Sun	n of	df		Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squ	ares					
1	Regression	196	19660.716 3			6553.572	8.303	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	262	056.210	332		789.326		
	Total	281	716.926	335				
a. Depe	endent Varial	ole: Sa	nitation &	Safe I	Drinkiı	ng Water	J	
b. Pred	ictors: (Cons	tant), '	Weekday, I	Papers	, Mon	th		
Coeffic	cients							
Model		Unsta	ndardized			Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coef	ficients			Coefficients		
		В	S	td. Er	ror	Beta		
1	(Constant)	15.60	5 5.	.490			2.843	3.005
	Papers	3.101	1.	.371		.120	2.262	2.024
	Month	275	.0	63		231	-4.34	.000
	Weekday	.904	.7	70		.062	1.174	4 .241
a. Depe	endent Varial	ole: Sa	nitation &	Safe I	Drinkiı	ng Water	•	·

## Weekdays and Months

**Explanation:** The above multiple regression was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Moreover, the above table explains the extent of linear relationships between the dependent variable (Sanitation and water) and a number of other independent (or control variables). Thus, it can be further derived that the above coefficients measure the amount of change in the dependent variable with one unit change in the independent variable while controlling for all other variables in the equation. Multiple regression was used by the researcher to make the relationship non-spurious so that

the exact empirical relationship between predictors and criterion variables is maintained.

Having kept the other predictors constant here, the above table clearly indicates that the criterion variables are significantly correlated with only two predictors like the newspapers and months i.e., the select newspapers and designated months are significant variables and a powerful cause for coverage of issues related to sanitation and water. Moreover, it showed an insignificant relationship with weekdays and sanitation and safe drinking water i.e., weekdays newspapers have no role in deciding the coverage of issues related to sanitation and water.

## 4.2. Qualitative Analysis

**4.2.1. Qualitative Analysis of the contents:** Qualitative analysis has been conducted of the contents of the newspapers under study in terms of the categories such as; sources, types of reports, the orientation of stories, and slant. In addition, the analysis has also taken into consideration the editorials and front-page analysis of news items. From the four newspapers selected for the study and the samples collected over the period of one year, 790 development stories under five developmental parameters were qualified as developmental news items and these have been analyzed qualitatively.

The sources are divided into two categories such as; correspondence or reporters and agency and press releases. The type of reports is divided into three different categories such as; hard news, features, and policy announcements. The Orientation of the Stories is divided into three categories such as; pro-active, reactive, and critical. The Slant too has been divided into three categories as; pro-development, neutral, and pro-government.

Newspapers	Correspondence/Reporters	Agency/Press	Percentage (%) of
		Releases	stories
			respectively
Sikkim Express	93	175	35% - 65%
Himalayan	9	96	9% - 91%
Mirror			
Hamro	15	164	8% - 92%
Prajashakti			
Samay Dainik	31	207	13% - 87%
Total Stories	148	642	19% - 81%

Table-4.2.1: Sources (Correspondence/Reporters & Agency/Press Releases)

## Figure-4.2.1: Sources



**Explanation:** The sources of the news of the four newspapers considered for the study revealed in the above graph that for all the newspapers the majority of sources have been Agency or Press releases as the total of 81% have been agencies and only 19% was from Correspondence. Only Sikkim Express has more news reports from their correspondents with 35% against 65% of reports emanating from agencies. Samay Dainik followed with 13% against 87% of the reports coming from agencies. Himalayan Mirror and Hamro Prajashakti had the least percentage of news coming

from correspondence with just 9% and 8% against 91% and 92% coming from agencies respectively.

Newspapers	Hard News	Features	Policy	Percentage (%) of
			Announcements	Stories by Each
				Newspaper
Sikkim Express	38	225	5	14% - 84% - 2%
Himalayan Mirror	18	86	1	17% - 82% - 1%
Hamro Prajashakti	16	160	3	9% - 89% - 2%
Samay Dainik	31	204	3	13% - 86% - 1%
Total Stories	103	675	12	13% - 85% - 2%

 Table-4.2.2: Type of Reports (Hard News/Features/Policy Announcements)

## **Figure-4.2.2:** Types of Reports



**Explanation:** The Type of Reports graph reveals that the majority of news articles are in the form of features, followed by hard news and policy announcements. In aggregate, features occupied 85% of total developmental stories, hard news contributed only 13%, and policy announcements a mere 2%. Among four newspapers Himalayan Mirror has more hard news than others with 17% against 82% of features and 2% of policy announcements articles. Sikkim Express has 14% of hard news against 84% of features and 2% of policy announcements.

13% of hard news against 86% of features and 1% of policy announcements. The least among them was Hamro Prajashakti with only 9% of hard news against 89% of features and 2% of policy announcement articles.

Table-4.2.3: Orientation of the Stories (Proactive/Reactive/Critical)

Newspapers	Proactive	Reactive	Critical	Percentage (%) of Stories
				by Each Newspaper
Sikkim Express	4	263	1	1% - 98% - 1%
Himalayan Mirror	3	100	2	3% - 95% - 2%
Hamro Prajashakti	6	161	12	3% - 90% - 7%
Samay Dainik	7	231	0	3% - 97% - 0%
Total Stories	20	755	15	3% - 95% - 2%

# Figure-4.2.3: Orientation of the Stories



Orientation of the Stories

**Explanation:** In the Orientation of the Stories graph, the Sikkim Express has only 1% of proactive stories and 1% of critical stories whereas it has 98% of reactive stories. Three other newspapers have a slightly more percentage with 3% of proactive stories during the study period. However, in critical stories, Hamro Prajashakti has a maximum number of 7% and Samay Dainik has no critical stories at all.

Newspapers	Pro-Development	Neutral	Pro-	Percentage (%)
			Government	of Stories by
				Each Newspaper
Sikkim Express	28	236	4	10% - 88% - 2%
Himalayan Mirror	11	94	0	10% - 90% - 0%
Hamro Prajashakti	18	161	0	10% - 90% - 0%
Samay Dainik	30	190	18	13% - 80% - 7%
Total Stories	87	681	22	11% - 86% - 3%

Table-4.2.4: Slant (Pro-Development/Neutral/Pro-Government)





**Explanation:** The Slant graph reveals that Samay Dainik has more pro-development articles with 13% and the other three newspapers contributing 10% each. Hamro Prajashakti and Himalayan Mirror had no articles related to pro-government whereas Sikkim Express contributed 2% in it and Samay Dainik contributed the most with 7% of their news articles.

## 4.2.2. Story positioning of newspapers: Front Page and Inside Pages

The positioning of stories on the pages plays an important role, as it signifies the importance given to the stories. The news items placed on the front pages may be

easily visible upon one glace which gives higher chances of readability whereas the stories printed on the inside pages require extra effort or attention from the readers to read them. Therefore, it is pertinent to get more chances of being read to front-page stories as compared to inside-page stories which can be confirmed by the difference in advertisement charges between inside and front pages.

 Table-4.2.5: Front Page Stories by four newspapers in five different development

 parameters of the study

Newspapers	Education	Health	Women	Employment	Sanitation	Total
			Empowerment	Opportunity	& Safe	
					Drinking	
					Water	
Sikkim	15	3	5	6	5	34
Express						
Himalayan	8	2	1	5	5	21
Mirror						
Hamro	11	2	3	3	6	25
Prajashakti						
Samay	39	10	8	13	10	80
Dainik						
Total	73	17	17	27	26	160

Table-4.2.6:	<b>Front-page</b>	stories	against	the	total	stories	published	by	each

## newspapers

Newspapers	Front-page stories	Total stories	Percentage of stories
Sikkim Express	34	268	12.68%
Himalayan Mirror	21	105	20%
Hamro Prajashakti	25	179	13.96%
Samay Dainik	80	238	33.61%
Total	160	790	20%

**Explanation:** It was evident from the positioning of news stories in their newspapers that only a small percentage of news items found space on the front pages. Out of the

790 developmental stories collected over a period of one year in the four newspapers, only 160 appeared on the front pages. In percentage terms, only 20% of stories were given front-page space. Of the four newspapers, Samay Dainik had the most stories on the front page at 33.61% against the number of stories it published on developmental issues. Sikkim Express had the least with 12.68%, Hamro Prajashakti had done slightly better with 13.96% and Himalayan Mirror had 20% of stories on the front page against the numbers of stories they published on development issues.

Development	Sikkim	Himalayan	Hamro	Samay	Total	%
Parameters	Sikkim	Mirror	Prajashakti	Dainik	Stories	
Education	15	8	11	39	73	45.6%
Health	3	2	2	10	17	10.6%
Women	5	1	3	8	17	10.6%
Empowerment						
Employment	6	5	3	13	27	16.8%
Opportunity						
Sanitation &	5	5	6	10	26	16.2%
Safe Drinking						
Water						

Table-4.2.7: Front-page stories against each development parameter

## Figure-4.2.5: Distribution of Front-page stories among the five development

## parameters

Distribution of Front-Page stories among five development parameters



**Explanation:** The distribution of front-page stories among the five development parameters by the four newspapers shows that the majority of stories have been published on education with 45.7% from the total 160 stories published on front pages. All four newspapers published front-page stories on education but Samay Dainik published the majority of them vis-a-vis other newspapers. Health and women empowerment had the same percentage of news with 10.6% and employment opportunity and sanitation and safe drinking water had similar but slight differences with 16.8% and 16.2% respectively.

## 4.2.3. Editorial Analysis

The fourth research question refers to the determination of the priority areas by the newspapers in terms of coverage of news. The number of editorials published on a set of issues determines how proactive the newspapers are with regard to those issues. Therefore an analysis of editorials published during the study period was conducted to answer those questions. Since the focus area of the work is the state of Sikkim and has looked into the developmental coverage of regional newspapers on the basis of a few chosen parameters of development, the editorial analysis has been kept limited to the coverage of those parameters only. A total of sixty-two (62) editorials have been published during the study period by the select four newspapers. The editorials were selected and analyzed in accordance with parameters like; editorials written on the matters of the state of Sikkim, and the editorials written on the selected development parameters like education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, and sanitation & safe drinking water.

## 4.2.3.1: Editorials (Total-62, Issues-299)

Total editorials collected during the study period and the percentage of editorials against all four newspapers.

Table-4.2.8: Editorials published by the four newspapers on the topics of Sikkim

Newspapers	Total	Ed	itorials	Total	issues	% of	editorials
	during	the	study	collected		against	the total
	period					issues	
Sikkim Express	04			76		5.2%	
Himalayan	00			74		0%	
Mirror							
Hamro	13			77		16.8%	
Prajashakti							
Samay Dainik	45			72		62.5%	
Total	62			299		20.7%	

during the study period

**Explanation:** The total 62 editorials collected from different categories and categorized them into own separate categories as; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, sanitation, environment, rural economy and agriculture, politics, policy, infrastructure, and general human interest stories.

Table-4.2.9: Thematic categorization of Editorials published by the fournewspapers on the topics of Sikkim during the study period

Categories	Newspapers							
	Sikkim	Himalayan	Hamro	Samay	Total			
	Express	Mirror	Prajashakti	Dainik	Editorials			
Education	0	0	1	2	3			
Health	0	0	1	0	1			
Women	0	0	1	0	1			
Empowerment								
Employment	0	0	2	2	4			
Opportunity								
Sanitation &	1	0	1	5	7			
Safe Drinking								
Water								
Environment	0	0	0	2	2			
Rural Economy	0	0	0	5	5			
& Agriculture								
Politics	0	0	5	12	17			
Policy	2	0	1	11	14			
Infrastructure			1	1	2			
General Human	0	0	0	5	5			
Interest								
	4	0	13	45	62			
**Explanation:** The selection of editorials for this particular work is done on the basis of two steps; first, All the editorials concerning the state of Sikkim are selected and analyzed individually. Second, the selected editorials were categorized into different sectors and analyzed them separately. Additionally, the editorials selected under the five development parameters such as; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity and sanitation & safe drinking water were qualitatively analyzed in a separate section. The editorials on national and international issues were not considered for this analysis.

From the total of 299 issues collected from 12 months of the study period only 62 editorials from four newspapers considered for the study were found to be eligible for the analysis of this research. The majority of newspaper editorials were from Samay Dainik (45) followed by Hamro Prajashakti (13), Sikkim Express (4) has minimal editorials, and Himalayan Mirror (0) did not have any editorials that fit in the selected categories. Sikkim Express and Hamro Prajashakti have skipped editorials on all Sundays during the study period.

From the above segregation of editorials into different categories, it is found that the majority of editorials were written on other categories (46 editorials with 74%) than the five developmental categories (16 editorials with 26%) chosen for the study. The majority of editorials were written on the topics such as; politics (17), policy (14), general human interest stories (5), rural economy and agriculture (5), environment (2), and infrastructure (2) and only sixteen (16) editorials were written on the five development parameters considered for the study.

**4.2.3.2. Editorials reflected on the five development Parameters:** Education, Health, Women Empowerment, Employment Opportunity, and Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water.

Table	-4.2.10	: Editorial	ls published on the five development parameters by the						
four newspapers on the topics of Sikkim during the study period									
<b>a</b> .	•	3.7							

Categories	Newspap	Total			
	Sikkim	Himalayan	Hamro	Samay Dainik	Editorials
	Express	Mirror	Prajashakti		
Education	0	0	1	2	3
Health	0	0	1	0	1
Women	0	0	1	0	1
Empowerment					
Employment	0	0	2	2	4
Opportunity					
Sanitation & Safe	1	0	1	5	7
Drinking Water					
Total	1	0	6	9	16

**Explanation:** The development issues considered for this research received very less attention in the editorials. From the total of sixteen (16) editorials written on the five select development parameters are distributed as; education has three (3) editorials, health has only one (1), women empowerment again has only one (1), employment has four (4), and sanitation has seven (7).

Among the four newspapers under study, Samay Dainik published maximum editorials with nine (9) distributed among the different parameters as two (2) in education, two (2) in employment opportunity, and five (5) in sanitation & safe drinking water. Hamro Prajashakti published the second most editorials with six (6) on the five parameters distributed as two (2) in employment opportunity and one (1) each in education, health, women empowerment and sanitation & safe drinking water.

Sikkim Express published just two (2) editorials with one (1) each on health and sanitation & safe drinking water. Himalayan Mirror did not have any editorials.

Among the five different development parameters by the four newspapers chosen for the study sanitation & safe drinking water received the maximum editorials with seven (7), employment opportunity received a total of four (4) editorials, education with three (3), and health and women empowerment parameters received one (1) each editorial during the study period.

#### 4.2.3.3. Qualitative analysis of editorials

## 4.2.3.3.1. Education

*Gunatmak Siksha: Chintako Bisaya (Quality Education: Subject of Concern), Hamro Prajashakti-April 7, 2016:* The editorial discusses the various initiatives on quality education started a decade earlier by the then state government. It appreciated the various practical initiatives such as free education to BPL (Below Poverty Line) category up to the university level, Chief Minister's scholarships for best students for studying in various prestigious educational institutions around the country and world, cash awards for qualifying in Civil Services, cash prize for toppers in Class X and Class XII standards, etc. and the establishments of more than 11 higher educational institutions (both private and government) in Sikkim in last few years.

However, the editorial appears concerned about the absence of any educational institution of Sikkim in the national list of best performing educational institutions in the recently released list by the central human resource department. Instead, Sikkim was featured as the worst-performing state in education. Therefore, it expresses concern and appeals to the policymakers to reassess the education policy in the state immediately.

The editorial uses adjectives like quality, practical, best, worst, and concerned to describe the grim condition of education in the state and expresses its concern about the situation and also for appearing on the wrong list.

This editorial is written constructively intending to bring the attention of policymakers to reaccessing education policy in the state considering the amount of time, effort, and money invested in upgrading it. Additionally, it has also indirectly criticized the government for its failure in its approach to achieving the goal of quality education even in a decade's time.

Sikkim: Sikshako Chetrama Udhaharania Rajya (Sikkim: Exemplary state in the education sector)-Samay Dainik-November 6, 2016: The editorial starts with the claim that education is the pillar of development, and it further states that without the development of education the development of society, state or nation is impossible, more than that it also helps in bringing social equality and upbringing the underprivileged, it insists. In the process, the editorial thoroughly mentions and appreciates the various initiatives of the state government led by Pawan Chamling for the last 23 years for its inclusive development. The context of the argument is premised on the award received by the state for best state in inclusive education from the India Today group.

