RESEARCH ARTICLE

MEDIA ACTIVISM AND ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT: A PERSPECTIVE THROUGH THE LENS OF COMMUNICATION THEORIES

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ABSTRACT

Media activism has been playing a significant role to bring forth several keys issues such as sexual abuse, rape, female feticide, communal riots, etc. in the recent past. Media deserves a fair share of appreciation for mirroring societal, cultural and political issues to the forefront of our society from time to time. Perhaps, in the absence of proactive media such issues may not have come to the cognizance of the public. However, there are instances of media over emphasizing less important issues or extending more publicity to trivial issues or ignoring verification of facts. The proposed chapter will focus on selected case studies to identify, understand and explain the significance, applicability and effect of different communication theories in respect to media activism. The chapter includes relevant and authentic secondary information available in public domain such as newspaper and magazine articles, blogs, social media posts, etc. The qualitative analysis technique incorporates 16 cases of media activism for discussion and result. The cases –Save Tigers (1973), Assam Movement (1979-1985), Sikh Riots (1984), Kargil War (1999) , Jessica Lal Murder (1999),Gujarat Riots (2002), Greenathon (2008), Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011), Nirbhaya Movement (2012), Loksabha Elections (2014), #Selfie with daughter (2015), #Metoocampaign (2018, in India), Anti CAA-Protest (2019), #RightToBreathe (2020) ,SSR Case (2020) and Farmers Protest (2020) are included for the study. The outcome of the study is expected to throw some lights to comprehend the media strategies and techniques applied and the effect of dissemination of information on the targeted audience from the perspective of communication theories. The result of study may help to identify and understand the extent of the effectiveness of media to nourish the society.

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INTRODUCTION

Media plays instrumental role in creating awareness about various social, political and economic issues by affecting audiences at large. It plays constructive role by increasing public awareness, collecting views, information and developing attitude of people towards any issue. The role of media has been praise worthy with regard to its coverage on natural calamities, exposing corruption through sting operation and many more stories related to socio, economic and political conditions. Media has power to promote right thing at right point of time. It may make use of any situation in a constructive way or it may create disturbance in the society. In this way media plays a significant role in shaping the society. Due to emergence of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation (in early 1990s) there has been significant change in media industry in India. It led to the emergence of global conglomerates, proliferation of domestic private players, emergence of cable TV and 24x7news.

In addition to this, advent of digitalisation had led to emergence of various digital media platforms which have further resulted in changing the role of media. In recent times, mass media functions are not only confined to informing, educating and entertaining the masses but it has extended towards media activism. The media activism is apparent in the form of publishing news on websites, organising campaigns relating to media and communication policies, audio investigations, creating videos and disseminating information about protests. It became possible due to the availability of different platforms of mass media like print, films, radio, television and new media. These platforms are used for various social, political and economic issues that are of public interest. Media activism may be promoted by different groups of people such as activists, journalists, politicians, and civil society. If any public debate is generated in the civil society it gets reflected in media. For instance, Right to Information and National Rural Employment Gurantee (NREG) Bill were discussed in India. Media also covered CNG controversy and public outcry on domestic violence (Philipose, 2017).

Many important issues like sexual abuse, rape, female foeticide and communal riots, etc., have come to the notice of public only due to media activism. Media campaign on development issues like environment, rape, pollution and Jan Lokpal etc. have received the strong public support which indicates public is also concerned about these issues. Such initiatives from the citizen's are essential for developing countries like India as it helps a society to move in a constructive way. In this light the chapter attempts to discuss media activism and issues of development. The theoretical perspective to the case studies shall enhance our understanding on media strategies and applicability of communication theories.

Objectives

- To identify the applicability of different communication theories with respect to media activism and issues of development
- To understand the effect of dissemination of information on the targeted audience
- To identify and understand the extent of the effectiveness of media to nourish the society.
- To know the frequency of communication theories that occurred in the cases.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The core idea of this research is related to the research work entitled 'Media activism' (Berman & Pickard, 2018). The research section titled 'Theoretical Approaches to Media activism' has been correlated with Indian case studies of media activism. Similarly, another study on 'Grounding theories of mass communication' was also useful to understand the media activism cases in India. For instance, the media coverage on U.S. presidential election was analysed with two -step flow theory. This case study on U.S. presidential election is used as reference to discuss the media coverage in Loksabha elections, 2014 (Lumenlearning, 2021). The research work on 'Conspiracy Theories and (the) Media (Studies)' (Radu & Schultz, 2017) have emphasised on different conspiracy theories i.e. diffusion of innovations, agenda setting, two-step flow of communication. These theories have been referred in some of the case studies of media activism. For instance, the article on 'Choking Freedom of Press: The Death of Mainstream Media in 2020' (Lakra, 2021) has given reference of conspiracy theory with respect to SSR case. Another article on conspiracy theory related to SSR case emphasised that media has projected news of murder as suicide by involving people from selected political parties (Wire, 2020).

For conceptual clarity on theories of mass communication in context to media activism;   McQuail's Communication Theory (McQuail, 2010)and Mass Communication Theory (Baran & Davis, 2006) were referred. Some of the communication theories cited in these books were referred in the case studies.
 Harold Lasswell's propaganda theory is referred to all those cases of media activism where media has been used to lie to people in order to gain temporary control over them. The power of propaganda could be seen in conditions when there is vulnerable state of mind of the average people (Uknown, 2016). This idea of propaganda theory has been referred in cases like; Assam Movement (1979-1985), Gujarat Riots (2002), Anti CAA-Protest (2019), SSR Case (2020) and Farmers Protest (2020).