The editorial appreciates the multiple initiatives of the state government for the development of the education sector in Sikkim such as; the increase of schools in all the corners of the state for accessibility for every child, the establishment of higher education institutions in every district, free education till college, distribution of free books, uniforms and other essentials, student-teacher ratio, yoga instructions, preferences to local language teachings, smart classes, compulsory BEd. for teachers,

and most importantly increasing the budget for education to 20% of the total state budget. It also mentioned the initiative of the state government to send the best students from government schools to study in the most reputed educational institutes in the country at the state government's expense. It has also mentioned the Chief Minister's Meritorious Scholarship for students who succeed in getting admission to the world's top 20 universities. It also asserts that the government has done enough to uplift the underprivileged section of society with the help of education to remove social inequality. Apart from these, the editorial also mentions the highest salary of teachers in Sikkim as compared to other states in India, sanitation, and cleanliness in schools, beautification, and plantation of school surroundings, and encouragement in games and sports, have ultimately helped in the quality education in Sikkim. The editorial asserts that these initiatives of the state government have helped achieve national-level recognition.

The adjectives like commendable, important, best, good, favorable, etc. have been used to appreciate the various initiatives of the state government in the education sector however, it has failed to give any exact numbers of student-teacher ratio, the urban-rural difference in teachers, the reason behind the increase of private schooling despite the establishment of numerous schools, quality of mid-day meal, quality of freebies distributed to the students, etc. Hence, it's clear that this particular editorial was written with the sole purpose of praising the government without mentioning any loopholes in it.

Sandarva: Sikshakharuko Bhumika (Context: Role of teachers), Samay Dainik-December 4, 2016: The editorial asserts that education is a base of development that helps transfer knowledge from generation to generation, and with the help of educational institutions knowledge can be gained and shared. Since the educational institutions are spread around the corners of the state the teachers as well as the students are part of the social structure that helps it grow positively. It says that from the very elementary level of education teachers play the most important role in directing society in a positive direction.

It declares that despite the several efforts of the state government to uplift the education sector to the highest standard by giving utmost priority, it has not reaped the desired results. Therefore, it suggests the need for teachers to take responsibility by utilizing their quality and efficacy with utmost responsibility so that the government will succeed in its efforts.

The words like utmost importance, progress, right direction, sensitive, higher respect, quality, competitiveness, responsible, essential, conscious, etc. have been used to describe the education and the responsibility of the teachers in the progress of society. This editorial was written intending to encourage the teachers in taking responsibility in nation building which is highly correct and appreciative. However, it failed to discuss or mention any policy irregularities or inefficiency of government in the education sector rather it blamed the teachers for its failure.

## 4.2.3.3.2. Health

Jach Machineharuko Avawma Sanchalit Sikkim ka Aspatalharu (Hospitals in Sikkim Functioning without Testing Machines), Hamro Prajashakti-September 7, 2016: The title of the editorial precisely mentions the lack of infrastructure in the hospitals of Sikkim. The first paragraph explains how the Sikkim government's vision of having a high-standard health sector like Cuba by 2015 has become a joke. It underlines that the failure of implementing their plans resulted in the dilapidated conditions of health centers in Sikkim. It highlights several major issues creeping into the health sector in Sikkim such as; the lack of testing equipment, inadequate manpower, insufficient beds for patients, and many other essential infrastructures are lacking. It expresses concern over poor people having to conduct tests in the private clinic at an expensive cost. In the end, it urges the government to be practical in its approach to quality health care in the state.

The editorial uses words like; dilapidated, shortage, unable, etc. to express the condition of health whereas the words essential, quality, and high standard, are being used to suggest the government towards improving the health sector. This editorial critically detailed the failures of state government in the health sector considering the promise they made to the people for its development a long time ago.

#### 4.2.3.3.3. Women Empowerment

*Youn Aparadhko Sandarvama Sikkimlai Niyalda (Issue of Sexual Offence in Sikkim)*, Hamro Prajashakti-September 6, 2016: The editorial used 'sexual offense' in its title implying it is a major issue concerning the womenfolk. It discusses the various achievements of Sikkim in the fields like organic state, sanitation, and cleanliness, environment protection, and education. However, it grossly laments the increasing numbers of sexual offenses against women especially girl children in recent times referring to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report of 2015 where Sikkim stood third among all the states of India. It reflects on the number of children being sexually assaulted by known and familiar people and expresses the need for awareness and alertness in every household. In addition, it feels the need for close cooperation, responsibility, and support of NGOs (Non-Government Organisation) with the government to mitigate this social menace.

The words like pervert mentality, erotic behavior, offense, etc. have been used to describe the issue in the editorial. This editorial was written intending to bring social awareness and to encourage people to be aware to prevent sexual offenses, especially focusing on girl children. It also appeals to the NGOs to create awareness among the people and constant cooperation with the government to prevent it.

### 4.2.3.3.4. Employment Opportunity

*Paryatan, Social Media Ra Sikkim (Tourism, Social Media and Sikkim),* Samay Dainik-June 9, 2016: The editorial was written in the context of how social media can be used to promote the tourism of Sikkim in front of the whole world. It discusses how social media has been a dominant medium of information gathering and the staggering amount of time people spend on it in recent times. It also discusses how people seek information about their next vacation destination on social media among friends and relatives and plan accordingly. Additionally, social media's reach is tremendous. Therefore, it believes that it is more appropriate to promote the tourism sector on social media instead of spending money on traditional media outlets for promotion. It believes that even rural tourism - which is being promoted by the government - will be benefited by helping them reach potential visitors by bridging the communication gap between them. It can therefore assist the tourism stakeholders by providing essential information to the tourists by identifying by geotagging the new tourist spots.

However, it also warns of a few negative aspects for instance the negative reviews or comments which may hamper them instead of a promotion. It suggests that to reap its full benefits few important things need to be done such as increasing digital literacy, decreasing the digital divide, and ensuring uninterrupted electricity supply, which are some of the important issues that need to be sorted.

The words that have been used to describe both positive and negative aspects of social media are exchange, fast, promotion, effective, useful, inexpensive, share, search, information, productive, positive, essential, express, contribution, hard, pressure, etc. The adjectives and nouns like attractive, pleasing, safe, and develop, have been used to describe the tourism sector with the positive help of social media.

The editorial is positive in its approach and clearly in favor of social media for its positive usage for the development and promotion of the tourism sector which is becoming a major source of employment in recent times. At the same time, it also clearly specifies the various negative aspects and suggests various measures to resolve its disadvantages which are precise and clear. The editorial seems appropriate and useful considering the time it was written and the suggestions and opinions expressed in it commendably.

Sikkim Ma Paryatannko Vawisya Ra Chunawtiharu (Future and Challenges of Tourism in Sikkim), Hamro Prajashakti-July 6, 2016: The editorial was written on tourism as a viable employment generation sector in Sikkim and highlights the challenges it has been encountering and how they could be mitigated for a better future for the better development of the tourism sector in Sikkim. Acknowledging the growth of tourism in Sikkim, it believes that the natural beauty, cleanliness, peaceful environment, and disciplined people of Sikkim are the most important reasons for tourism development in Sikkim. It also acknowledges the emphasis given by the state government and the increasing participation of local youths in it as viable employment in recent times for its growth. Despite its growth, it also mentions that it still faces several challenges, such as heavy rain during the monsoon, bad road conditions, unavailability of rail and air connections, and urban migration of rural youths.

It suggests the government to work towards finding the viable road, rail, and air connectivity, and encourage rural youths in the rural tourism sector. The editorial attempted to provide a positive criticism and encouraged the government to improvise on the various challenges in this sector for adequate growth and development. Since the connectivity has been a major setback to reaching Sikkim due to its horrible condition and only road to mainland India. It also discussed the need for government intervention to encourage rural tourism and sort out the issue of urban migration of rural youths.

*Paryatan Purvadharharuko Uchit Dekhrekh Hunuparcha (Tourism Infrastructures Needs Proper supervision),* Hamro Prajashakti-August 3, 2016: The title of the editorial is demanding in the sense that it asks directly for proper supervision of tourism-related infrastructures developed in the state. It acknowledges the development of multiple tourism infrastructures by the state government in the process of giving priority to the tourism sector as an employment source. It also acknowledges the continuous growth of the tourism sector in the last many years in Sikkim along with the growth of tourism infrastructures. However, the editorial is critical of the lack of attention given to the maintenance or supervision of all the tourism infrastructure developed with the taxpayers' money. It mentions the dilapidated conditions of many such infrastructures and many of them were left upon half completion and have turned into hubs for narcotics abusers.

It believes that instead of letting them ruin the youths must ensure their supervision since huge money from the taxpayer was invested in them and if left neglected it will encourage wastage of more funds for its renovation. Therefore, the editorial suggests that the youths need to believe that they are a viable source of income and employment for them and they need to be protected and make their optimal use before letting them ruin because the employment opportunities in the government sector are decreasing every year while it is increasing in the tourism sector. Therefore, it believes that protecting the tourism infrastructure is protecting their own employment.

This editorial tries to give a positive message to the youths to take responsibility and protect their own resources and their own future instead of depending on the government. It neither criticizes the government nor blames any other individual but only tries to encourage youths with its realistic massage of the facts. The words like clean, green, friendly, fruitful, important, growing, priority, development, continuity, growth, proper, etc. have been used to describe the positive aspects of Sikkim and its tourism development whereas the words like ugly, critical, wrong, messy, filthy, chaotic, outworn, etc. have been used to describe the conditions of several neglected tourism infrastructures in Sikkim.

*Parya-Paryatanko Vikasma Sikkim Agrani Rajya (Sikkim Trailblazers in Tourism Development)*, Samay Dainik-February 13, 2017: Written on the upcoming two-day workshop organized by the Forest department intending to promote tourism destinations in Sikkim, it discusses the various efforts by the state government to promote tourism as a viable source of income for people. It insists that the state government's efforts to promote tourism in the state as one of their agenda from their manifesto from the last election have brought positive responses from educated

youths as a viable employment opportunity. It believes that the valuable insights by renowned individuals from different parts of India at the workshop will give a positive impetus to tourism growth in Sikkim.

The words like assured, increasing, clarity, more, established, continuity, growth, positive, determination, etc. have been used to give a positive picture of the government's initiative toward the development of the tourism sector in Sikkim.

This editorial is laudatory towards the state government for their various initiatives for the development of tourism for a viable employment sector for the youths of Sikkim.

#### 4.2.3.3.5. Sanitation & Safe Drinking Water

*Swachhata Ko Doud Ma Sikkim (Sikkim Running for Cleanliness)*, Samay Dainik-July 7, 2016: Taking the examples from Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh where newly-wed women left their inlaw's houses immediately upon finding the unavailability of a washroom in their groom's house, this editorial appreciates the effort of the state government towards the Nirmal Rajya mission. It appreciates the state government that Sikkim women do not have to flee their in-law's houses because every house in Sikkim has a washroom facility even in the remotest villages as they were provided funds to build them by the state government under the Nirmal Rajya Mission.

The editorial reckons it is a huge achievement that is achieved as a result of leadership in the state who have given women empowerment an utmost priority. It also appeals to the people to make this tradition of cleanliness strong and continuous.

The editorial uses the adjectives and superlatives like honored, important, accomplished, free, huge, topmost priority, etc. to appreciate the efforts of the state

government toward an open defecation-free mission. This editorial was mostly written to appreciate the state government however it has revealed the facts without trying to hide anything as such.

*Gandhijiko Batoma Sikkim (Sikkim in the footsteps of Gandhiji)*, Samay Dainik-October 7, 2016: Gandhiji's name on the title of the editorial was in the context of the central government's decision of celebrating the 2nd October (The birthday of Mahatma Gandhi) as the Swach Bharat Abhiyan. It is written upon the award received by Sikkim under Gramin Swachh Survekchan - 2016 where it stood first in rural cleanliness. It appreciates the chief minister of Sikkim Pawan Chamling and his visionary leadership and also acknowledges the contributions of the people and all the stakeholders in it. The editorial was highly appreciative of the state government that it lamented the negative comments made by some people about this achievement and asserted that such negativity will not be appreciated.

It has used the words like visionary, success, inclusive development, dedicated, achievements, progress, happiness, highest, first, best, cleanliness, correct, etc. to express the achievements and recognition Sikkim has received in the field of cleanliness.

*Feri Mailaley Varindaicha Jhora Ra Nalaharu (Drainages are being filled by garbage again)*, Hamro Prajashakti-March 1, 2017: The title of the editorial used the word 'again' to suggest the lack of consistency despite the cleanliness work that was done earlier. It has criticized the educated and civilized neighborhood of Gangtok for completely failing in managing their waste which reflected the lack of awareness. It has also mentioned the cleanliness campaign which was initiated by the Prime Minister of India to encourage its citizens and says that in its immediate aftermath

numerous cleanliness drives were undertaken around the corners of the state. However, gradually people started abandoning the cleanliness practice which was visible in the form of waste accumulating in various drainages and streams of surrounding Gangtok. It expresses sadness over having to tell people about cleanliness continuously by others and believes it should be obvious for a conscious being to understand and make cleanliness a habit. This is happening despite the continuous efforts by the concerned department for waste management, and timely awareness programmes. It also mentions the award Sikkim received a few years back for cleanliness.

This editorial was written very aggressively, the words and terms used to describe the people are harsh. The words such as lack of awareness, unfortunate, uneducated, and foolish, have been used to describe the lack of civic sense among the people. It also describes cleanliness as a personal as well as health-related subject which should not be needed to be reminded consistently. It raises questions like; whom does the cleanliness for? And how long do people need to be reminded about the pertinent and simple subject of cleanliness?

*Swachhata, Sikkim Ra Samman (Cleanliness, Sikkim and Respect)*, Samay **Dainik-May 5, 2017:** The editorial reflects on the awards that Sikkim had received in the field of sanitation or cleanliness. It asserts that due to the consistent efforts of the state government toward sanitation have bore fruit as the first recipient of such an award. It has acknowledged the role and support of every individual in achieving such a feat and considers it a huge respect and a fortune. It insists that the respect Sikkim has received will encourage its people and their responsibility towards it will not be over rather it increases.

The words like aware, important, serious, reality, practical, responsibility, positive thinking, huge, respect, incomparable, etc. have been used to express Sikkim's achievement in the sanitation field. It was distinctly reflected by the tone of the editorial as laudatory towards state government. However, it has also acknowledged the people and has appealed to them to continue the practice of cleanliness.

### Puraskar Ra Jimmeywari (Award and Responsibility), Samay Dainik-May 6, 2017:

This editorial discusses the various awards that Sikkim has received at the national level in recent times for cleanliness in different categories and its most recent award for Gangtok as the cleanest city in the northeast region. However, the editorial believes that the award is not the end but people need to continue doing it with more responsibility. It appeals that cleanliness is not just the responsibility of the government and departments concerned but of every individual to clean their surroundings as a responsible citizen to give it continuity. If in case of failure of giving continuity the awards and recognitions received will be futile.

The adjectives like exemplary, challenge, best, clean, hard work, important role, proud, inspiration, responsible, serious, goal, etc. have been used in this editorial to express the hard work done by its stakeholders in achieving cleanliness and it has also appealed people to continue doing it. This editorial is mainly written to highlight the award Sikkim has received but more than that to encourage people to continue the practice of cleanliness. The title itself visibly mentions the 'responsibility' which implies that more than the government, people need to be responsible for it forever, and it also implies that the 'award' is just a reminder for them to be 'responsible' towards it.

*Cleaning up our acts,* Sikkim Express-May 08, 2017: The editorial uses cleaning the ground as the subject of the headline. The word 'cleaning' has also been used as a complement to the subject since cleaning here refers not only to having a clean city but also to the need for proper sanitation, which is directly related to public health in general.

The editorial essentially harps on the need for sanitation and a society free of open defecation. It helps society not only to have a clean environment but also helps to do away with the problem of stunting children which is a serious issue in developing societies. The editorial uses different rhetorical terms through the deft use of parts of speech. The words like important, progress, free, serious, strong, good, poorly, boosting, urgent, and triggering were used to establish the point that having a good rank in the clean city index is not enough to complete the process of cleaning up all the unfinished acts.

The editorial's tone is laudatory as it appreciates the effort of the Sikkim government in making Gangtok the cleanest city in the Northeast region. It also urges the government in the same vein that local bodies of Sikkim should be vigilant enough to ensure that the state remains free from open defecation as proper sanitation requires a constant vigil and upgradation of existing facilities.

On the whole, the editorial, through the dexterous use of words like boosting growth or serious challenge, has tried to prove the point that cleaning up should not be restricted to only the cities. It should also be extended to the acts of a mission communicated in the area of sanitation.

Swachha Batabaran, Swastha Jiwan (Clean Environment, Healthy Life), May 11,2017: The editorial used cleanliness as synonymous with a healthy life. It has given

reference to the Hindu religious texts wherein all the elements which are considered as an environment need to be protected. It asserts that a clean environment is essential for the sustenance and development of not just human life but entire living beings. It has also considered cleanliness as the natural right of human beings. However, it has blamed human behavior and daily activities for the damage done to the environment. It has insisted that the increase of industrial hazards, like chemicals, plastics, and failure to manage them properly has affected the environment hugely and the issue of climate change has increased as a consequence. Therefore, the editorial suggested two ways the environment can be protected; one is with the proper legislation and two is with the conscious efforts of its people to protect it.

The words like; protection of the environment, clean, conscience, and essential have been used to encourage the protection of the environment whereas the words like polluted, wrong mentality, complicated, destroyed, etc. have been used to describe the issues that led to the current state of the environment.

*Swastha Samaj Nirmanma Swastha Mansiktako Buniyad (Foundation of Healthy society lies in Healthy Mentality)*, September 1, 2016: In the context of the increasing population, urbanization, and health crisis in the world and the efforts to mitigate or prepare for them in the world, the editorial discusses the various initiatives of the state government in the health sector in Sikkim.

The editorial contends that Sikkim's efforts in the health sector have been appreciated at the national level by many politicians including the award that Sikkim received. The policy like free health services for all, sending patients outside Sikkim at the government's expense, and developing high-end infrastructure in the hospitals of Sikkim. It stresses the policy of state government toward a healthy society with quality education and a special preference for the removal of poverty.

The words like; increasing, comprehensive, outbreak, concerned, and threatening have been used to describe health issues, whereas the adjectives and nouns like conscious, global, free, treatment, laudatory, healthy, strong, able, involvement, and policy have been used to appreciate the state of Sikkim. It is understandable that the editorial was laudatory toward the state government for its various policies in the health sector. However, twice "SDF" (Sikkim Democratic Front) has been used in this editorial to describe the name of the ruling political party instead of the government.

The qualitative analysis of editorials by the select four newspapers suggests that there is a lack of concern for development as a serious issue. The editorials didn't point out what should be done most of the time. Sikkim Express as a leading newspaper in Sikkim did not publish editorials on local conditions and issues, it rather concentrated on writing editorials on issues outside of Sikkim on national and international issues. This clearly shows the true intention of the newspaper in addressing the genuine issues of Sikkim. Samay Dainik resorted to furthering the cause of supporting the then government in all the editorials. No matter how a particular issue is being handled by the state government Samay Dainik did its best to defend it through its editorials. On the other hand, Hamro Projashakti has been critical of the government policies and its editorials clearly reflected its political opposition. Himalayan Mirror has not published a single editorial that establishes the fact that development news is essentially used to fill in the space of newspapers. Basically, development as a policy took backstage and politics took a centre stage so far as the editorials of the newspapers are concerned.

# **Chapter V**

# **Major Findings and Conclusions**

## 5.1. Major Findings

Development Journalism as emerged during the 1960s in Asia was expected to facilitate or foster development with its development reporting. The development reporting is expected to concentrate its writings on the various developmental projects, initiatives, programmes, and policies to uplift the socio-economic status of the targeted people. In addition, they are also expected to access its impacts, usability, peoples' reactions, and inputs from the ground. Truth, clarity, and objectivity in development reporting could be the benchmark for the benefit of the whole society in question. Making people aware of the benefits and future prospects of any developmental initiatives could definitely help people understand them clearly and accept them and make optimum utilization of the development initiatives. Basically, the objective of development reporting is to assist all developmental initiatives by informing people about the various aspects of the development and describing their benefits. However, it is also argued by Murthy that "The aim of development journalism was seen as reporting development processes rather than events in the third world" (Murthy & Vijai Kumar, 2013, 130). It emphasizes reporting of "processes" rather than "events" which is extremely crucial in the practice of development journalism. It means that the idea or purpose of development journalism is to not just report what is happening on a given day but to report "...what is happening over a period of time in the name of development" (Murthy & Vijai Kumar, 2013, 130). This clearly defines the purpose of development journalism which is to report the status of a development project for a longer time for its longevity, success, continuity, implications, and achievements over a period of many years. It is also expected to

assess the impacts and results of development initiatives for the people, especially in developing states with its continuous reporting and investigative journalism. Therefore, development journalism is not just reporting events or the inauguration of development projects but of the constant vigil of project implementation for the upliftment of society as a whole in various parameters of development.

Development reporting is considered one of the utmost important areas of journalism over the years, especially in developing nations. Therefore, Sikkim being one of the youngest developing states, the study wanted to find out how the newspapers have reacted to the developmental scenario of the state considering the fact that Sikkim merged with India less than five decades ago. In an attempt to explore the priority issues in the development debate as laid out by the newspapers of Sikkim, the newspaper issues were collected systematically for a total of one week every month over 12 months. The study has also attempted to evaluate the Sikkim press through the editorials published on the topics of Sikkim on the collected samples to understand the priority areas of newspapers of Sikkim.

Different statistical tools were applied to arrive at the findings of this study conducted over a period of one year for the study of developmental stories from the four major select newspapers of Sikkim. A total of 299 issues of newspapers were scanned and the researcher could identify only 790 stories under the defined categories as developmental stories during the one-year study period. The findings of any content analysis are normally limited to the content analyzed for the purpose of research work. Normally any eight-page broadsheet newspaper on average carries at least forty news items on any given day by any conservative estimate excluding advertisement space, cartoons, editorials, and post editorials. The stories for the analysis were selected on only five development parameters as; education, health, women empowerment, employment opportunity, and sanitation & safe drinking water. Descriptive and inferential statistics were employed to analyze the stories of development published over a period of one year, with the general objective of finding the dynamics between media coverage and development since both are constantly evolving. The first specific objective of the study attempted to explore the developmental coverage of newspapers in Sikkim. The second was dedicated to understanding the priority areas of developmental reporting by the Sikkim press. The third was defined to explore if the developmental stories reported in the Sikkim press are government propaganda in terms of sources. The fourth was to assess if the coverage of developmental stories in Sikkim press reflects any specific editorial policy. The fifth was to measure the ratio of positive news and negative news between the newspapers under consideration. Finally, the last one tried to explore if the Sikkim press covered the individual actors of development.

The coverage of the four selected newspapers on five different developmental parameters as reflected by the bar graph reveals that the majority of news items were published in the education category as it was significantly profound in terms of coverage. The other four categories received coverage with little difference among them as health was given more coverage than the other three followed by employment opportunity, sanitation & safe drinking water, and women empowerment was given significantly lesser coverage. The second bar graph shows the comparison between the four newspapers on the overall coverage of developmental stories, wherein Samay Dainik stands taller than others and was followed by Sikkim Express and Hamro Prajashakti however the coverage of Himalayan Mirror is significantly lesser than the other three newspapers. For the comparison between the seven days (weekdays) of the

week, Saturday has the highest number closely followed by Sunday, Friday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday but Monday has significantly below the average coverage.

The pie charts have reflected the comparison of coverage distributed among the four newspapers separately in five different parameters. The first chart that compared the newspapers on the education parameter reflected that Samay Dainik has given maximum coverage followed by Sikkim Express, Hamro Prajashakti, and Himalayan Mirror with the least coverage. Sikkim Express has given maximum coverage to health-related news items followed by Samay Dainik, Hamro Prajashakti, and Himalayan Mirror. For the women empowerment news items, Samay Dainik has given maximum coverage and Sikkim Express has given almost the same amount of coverage followed by Hamro Prajashakti but Himalayan Mirror has given negligible coverage. In the employment opportunity category, Samay Dainik provides far wider coverage followed by Hamro Prajashakti, Sikkim Express, and again Himalayan Mirror has significantly lesser coverage. Samay Dainik has given maximum coverage to sanitation and safe drinking water, Sikkim Express has stood second, Hamro Prajashakti has stood third, and Himalayan Mirror has given the least coverage among the four newspapers considered for the study.

Another set of pie charts has also been presented to show the comparison between each day with the different developmental parameters. The first comparison reflects that the maximum number of news items on education was published on Saturdays, and the least was published on Mondays. For health, the maximum was published on Wednesdays and the least was on Mondays. Maximum news items were published on Fridays for employment opportunities and the least was again on Mondays. Women empowerment news was published for the maximum number on Fridays and the least on Mondays. For sanitation and safe drinking water, maximum news was published on Sundays and minimum on Mondays.

The developmental stories published in the newspapers under consideration reveal that Samay Dainik has published the highest number of stories on the chosen areas of development. So far as the sector-wise analysis is concerned, education has received the maximum coverage while women empowerment has received the least coverage during the study period. Among the weekdays, the highest number of stories on the issues identified as developmental stories were published on Saturday.

The boxplot which is a descriptive statistics technique, table no. 4.1.4, reveals that Samay Dainik has got more outliers above the upper quartile of the boxplot which reveals that education is the most preferred item for Samay Dainik in terms of developmental stories during the period of work. The boxplot table no. 4.1.5, also reveals that while Samay Dainik, Sikkim Express, and Hamro Prajashakti have come up with almost the same pattern of coverage, Himalayan Mirror, an English daily has published fewer numbers of stories on health during the period and its outliers are found in the lower quartile of the boxplot table. With regard to women empowerment, Sikkim Express has more outliers outside the upper quartile of the median and it has published more stories on the issue compared to Himalayan Mirror, the other English daily included in the study. On the issue of employment opportunity, Himalayan Mirror has published very less and its outliers are found outside the lower quartile in the boxplot table no. 4.1.7. As far as sanitation and safe drinking water issue is concerned, Himalayan Mirror has published the least number of stories, and its outliers in the boxplot table no. 4.1.8, are found outside the lower quartile of the boxplot.

The Crosstable on education table no. 4.1.9, reveals that Samay Dainik published more stories on education on Saturday and the Himalayan Mirror published the least number of stories on Monday in terms of weekdays. Cross-tabulation of weekdays was taken up to find out if all weekdays are properly represented and also to eliminate bias in sample selection with regard to health. Cross-tabulation of weekdays vis-a-vis health, table no. 4.1.10, reveals that Samay Dainik published the highest number of stories on health on Sunday and the lowest number of stories on Monday. The crosstabulation table on newspaper and women Empowerment reveals that Samay Dainik has published more stories on Friday and Hamro Prajashakti, Himalayan Mirror, and Sikkim Express have published following almost a similar pattern when the weekdays are Tuesday, Monday and Thursday. The Crosstable on newspapers vis-a-vis employment opportunity, table no. 4.1.12, reveals that Samay Dainik published more stories on Sunday. Himalayan Mirror has followed the normal pattern of publishing stories on employment opportunity on Sunday and Monday implying without attaching any special importance to employment opportunity on a particular day of the week. From cross-tabulation, table no. 4.1.13, it is found that Samay Dainik published more stories on development on Tuesday and Himalayan Mirror published the lowest number of stories on Thursday.

Paired T-test, an inferential statistics were used to establish the relationship between the two data sets. It is found from paired t-tests for news types, that while all other categories of stories are significant, the relationship between employment opportunity and sanitation and safe drinking water is found to be insignificant as news types.

The paired t-test table no. 4.1.15, for news type and weekdays reveals that all categories of news types are significant vis-a-vis weekdays. It implies that stories are

operationally defined as developmental stories within the scope of current work and published regularly in the newspaper chosen for examination. The paired t-test for the month and news type, table no. 4.1.16, reveals that except for education, the rest of the category of stories, defined as developmental stories, are significant even when stories are analyzed collectively based on a constructed month. Table no. 4.1.17, meant for the paired t-test on year vis-a-vis columns, all variables implying the category of news stories are found to be significant. It implies that the developmental stories as defined within the scope of the work have a regular presence in the newspaper taken up for the study.

The paired t-test was conducted for all the four sample newspapers individually too. The paired t-test table no. 4.1.18, for Hamro Prajashakti vis-a-vis news type reveals that among all the issues defined as development stories, sanitation and safe drinking water as a new type is found to be insignificant in terms of the number of stories published in Hamro Prajashakti compared to all the other developmental stories during the span of the work. The Paired T-test table, table no. 4.1.19, for Himalayan Mirror-vis-a-vis news-type reveals that sanitation and safe drinking water is insignificant in Himalayan Mirror also as compared to other news stories defined as developmental stories within the scope of the current work. The result of Paired t-test for Sikkim Express and Samay Dainik vis-a-vis news type establishes that sanitation & safe drinking water as a story category is found to be insignificant in both Sikkim Express and Samay Dainik.

Within the scope of work, ANOVA was also used to measure the significance of the relationship between the independent variables and dependent variables and also to

measure what would be the increase or decrease of space for developmental stories in the newspapers during the time period of the data collection.

Table no. 4.1.21, presents the significance of newstypes with weekdays as an independent variable. The ANOVA table represents that health as a developmental category of stories is significant when it comes to weekdays. It implies that if there is an increase in newspaper space on constructed weekdays, there would be a proportionate increase in health-related stories in the newspapers taken for analysis of the representation of developmental stories.

Table no. 4.1.22 reveals the result of the analysis of variance in the case of newspapers for the entire period of constructed year vis-a-vis news-type stories that no news-type coded as a developmental story during the period of study is significant. The ANOVA interpretation presents that compared to the space given to other stories in the newspapers like politics, sports, and entertainment, stories on development would not get additional space if there was an increase in the news space during the time period of the study.

Table no. 4.1.23, represents the result of ANOVA for the month vis-a-vis newstype. It is found that during the period of a constructed month for the purpose of the current week, all the news items coded as developmental stories in the content of the current work are significant. It implies that during any constructed month, if there was an increase of news space or print space, there would be an increase of newshole vis-a-vis print space and there would be a proportionate increase of space for developmental stories with regard to newshole which is comprised of the subtraction of news space from the print space.

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The ANOVA table for newspapers vis-a-vis newstype, table no. 4.1.24, reveals that most developmental stories are significant to each newspaper taken up for the analysis during the study period. The categories of developmental stories, namely education, employment opportunity, and sanitation & safe drinking water have been found to have significant space in Hamro Prajashakti, Samay Dainik, Sikkim Express, and Himalayan Mirror, all four newspapers which were examined for the purpose of the study. It implies that on an average day if there is an increase in the newshole of these newspapers, the space for education, employment opportunity, and sanitation & safe drinking water related news items would also increase.

Multiple comparisons were undertaken to eliminate the false positives if any. Table no. 4.1.25, which is a representation of multiple comparisons through the Bonferroni test portrays the fact that education as a development news item has a significant existence in the newspapers like Himalayan Mirror, Sikkim Express as well as Samay Dainik. It means if the space for news increases in these newspapers, space for stories related to education will also increase in these newspapers. Table no. 4.1.26, which also presents a comparison table on the basis of the Bonferroni test reveals that health is not a significant presence as a story category in the newspapers taken up for the study.

Table no. 4.1.27, presents the findings of the Bonferroni test with regard to the publication of women empowerment stories as a developmental news item in the two Nepali newspapers and two English newspapers focused on Sikkim in particular and reveals that the stories on the issues do not have a significant presence in the newspapers. It implies that on a regular day, the newspapers may not show any special effort to publish stories on women empowerment as there may not be any

increase in women empowerment stories if there is any increase in newsholes in the newspapers taken up for examination for the purpose of the study.

Table no. 4.1.28, reveals that the Bonferroni test applied to the variables found employment opportunity has a significant presence in newspapers like Himalayan Mirror as well as Samay Dainik during the period of study. Since the Bonferroni test is non-parametric, it can be surmised that on a regular day during the period of study, these two newspapers published stories on employment opportunities quite frequently. This is true of 95% of the issues published by Samay Dainik and Himalayan Mirror during the period of study.

The Bonferroni test undertaken for the sanitation and safe drinking water variable reveals that this is a significant and regularly published news item in Himalayan Mirror and Samay Dainik as portrayed by table no. 4.1.29.

Multiple regression was adopted as a statistical technique since it's a parametric test to understand the relative importance of different developmental stories in the context of Sikkim. It was important to see how out of the 790 printed stories of news items on the five identified areas coded as developmental stories, which category of developmental sectors turn out to be statistically significant.

Multiple regression was used by the researcher to make the relationship non-spurious so that the exact empirical relationship between predictors and criterion variables is maintained. The predictor variable as an independent variable is here known for the purpose of regression analysis in the newspapers, weekdays, and months whereas the dependent or criterion variables are the developmental stories as coded under the research scheme of the current work. The multiple-regression technique was applied as a controlled operation to assess the relationship between two variables while controlling for the effect of others. Moreover, the tables explained the extent of linear relationships between the dependent variables like education, sanitation & safe drinking water, health, employment opportunity, and women empowerment and a number of other independent (or control) variables like the newspapers, the months, and the week. Thus, it can be further derived that the coefficients are to measure the quantum of change in the dependent variable with the change of any unit in the independent variable while controlling all other variables in the equation.

Paired T-test which is a parametric procedure was also used within the scope of the current work to measure the unknown parameters as the paired sample t-test makes several assumptions. Normally a paired sample t-test considers the observations as the differences between two sets of values, and the observations are independent of one another. Since the dependent variable must be continuous at the interval or ratio level, the data analysis method opted for paired t-tests as it is engaged in the analysis of different dependent variables over a period of time at regular intervals. The test also reveals that there are no outliers and the dependent variable is found to be normally distributed which is essential for the paired t-test.