The authoritarian theory is referred in the case study of Sikh riots. According to this theory media public communication are under the supervision of authority, as a result public opinion is forbidden. The agenda setting theory is applied to discuss the Sikh Riots, Lok sabha Elections 2014, SSR Case and Farmers Protest. The gate keeping theory is correlated with the Sikh riots. This theory helped in explaining how gatekeeper decides (Journalists) what information should move to group or individual and what information should not. Besides this, with reference to Save Tigers (1973), Jessica Lal Murder case (1999), Kargil War (1999) and Greenathon (2008), Nirbhaya Movement (2012) and #Right To Breathe (2020) the Social responsibility theory is applied. The magic multiplier theory is referred in the Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011), # Selfie with daughter (2015), #Metoocampaign (2018, in India).Furthermore, the case studies with reference to Kargil War (1999), Gujarat Riots (2002) have been correlated with cultivation theory. The case studies of Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011), Anti CAA-Protest (2019), Farmers Protest (2020) have been referred to media intrusion theory. Under this theory there is an influence of potential leaders to bring change due to their membership and participation in social groups.

The research paper also discusses cases like; Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011), Nirbhaya Movement (2012), #RightToBreathe (2020) and Anti CAA-Protest (2019) with reference to active participation of audiences to support for a cause. In these cases emancipator media theory has been used. The democratic participation theory is applied in Greenathon (2008), Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011), Nirbhaya Movement (2012), #Selfiewith daughter (2015), #Metoocampaign (2018, in India) and #Right To Breathe (2020). Besides this, social movement theory is referred in Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011) and Nirbhaya Movement (2012). The gratificatication theory explains that audience has power to use media as per their requirement. This theory is referred to #Metoocampaign (2018, in India). Besides this multi- step theory is applied in #Metoocampaign (2018, in India). Furthermore, selective perception theory is referred in SSR Case (2020) and conspiracy theory has been discussed in SSR Case (2020), Anti CAA-Protest (2019), and Farmers Protest (2020). Additionally, the development media theory has been applied in the case studies like- Save Tigers (1973), Greenathon (2008) and #RightToBreathe (2020). As per the theoretical framework multiple theories are applicable in the selected case studies. Hence, a single case may be analysed and discussed with multiple communication theories. It may help in developing deeper understanding about media activism and issues of development.

METHODOLOGY

The research is based on theoretical frame work on communication theories. It is primarily related with the secondary source of information which includes newspapers, magazines, blogs, and articles, etc. The results and discussion are done through qualitative analysis of the selected case studies on media activism and issues of development. In this research paper 16 case studies have been selected in context to communication theories. The case studies have been undertaken on the basis of its relevance in the society. As it has played significant role in making people aware about the issues that matters to them.

Moreover, the correlation of case studies with communication theories have helped in understanding the strategies, planning, execution and dissemination of news and its effect on public at large.

MEDIA ACTIVISM: MEANING

The term activism was introduced in the mid-1970s which denotes the ability to act and make or change history. The word media activism denotes collective communication practices that challenge the status quo, including established media. Frequently, such media are underfunded or unfunded and have a much shorter life cycle than capitalist, state, or religiously funded media. They are a "tribe" within a much larger continent of *nano media* (also called alternative media and citizens' media). Their functions may spill over at times within the operation of established media, especially in times of social turbulence and crisis. (Downing, 2018). Some scholars like Alexander Kluge define activism as 'the immediate on-the-spot struggle' that may be essentially based on the historic struggle for new rights and safeguarding the present rights. These may be driven by strikes, protests, demonstrations, non-violent civil disobedience, consumer boycott, etc., for social change (Cammaerts, 2013).Brain Martin defines activism as action on behalf of cause that may go beyond convention or routine. These actions may be door-to door canvasing, rallies, fasting, public meetings and alternative radio. It may be for cause that might be on women's right, world peace, opposition to factory, etc.,(Martin, 2007).

In simple terms media activism means use of media and communication technologies for social and political movements. It includes publishing news on website, creating video and audio investigation, spreading information about protest, organising campaigns for media and communication policies. Media activism may be used for different purposes. Grassroot activist may use media for spreading information which is not covered by mainstream media. They may also share censored news stories or even politically motivated campaigns. Often the focus of media activism is to change the media communication policies. Social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, Youtube, etc., are also used for media activism. Because of interactive features and wide spread usage information can be quickly disseminated on such platforms. Social media is the first step in ladder of engagement. Social media helps in organising events without having leaders. Besides this cultural jamming is also another form of media activism. It is a subversive strategy of protest that re-appropriates tropes of mainstream media in order to take advantage of resources and venues they offered (TheAudiopedia, 2017).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MEDIA ACTIVISM AND ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT

Media activism has played significant role in covering wide range of issues of development. It may be explained with reference to post world war period. At that time United States of America (U.S.A) was targeting policy reforms in media in order to establish a more public-oriented broadcast system (Pickard, 2015). Since 1940s, United States media was continuously covering development issues like; labour rights issues, civil rights, and other social movements. The mainstream media not only in U.S.A but across countries was playing pivotal role in bringing awareness about development issues. Ever since the growth and development of new media there has been extension of media activism from traditional media to new media. In 20th century new media have been used mostly by citizens and activists in order to enhance social justice across the world in form production of discourses and strengthening of communities. The media activism through social media became a trend setter with Arab Spring revolution in 2011. It was a movement based on series of pro-democracy uprisings largely in Muslim countries. These were: Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, Libya, Egypt and Bahrain. After Arab spring movement social media have been used significantly to raise the voice of unheard and bringing social, economic and political issues in forefront. For instance, in U.S.A Occupy Wall Street Movement, (2011) raised issue of economic inequality and #blacklivesmatter (2013) was a campaign against violence and systemic racism. Thereafter, a campaign popularly known as ALS Ice Bucket Challenge (2014) was organised to bring awareness about amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. In this campaign there was online communities' participation. Besides this, Brazilian government also started a Green Passport campaign which was launched in 2008.