The data from the sample newspapers have demonstrated that the priority issues of the Sikkim press are issues other than development. A handful of development stories have been published which mostly emerged from sources close to the government. The lack of investigative journalism, the absence of follow-up reports to developmental stories, critical analysis, and in-depth stories, and the majority of editorials written on the issues outside of Sikkim are the major that has been discovered during the research. The sources of news were dominated by government agencies like Information and Public Relations (IPR). The stories are created from press releases and conferences of individuals and organizations dominated by political interests. Dominantly urban-centric news was rampant in all four newspapers, consequently, rural issues found limited space. The lack of rural correspondents in these newspapers has affected the absence of rural-based news despite the majority of the population of Sikkim residing in rural areas. The census of 2011 reveals the ruralurban population as 75% rural and 25% urban. The flocking of journalists in two major towns of Sikkim - Gangtok, and Namchi- has been a common sight. Despite the state government encouraging development journalism by giving away annual awards in the areas of rural journalism and women empowerment-related subjects, there is only a handful of them who contribute in these areas. The two awards, 'Gramin Patrakarita Award', for rural reporting and 'The Chief Minister's Award for Reporting on Women issues' for reporting on issues of women in Sikkim are given away annually during the occasion of National Press Day by the Chief Minister himself with handsome cash to encourage the local journalist in development reporting. The visits of famed journalists to rural places are possible only when Ministers and Chief Ministers visit rural places for the inauguration of infrastructure or any grand government functions. The lack of news reports from the villages of different rural areas has been a common feature in the newspapers of Sikkim. The representation of rural livelihood with the traditional method of agriculture, cattle rearing, and even rural tourism failed to appear on the pages of newspapers in Sikkim. In addition, the stories on the improvement of the livelihood of people residing in rural villages, or stories on the issues of rural schools, health infrastructure, and road conditions, or stories on the improvement of these developmental sectors.

The coverage of development stories by the newspapers of Sikkim between five different parameters was hugely dominated by education. The coverage between the five developmental parameters were led by education, with health in second, employment opportunity in third, sanitation and safe drinking water in fourth, and last women empowerment. Among the four sample newspapers, the maximum number of development news was published by Samay Dainik, followed by Sikkim Express, Hamro Prajashakti, and Himalayan Mirror.

The data of news published on the five different development parameters disclosed that Samay Dainik published the most stories for the education parameter, Sikkim Express published second most stories for the same parameter, Hamro Prajashakti published third most, and Himalayan Mirror published the least education news. Sikkim Express published the maximum number of news stories for health parameter followed by Hamro Prajashakti, Samay Dainik, and Himalayan Mirror again published the least stories. Sikkim Express again published the most numbers of stories on women empowerment as well, followed by Samay Dainik, Hamro Prajashakti, and Himalayan Mirror. Samay Dainik came back on top for news related to employment opportunity followed by Hamro Prashakti, Sikkim Express, and Himalayan Mirror. Samay Dainik again published the most numbers of news for sanitation and safe drinking water, followed by Sikkim Express, Hamro Prajashakti, and Himalayan Mirror.

It is well-established that the editorials in print publications play a crucial role as they comprised the perspective and reflect the principle and ideology of the media house. Santo (1994) rightly called the editorial "the heart, soul and the conscience of the newspaper" (Santo. 1994, 94) because without them a newspaper is incomplete. They

are "central to a newspaper's identity" because it is the only place where journalists are authorized to express their opinions (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008). Therefore, the number of editorials published by the sample newspapers clearly surmised the intention of newspapers of Sikkim on development journalism. The minimum percentage of editorials published has been a disappointing result of the editorial analysis. The lack of editorials on Sikkim and the majority of editorials written on issues that do not concern the state of Sikkim may not be considered as the ignorance of the Sikkim press but rather intentional indifference to avoid too much attention by authority.

The first objective of the study, which was to explore the developmental coverage of newspapers in Sikkim has been addressed with a total of 799 news items selected for the five development parameters considered for the study from the total of 299 issues from the four newspapers in a period of one year.

The second objective of understanding the priority areas of developmental reporting by the Sikkim press has been addressed where it was found that the coverage pattern for all the five developmental parameters considered for the study has been significantly different wherein the education parameter has received higher coverage whereas other developmental parameters like employment opportunity and women empowerment have received very less coverage.

In the exploration of how far the developmental stories reported in Sikkim Press are government propaganda in terms of sources, the researcher categorized the sources of the selected stories into two categories; the first category is correspondents or reporters and the second is press releases. The result shows that the majority of news stories were sourced from the second category with as high as 81% of these generated

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from press releases whereas only 19% of stories originated from correspondents or reporters. Only Sikkim Express has a better percentage of correspondents vs press releases with 35% against 65% whereas Hamro Prajashakti has the lowest with 8% vs 92%.

Orientation and Slant of the stories are used as whistleblowers on how gratuitously the newspapers strive to publish the government propaganda as news. The orientation of the stories has been divided into three categories such as; proactive, reactive, and critical wherein an aggregate of 95% of stories are published as reactive, only 3% as proactive, and even lesser as only 2% are critical stories. The highest number of critical news was published by Hamro Prajashakti with just 7% and on the other hand, Samay Dainik has 0% of critical news. Sikkim Express has the highest number of reactive news with 98% and just 1% each of critical and proactive news, whereas Hamro Prajashakti has the lowest among four with 90% of reactive news.

The Slant too is divided into three categories, with the stories divided into 11% being pro-development, 86% being neutral and 3% being pro-government. Samay Dainik published the highest number of pro-development and pro-government news with 13% and 7% respectively among the four newspapers. Hamro Prajashakti and Himalayan Mirror did not publish any pro-government news and Sikkim Express published just 2% pro-government news. All three newspapers except Samay Dainik published 10% of pro-development news.

There has been an attempt to assess if the coverage of developmental stories in Sikkim press reflects any specific editorial policy. To address the issue, the editorials were selected separately under two different categories, first, the editorials written on the five developmental parameters on Sikkim as well as outside, and second, the editorials written on all the topics but based on Sikkim only. In sum, 62 editorials qualified under these two categories. A total of only 20.7% of editorials qualified for the study from the total 299 issues of newspapers. Samay Dainik has written the maximum number of editorials with 62.5% against its total issues (72), whereas Himalayan Mirror didn't have any editorial that qualifies for the study. Hamro Prajashakti has published 21% of the 77 issues and Sikkim Express published 5% of editorials from 76 issues collected from the one-year study period. An analysis of all the editorials reveals that the maximum number of these were written on politics with 17, followed by policy issues at 14, however, when it comes to the developmental parameters exclusively only five were written on education, four on health, two on women empowerment, four on employment and economic activity, and six on Sanitation.

This work also tried to measure the ratio of positive news and negative news between the newspapers under consideration. From the qualitative analysis of the news items, it is found that the newspapers preferred to remain neutral in most of the cases with only 2% of critical news items published during the study period from the analysis of the Orientation of the stories. Even in the analysis of Slant of news stories published, the majority of news items with 86% being neutral as against pro-development and pro-government news items. However, the pro-active news in the Orientation of the stories is only 3%, and pro-development in the analysis of Slant is also just 11% showing the lack of effort in providing coverage to the developmental news items by the newspapers of Sikkim. Among the newspapers, Sikkim Express published only 1% of proactive news items and all the other 3 newspapers published 3% of proactive news items each as revealed by the analysis of orientation. In the analysis of slant, it is found that Samay Dainik published maximum pro-development stories with 13% whereas all the other three newspapers published just 10% of pro-development stories each.

In an effort to understand whether the Sikkim press covers individual actors of development, the researcher tried to find the stories of exceptional individuals featured in news stories who have contributed to any particular project of development. However, it is found that there were no such stories that fit into this category during the study period. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Sikkim press didn't cover the individual actors of development in Sikkim.

Apart from addressing the specific objectives, the researcher analyzed the stories qualitatively wherein the stories were analyzed for the types of reports in three different categories, such as; hard news, features, and policy announcements. In this analysis, it is found that the majority of news items nearing 85% are feature stories, with 13% being hard news, and 2% being policy announcements. In regard to the individual newspapers, the maximum number of hard news was published by Himalayan Mirror at 17%, followed by Sikkim Express at 14%, Samay Dainik at 13%, and Hamro Prajashakti at only 9%. The news items on policy announcements published by Sikkim Express stand at 2% and Hamro Prajashakti and Samay Dainik and Himalayan Mirror published only 1% in their individual numbers of issues. However, all four newspapers preferred to publish features 89%, 86%, 84%, and 82% by Hamro Prajashakti, Samay Dainik, Sikkim Express, and Himalayan Mirror respectively.

The analysis of the positioning of stories in the newspapers has also been done with the numbers of news items placed on the front page being counted and analyzed. Of the total 790 stories, only 160, or around 20% of news items were published on the front pages of the four newspapers. Samay Dainik published a maximum of them with 34%, followed by Himalayan Mirror at 20%, Hamro Prajashakti at 14%, and Sikkim Express at 13%.

The analysis of the distribution of front-page stories between the five parameters shows that the majority of education related news stories were published at 45.7%, employment opportunity was at 16.8%, sanitation and safe drinking water was at 16.2%, and health and women empowerment was at 10% each.

The results from all the different quantitative and qualitative methods with various statistical techniques brought results quite disappointing in major parts. The coverage pattern showed that major newspapers focused on education news by a huge margin as compared to the other four developmental parameters considered for the study. At the same time, the coverage of important developmental parameters like women empowerment and employment opportunity was negligible. All four newspapers publish news items from all the five developmental parameters considered for the study however, the coverage of Himalayan Mirror was disappointing. Among the four newspapers, Samay Dainik was at the front in its coverage of developmental stories. The day-wise publication reflected that all the newspapers published the least number of development stories on Monday.

In the editorial analysis, Himalayan Mirror didn't publish anything that could be considered for the analysis. Again in this category too Samay Dainik published plenty of editorials mostly appreciating the developmental works implemented by the government. Samay Dainik wrote all the editorials with the intention of promoting and praising the various developmental policies as it also highlighted the benefits of the policies in the long run. On the other hand, Hamro Prajashakti was critical of
government policies in all of its editorials written on Sikkim. Both Samay Dainik and Hamro Prajashakti played their part. However, Sikkim Express a leading and oldest newspaper in Sikkim didn't write anything about the issues and problems prevailing in the state through their editorials. Most of the editorials published by Sikkim Express were written on subjects beyond the affairs of the state, which may not be helpful in the development and progress of the state. Even when newspapers published the editorials the majority of them were written on politics followed by policy, administrations, etc, and only a few were written on development.

The dominance of reactive news reflects the issues of over-dependence on press releases, press conferences, and event coverage and the lack of investigative reporting in Sikkim press. There is a lack of proactive news stories, and critical news to are missing in the press. Except for Hamro Prajashakti, the newspapers of Sikkim the majority of the time opted to be on the safer side by not writing critical articles. Even the slant of the stories reflected that the newspapers of Sikkim hugely remained neutral and they even didn't write many pro-development or pro-government articles except for Samay Dainik which has a comparatively higher percentage of such news in its contents.

The positioning of development news items on the front page against the inside pages manifests the negligence of the newspapers of Sikkim where only 20% of them were featured on the front pages. Among the four newspapers, only Samay Dainik felt the need of presenting the developmental news on the front pages however the other three hugely neglected it and placed them on the inside pages where the chances of readers ignoring them are high. In the comparison of different parameters on the front page almost half of the space was covered by education. Presenting the education news stories on the front page is quite interesting because the newspapers of Sikkim find it easy and convenient to place the education news in the forefront and ignore the other development parameters entirely only. After all, education related news is easily available with government representatives inaugurating the various infrastructures in the educational institutions around the corners of the state. The most essential development parameters like women empowerment, employment opportunity, sanitation & safe drinking water have been ignored significantly. Ignoring the health parameter on the front pages is even more astonishing considering the insufficiency in the health sector in Sikkim where people are compelled to go out of the state for minor and major health issues often.

#### 5.2. Conclusion

Print media in Sikkim over the years has been one of the only media serving its people in the various discussions concerning the state of Sikkim. However, its lack of penetration in the rural parts of the state has been a major concern considering the fact that a more significant section of the population resides there. The geographical, transportation and literacy issues can be considered as the major hindrances to the growth of the media and expansion of the press into the villages. Despite the limitations, the growth of print media, especially during the first two decades of the 21st century, has been one of the most significant ones in the history of print media in Sikkim. However, the closing down of a few prominent publications was also witnessed during the last decade and even before the strike of the Covid19 pandemic. For instance, Sikkim Now, and Sikkim Observer were popular publications at some point of time in the last decade but were closed down for unverifiable reasons.

It can be surmised that the newspapers in Sikkim evolved through various political structures starting from the monarchy, and under an emerging and vibrant democratic structure with different leaderships yet engulfed in various issues. The political, and many other issues may have hindered its growth and achieving its full potential as a fourth estate of democracy. Being a young, emerging, and least populated state, Sikkim is highly dependent on tourism, and agriculture, and in addition the unavailability of the corporate sector has compelled the newspapers to be highly dependent on the government for revenue. This also must have compelled the newspapers of Sikkim to focus on the urban landscape as they are the major areas for their circulation. Their dependence on government advertisements due to the lack of other sources of revenue must have played some role in the dependence of the newspapers relying on the IPR (Information & Public Relations) department press releases as the principal source of news. The disadvantage of Sikkim newspapers has also been added by the mountainous terrain, road connectivity, and extreme weather conditions despite the continuous growth in the literacy rate of its people in each decade. These conditions are the reason for the argument by the media geographers on the issues of increase in circulation in the mountainous regions. These unfavorable conditions also discourage the media in hilly areas like Sikkim to send their reporters to remote regions.

The clarity in communication and unbiased presentation of news is what people expect from the media in matters that concern the people. However, the media's role in framing issues and influencing people's perceptions has been one of the roles that have been proven and criticized by several scholars. Consequently, concern about its credibility arises which may hinder the growth of media. Factual reporting, reliable news sources, in-depth reporting, investigative reporting, and sticking to being precise and accurate to the facts may be the proper way of journalistic practices that need to be followed. In addition, the media are not expected to manipulate the understanding of people on the issues at hand. Undeniably, media plays a vital role in the progress and development of a nation, issues ranging from transparency in governance, economic development, and multiple social issues are a few but essential areas it serves or they are expected to serve.

On the question of developmental priority determined by the newspapers of Sikkim, the data reveals that newspapers in all the five separate parameters of development together carried less than three stories on average in a single day. Instead of converting grassroots development or human development indicators into an agenda, newspapers were more interested in other eye-catching items. The subject of politics was placed as the topmost priority in all four sample newspapers and ignored the major areas of development issues. The high percentage of news related to politics is the reflection of their choices of stories towards highly sought news.

On the analysis of the most widely covered developmental issues in the newspapers of Sikkim, and the level of proportionate coverage of developmental issues in the Sikkim newspaper the results reflected abnormal differences. The coverage pattern between all five developmental parameters as reflected is significantly different. The education parameter has received higher coverage whereas developmental parameters like employment opportunity and women empowerment have received negligible coverage. Although a significant difference in coverage among the five development parameters chosen for the study reflects their reliance on event-based stories. The majority of stories on education have emerged from events such as inaugurations, which basically involved the participation of government representatives or political leaders. Those stories also demonstrated the high reliance of newspapers on the government for news stories in the form of event coverage as well as press releases on various activities of the government.

While measuring the issue salience, the parametric statistical test reveals that women's empowerment and employment opportunities are the least important parameters for select newspapers. While education, health, sanitation and safe drinking water are found to have some resonance as developmental issues, it is revealing that in a state like Sikkim which has a higher number of women employed in the government sector and also holds a higher percentage of the workforce, women empowerment related stories occupy a significantly unimportant place in the press. Employment opportunities or in a way the stories which could offer the youth some idea of how to prepare themselves for the job market are also nearly absent or insignificantly present in terms of space in the newspapers with a reader base in a state which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country as well as in the Northeast. However, the exceedingly higher percentage of educational news in all the newspapers and its presence on the front pages in a higher percentage as well suggests their dependence on event-based news and their lack of effort in news collection.