It was a partnership between The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and Ministries of Environment and Tourism of Brazil, the French Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development and other partners. The aim of Green passport campaign was to bring a change in the behaviour of travelers and tourists. Green passport is a form of a document that advices the tourist to make their holiday more sustainable. A website was also launched as a part of this campaign to facilitate tourists to search for sustainably managed hotels, foods, environment friendliness etc. (International Institute For Sustainable Development, 2012). Similar to such environment campaign NDTV –Tyota initiated Greenathon campaign in India. Besides these examples, there were several other initiatives taken at global level to support development like: Scaling Up Nutrition, or SUN, Movement (2010).

This movement emphasised on developing an understanding about good nutrition is the best investment of the future. The movement was supported by 43 countries including United Nations and civil societies. (UN, 2018). Environmental organisation Greenpeace in the year 2014 launched a YouTube video. The aim of this video was to dissociate the company Lego from a partnership with the Shell Company as the oil company was involved in harming the environment. This story got the attention of the *Guardian* and the *Columbia Journalism Review* as a result you tube viewership reached over 6 million views in a very short period of time.

Thereafter, more number of mainstream media covered this issue which led to huge public pressure. Consequently, the company Lego has to quit the partnership with the oil giant. In another campaign against Nestlé, Greenpeace used similar types of online activism strategies. They engaged people to act and protest against Nestlé, for their usage of palm oil from companies (Naskova, 2015). These global media activism issues of development have directly or indirectly influenced Indian media also. To understand the extent of media activism and issues of development in India the case studies are discussed.

Table 1.1. Shows the cases of media activism and issues of development in relation with communication theories

Sno.	Cases	Communication Theories
1.	Save Tigers (1973)	Social Responsibility Theory and Development Media Theory
2.	Assam Movement (1979-1985)	Propaganda Theory
3.	Sikh Riots (1984)	Authoritarian Theory, Gate Keeping Effect and Agenda Setting Theory
4.	Jessica Lal Murder (1999)	Social Responsibility Theory
5.	Kargil War(1999)	Cultivation Theory and Social Responsibility Theory
6.	Gujarat Riots (2002)	Cultivation Theory , Propaganda Theory
7.	Greenathon (2008)	Social Responsibility Theory, Development Media Theory and Democratic Participation Theory
8.	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011)	Media Intrusion Theory, Democratic Participation, Emancipator Media Theory, Magic Multiplier Theory and Social Movement Theory
9.	Nirbhaya Movement (2012)	Democratic Participation, Emancipator Media Theory, Social Movement Theory and Social Responsibility Theory
10.	Loksabha Elections (2014)	Agenda Setting Theory
11.	#Selfiewithdaughter (2015)	Magic Multiplier Theory, Democratic Participation
12.	#Metoocampaign (2018, in India)	Magic Multiplier Theory, Uses and Gratificatication Effect, Democratic Participation and Multi- Step Theory
13.	Anti CAA-Protest (2019)	Propaganda Theory, Agenda Setting Theory, Media Intrusion Theory and Emancipator Media Theory
14.	#RightToBreathe (2020)	Social Responsibility Theory, Development Media Theory, Democratic Participation Theory and Emancipator Media Theory
15.	SSR Case (2020)	Agenda Setting Theory, Conspiracy Theory, Propaganda Theory and Selective Perception Theory
16.	Farmers Protest (2020)	Media Intrusion Theory, Agenda Setting theory, Conspiracy theory, Propaganda Theory

DISCUSSION

ANALYSIS ON MEDIA ACTIVISM AND ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT WITH REFERENCE TO COMMUNICATION THEORIES: The three objectives of this study are discussed in this part. These are: 1) To identify the applicability of different communication theories related to media activism and issues of development. 2) To understand the effect of dissemination of information on the targeted audience and 3) To identify and understand the extent of the effectiveness of media to nourish the society.   These three objectives are covered in case studies of media activism and issues of development with reference to communication theories. The details of these case studies in relation to communication theories may be referred in the Table: 1.1

Save Tigers (1973): Project Tiger is an important movement that aimed at wildlife conservation of tiger in India. As number of tigers was decreasing day by day therefore, this project was initiated in the 1973. The project was launched in Jim Corbett National Park, Uttrakhand with the objective of saving Royal Bengal Tigers from getting extinct. In this project around fifty national parks and sanctuaries were involved. The project has been successful in increasing the number of Tigers from 1200 to around 5000 (InsideIndian Jungals, 2021).

The Project Tiger movement was supported by Aircel-NDTV. They started the "Save the Tiger" campaign in collaboration with WWF-India. Many individuals and celebrities were influenced by this campaign. Celebrities like MS Dhoni and Amitabh Bacchan also joined the campaign and participated in its promotional activities. Anchor Vikram Chandra from NDTV hosted a special show on this campaign in which tiger experts and stakeholders were invited. In addition to this, multiple media campaigns helped in receiving positive response from the audience. The series of special tiger programs gave a strong message to the society that media still works for development issues and they know their social responsibility. Even the role of social networking sites was commendable.