To address the pattern of developmental journalism of the newspapers of Sikkim it is evident from the study that, the newspapers of Sikkim have comprehensively failed in addressing the development issues and it isn't a new or solitary case of Sikkim but several past pieces of research have already demonstrated their priority areas in the coverage of news items. The data of this research revealed a higher concentration of education-related news in Sikkim newspapers, however, several important development parameters were being ignored significantly by the newspapers. Although the education-related news was given maximum coverage, they too mostly originated from government sources, and most importantly the in-depth, investigative, and proactive items were not available during the course of the study. Murthy (2001) maintained that the role of a journalist is to look at a development project and involve people by effectively disseminating their voices and opinion about the project, however, the newspapers of Sikkim failed to incorporate the voices and opinions of the people in multiple developmental projects implemented during or prior to the study period. The several developmental projects were not looked at from the perspective of the people and it is safe to say that the newspapers of Sikkim failed to perform as "committed soldiers of development" (Lent, 1976). The role of a journalist is vital in development reporting, Aggrawala (1978), asserted that "the journalist should critically evaluate and report the relevance of a development project, the difference between the planned scheme and its actual implementation; and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is". It means the journalists need to verify and take stock of the projects even after the government claims of having successfully implemented or have become successful and also need to assess their impact and benefits post-completion too.

Even the health issue which received a significant amount of coverage, the news items mostly originated from the press releases from free health camps, blood donation camps, inaugurations, etc. The media in Sikkim failed to address and provide the proper perspective on what forces scores of people in the state to go outside the state for the treatment of minor and major health issues. The amount of money the people of Sikkim spend annually on health-related complications outside the state despite Sikkim offering free health services throughout the state has never been looked into. The ambulance services, the lack of essential pieces of equipment for the treatment or

process of treatment, the lack of surgeons, the lack of efficient and ample numbers of doctors, and nurses at various corners of government health facilities, and the availability of basic medicines were absent in the media coverage.

The topic of employment opportunity can be considered one of the important aspects of development because of its ability to provide a livelihood to the common folk. In a state where the agricultural output is on the lower side because of the terrain, where the major economic activity revolves around the tourism sector, where people rely heavily on government jobs, and most recently the emergence of private pharma companies operating on a small scale without any substantial recruitment of local people brings into focus the importance of news on employment opportunities. The recent One Family One Job scheme of the government might be able to reduce the employment crisis marginally but the efforts of newspapers in Sikkim in addressing this issue may not be of any help, because the amount of coverage that the newspapers provided to this sector is significantly low. Even the editorials through which the newspapers could have suggested the measures to address the employment opportunity category during the study period.

Sikkim newspapers' lack of interest in highlighting the issues of women empowerment extensively can be compared with the VAWG (Violence against Women and Girls) in India where Gilbertson & Pandit (2019) found the failure of newspapers to recognize the VAWG as a 'social problem', instead the Hindi newspapers they found were attempting to make these issues sensationalist. Similarly, the coverage of newspapers in Sikkim too did not highlight the topic of women's empowerment enough. The women empowerment stories were mostly event-based, such as stories generated out of the government initiatives from training programmes targeted to enable women folk as efficient workers, and some stories on women nongovernment organizations initiatives (NGOs) were the only few stories published during the study period. There was an absence of stories that could inspire or encourage the women to be independent and self-reliant; no such actors of development in this regard were detected during the study period. Even the editorial on this parameter was negligible as there was only one (1) editorial by Hamro Prajashakti written on the topic of women empowerment during the one-year period of study which manifests the attitude of the newspapers of Sikkim towards the issue. The coverage of another development parameter considered for the study, sanitation and safe drinking water is also not great considering the recent achievements in the field by the state. The issue of sanitation in Sikkim may not be considered grave, since the government has initiated various measures towards sanitation over the years such as banning open defecation a few years back which has been acknowledged by the government of India with the Sikkim being declared as the first ODF (Open Defecation Free) State in March 2016, well ahead of the rest of the states of the country. This particular category of development consists of two sections; one is sanitation and another is safe drinking water. The first section i.e. sanitation has received a good amount of space in all four newspapers in the form of various initiatives towards sanitation in the state by the government, various non-governmental organizations, and various associations around the state. The news items published on sanitation are mostly press releases. However, there was hardly any news on the issue of safe drinking water which is an issue in many parts of the state. A similar study on the issue of sanitation in Kannada by Abhilasha R & Kakade (2015) revealed that the coverage of newspapers was not satisfactory and they gave the least importance to sanitation. The researchers mentioned that the coverage was made only in cases of major events and there were no special and in-depth stories. The researcher concluded from the interviews that the journalists lacked proper knowledge of the "science of sanitation". However, in Sikkim, the availability of safe drinking water is considerably a serious issue in many towns and villages including Gangtok, Namchi, Gyalshing, etc. Many villages are still troubled by the scarcity of water around the year but in many places despite the availability of water, the available water becomes scarce during the rainy seasons every year because of the landslides when the pipelines get disrupted and the water bodies become polluted with mud. Therefore, the availability of safe drinking water in many parts of Sikkim is concerning in major parts of the year. This pertinent issue of scarcity of drinking water was not addressed anywhere by the select newspapers during the period of study which is a huge problem for an average Sikkimese.

The analysis of data could not entirely confirm whether the Sikkim press tried to set the agenda on development or have any role in prioritizing the developmental agenda. The analysis of slant, orientation, and qualitative analysis of editorials was not sufficient to establish whether the Sikkim press ever try to set the agenda on development as a news issue. An effort to set the agenda is thus interpreted when a newspaper publishes investigative or interpretive stories on a particular issue repeatedly within a span of weeks or months. No such effort was found during the study period. The stories published by the select newspapers have a slant that is predominantly neutral which essentially means that these stories have been used to fill the news hole and the newspapers have no stake in reporting a story on development. The pro-government stories in Hamro Prajashakti and Himalayan Mirror are virtually absent as these two newspapers had been known to be the sharp critics of the government during the study period. But, even then, the number of critical stories published by them is not significant enough. So far as the editorial policy is concerned, in reality, sixteen (16) editorials were published by four newspapers together on the issues identified as developmental stories from the 299 issues of total newspaper samples during the study period which only constitute 5% of editorials. This minuscule percentage of editorials may not be sufficient enough to claim whether the contents of editorials are trying to set the agenda for development.

Chalkley and Mercado as stated by Lent (1975) opined that journalists have to involve the local people in the development process and their role is to inspire this process of participation. The state of Sikkim is undoubtedly a fast developing state in many aspects of NITI AYOG criteria or Human Development Index (HDI), but the coverage reflected in the press of Sikkim is not satisfactory.

The question of whether the press in Sikkim tries to investigate the context of developmental issues can be answered with the analysis of sources used on the news items. As far as the sources of the story are concerned, it reveals the unwillingness of the select newspapers to spend on the collection of news which now in fact is a national trend. Investigative stories or rather proactive stories which can be found in the table for orientation of the stories delineate that newspapers analyzed for this study have published three percent of stories on average which can be termed as proactive and not necessarily investigative. The qualitative variables like source and orientation together reveal the complete reliance of the select newspapers on the information received from press releases and information and public relations departments of the state government. Consequently, the orientation of stories reveals surprisingly 95% of stories published on development have been reactive. It should

also be mentioned that this is a governing trend in regional newspapers as the media market and concomitant revenue is significantly low. While this is one explanation for not being willing to spend on news collection, it also identifies the natural apathy of newspapers to go beyond popular categories like politics, sports, or entertainment. Developmental stories essentially refer to dry statistics and an evaluation of the unscientific approach of the government and other funding agencies to identify the lacunae in the system of delivery and presentation of this evaluative work requires not only skill but also a willingness to serve the reader which is virtually absent in the coverage of development by the select newspapers.

On the question of whether the sample newspapers have used different sources of news, the majority of sources were found to be similar. The contents of the four newspapers from the same day presented almost entirely the same news, only the title, and placement were different. Therefore, the sources too were similar in most of the stories, the publication of press releases is the same but the treatment of event coverage by journalists of respective media houses is different. The event coverage has been treated as per their media house policies.

The analysis of sources used in the development stories published has revealed that 81% of sources have been the agency or press releases and only a paltry 19% have been correspondence or reporters. Among the four newspapers, Sikkim Express has used a maximum of 35% of its reporters. However, many reports Sikkim Express have claimed to be their own turned out to be press releases when comparing the same stories with other newspapers.

The fundamental issue that bogs down most newspapers in India is indeed the tendency to spend very little on the collection of stories. If newspapers are to fulfill

the criteria set by Gunaratne (1980), then the journalists have to reach out to the poor with a probing mind to understand the success or failure of the government's developmental schemes. It is a far cry in a small state like Sikkim where the majority of revenue is generated from government advertisements and spending on the collection of news is best avoided.

While scanning the news stories of all four newspapers the researcher could not find any example of individual actors of development used by the newspapers which reflects their disinterest in addressing or highlighting the issues of development. Covering the individual actors of development who had achieved success in their effort toward a certain aspect of the development will encourage others. However, the failure of newspapers to identify those individuals would reflect their disinterest in genuinely addressing the development issues in Sikkim.

According to Shelton Guneratne (1980), the hallmark of developmental journalism is analytical interpretation and subtle investigation of stories and events, constructive and sincere criticism, and direct association with the grassroots rather than with the elite. They should also be pro-Third World, pro-development/liberation, and promarginalized and poor groups. In addition, the information in development journalism should originate from the poor, the rural, the weak, the marginalized, and the voiceless, and not from the powerful, the elite, or the rich. It's not only the sound bites or government leaks or a scoop but the journalist should be driven by an idea to analyze each developmental project in the context of national and global interest (Gunaratne, 1980). The problem with Sikkim newspapers under consideration refers to the deeper malaise of overlooking the importance of the needs of the people. Instead of being pro-poor or adopting a bottom-up approach, it depends solely on governmental pamphlets and press meets like any other small regional press. As Murthy (2000) opined the state of developmental journalism is "neither encouraging nor significant", similarly the news articles published by the four leading newspapers of the state show an abysmal enthusiasm for the coverage of development stories.

Murthy (2001) maintained that "development reporting should tell the story of what is going wrong. The press should investigate the reasons for success as well as the failure of various development programs affecting the lives of common people at different places under different conditions". The investigative reporting of the newspapers of Sikkim was absent during the study period which reflected the position of newspapers on the principle of development journalism.

The majority of space in the contents of newspapers of Sikkim was covered by the topics of politics, policy issues, general human interest stories, etc. which was similar to the findings of Raut & Kakade (2016) on the credibility of Kannada newspapers in creating awareness about climate change. Their research found advertisements occupying the maximum space and politics came second. Similarly, this particular study revealed the lack of coverage of developmental stories, instead an astonishing number of stories were found from the categories beyond the developmental categories considered for the study, apart from the news items, even the editorials were found to be written more on the other items than on the development issues. In addition, the comparison of the front and inside pages also reveals the lack of interest of the newspapers of Sikkim in giving space for development news on the front pages. A similar analysis of regional newspapers by C Vani (2014) highlighted a similar pattern with fewer editorials, the absence of letters to the editor, and the majority of development-related news published on the inside pages of newspapers. The front

pages of newspapers were occupied in majority by the topics like; politics, economy, and other subjects. Singh (2011) also finds a similar trend with topics like crime, accidents, forgery, strikes, and politics being covered more and development issues being given space only during the time of controversies. Earlier studies have also revealed the trend of prioritizing politics in their coverage over other subjects. Melkote et. al. (February, 2010) in their study of the priorities of newspapers between market-driven journalism and value-based journalism found that the top priority was given to political news in all the sample newspapers. Murthy (2000) also found a lack of in-depth coverage of developmental issues in his study. JV Vilanilam (1975) too found that the newspapers were more concerned about the news other than family planning, employment, labor welfare, housing, land reforms, health, hygiene, medicine, social change, national integration, education, and literacy. Not only the regional and small newspapers but the mainstream newspapers too ignored rural issues like an agrarian crisis, malnutrition, farmers' suicides, and rural poverty (Mudgal, 2011), instead, a considerably large number of stories are displayed in the "briefs" sections which carry just a paragraph or two in a column.

The study revealed an excessive dependence of newspapers in Sikkim on press releases and government sources for news collection. The lack of investigative news and exceedingly higher dependence on press releases and government sources for news collection by the newspapers is not a solitary case of Sikkim. Several studies found a similar pattern of news collection in different parts of India. Corroborated by Shah (1990) in his study which attempted to find the factors influencing the production of development news where he concluded that the newspapers have been heavily reliant on the government and its affiliated agencies for news sources and as a result, investigative reports, in-depth analysis and critical reporting of such development plans were lacking. The source of the news, especially in a developing society plays a huge role as they are expected to provide unbiased information without much influence by the authority. While development journalists are expected to serve society without being guided by the government machinery in terms of assessing the impact or feasibility of developmental projects and act like the NGOs in identifying the need and grievances of the people, many consider it propaganda journalism especially in developing nations, Stevenson (1994) Hatchens (1996). Due to the high dependence of newspapers on the government for the news on developmental projects, some criticisms lament these practices, as Lent (1978) describes Asian Developmental Journalism as "Government-says-so Journalism".

The study focused on the local small newspapers circulating in the state of Sikkim with a maximum of 70000 (seventy thousand) daily individual circulation. Despite their limited area coverage and circulation, their role in development journalism cannot be overlooked. The role of small newspapers in promoting the development has been recognized as they were found to be instrumental in "providing balanced and critical reportage of issues, processes, and events in a community and acting as a catalyst for improving the people's living standards" (Moemeka, 1994, 116). However, in this respect, all these functions that were expected of them to be fulfilled were ignored by the select newspapers during the study period. There were hardly any critical stories in the select newspapers, only Hamro Prajashakti had a few critical stories. The balance of reporting too was lacking as they were only reporting the events without any in-depth analysis of development processes. The lack of investigative and critical reporting distinctly displays the lack of balanced reporting by the newspapers. Further, the small newspapers are also believed to "not only contribute to the

betterment of life in the communities they serve, but also contribute to overall national development by helping to reduce the rural-urban dichotomy and, using the concept of incrementalism, to spread innovative and developmental ideas across communities and nationality (Moemeka, 1994, 116)".

Editorials are considered one of the most important components of a newspaper as they reflect its ideology and principle, and it is understood that through editorials they express their opinion. However, this particular study reveals a disappointing condition of the newspapers in Sikkim as the majority of the newspapers were seen avoiding any sensitive issues instead they concentrated on issues not concerning the state of Sikkim. The number of editorials written on the issues of Sikkim is disappointing as only 21% of editorials were written from the total 299 issues collected during the entire one-year period of study. This is quite surprising considering these newspapers are local newspapers and hardly circulate beyond Sikkim borders. Since it is a known fact that the issues of geographically distant states like Sikkim rarely get addressed by any mainstream media. Therefore, it was certainly expected from the local newspapers to raise the various issues of Sikkim through their editorials too.

From sixty-two (62) editorials written on Sikkim, only Sixteen (16) editorials were on five development parameters considered for the study. The parameter-wise editorials suggested huge neglect of the real issues of development in Sikkim, as the majority of editorials were written on sanitation which was a burning issue in Sikkim during the study period because of the government pushing for it. The government of India has been spending a huge chunk of public money on cleanliness drives and Prime Minister himself was taking initiatives to raise awareness about it. Therefore, government-funded cleanliness campaigns were being conducted in every corner of the state. In addition awards for such initiatives were also handed out frequently to encourage it. Consequently, Sikkim who had been at the forefront was receiving them aplenty. The newspaper which had been in favor of the state government left no stone unturned to appreciate the accolades at the national level for various cleanliness initiates through their editorials. On the other hand, the pertinent issues received minimal attention from these newspapers. Therefore, the topics such as health and women empowerment received only one editorial each during the entire study period. Except for the topic of sanitation, all the other topics did not get much attention in the editorial section of the four newspapers of Sikkim. One editorial in a one-year study period for issues as important as health and women empowerment by the four newspapers clearly shows their lack of intent in addressing the real issues of Sikkim.

The editorials published by individual newspapers also give a depressing impression as there is a humongous difference between them. The maximum editorial published by Samay Dainik which is solely appreciative of the government's efforts was revealed during the qualitative analysis of editorials. The use of appreciative or critical words in the editorials clearly reflects the nature of editorials written by all the newspapers. The second most editorials are published by Hamro Prajashakti, another Nepali language newspaper that is seen to be critical of the policies of the government. The qualitative analysis of the editorials by Hamro Prajashakti revealed that their editorials were constructive ones. Most of the time Hamro Prajashakti criticized the problems and suggested positively too. Sikkim Express being the highest circulated newspaper in Sikkim for almost every year failed to provide anything of value to its readers on the issues of Sikkim. Himalayan Mirror, another English newspaper, failed to publish any editorials during the entire study period. Its unwillingness to write any editorials on Sikkim establishes the fact that addressing the real issue of people does not matter to the newspapers, instead publishing newspapers is just an economic venture to earn money.

This study has revealed the pattern and spirit of development journalism from the study of four newspapers in Sikkim. The various questions such as developmental priority, most widely covered developmental issues, bias in development reporting, prioritizing development agenda or whether the press in Sikkim tries to set the agenda on development, whether the press tries to undertake an investigation on the development issues, the difference in sources used and whether development actors have been represented by the press in Sikkim has been addressed succinctly.