Many social networking sites supported this campaign by creating their own blogs. This initiative by NDTV has not only created a lot of awareness among the Indian audiences but it has also encouraged them to give valuable opinions to support the campaign (Sharma, 2012). Thus, the democratic participation of audiences has made the NDTV campaign successful.

The Assam Movement (1979-1985): A large scale movement was conducted by some student organisations and political parties in Assam. The objective of the movement was to delete the foreigner's name (Bangladeshi origin) from the electoral roll. This problem was regarded as a confrontation between the Assamese and Bangladeshis (Kimura, 2001). The press coverage on the Assam movement started the propaganda campaign about issues of illegal migrants. As per the propaganda theory media uses lies to influence the audiences, similarly the regional press has initiated the propaganda against the dangers of foreigners. It played pioneer role to launch the cause of the movement (Das, 2009). The regional media was supporting movement leaders. The two newspapers *Dainik Assam* and *Assam Bani w*ere in favour of the movement. These newspapers were highly suggestive on Assam foreign national issue. The only voice of the minority was heard by the national media. The difference in coverage of stories between national and regional media led conflicting reports which has resulted in divided public opinion (Kimura, 2001). The regional media propaganda against Bangladeshi origin has been criticised. It has overlooked the interest of minority group. However, the media coverage on this issue has raised an important issue of electoral roll which was much needed for the welfare of this region.

Sikh Riots (1984): The former Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two bodyguards that led to Sikh riots in Delhi. In this riots about 3000 Sikhs were killed in New- Delhi, 200 *Gurudwaras* were burnt and many Sikh shops were looted (Bedi, 2009). Media covered the event in the situation of the censorship where the foreign correspondents were not allowed to cover stories therefore; they were dependent on the local government-controlled media.

In this case the local media news coverage could be compared with the authoritarian theory; since local media was closely monitored by the government. The coverage of riots was biased as the stories were selectively covered with one side opinion (Ahmed, 2010).It indicates that there was complete gate keeping of news by selected print media houses. The usage of selective information by media resulted in projecting the ambiguous image of Sikhs. The national dailies like the *Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times* covered stories in such a way that it created hostility between Sikhs and Hindus. (Das, 2009). Thus, in Sikh riots authoritarian theory and gate keeping effect has resulted in tarnishing the image of Sikhs. It also indicates that there was agenda setting by media to project them in a wrong way. Such coverage has lowered the status of Sikh community and created the environment of hate against them.

***Jessica Lal* Murder (1999):** Manu Sharma (son of Congress party minister Ved Sharma) took out his revolver and shot at Jessica Lal and later she was found dead. This incident took place on 29th April 1999. During initial trial the suspects were acquitted on the ground of lack of evidence in the lower court. Thereafter, there was a huge public outcry by sending e-mails and messages to news channels. There was public outrage in the form of mass protests, candlelight marches at India Gate by students, activists, NGO representatives, etc., who stood for the rights of Jessica Lal. This incident has led to the media taking matters into their own hands. Media took the initiative to expose the truth and initiated a sting operation against one of the witnesses. For example, *Tehelka magazine* covered a story on Manu Sharma's father for bribery and corruption. *Star News* and *NDTV* covered a detailed interview of the main eye witness Mr. Shayan Munshi (Alvarez, 2011). All these stories helped in exposing the reality of Jessica murder. The media activism during Jessica Lal Murder case has helped in creating a pressure to reopen the case in court. Later, the accused was convicted for the cold-blooded murder of Jessica Lal. In this case, media played its positive role of social responsibility by bringing the truth to society.

Kargil War (1999): On 3rd May 1999, Pakistani soldiers infiltrated on the Indian side of LoC that led to broke of war between India and Pakistan. As soon as media received this information it started covering stories, features articles, and analysis *on every aspect of the conflict. There were stories based on different angles like* covering human interest on the life of families of martyrs, corporate response to Kargil, the food that soldiers eat, plight of villagers in the border area, etc. The *Asian age* on June 24 carried a headline '4th India-Pakistan War has Started' (Seshu, 1999). Major General Ashok Mehta puts Kargil war as "India's first war on television". The country was moved by the moving images and TV news channels were successful in putting a human face to the tragedies of war (Joshi, 1999).Veteran Journalist P. Sainath says "Media made the Kargil war a cult phenomenon and Indian soldiers as miracle liberating forces of modern mythology". It was the time when media created the feeling of patriotism to the whole of the country (Dubey, 2019). The role of television has been significant in cultivating the culture of patriotism. It indicates that cultivation theory has been effective to influence the audiences. Additionally, media activism has also motivated people to contribute to the welfare fund created for soldiers (Neelamalar, 2003). This initiative of media reflects that media played responsible role and without the initiative of media contribution of funds to such an extent was not possible.

Gujarat Riots (2002): There was a fire in the S-6 coach of the Ahmedabad- bound Sabarmati express train. In the incident 26 women and 12 children were burnt to death (Ahmed, 2010).This incident is popularly known as Godhra incident. After this incident for the next three days Muslims were, butchered, mascaraed and burnt alive. In a mob attack about 2000 Muslims were killed and some mosques, religious and cultural monuments were damaged (Bonney, 2003)& (Ahmed, 2010).The incident was reported in media and particularly coverage of television news channels became central to the politics of the violence (Mehta, 2009). The media activism during Gujarat riots have also led to extensive use of photo journalism. The press covered the stories with big pictures covering the incident for example, a haunting image of Qutubuddin Ansari the young man pleading for his life with folded hands captured by Arko Datta made the headlines in the media (Trivedi, 2016). All such coverage boosted the Hindu-Muslim riots. It led to the cultivation of hate environment among the two communities. Thus, such coverage depicts that there was an influence of cultivation theory by representing the hate environment among Hindus and Muslims. Even media coverage on Gujarat riot was criticised by the state government on the ground of been biased towards them. However, media needs to introspect the coverage of high drama war, violence and terror (Sardesai, 2002). Media activism in the Gujarat riots has itself created controversies for media. The footage shown by media of violent incidents had created further conflict during the riots. Media should not have covered the high drama of violence in their stories. Even western media has been pointed out for running propaganda against Modi. The western media labeled Modi as 'mass murder' (Swaraj, 2016).Even some media like Tehelka, Outlook also covered anti-state government propaganda. In Gujarat riots if media dealt the issue with more responsibility then Hindu –Muslim riots would not have taken so much hype. Perhaps, there would have been less loss of life and property in the region.

Greenathon(2008): The Greenathon campaign was initiated by NDTV-Toyota in April 2008. The objective of the campaign was to spread awareness among the people to sustain the greenery. This initiative by NDTV reflects a step towards social responsibility of media and development of the society. This campaign was a 24 hrs movement, where celebrities and peoples from various verticals such as sports, corporate, government and bollywood etc. fought for this cause. Through this campaign an attempt was made to the purchase solar lights to donate the villagers by raising fund (Ranjan). Greenathon was a fundraising event which encouraged people to donate money to support TERI's 'Lighting a Billion Lives' initiative. The event aimed at providing solar power to the villages that were without electricity (Exchange4Media, 2012). In the first Greenathon (2009) around 55 villages were lit. Thereafter, in 2010 about 156 villages were lit, in third Greenathon (2011) about 500 villages were lit and in the fourth Greenathon (2014) around 508 villages were lit. In four years over 1000 villages were lit. In 2014, Greenathon NDTV made its campaign more aggressive by raising awareness through print, outdoor, visiting on ground. All these efforts by NDTV had created an engagement among the people (Singh S. V., 2012). Thus, in a media led campaign there was a democratic participation of people for a right cause.

Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare (2011): In 2010 the Indian government drafted a version of the Lokpal bill. Many citizens, social activists considered this bill weak and this dissatisfaction led to the National Protest Movement under the leadership of Anna Hazare. In 2011 under the banner of India Against Corruption (IAC); Lokpal movement was started. Since the movement was led by Anna Hazare, it influenced the media also. There was an influence of media intrusion theory as the media was influenced by personality of Anna Hazare. Under his leadership the protest sparked the intensive discussion on news and social media about the government bill. Media coverage in support of Anna Hazare Movement had further influenced people to come out on street to support his movement (Mohapatra, 2013).It also reflects that there was democratic participation of media on the coverage of this event. Media extensively covered the arrest of Anna Hazare until he was released from the jail. The majority of the news channel carried the two -week stories of protest at Ramlila Maidan. The mainstream media along with social media covered the incident actively. Furthermore, there was also an influence of emancipator theory and magic multiplier as for the first time Indians used social media for a social movement in India. The official IAC Facebook page had more than 5-lakh followers as per Feburary 7, 2012 record (Burns, 2016). People created their Facebook pages and shared their status. Individual social media users debated and uploaded videos and photos throughout the movement. In this movement all the key media tools like electronic media, social media, websites and mobile phones were used. IAC initiated 'missed call campaigns' and asked the citizens to give miss call to support the IAC. In response to this 25 million people gave a missed called to the number. *The Times of India* also launched 'Anti-Corruption Together' where number of voters increased from 0.4 million to 1.2 million just in three days. No social movement in last three decades in India had witnessed huge mobilisation of issue of public interest (Axel Bruns, 2016). Social media analyst Gaurav Mishra estimates that the total online support for the movement was around 1.5 million people (Mohapatra, 2013). Due to media activism the entire agitation was transformed into a movement. Therefore this may have the effect of social movement Theory. Media activism in this movement gave strong message to the government that a strong Lokpal Bill is much needed. Media mobilised the people in this movement and raised their voices to fight against corruption.

Nirbhaya Movement (2012): The Delhi gang-rape incident took place on 16th December 2012.
This incident inspired the whole generation to stand for women's rights. An important role was played by the media in raising the debate. It played the role of democratic participation. The news of Nirbhaya rape flashed and headlines were covered in the newspapers with proper follow-up of the incident, it deeply touched the people. Due to influence of media there was emancipation of audiences. Individuals started using social media platforms to share their personal stories from different backgrounds. This has resulted in people coming out for Delhi Protest. All these examples reflect the applicability of emancipator theory. Moreover, social media helped in creating a sense of solidarity for gendered movement. Hence it was also known as gendered social movement. An online petition platform named as 'Change.org' received more than 65000 signatures (Dey, 2018). The mainstream newspapers like *The Hindu, The Times of India, The Indian Express* and *The Hindustan Times* covered demonstrations and protests for justice. For example the *Times of India* on 19th

December, 2012 dedicated its first page to 'Times View' and the headline was 'Enough Talk. Let's Make Women Safe'. The media support to this movement showed that they are still sensitive about its social responsibility. The media activism in this case has helped in bringing a positive change by mobilising people on women safety. It opened the conversation for similar incidents that have proceeded afterwards.