A positive aspect of the research has been the coverage of development stories, editorials, and front-page coverage by Samay Dainik which has been high in comparison to others. However, the developmental stories covered by Samay Dainik have been mostly led by a government representative and the same story has been expanded and spread on the front page. Even the editorials written by Samay Dainik have been extremely appreciative of the government. In addition, an exceptional difference in the amount of coverage received by education against the other four development parameters has been found without any valid reason. The negligible coverage of important developmental parameters like women empowerment and employment opportunity was also a cause of concern.

Despite the use of similar sources by all four newspapers, there were contrasting patterns among the four different newspapers. Treatment of stories, placement, number of stories, space occupied by the same story, and frequency, and tone of editorials, have all been varying between the four newspapers. Among the newspapers, the coverage and editorials of Himalayan Mirror were disappointing.

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Sikkim Express had an average amount of coverage but it failed in the editorial section. Samay Dainik had exceptional coverage as well as editorials but it seemed like their journalism was motivated by political leaning toward the ruling government. Hamro Prajashakti had written good editorials however it did not have many development stories on its desk. The subject of politics was given the topmost priority in all four sample newspapers and ignored the major areas of development issues. The high percentage of news related to politics is the reflection of their choices of stories towards the more popular news categories. The absence of investigative reports, a lack of in-depth or critical analysis of news, and fewer editorials, and the majority of them were too appreciative of the government and excessive coverage of political news have been major issues relating to the development journalism of newspapers of Sikkim.

The analysis of the contents of the selected newspapers has answered almost all the questions put forth as the research questions. Therefore, it may be concluded that in its four decades-long democratic environment and free press history it has failed to portray that youthful exuberance as well as failed to give utmost importance to the development of its people and the state as a whole. Obviously, it was expected to receive ample priority on development news from the media that was cheaply available and free from state control. Consequent upon the freedom and encouragement it received they were growing exceedingly and were available aplenty. Albeit it comprehensively failed to cater to the most essential need of the state and its people in the aspect of development considering the state was receiving tremendous growth and development upon the merger with the Indian union. The dismal coverage of development news by the newspapers of Sikkim and their failure in considering development as a serious and coterminous issue like politics is a big letdown.

Therefore, it may be concluded that similar to the argument made by Odugberi and Norri (2010), the development journalism of Sikkim may be facing the issues of low professional journalistic standards, lack of financial resources, and skills required for the job.

It has been found during the study period that stories published by Sikkim newspapers are statistically significant in terms of presence and these newspapers would also publish more news on development if there is an increase in newshole. It has also been found from the 2011 census report that Sikkim made big strides in education, health, sanitation, and other areas of developmental parameters taken up for the study. However, firstly, the fundamental fallacy that developmental journalism in the context of Sikkim newspapers faces is the credibility of news as most of the stories originate from government sources, and secondly, there has been no attempt by newspapers during the study period to investigate the tall claims made by government news machinery. The idea of "One World, Many Voices" which ushered in the concept of developmental journalism has already been thwarted the big corporations providing the same news through multiple platforms. There are many worlds of news now but all echo the same voice.

It was a fact of life in Sikkim that while the government had started and upgraded many schools in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is also evidently clear that most of those schools had a shortage of teachers, as well as most of the working teachers, were contractual. Newspapers were happy to publish stories of the inauguration of the new building, or other infrastructures but there was no effort to enter the school building and talk to children to find out if they had enough teachers or teaching aid. There were significant numbers of stories on the health sector but during the

pandemic (COVID-19) it was revealed that even the hospitals in the state capital were ill-equipped to treat the patients. Newspapers had published many stories of free health camps and the inauguration of health facilities in villages but they failed to inquire into the availability of necessary medicines and health workers in the remote villages where road conditions are not great to take the patients to urban hospitals during emergency situations. All these put together, the apathy of the journalists to prove further, the incredible dependence on government agencies for news, and the news organization's lack of will to spend money on news collection essentially challenges the basic tenets of the developmental journalism of being a researcher, an investigator as well as the solution provider. This failure of developmental journalism becomes a more worrisome trend in a small and newly democratic state where people trust the media as a democratic institution. The failure of development journalism is essentially a failure of democracy as it is the responsibility of developmental journalism to start a process of dialogue between the state and its people. Sikkim is a very small state and it has been argued many times that a small state can solve the problems of its citizens better. While it may be a politically and economically valid point but one also has to admit the fact that the press serves as the window to the people and as a platform for dialogue between people and the state machinery.

Journalism as practiced has proved that it has been appropriated by the government and essentially these newspapers with minor exceptions serve as the mouthpiece of the government which should have been avoided. In the context of the stories published during the study period, one cannot resist the temptation that the tone of development journalism as reflected in most of the stories is rather an example of inauguration journalism instead of being an example of development journalism. **5.3. Limitations of the Study:** Each research work suffers from some inadequacies and the current work is also not an exception. The study has adopted a content analysis approach to measure the relative importance of news stories on development issues in the four most widely circulated newspapers in Nepali and English in Sikkim and could have also opted for a survey to evaluate the mood of the newspaper subscribers if they considered the number of stories published in their subscribed newspapers adequate or not. The study, if replicated in the future, could also employ an agenda-setting approach and measure if developmental stories published by the newspapers taken up for the study tried to set the agenda on the issues of development in the state through sustained efforts over a period of time.

In addition, it is also pertinent to note that the findings of any content analysis are restricted to that content only for that period of the study. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize the findings of the study as relevant for all newspapers and for all time including past and future even in the context of the state. The findings also are restricted to inferring meaning only from the newspapers taken up for the purpose of the current work. The study would have also been more time-worthy if it had involved a longitudinal method of sampling over a longer period of time like two-three years.

The newspaper owners were also not interviewed to explore the reason for their relative apathy to the publication of developmental stories. It is also to be noted that newspaper owners are normally not interviewed in the content analysis since content analysis deals exclusively with manifest content.

**5.4. Scope for Further Research:** There has never been an attempt to measure the relative importance of development stories in Sikkim Newspapers and although some work on the rise of newspapers and the role of newspapers in furthering the cause of

democracy has been undertaken. This work is expected to inspire future research on the relative importance of other categories of stories published regularly in Sikkim newspapers. It can also spring interest to evaluate the news focus of digital media exclusive to Sikkim and the Eastern Himalayan region. The region is now rich in terms of digital platforms covering stories even from rural pockets through citizen reporters and this work may trigger interest in future research on category domination of news on digital platforms. This work can also inspire, to go for reader-response survey-based work to find out the preference of newspaper readers or digital news platform consumers in the future. This research work can also help future research on the macro interest of the media in Sikkim concerning the focus of the news coverage.

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### Appendix-A

Editorials samples on five development parameters; Education, Health, Women Empowerment, Employment Opportunity and Sanitation and safe drinking Water.



थुप्रै

प्राप्त गरेको छ। यो पुरस्कार इण्डिया टुडे ग्रुपद्वारा गरिएको अध्ययन अनुसन्धानपछि प्रदान गरिएको छ। महत्त्वपूर्ण कुरा के छ भने, सिक्किमले वर्तमानमा शिक्षाको क्षेत्रमा जून स्तर हासिल गरेको छ त्यसका लागि धेरै सङ्घर्ष पनि गरेको छ। प्रत्येक गाउँमा बाल-बालिका घरबाट नै हिंडेर जानसक्ने स्तरमा स्कूलको स्थापना गर्नु, स्कूले शिक्षा पूरा गर्ने विद्यार्थीलाई आफ्नै जिल्लामा महाविद्यालयमार्फत उच्च शिक्षा अध्ययन गर्ने अवसर प्रदान गर्न, कलेज स्तरसम्म निशुल्क शिक्षाको व्यवस्था, विद्यार्थीहरूलाई जुत्ता, युनिफर्म, ब्याग, छाता, रेनकोट, खाता-किताब जस्ता सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउन्, विद्यार्थीहरू र शिक्षकमाझको अनुपात अन्य राज्यहरूको तुलनामा सिक्किममा राम्रो छ। शारीरिक, मानसिक र बौद्धिक विकासका निम्ति स्कुलहरूमा योग शिक्षा शुरू गर्नु, प्राथमिक शिक्षालाई गुणस्तर बनाउन् एलकेजी र युकेजी प्रणाली शुरू गर्नु, अंग्रेजी भाषासहित स्थानीय ११ भाषामा अध्ययन अध्यापन शुरू गर्नु, रिडिङ कर्नेर र ठाउँ-ठाउँमा स्मार्ट क्लास शुरू गर्नु, चित्रकलामार्फत विद्यार्थीहरूलाई जागरूक गराउन, बजेटको २० प्रतिशत भाग शिक्षाको विकासमा लगाउन्, शिक्षकहरूलाई अनिवार्य

गान्तोक, आइतबार ६ नोभेम्बर, २०१६

जुन व्यक्ति आफ्नो बारे सोच्दैन

उसले सबैथोक सोचिरहेको हंदैन।

१३. अङ्क ३०५

सिक्किम : शिक्षाको

शिक्षा नै विकासको मुख्य आधार हो। जबसम्म शिक्षाको

ओस्कर वाइल्ड

मान्तोक, वर्ष १७, अङ्क १८३, ६ सेप्टेम्बर, २०१६ वि. सं. २०७३, भवी २१ गते, मंगलवार

## यौन अपराधको सन्दर्भमा सिक्किमलाई नियाल्दा

विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा अभूतपूर्व उपलब्धिहरू हासिल गरेर सिकिम कतिपय क्षेत्रमा एक अनुरकरणीय राज्य बन्ने. दिशामा अघि बढ़ेको कसैको नजरबाट लुकेको छैन। यसको अतिरिक्त यसै वर्ष गत १८ जनवरीको दिन सिकिम भ्रमणमा आएका भारतका प्रधानमन्त्री नरेन्द्र मोदीले राजधानी गान्तोकमा आयोजित एउटा कार्यक्रममा सिकिमलाई जैविक राज्यको रूपमा घोषणा गर्न् सिकिमको निम्ति ठूलो गर्वको विषय बनेको छ भने गत १७ जुलाईको दिन सिकिमको कश्चनजङ्घा नेशनल पार्कलाई यनेस्कोले विश्व धरोहरको मान्यता दिनु सिकिमको निम्ति यो एउटा अन्तरराष्ट्रिय स्तरको ऐतिहासिक उपलब्धि बनेको छ। यसरी नै शिक्षा र स्वच्छताको क्षेत्रमा पनि हिमाली राज्य सिक्रिमले यस प्रकार राष्ट्रिय अनि अन्तरराष्ट्रिय स्तरको सम्मान प्राप्त गर्दै ल्याएको भए पनि 'चन्द्रमामा दाग' भने जस्तो कतिपय विसङगतिपूर्ण स्थितिको पनि सिकिमले सामना गर्नुपरेका धेरै उदाहरणहरू पाउन सकिन्छ। यीमध्ये राज्यमा दैनिक रूपमै प्रकाशमा आइरहेका नाबालिग एवं महिलाहरूमाथि भएका यौन शोषण, यौन उत्पीड़न एवं यौन दराचारका घटनाहरूलाई लिन सकिन्छ अनि यसरी नै सिकिम पुलिसद्वारा दैनिक रूपमै जफ्त गरेका हेरोइन, कफ सिरफ तथा अन्य अवैध नशाल पदार्थहरूको समाचारले पनि राज्यमा यस्ता प्रतिबन्धित मादक पदार्थको तस्करीमा वृद्धि हँदै गएको र यसले सिकिमे समाजलाई प्रतिकूल असर पारेको तथ्यलाई पनि नकार्न सकिंदैन।

गान्तोक, वर्ष १७, अड्क १८४, ७ सेप्टेम्बर, २०१६ वि. सं. २०७३, भदी २२ गते, बुधवार

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# जाँच मशिनहरूको अभावमा सश्चालित सिक्किमका अस्पतालहरू

सिक्किमको स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्रलाई क्यूबाको जस्तो गुणस्तर र उच्च स्तरीय बनाउने सिक्किम सरकारको सपना र लक्ष्य पनि अब काँचको चुरा जस्तो फटेर चकनाचूर भइदियो। सरंकारले आफनो लक्ष्य प्राप्तिका लागि २०१५-लाई निर्धारित वर्ष घोषित गरे तापनि सरकारले चाल नै नपाई २०१५-साल बितेर गयो। सरकारले जुन सोच-विचार र लक्ष्य राखेर स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्रमा काम गर्ने योजना बनाएको थियो, त्यस अनुरूप काम हन नसकेपछि राज्यका अस्पताल तथा स्वास्थ्य संस्थानहरू कुहाली लाग्दो अवस्थाबाट गुज़िन बाहेक अरू कुनै ठूलो उपलब्धी हात परेन। राज्यका सरकारी अस्पतालहरूमा सर-सफाईमाथि आंशिक सुधार भएको देखिए तापनि रोगीको जाँच गर्ने अति आवश्यक मशिनहरू, स्वास्थ्य कर्मीहरू अनि अस्पतालमा आवश्यक अन्य पूर्वाधारहरूको आवश्यकता भने रात-दिन त्यति नै खत्किएको देखिन्छ। अस्पतालमा रोगीले पलङ नपाउनु, मशिनहरू नभएका कारण गरीब परिवारका रोगीहरूले ठूलो रकम तिरेर निजी अस्पतालहरूमा राखिएका मशिनहरूद्वारा आफ्नो जाँच गराउन तथा अस्पतालमा स्वास्थ्य कर्मीहरूको अभावका कारण रोगीहरूको उचित देखरेख र जाँच नहुनु जस्ता अनेकों गुनासो र समस्याको भारीले दिनहँ थिचिरहेको छ देखिन्छ सरकारी अस्पतालहरूलाई।

गान्तोक, बिहिबार ०७ जुलाई, २०१६ आफ्नी श्रीमती, मोजन र धन यो तीन कुरामा सन्तोष मान्नुपर्दछ। चाणक्य स्विम्मय देविजिट्ठ वर्ष १३, अङ्क १८८ स्वच्छताको दौडमा सिक्रिम सिक्रिम देशको पहिलो निर्मल राज्य हो। निर्मल राज्यको निम्ति राष्ट्रिय पुरस्कारले सम्मानित सिक्रिम अहिले देशका अन्य राज्यहरूको निम्ति अनुकरणीय बनेको छ। महत्वपूर्ण विषय के छ भने यस अभियानलाई

सफल बनाउनु देशका महिलाहरूले आफ्नो महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिन शुरु गरेका छन्। विशेष देशको ग्रामीण क्षेत्रमा महिलाहरूले एउटा अनौठो आन्दोलन नै शुरु गरेका छन्। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रबाट आएको यो अभियानको घटनालाई सामाजिक परिवर्तन अर्थात् दूषित वातावरणबाट स्वच्छतातर्फ परिवर्तनको सूचक मान्नू पर्छ। अहिले यो शुरुवाती चरणमा नै छ। घटना मध्यप्रदेशको जनजातीय बाहल्य क्षेत्र तथा बैतुलको हो । यहाँ एकजना नवविवाहिताले पहिलो रातमा नै लोग्नेलाई छोडेर माइता गएकी छन्। कारण आफूले बिहे, गरेको घरमा शौचालय थिएन। उक्त महिलाको यस निर्णयले भारतीय समाजले कसरी लियो, त्यो जान्न नसके पनि, केही दिनअघि उत्तर प्रदेशको अलग-अलग क्षेत्रमा तीन नवविवाहिताले ठीक यस्तै निर्णय लिएर शौच र सफाइसित जोडिएका ग्रामीण महिलाहरू दूषित वातावरणलाई प्रोत्साहन गर्ने छैनन् भन्ने सन्देश दिएका छन्।

### गान्तोक, शुक्रबार ०७ अक्टोबर, २०१६

कायरहरू मर्नुपूर्व धेरै पटक मरिसकेका हुन्छन्। विलियम शेक्सपियर

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**समय दौनिक** <sup>वर्ष १३, अङ्क २७९ गान्धीजीको बाटोमा सिक्किम</sup>

गान्धीजीको सत्याग्रहलाई स्वच्छाग्रहमा परिवर्तन गर्ने प्रधानमन्त्री नरेन्द्र मोदीको सपनालाई सिक्किमले साकार गरेको छ। मुख्यमन्त्री पवन चामलिङको अगुवाई र दूरदर्शी सोंचले सिक्किम स्वच्छताको दिशामा देशको पहिलो स्वच्छ राज्य बन्यो। स्वच्छतामा राज्यका अधिकांश नागरिकहरूले प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा योगदान पुऱ्याइरहेका छन्। राज्यमा सञ्चालित स्वच्छता कार्यक्रमहरूमा विद्यार्थी, आम नागरिक, विभिन्न पदाधिकारीगणलगायत विभिन्न निर्वाचन क्षेत्रका मन्त्री, विधायकहरूले पनि यस कार्यमा सहभागिता जनाइरहेका छन्। राज्य सरकारले निर्मल ग्राम योजना आरम्भ गर्नु, धूम्रपान र गुटकाको बिक्रीमा प्रतिबन्ध लगाउनु, रसायनिक पदार्थको प्रयोगमा प्रतिबन्ध लगाउनु सिक्किमको स्वच्छता अभियानलाई सफल बनाउने मार्गमा लिइएका महत्त्वपूर्ण कदमहरू हुन्। स्वच्छताको क्षेत्रमा सिक्किमले राष्ट्रियस्तरका धेरै पुरस्कारहरू प्राप्त गरिसकेको छ। अहिले देशका विभिन्न-पत्र-पत्रिकाहरूले प्रधानमन्त्री नरेन्द्र मोदीको सपना साकार गर्ने सिक्किम देशको पहिलो राज्य बनेकोमा गर्वसाथ प्रचार गरिरहेका छन्।

राज्यको समग्र विकासमा सरकार समर्पित रहेको छ तर नकारात्मक सोंच भएका कतिपय मानिसहरूले सिक्किमको उपलब्धिहरूलाई स्वीकार्न मान्दैनन्। उनीहरूले यी सफलताहरूलाई नस्वीकारे पनि सिक्किमको भलो र प्रगति चाहनेहरूले यी उपलब्धिहरूमा खुशी प्रकट गर्दै आएका छन्।

गान्तोक, बिहिबार १ सितम्बर, २०१६ तिनीहरू हेर्न त हेर्छन्, तर देख्दैनन्, मुझ त मुन्छन्, तर बुझ्दैनन्, नत्र त तिनीहरूले पश्चचाप गर्ने थिए. र, तिनीहरूको पाप क्षमा हनेथियो। (मर्कस ४.१२) बाइबल समय दैनिक वर्ष १३, अङ्क २४३ स्वस्थ समाज निर्माणमा स्वस्थ मानसिकताको बुनियाद विश्वको बढ्दो जनसङ्ख्या, व्यापक शहरीकरण र वैश्विक रूपमा मौसम परिवर्तनसँगै दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़दो प्राकृतिक प्रकोप र अन्य दुर्घटनांका परिणामस्वरूप मानव स्वास्थ्यमा पर्ने असरप्रति आज विश्व समुदाय चिन्तित देखिन्छ। एकपल्ट क्यान्सर र एड्सजस्तो घातक रोगसँग डराउने विश्वले एकै छन् धैर्यधारण गर्दे अब वर्तमान समयमा विश्वमा बढुदो प्राकृतिक प्रकोप र अन्य दुर्घटनाबाट पीडित रोगीलाई समयोचित तत्काल सेवा उपलब्ध गराएर, उपचार गरिनु पर्ने र आपतकालीन सुविधालाई अझ आधुनिक एवं सुविधाजनक बनाउने विषयमा स्वास्थ्यप्रति जागरूक र यससँग सम्बन्धित राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तरराष्ट्रिय सङ्घ संस्था-अघि आएका छन् । समयमा नै सोचेर भविष्यको सोच तयार गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने योजना विशेषज्ञको भनाइ छ। विश्व स्वास्थ्य सङ्गठन (डब्लुएचओ) ले आपदाको समयमा सर्वोकृष्ट सेवा उपलब्ध गराउनका साथै अस्पतालहरूको निर्माण र अस्पतालसँग सम्बन्धित पूर्वाधार विकासमा ध्यान दिनपर्ने तर्क दिएको छ। सुरक्षित स्थानमा अस्पतालको निर्माणसँगै अस्पताल भवनको निर्माण गर्दा निर्माण योजना प्राकृतिक आपदाको समयमा पनि सुरक्षित हुनुपर्छ। स्थानअनुसार आपदा विषय पूर्व जानकारी प्राप्त गर्नसक्ने संसाधनको विकाससँगै आपतकालीन समयमा सुचारू रूपमा सेवा दिनसक्ने पूर्वाधारको विकास हुनुपर्छ भन्ने तर्क छ।

शान्तिको शुरुवात मुस्कानबाट हुन्छ। मदर टेरेसा **स्विम्मय देविजिक्क** वर्ष १४, अङ्क ११९ पुरस्कार र जिम्मेवारी सिक्किमलाई एकातिर प्रतिवर्ष एकपछि अर्को पुरस्कार प्रग्न भइरहेका छन् अनि विकासको दौडमा सिक्किंम देशकै निम्नि उदाइरणीय रहेको ज्

गान्तोक, शनिबार 0६ मई, २०१७

प्राप्त भइरहका छन् अनि विकासको दौडमा सिक्रिम देशकै निम्ति उदाहरणीय रहेको छ भने अर्कोतिर त्यही कुरा फेरि आफ्नै निम्ति चुनौती पनि बनिरहेको छ। ठीक यहीबेला सिक्रिमलाई राजधानी गान्तोक शहरको निम्ति पूर्वोत्तर राज्यहरूकै सर्वाधिक स्वच्छ शहरको पुरस्कार प्राप्त भएको छ। देशको राजधानी नयाँ दिल्लीमा सिक्रिमको पक्षमा केन्द्रिय मन्त्री वैंकेया नायडुबाट जीएमसीका मेयर शक्तिसिंह चौधरीले यो पुरस्कार ग्रहण गरिरहेको बेला यता सिक्रिम भ्रमणमा आएका केन्द्रिय वित्त एवं करपोरेट मामिला राज्य मन्त्री अर्जुन राम मेघवालले देशमा उदाहरण बन्नका लागि सिक्रिमले अझ धेरै परिश्रम गर्नुपर्ने बताएका छन्।

स्वच्छताको क्षेत्रमा सिक्किमलाई गान्तोक शहरका लागि विगत वर्ष पनि 'देशकै स्वच्छ शहर पुरस्कार' प्राप्त भएको थियो भने त्यसअघि पनि 'क्लिनेस्ट हिल स्टेशन'-का लागि 'सफाईगिरी' पुरस्कार प्राप्त भइसकेको हो। यसरी नै राज्यको पश्चिम जिल्लाले पनि अघिबाटै स्वच्छता पुरस्कार पाइसकेको छ भने स्वच्छताकै लागि ११ अगस्त २०१६-मा पश्चिम जिल्लाको लिङ्चोम स्कूललाई 'स्वच्छता च्याम्पियन पुरस्कार' प्राप्त भएको थियो। राज्यको चौतर्फी विकास अनि स्वच्छताको क्षेत्रमा गरिँदै गरेका पहलहरू र प्राप्त भइरहेका पुरस्कारहरू निश्चय नै सिक्किम र सिक्किमवासीको निम्ति गर्वको विषय हो। यद्यपि, पुरस्कार पाउनु भनेको लक्ष्य प्राप्त गर्नु होइन।
गान्तोक, वर्ष १७, अड्क ३४९, १ मार्च, २०१७ विक्रम संवत् २०७३, फागुन १८ गते, बुधवार

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फोरे मैलाले भरिँदैछन् **झोड़ा र नालाहरू** 

सर-सफाईको क्षेत्रमा मान्छे अझ पनि सचेत भएको छैन भन्ने कुरा हालमा राजधानी गान्तोक वरपरका झोड़ा र नालाहरूमा फ्याँकिएका मैला कुचैलाहरूले स्पष्ट बनाएको छ। नाबालकहरूलाई झै झक्झकाई रहनु पर्छ बुद्धि छिपिएका मान्छेहरूलाई पनि। जतातत्तै मैला नफ्याँक्न, आफू बसेको ठाउँ वरपर सर सफाई गर्नु भनेर ठुलै मान्छेले नभनेसम्म आफें सचेत हन निकै हम्मे-हम्मे पर्ने स्थिति शहरी इलाकाहरूमा नै सिर्जना भएको देखिन्छ। देशका प्रधानमन्त्री नरेन्द्र मोदीले स्वच्छ भारत अभियान भन्दै दिल्लीमा झाड़ बोकेर एका बिहानै सड़क–गल्लीतिर बड़ार्न थालेको देखेपछि सम्पूर्ण भारतले नै सफाई अभियान भन्दै झाड़ समातेर बग्रेल्नै फोटो खिच्यो। यता सिक्किम पनि कम थिएन। केही वर्ष अधि नै सर-सफाईको क्षेत्रमा निर्मल राज्य पुरस्कार पाइसकेको भए तापनि प्रधानमन्त्रीले झाड नसमातुञ्जेल मैला-कुचैलाले भरिएका गल्ली र झोड़ाहरू कसैले देखेको थिएन। तर प्रधानमन्त्रीले स्वच्छ भारत अभियान भनेर घोषणा गरेपछि सजिला-सजिला ठाउँ खोजेर भक्क सर-सफाई गरिएको भन्दै धेरै प्रकारका फोटो खिचेर मीडिया र सोसियल मिडियातिर हालियो। यद्यपि, अहिले प्रधानमन्त्रीले सफाई अभियान देशवासीलाई सुम्पिएर आफ्नो काममा लागेपछि फेरि झोडा र नालाहरूमा मैलाको थप्रो लाग्न थालेको छ। मान्छे कसै गर्दा पनि सचेत हँदैन रहेछ भन्ने कुरा भर्खरे पूर्व सिक्रिमको छाङ्गु पोखरीमा थुप्रिएको मैला कुचैलाले पनि स्पष्ट बनाइदियो। त्यहाँको मैला कुचैलालाई एक गैर सरकारी संस्था र राज्यका मिडिया कर्मीहरूका साथमा एकत्र गरिएको खबर पनि छापियो।

गान्तोक, शुक्रबार 0५ मई, २०१७ यो जीवन अरुको लागि होइन भने यो जीवन नै होइन। मदर टेरेसा स्टिसिटा ट्रैजिटिठ वर्ष १४, अङ्क १९८ स्ट्वच्छता,

क्कम र सम्मान

राष्ट्रपिता गान्धीले स्वच्छताको महत्त्वमाथि प्रकाश पार्दै स्वच्छता स्वतन्त्रता भन्दा पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण हुन्छ भनेका थिए। गान्धीजीले भनेका यो महत्त्वपूर्ण विषयलाई आत्मसात गरेर आज देशका सचेत नागरिकहरूले यसलाई सफल बनाउने प्रयास गरिरहेका छन्। देशका नागरिकहरूको सुस्वास्थ्य र सभ्यतासँग जोडिएको यो गम्भीर विषयलाई अहिले देशका सभ्य मानिसहरूले एउटा अभियानकै रूपमा अघि बढाई रहेको छ। देशव्यापी रूपमा चलिरहेको यो अभियानलाई सिक्किम राज्यले पनि अति गम्भीरतापूर्वक लिएर काम गरिरहेको छ। वर्ष २००८ मा सिक्किम राज्यलाई प्राप्त भएको निर्मल राज्य पुरस्कारले यस दिशामा सिक्किमको योगदान अतुलनीय रहेको प्रमाणित हुँदछ। यो राष्ट्रिय स्तरको पुरस्कार हात पार्न अघिदेखि नै सिक्किमले स्वच्छतालाई मध्य नजरमा राखेर काम गर्दै आएको वास्ताविकता राज्यव्यापी रूपमा उजागर भएको थियो। सिक्किमले देशमै पहिलोपल्ट यो पुरस्कार प्राप्त गरेको हो। स्वच्छताको क्षेत्रमा सिक्किमले गर्दै आइरहेको कामहरूको पछि राज्य सरकारको भूमिका सबैभन्दा माथि रहेको छ। राज्य सरकारले नै स्वच्छतासम्बन्धी नीति बनाएर राज्यका नागरिकहरूलाई यसतर्फ आकर्षित गर्दै आईरहेको छ। राज्य सरकारले बनाएको नीतिलाई राज्यका नागरिकहरूले व्यवहारिक रूपमा सफल बनाउँदै आइरहेका छन्। अहिले देशका स्वच्छ तथा सफा राज्यहरूको सूचीमा सिक्किमको स्थान अग्रपंक्तिमा आउने गर्छ। यो सिक्किम र सिक्किमेली नागरिकहरूको निम्ति ठूलो सम्मान र सौभाग्यकी विषय पनि हो। यसले हाम्रो सभ्यता र संस्कारलाई पनि बोकेको छ।

हासा प्रजाम प्रकाश प्रकाशित हासा प्रजासित प्रकाश गान्तोक, वर्ष १७, अङ्क १२३, ६ जुलाई, २०१६ वि. सं. २०७३, असार २२ गते, बुधवार

# सिक्किममा पर्यटनको भविष्य र चुनौतीहरू

भविष्यमा प्राकृतिक सुन्दरताको धनी राज्य सिक्किम पर्यटकहरूका निम्ति एक प्रमुख गन्तव्य हनेछ भन्दा दुई मत हने देखिँदैन। यहाँको प्राकृतिक सम्पदा, स्वच्छता, शान्तिमय वातावरण तथा सिक्किमवासीको अनुशासित व्यवहार नै पर्यटन विकासका महत्वपूर्ण तत्वहरू मानिन्छन्। पर्यटनको क्षेत्र विश्वव्यापी बन्दै गइरहेको अवस्थामा देशको सबै भन्दा थोरै जनसंख्या र कम क्षेत्रफल भएको राज्य सिक्किमले पनि यस क्षेत्रमा बितेको केही वर्ष यता निकै ठूले फड़को मारेको देखिन्छ। पर्यटन क्षेत्रमा सरकारको रूचीसँगसँगै सरोकारवाला तथा स्थानीय युवाहरूको सहभागिता बढदै गइरहेकाले यो क्षेत्र निकै मौलाएर जानसकने देखिन्छ। सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण विषय त के रहेको छ भने सिक्किममा पर्यटन अनुकुल परिवेश सिर्जना गरिएकाले नै यहाँ घुम्न आउने देशी तथा विदेशी पर्यटकहरूको संख्या वर्षेणी वृद्धि हँदै आएको छ। सिक्किम राज्यका बेरोजगार युवाहरूका लागि यस्तो हुनु शुभसड्केत ने मानिए तापनि यस क्षेत्रमा धेरै चुनौतीहरू पनि देखा परेका छन्।

सर्व प्रथम सिक्किम एक पहाड़ी राज्य भएका कारण विशेष गरी वर्षाका समय पर्यटकहरूले यातायातमा धेरै असुविधा झेल्नु परिरहेको हुन्छ। राज्यका अधिकांश ग्रामीण सड़कहरूको अवस्था जर्जर रहेका कारण ग्रामीण ईलाकाहरूमा रहेका गान्तोक, बिहिबार ९ जून, २०१६ भय र इच्छा दुई शक्तिले मानवलाई अघि धकेल्दछ। नेपोलियन बोनापार सिमिय देविनिक्क वर्ष ४३, अङ्क १६० पर्यटन, सोसियल मिडिया र सिक्किम

सोसियल मिडिया अनलाइन प्रविधिका वेबसाइटहरू हुन्, जसमा मानिस आफ्नो भावना, विचार, अनुभव, दृष्टिकोण र मिडिया उत्पादन आदान-प्रदान गर्छन्। संसारका अन्य स्थानमा सरह सिकिममा पनि व्यक्तिगत तहमा सोसियल मिडियाको भरपूर प्रयोग भएको छ। तर, आर्थिक क्षेत्रमा यसको प्रयोग नगण्य छ। सोसियल मिडियाहरू दोहोरो संवादको छिटोछरितो, मितव्ययी र प्रभावकारी माध्यम भएकाले आर्थिक विकासका अन्य क्षेत्रले जस्तै पर्यटन क्षेत्रले पनि आफ्नो व्यवसायको प्रचारप्रसार गर्न, बजार विस्तार गर्न, सेवाग्राहीको पृष्ठपोषण लिन, प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक क्षमता अभिवृद्धि गर्न सोसियल मिडियाको प्रयोग गर्नसक्छ। संक्रिमका सन्दर्भमा पनि पर्यटन क्षेत्रमा बुद्धिमत्तापूर्वक प्रयोग गरेको खण्डमा सोसियल मिडियाले हामीलाई विश्व पर्यटन क्षेत्रको आर्कषक, रमणीय र सुरक्षित गन्तव्यका रूपमा विकास गर्च महत्वपूर्ण योगदान गर्नसक्छ। वर्तमानमा संसारकै ६२ प्रतिशत युवाले सोसियल मिडियाको प्रयोग गर्ने गैरेका छन्। सोसियल मिडिया प्रयोगकर्तामध्ये २२ प्रतिशत प्रयोगकर्ताले फेसबूक, टुइटर तथा युट्युबमा धेरै समय बिताउँछन्। भारतमा मात्रै २१ करोडभन्दा बढी फेसबूक प्रयोगकर्ता छन्। १० लोकप्रिय वेबसाइटमध्ये फेसबूक, गूगल र युट्युब क्रमशः सबैभन्दा लोकप्रिय साइटको पहिलो, दोस्रो र तेस्रो नम्बरमा छन्। टुइटर सातौँ लोकप्रिय सोसियल मिडियाअन्तर्गत पर्छ। यो तथ्याड्कले के बताउँछ भने अचेल धेरै मानिसलाई सबैभन्दा सजिलै सोसियल मिडियाको दुनियाँमा भेट्न सकिन्छ।