Loksabha Elections (2014): The Loksabha elections held in the year 2014, witnessed for the first time an increasing role of media to reach out to voters and political parties. The voter's exposure to different media platforms have influenced their opinion formation related to elections. During the elections in Uttar Pradesh there was an extensive use of mediatised strategies by the parties. While framing the news media has focused on agenda-setting and game-frames (Pande, 2017). In the elections, the press played a critical role in creating a 'bandwagon effect,' boosting Mr. Modi into India's highest office (Drache, 2015). The media created the entire narrative to present the strong image of Mr. Narender Modi. They emphasised that leadership vacuum may only be filled by him (Hasan, 2014). During the election apart from traditional media; new media like internet websites, blogs and social media platforms like; Facebook and Twitter etc., were used extensively (Thakurta, 2014). On social media there were millions of users following and participating in conversations related to politics. It has helped to mobilise marginalised voters in a country. Hence, the media coverage on elections could be seen as setting political agenda. The entire focus of media was on personalities or individuals rather than issues involving the elections. The media hype repeatedly suggested a Modi wave during the elections. The media coverage and campaigns on Loksabha elections helped in getting clear referendum and forming a strong government which is essential for a democracy and development of the country.

Selfiewithdaughter (2015): This campaign was initiated in 2015 by a village head Mr. Sunil Jaglani from the Haryana state. The Prime Minister, Narender Modi borrowed the idea from him. While addressing his Sunday radio address on 'Mann ki Baat' he urged parents to post photos of themselves with their daughter. He hoped that such pictures will boost the national campaign to combat female foeticide. It shall be a people's movement to revolutionize the national campaign (Pasricha, 2015).The response of the Prime Minister's urge was instantaneous and magic multiplier effect of social media could be seen on the first day, about 1.5 lakh times the hashtag had been used (Bhandare, 2015). This campaign got a positive response from the people and encouraged democratic participation of people on social media. Due to this campaign it was possible to spread awareness about female foeticide. Indeed it was a much needed effort for the welfare of girl child.

Metoocampaign (2018, in India): The movement began on social media after a call to action by actress Alyssa Milano. She urged to all those women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted to write 'me too' as status. The idea was to give people some sense of the magnitude of the problem. In this case there was a magic multiplier effect and use of multi step theory. For example, within days millions of women and some men used social media like; Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to disclose their status of harassment and abuse. About 68000 people replied to Milano tweet and #metoocampaign has been used more than 1million times in the United States of America, Middle East, Europe and many other countries. The response of

people on various social media platform indicates the influence of magic multiplier. Furthermore, this wave of social media activism of #metoocampaign reached India in 2018. Therefore, there is an influence of multi step flow of information. Women across the spectrum shared their abuse by men. It was initiated by actress Tanushree Dutta accusing actor Nana Patekar for sexual harassment in 2008 for the film 'Horn Ok Please' (Roy A. , 2019).Thereafter, Alok Nath (Actor), RK Pachauri (Former Executive Vice Chairman Energy Resources Institutes) and MJ Akbar (Editor turned Politician), etc., were accused of such charges. Bollywood actresses such as Priyanka Chopra, Kalki Koechlin and Richa Chadha had spoken against such subtle sexism. They called on industry to address the issues of casting couch and sexual exploitation. Some selective group of people reacted to this movement; therefore in this case there was users and gratification effect. This campaign through social media activism has been successful for raising the voice of victims. Through this movement for the first time global consensus on sexual harassment was made. It was identified not as an isolated case but everyday occurrence. This movement encouraged many women to raise their voices (Rajeshwari, 2017). It also shows the democratic media participation for serving the cause of sexual harassment which is been faced by the people.

Anti CAA-Protest (2019): A wave of protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) began taking place in different parts of India. It happened after the enactment of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) on December 12, 2019. The opposition party ran propaganda by showing that bill is against Muslim. The message spread through the media created the environment of fear among the Muslim community. The propaganda ran by opposition party through media has led to mass mobilisation. Moreover, in this incident the media coverage was based on agenda setting. For example, as per Alt News the coverage of *Asian News International (ANI)* was skewed. ANI published multiple reports and tweets on pro-CAA demonstrations abroad however; it did not cover a single overseas anti-CAA protest (Archit & Kinjal, 2020). There were many prominent anti-CAA protesters whose speeches were provocative. Some of such protesters were identified by Delhi police like; former Jawaharlal Nehru University alumnus Umar Khalid, student activist Safoora Zargar, JNU student Sharjeel Imam and others. Besides them, there were several political leaders who have used media to support the protest by using social media (Banka, 2020).

The support of prominent leaders, pressure groups for anti-CAA Bill through media shows the influence of media intrusion theory. Furthermore, the way the entire protest was carried by the protestor by using social media reflects that there was an effective role of people as participants. Hence, there was influence of emancipator theory. No doubt, there are issues with CAA however, media must have played more responsible role by bringing clarity about the law. This would have helped in protesting for right cause rather than creating tension in the nation.

RightToBreathe (2020): In 2015, Help Delhi Breath was formed to address the issue of Delhi air pollution. In this regard, an effort was taken by mobilising the educated middle and upper class of the city. The target group was selected on the basis of their tech savvy, well connected by the internet, smart phones and social media. In this campaign local group communities, small business owners, start-up leaders and activists associated with air pollution also gathered. The active participation of audience justifies the applicability of emancipator media theory. Furthermore, schools and groups of mothers helped to build network by sharing messages of Facebook Posts. The use of social media for this cause reflects the democratic participation of the people (Kumar, 2018). By engaging different sections of society this campaign aimed to create a long-lasting movement, to bring a behavioural change and influence the policy. For this purpose Help Delhi Breathe mobilised the Clean Air Coalition to use the #MyRightToBreathe. Thereafter, the mothers in Delhi's played significant role in the campaign and air pollution fight extended further. My Right to Breathe a citizen's movement initiated *'DilliDhadakneDo campaign'*, to fight air pollution and improve public health. My Right To Breathe (MRTB) have set protocol on

Indian Child Activity Recommendations (ICARe) that rationally plan children's outdoor activities. It aims to protect them from outdoor air pollution exposure (Nigam, 2019). The citizens organised this movement to put pressure on political parties to take the issue of air pollution seriously. The movement started with a series of 15 different constituencies across the city. It began from town hall at Karawal Nagar. The idea of "#DilliDhadakneDo" was to give citizens a voice, and to make their candidates responsible to work for clean air. When citizens vote for clean air, the government has to listen. Moreover, in this campaign electric rickshaws were used for rally as they are life line of Delhi transit, represent green jobs and clean transport (IndiaBloomsNewsService, 2020).The role of social media was commendable in this campaign as it helped in increasing the awareness among the people of Delhi.

Shushant Singh Rajput Case (2020): The SSR coverage may be understood with two aspects. The first aspect is related with the manner in which social media instigated and augmented the case. There were countless #SSRian groups (both Indian and international) that sprung up on Instagram, YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter. On all these platforms there was only one voice that was "justice for SSR". The second aspect was the pre-election frisson that was invested in the narrative. If Rajput was a son of Bihar; Rhea soon became Bengal's very own (Philipose, Backstory: Everything Wrong With the Media Is Reflected in the Sushant Singh Rajput Coverage, 2020).The media coverage on this case revealed the agenda setting by politician to question the state government and Mumbai police on dealing with the case. The opposition was successful in getting the media support for their agenda. Hence, it reflects the two-step flow of information by local leaders. The applicability of agenda setting theory and two-step flow of communication in SSR case justifies the existence of conspiracy theory. Furthermore, the case went complex with the narcotics angle and many Bollywood celebrities were summoned by the narcotics department. The media covered the story of narcotics in such a way that it ran propaganda against the Bollywood. In addition, the influence of the media content on SSR case was selective and fragmented. It may be witnessed that some audiences were in support of SSR and were driven by the media agenda of murder. Whereas some audience were in support of Rhea and believed on her version of narrative on an interview given to a leading news channel. However, at positive note narcotics angle in SSR case has helped in bringing awareness among society. Those young aspirants who wanted to choose their career in Bollywood will be cautious about it.

Farmers Protest (New Farm Bill, 2020): Government in the month of September, 2020 passed a New Farm Bill. The major issue in the bill was with the MSP. The government has held 11 rounds of talks with leaders of more than 30 farmers' unions that were opposing to the laws. Different farmers' unions had different demands ranging from total withdrawal of the three farm laws to a written guarantee that the MSP regime will not be dismantled (Dutta P. K., 2020). The Supreme Court issued an order putting the three contentious farm laws on hold. It also, ordered to form a four-member mediation committee to help the parties to negotiate. Despite court orders farmers' leaders rejected court-appointed mediation committee. On 26th January 2021 thousands of Indian farmers protested and controversial agricultural reforms stormed New Delhi's historic Red Fort. Protesters scaled the walls of the monument and a flag was hoisted alongside India's national flag. This incident that took place across the city led to injury of 86 officers. About 22 police complaints were registered against protestors for rioting; damaging the public property, violation of lawful directions, and assault on public servants (Mitra & Regan, 2021).The entire incident was covered live by the television news channels. The way different farm union conducted the tractor rally and used media for meeting their own interests indicate the role of media intrusion theory. For example, the movement was supported by farmer leader Rakesh Tikat, Bharatiya Kisan Union (Rajewal) president; Balibir Singh, Deep Sidhu and Lakha Sidana, (Chatterjee, 2021) and (Vasudeva, 2021). The FIR has been filed against climate activist Disha Ravi for her alleged involvement in

sharing a toolkit backing the ongoing farmers' protest (TheEconomicTimes, 2021). It is also witnessed that farmers protest was supported by the international celebrities like; Pop star Rihanna. She tweeted "Why aren't we talking about this?! #Farmers Protest". Shortly after Rihanna's tweet, Meena Harris, the niece of U.S. Vice-President Kamala Harris, also reacted to the farmers' protest. Even Eleonora Ernman *Thunberg* , a Swedish environmental activist supported the farmers protest (Lakshman, 2021). According to Attorney General (AG) K.K Venugopal, Khalistan supporters have infiltrated the farmers protest (IANS, 2021). The involvement of international celebrities in the farmers protest also indicates that media has been used to meet their agenda. There is a conspiracy in which media is involved to disseminate the wrong message in the society against India. The political parties have been supporting the farmers Bill to meet their agenda to discredit the central government and supporting the protestors on social media. Furthermore, the media has been used in meeting the propaganda for example; *Dainik Jagran* talked of a communist red flag in the tractor rally. *Dainik Bhaskar* did not hold its punches in blaming the farmers for the violence in its headline, "Farmers first break promise, then respect" (Salam, 2021).Ravish Kumar on NDTV used propaganda against government by showing a photographs of Sidhu with Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Home Minister Amit Shah and asked, "If a similar photograph had been seen showing Sidhu with Rahul Gandhi, what would have our godi [lapdog] media done?" (Salam, 2021).