पर्यटन क्षेत्रको सूचना र ज्ञानको प्रवाह गर्न, पर्यटकका जिज्ञासाको जवाफ दिन, पर्यटकका गुनासो व्यवस्थापन गर्न, पर्यटन सेवाप्रदायक र सेवाग्राहीबीचको सम्बन्ध सुधार गर्न, सेवाप्रदायकहरूबीच अनुभव र ज्ञान आदान-प्रदान गर्न सोसियल मिडियाको प्रयोगले अहम् भूमिका खेल्नसक्छ। अझ महत्वपूर्ण कुरा त अचेल पर्यटकहरू कुनै आकर्षक विज्ञापनले भन्दा सहकर्मी, साथी तथा आफन्तले सोसियल मिडियामा शेयर गरेका पर्यटकीय गतिविधि हेरेर आफ्नो घुमफिरको योजाना बनाउँछन्। सोसियल मिडियामार्फत नै आफ्नो पर्यटकीय गेन्तव्यको खोजी गर्छन्। सोसियल मिडियाबाटै आफ्नो गन्तव्यका लागि आवश्यक जानकारी प्राप्त गर्ने आशा राख्छन्। आजको विश्वमा धेरै पैसा खर्च गरेर बनाएको, प्रकाशित प्रसारित गरेको आकर्षक विज्ञापनभन्दा आफ्नो सेवाग्राहीले सामाजिक सञ्जालमा गरेको सकारात्मक टिप्पणी व्यावसायिक हिसाबले निकै लाभदायी सिद्ध हुनथालेको छ। यसैले पर्यटन व्यवसायलाई सोसियल मिडियासँग जोड्नु अनिवार्य भएको छ।

रहे गर गिरिंग रामको नोटल सज्यको

हासी प्रजाशान गान्तोक, वर्ष १७, अइक १७१, ३ अगस्त, २०१६

वि. सं. २०७३, साउन १९ गते, बुधवार

पर्यटन पूर्वाधारहरूको

समय दैनिक

अल्बर्ट आइन्स्टाइन

वर्ष १४, अङ्क ३८

गान्तोक, सोमबार १३ फरवरी, २०१७

जुन व्यक्तिले कुनै पनि गल्ति गरेन भने

उसले केही पनि सिकेन।

## पर्या-पर्यटनको विकासमा सिक्किम अग्रणी राज्य

एसडीएफ पार्टीको सरकारले सिक्किम राज्यलाई कृषि पछि पर्यटन उद्योगलाई राज्यमा स्थापित गर्ने प्रयास सफल बन्दै आएको छ। सरकारले पर्यटनलाई व्यवसायसित जोड्ने अवधारणालाई युवाहरूको क्षमतामा जिर्भर रहने विषय भए तापनि सरकारले यो क्षेत्रलाई राम्रै आय-आर्जनको माध्यम बनाउँदै आएको छ। सिक्किममा सरकारले पर्यटनको क्षेत्रमा पूर्वाधारहरूको निर्माण मात्र नगरेर यस क्षेत्रबाट जीविकोपार्जन गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने सम्भाव्यतालाई सफल बनाएको छ। स्थानीय शिक्षित युवाहरूले पनि पर्यटन व्यवसायलाई अँगालेर राम्रै आय-आर्जनको मार्ग सुनिश्चित गरिसकेको पाइन्छ।

सिक्किमको बढ्दो पर्यटन व्यवसायलाई केन्द्र गरी यहाँका पर्या-पर्यटन गन्तव्यहरूको प्रचार-प्रसार गर्ने उद्देश्यले सरकारले दुई दिवसीय कार्यशाला गर्ने निधो गरिसकेको छ। पर्या-पर्यटन क्षेत्रको व्यापक प्रचार-. प्रसार गर्ने उद्देश्यमा राज्य सरकारको वन तथा वन्यजीव प्रबन्धन विकास विभागले यहाँका पर्यटकीय गन्तव्यहरूलाई प्रचारमा त्याउनका लागि यो पहल गरेको बताइएको छ। यो पहलले पर्यटन उद्योगमा राज्य सरकारको अवधारणालाई स्पष्ट पार्दछ कि राज्यका शिक्षित युवाहरूलाई यस क्षेत्रमार्फत अधिकका अधिक रोजगारका अवसर सिर्जना गरिदिने स्पष्टवादी नीति तय हुने कुरामा विश्वस्त रहनु पर्दछ। उचित देखरेख हुनुपर्छ सिक्किम सरकारले विश्वमा सिक्किमको परिचय स्थापित गर्ने उद्देश्यमा विभिन्न महत्वाकांक्षी पर्यटन पूर्वाधारहरूको निर्माण कार्यलाई प्राथमिकता दिएर काम गरिरहेको छ। सिक्किम पर्यावरणको दृष्टिकोणले हराभरा, स्वच्छ र पर्यटन अनुकूल मौशम रहेको हुनाले यहाँको पर्यटन क्षेत्र वर्षे पिच्छे

काम गरिरहेको छ। सिक्किम पर्यावरणको दृष्टिकोणले हराभरा, स्वच्छ र पर्यटन अनुकूल मौशम रहेको हनाले यहाँको पर्यटन क्षेत्र वर्षे पिच्छे मौलाउँदै गइरहेको छ। यति मात्र नभएर सिक्किमको शान्ति श्रुंखला नै पर्यटकहरूका लागि लाभदायक र धेरै महत्वपूर्ण बनेको छ। सिक्किमको प्राकृतिक सुन्दरता, शान्ति श्रुंखला अनि यहाँका शान्तिप्रिय मानिसहरूको आचरण व्यवहारमा मौलाउँदै र हर्किदै गइरहेको पर्यटन क्षेत्रलाई सरकारले पढ़ी प्राथमिकता दिएर पर्यटकीय पूर्वाधार निर्माण कार्यलाई निरन्तरता दिइरहेको छ। राज्यको पर्यावरण, शान्ति व्यवस्था तथा पर्यटन क्षेत्रमा सरकारको धेरै चासो जस्ता विषयहरूले हातेमालो गरिरहेको अवस्थामा पनि पर्यटनलाई प्रथम स्तरको आयश्रोत र आर्थिक आर्जन गर्ने प्रमुखमाध्यमको रूपमा लिइएको पाइँदैन। यसै हेर्दा विगतका वर्षहरूकी तूलनामा पर्यटनको क्षेत्रमा सिक्किमले धेरै प्रगति र उन्नति गरेको देखिए तापनि सरकारद्वारा निर्मित धेरैवटा पर्यटन पूर्वाधारहरूको उचित निगरानी र देखरेख नभएको देखिन्छ।

EDIT

## SIKKIM EXPRESS Cleaning up our acts

The city rankings produced by the latest round of the Swachh Survekshan 2017 survey shouldn't come as a surprise. The usual suspects dominate at both ends of the list. It is important to note here that the results go beyond quality of life or civic pride. The Swachh Bharat Mission was launched by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2014 with the aim of making India clean and free of open defecation.

Indore in Madhya Pradesh has been ranked India's cleanest city in the Swachh Survekshan survey released by the government on Thursday. Bhopal, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, Vishakapatnam in Andhra Pradesh (AP), Surat in Gujarat and Mysore in Karnataka followed. The cities which ranked at the bottom include Gonda in Uttar Pradesh (UP), Bhusawal in Maharashtra, Bagaha in Bihar and Hardoi in Uttarakhand. The survey was conducted in 434 cities and towns to monitor the progress of the Swachh Bharatt Mission. The survey was conducted by the Quality Council of India, in association with the central government.

The cities surveyed were ranked on criteria which included solid waste management, open defecation-free status, citizen participation and independent observation. They were assessed on a total of 2000 marks. According to the government, these 434 cities and towns account for 60% of the country's urban population.

Nine cities from eight northeastern states found place in the list, with Gangtok emerging as the region's cleanest city. In the overall ranking, Gangtok ranked 50 with a score of 1,414. This is indeed a big achievement of the Sikkim Government, but it also calls for the government along with the local bodies to work harder to ensure that Sikkim continues to climb up the Swachh ladder and by no means become complacent.

India has a serious sanitation challenge; around 60 per cent of the worlds open defecation takes place in India. Even today, only around 28,000 gram panchayats out of 2.5 lakh in India have achieved the Nirmal Gram (open defecation free village) status.

Urban sanitation is intricately linked with urban health trends. For instance, there is considerable empirical work linking maternal and child health outcomes—a major developmental issue—in cities to sanitation. A 2015 Institute for Fiscal Studies paper by Britta Augsburg and Paul Rodriguez-Lesmes, Sanitation and child health in India, which found sanitation to have a strong causal link with child stunting is a good example of this. Poor sanitation causes health hazards including diarrhoea, particularly in children under 5 years of age, malnutrition and deficiencies in physical development and cognitive ability.

A look at the survey rankings in the context of statistics put out by the ministry of health and family welfare bears this out. Thus, cities in states like Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan that, on the whole, fare poorly in the former also fare poorly when it comes to the latter. Cleaning India's cities will go a long way towards improving health outcomes—and thus boosting growth.

We have to address the issues of poor sanitation, which seep into every aspect of life – health, nutrition, development, economy, dignity and empowerment. It perpetuates an

### गान्तोक, आइतबार 0४ दिसम्बर, २०१६

एउटा साँचो मानवले कसैलाई पनि घृणा गर्दैन। नेपोलियन बोनापार्ट

## वर्ष १३, अङ्क ३३३ सन्दर्भ ः

समय ढैनि

## शिक्षकहरूको भूमिका

शिक्षा सबै विकासको आधार हो। शिक्षाले नै एक पुस्ताको ज्ञानलाई अर्को पुस्तामा लान सबैभन्दा सजिलोसँग सहयोग गर्दछ। अहिले शिक्षाको आधार विद्यालय र महाविद्यालय तथा विश्वविद्यालयहरू नै हन्। सिक्किममा पनि शिक्षालाई सबैभन्दा बढी महत्व दिने प्रयास भएको छ। यसको उपलब्धि भने सरकारले सोचे जस्तो छैन। राज्यमा सरकारी तलब खाने कर्मचारीमा शिक्षकहरूको सङ्ख्या नै सबैभन्दा बढी छ। सिक्किम सरकारले राज्यका शिक्षकहरूलाई अन्य कर्मचारीलाई भन्दा बढी तबल दिएको छ, सुविधा र भत्ता दिएको छ। उनीहरू राज्यभर छरिएका पनि छन्। यसकारणले गर्दा पनि उनीहरूले दिने औपचारिक शिक्षा अनौपचारिक शिक्षा तथा विचारको सही सम्प्रेषणले समाजलाई सजिलैसँग अग्रगति दिनसक्दछ। शिक्षकहरू असल विचारका स्वाभाविक संवाहक हुन सक्दछन्। विश्वविद्यालय तथा महाविद्यालयहरू भन्दा पनि सिधै समाजसँग जोडिएका शैक्षिक संस्था भनेका प्राथमिक विद्यालयदेखि उच्च माध्यमिक तहसम्मका विद्यालयहरू हुन्। ती संस्थाका शिक्षक र विद्यार्थीहरूको सोझै समाजसँग हेलमेल, उठबस र सहचार्य तथा सहकार्य हुने गर्दछ।

### Appendix-B

### **Newspaper Samples with development stories**





€ EDIBLE ACCURATE GANGTOK, TUESDAY 03 JANUARY 201 VOL 11 No 112 RNI No: SIKENG/2006/18384

## In Lucknow, Modi asks for full majority to BJP

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people Mr. ring to the irs the BJP "If yo

ITBP guard posted at Raj Bhawan Winter p commits Can suicide

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iden On the tify the progra which were best suited to the State and tell the Ministry about such programmes and the dy has been sent to the Central Re-pital, Tadong and di to ITBP. The ort is awaited

Dr. Hars

called upon

those inogy,



was out of power in UP, Mr. Modi stressed it was not a vanvaas (exile) of his party but that of the devel-opment in the State. "That 14 year crylie will end "Mr. the fate of l

### "Sikkim has all potential to develop as model state in Science and Technology."- Dr.Harshavardhan

e did "If N

the poor, ried." Mr.

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not being loses? Will

Gangtok, Jan 2 : Uni minister, Dr. Harshvardh Vigyan Bl chnology. ion Minister

ogy The

of the St rich ogy, SIR Sikkim, the U said that both

proposa anted to act State wanted w sue for the bett tively purint if

Lucknow, Jan 2 : The tussle between two fac-tions — led by Mulayam Singh Yadav and son

pulous state. At an emergency na-Mulayam Singh was also depending heavily on the very same constitution

Industries polluting environment, Govt. should take stern steps: BJP

Mulayam fights tough battle with son Akhilesh over SP reins

HMReport Jan 2 : Bha once again ing High School st to the students' woe is the heavy vehicles plying via the road adjacent to the

HMCor

school, a communiqué from the state BJP informs. "Our party workers from the area have received repeated complaints from the local of st ing thei ing HS been su health c two such dustrial un state gov ts. H

### Would be district in waste disposal trap, residents block garbage vehicles

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er, in Sikkim the tre of the

and the nder-s. He nould which the to get these NE

The Union Minister re-aled that the Sikkim Chief



### Dalai Lama initiates

Kalchakra Puja in Bihar Pataa, Jan 2: The 34th Kalchakra puja was initiated on Mon-day by Theta spitnal leader Dala Lama in Bihar amid tight security arrangements, officials said. "The 10-day-long

nicipality.

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### Season's first snowfall at Sandakphu and Phalut

Our Corres ondent DARJEELING, January 2:

SLRA ist

GTOK, January

Staff Re

Can't seek votes on religion, race, caste, language: SC

DELHI, Janu

recruitment under HRD scanner

contest



Sharmila to









XIV



on the to all the Bandh effects Siliguri,

hills remain unfazed

**CRH doctors remove** kidney tumor from 2 yr old

G FOOTBALL CLUB



signs 16 new players

Sept 2: The Unit-ng Football Club in a bid to pr on one year patron one and pro- the cl ub also signed b their newly launched jer-ers under contrat seys and stickers to willing in the year 1989

### Samaj Sudhar Samiti donates

1lakh to Dzongu landslide victims o, Sep 2: Samaj Samiti, Rangpo-

### **Empowerment** of **Tribal Farmwomen through Backvard Poultry in Sikkim**

**REGION-NATION**8

Unidentified dead body found

Drug bust by Melli Police

National Human **Rights & Crime** 

Control org to help

### make Sikkim drug free

Cataract Screening **Eye Camp in South** 

### Sikkim from Sep 5

Sep 2: A daylong Screening Eye



Dr Bike of Dep CRH **Blood donation camp** 

ey of the child. Photo: CRH

pt, Pe

### held at Namthang SSS

HM Report

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Sep 2: Three Sik-lelegates from the Human Rights &

**VPRESS** E S ind K

OF THIS LAND, FOR ITS PEOPLE AD- 714 NH- 2486

today is SATURDAY, 03 SEPTEMBER, 2016 = REGD NO. WB/SKM/02/2015-2017 VOL. XXXX NO. 242 = RNI No. RN 40962/1 w.sikkim

### Nepal reappoints Upadhyay as Petition filed in HC against SPSC JE posts notification envoy to India (ATHMANDU, Septemb (IANS): The Nep

SE Report working GTOK, Septer Charlot IOA. September 2: contrad-assis for illing up reduced notices to be issued to the State respondents over applications avaght by taking rabit Sector taking rabit Se

various adhoc or r filling up civil junior Roads &

gust 3. ig Chief Just. aihotri. ing for the senior advocate mitted that ation is al regu MR

ice has been challe

MR, adhoc and consolidated employees working in the government departments for the last more than five years in their respective departments. It was further submitted that the SPSC notification of August 17 is discriminatory and arbitrary. It was further contended that all the petitioners have completed five years of service and as such, under the

casual employees, who have been regularised without going through any screening or test. In his order, the acting Chief Justice ordered notice to be issued to the State respondents returnable in two weeks and that necessary requisities are filed within three days. "All the steps taken pursuant to the impugned

2013 notifi

not amount to ac of their rights to in the petition without prejudi rights and conter the acting Chief

The

g Chief for 23

Navjot Sidhu forms 'new' political front

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