Objective-4: To know the frequency of communication theories that occurred in the cases: After discussing 16 case studies on media activism and issues of development it has become evident that which communication theory appeared maximum number of times. As shown in table 1.2, it is clear that maximum frequency is of social responsibility theory and democratic media participation. Both of these theories were applicable in 6 cases respectively.

Thereafter, propaganda theory and agenda setting theory were equal in number of cases (5cases each). Subsequently, emancipator theory was applicable in 4 cases. In five theories there was equal representation of cases (3 cases each). These were: Magic multiplier theory, media intrusion theory, social movement theory, development media theory and conspiracy theory. The next frequency was of cultivation theory with 2 cases. The minimum representation was of authoritarian theory, gate keeping effect, uses and gratification theory, multi step theory and selective perception theory. These theories were having equal representation of cases (1 case each).

Table 1.2. Shows the frequency of communication theories occurred in the selected cases

Sno.	Communication Theories	Cases	Frequency
1.	Propaganda Theory	The Assam Movement (1979-1985)	5
		Gujarat Riots (2002)	
		Anti CAA-Protest(2019)	
		SSR Case (2020)	
		Farmers Protest(2020)	
2.	Authoritarian Theory	Sikh Riots (1984)	1
3.	Agenda Setting Theory	Sikh Riots (1984)	5
		Loksabha Elections (2014)	
		Anti CAA-Protest(2019)	
		SSR Case (2020)	
		Farmers Protest(2020)	
4.	Gate Keeping Effect	Sikh Riots (1984	1
5.	Social Responsibility Theory	Save Tiger(1973)	6
		Jessica Lal Murder Case	
		Kargil War(1999)	
		Greenathon (2008)	
		Nirbhaya Movement (2012)	
		#RightToBreathe (2020)	
6.	Cultivation Theory	Kargil War(1999)	2
		Gujarat Riots (2002)	
7.	Magic Multiplier Theory	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011)	3
		#Selfiewithdaughter (2015)	
		#Metoocampaign (2018, in India)	
8.	Emancipator Media Theory	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011)	4
		Nirbhaya Movement (2012)	
		#RightToBreathe (2020)	
		Anti CAA-Protest (2019)	
9.	Media Intrusion Theory	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011)	3
		Anti CAA-Protest (2019)	
		Farmers Protest(2020)	
10.	Democratic Media Participation	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011)	6
		Nirbhaya Movement (2012)	
		Greenathon (2008)	
		#Selfiewithdaughter (2015)	
		#Metoocampaign (2018, in India)	
		#RightToBreathe (2020)	
11.	Social Movement Theory	Anti-Corruption Movement by Anna Hazare(2011)	3
		Nirbhaya Movement (2012)	
13.	Uses and Gratification Theory	#Metoocampaign (2018, in India)	1
14.	Multi Step Theory	#Metoocampaign (2018, in India)	1
15.	Selective Perception	SSR Case (2020)	1
16.	Conspiracy Theory	SSR Case (2020)	3
		Farmers Protest(2020)	
		Anti CAA-Protest (2019)	
17.	Development Media Theory	Save Tigers (1973)	3
		Greenathon (2008)	
		#RightToBreathe (2020)	

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the case studies with the perspective of communication theories has put forth several issues of concern. The media coverage in some cases played damaging role for the society. Many of the media stories were propaganda based that shows the influence of propaganda theory on media coverage. Some of such stories were Assam Movement, Gujarat Riots, Anti CAA Protest and SSR Case. If media covers stories based on propaganda, biasness, false support, etc.; then it may decrease its credibility. Due to such media coverage many-a-times important issues do not get adequate coverage. Moreover, media must also avoid giving false support to a movement that creates hate in the society. In cases like; Assam movement and Gujarat riots the media coverage had spread the wrong message which led to further violence and conflict in the society. Despite such negative coverage media role cannot be completely critiscised. It has also played constructive role in the development of the society such as; Save Tigers, Kargil war, Greenathon, Right To Breathe, Nirbhaya Movement, #Selfiewithdaughter,. #Metoocampaign etc. Media support to save tigers helped in increasing the number of Bengal tigers, Kargil war helped in cultivating the environment of patriotism and unity in the nation. Greenathon and Right To Breathe motivated citizen's for green and pollution free environment. The other cases like Nirbhaya Movement, #Selfiewithdaughter, #Metoocampaign, raised the women related issues to a large extent.

With these successful examples it is hoped that media may further play significant role in the development of the Indian society. However, it must also be noted that such constructive stories are not much. The story which benefits the media commercially or meets their agenda gets covered substantially. It is the right time that media must introspection and retrospect its role and responsibilities with respect to the news content. Moreover, communication strategies used directly by media or any pressure group for serving their agenda must be checked and adequately dealt. Media houses must understand that they have answerability towards their readers, viewers and listeners. It is the need of hour that media must follow the foot step of social responsibility by covering wider issues of development. It will further help in bringing more constructive change in welfare of the society.

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