Community Radio in India: A Critique of Broadcast Policy
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Abstract: Community radio labeled variedly as alternative media, grassroots media, local media or radical media is symbolic of democratization of communication with intangible power to enhance participation of masses in the process of development and social change. India, with a liberal media policy hesitated to open its broadcasting spectrum to the private ownership citing reasons of internal security, communal riots, terrorism and militant conflicts. However, the historic judgment of Apex Court in 2002 freed air signals from government clutches opening doors to private commercial radio. Ironically, the cause of social justice suffered as mass media were driven by market forces compelling government to embrace the community radio movement and issue licenses to anybody to establish radio to serve the local people. This paper critically reviews the vital issues viz., ownership, participation, programming and financial sustainability concerning operating CRS in India. The study concludes that the vision of Government of India to establish CRS since 2007 every mile in thousands has failed to materialize as the policy suffers from many shortcomings. Privatization of broadcasting has paradoxically brought the private players back to the doors of the government for financial succor, says the study.

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INTRODUCTION

Community Radio Station- CRS is an alternative media initiative conceived to bridge gap between public and private radio broadcasting systems. India should have witnessed a rapid expansion of community radio stations by 2013 on the basis of speculative reports by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. At present 148 community radio stations are operational officially as on April 2013 and the Ministry is ambitiously anticipating establishment of 3000 community radio stations in a few years from now. India, with a liberal media policy hesitated to open its broadcasting spectrum to the private ownership citing reasons of internal security, communal riots, and terrorism and militant conflicts. However, the historic judgment of Apex Court in 2002 freed air signals from government clutches opening doors to private commercial radio. In the process, the cause of social justice suffered as mass media were driven by market forces compelling government to embrace the community radio movement and issue licenses to anybody to establish radio to serve the local people. India agreed to open the Radio for private participation with social agenda in December 2002. Indian government declared a policy to grant licenses for setting up of Community Radio to private/ government educational institutions and organizations recognized by the government. This policy was implemented in November 2007 when the CRS policy received cabinet approval.

'Community radio is a relatively new movement born out of expressed needs for equality for the voiceless' (Naughton, 1996). Across the world the community radio has ushered in a movement to give a tool of communication to isolated communities and creating opportunities for getting them heard in corridors of political power. In South African community radio movement, consisting of 100 such stations, which functions in the international tradition of alternative, grassroots and radical media, are gradually opening up for communities to participate in public discussion (Kruger, 2011). CSR has changed the stereotypical image of a community by underlining the potential of the voice of the marginalized. 'Community radio provides people with an ideal platform for debate, dialogue, and discussion of various issues affecting the community, without any form of external influence. Ideally it is meant to provide an alternative voice to local communities, and to encourage them to participate fully in bringing about the development they want' (Mhlanga, 2009). Some element of homogeneity characterizes community radio that is structured to communicate in local language but to serve a community whose caste, religion and tradition as varied as in societies like India has added heterogeneity demanding room for different perspectives in programs. Unlike other mass media, community radio was built on the edifice of democracy, decentralization, privatization and localization with community owning and controlling a radio station according to its needs and interests. The essence of community radio is participation of people in planning, production and broadcasting.

Community radio cannot be compared with professionally run commercial stations, as programs sound amateurish and local centric that broadcast programs in the language of the people but create local identity in the process. It is a decentralized broadcasting system to meet the diverse needs of a multilingual and multicultural pluralistic society like India to protect different hues of cultural diversity. What makes this system different from commercial radio is the paradigm shift in the ownership pattern demolishing hierarchical governance and converting listeners into participating broadcasters.

This paper critically reviews the vital issues concerning operating CRS in India. CRS movement weakened as private broadcasters in the operation of commercial FM radio channels dominated the spectrum. The only beneficiaries of Apex Courts' historic judgment that 'Airwaves are Free' are media barons of India who control cross ownership of commercial FM Radio stations reaping the benefits of privatization of broadcasting.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have established community radio as a third force that has given voice to the voiceless. Community radio play crucial role in political process as it aims to empower the community in general but women in particular in some parts of the world like South Africa. Community radio has played a pivotal role in democratic movement in countries like South Africa where radio reaches remote villages and the 'legend has it that more people own radio than mattresses' (Naughton, 1996). Women have fought with the administration and social norms to get a CRS as they perceive it as a medium to express their struggle, grievances and exploitation. South Africa's only women-run radio of Moutse is a case in point that created gender sensitivity

in the concept of CRS (Ibid). For the first time in the history of mass media, community participation was accomplished as the community radio was designed to be owned and run by the community according to local interests. 'Based on a modicum of community ownership, such radio stations are commonly classified under the ambit of independent media (Taylor & Willis, 2000, p. 136) and alternative media' (Masilela, 1996). Community radio can shape social identity but may not conserve the local culture as the agenda is basically to promote a redressal mechanism. Mhlanga cites 'Riggins (1992) who defines "ethnic minority media" as being engaged in two parallel objectives: either preserving or weakening social identities and therefore argues that such radios regarded as a cultural appendage and medium of communication preserves social identity' (2009). Research suggests that community radio intensely develops ethnic consciousness as it aggravates the legitimatization of local languages (Laflin, 1989). Described as ethnic minority media, community radio gives cultural identity by fostering local languages in its broadcasting (Riggins, 1992). Therefore, small communities can hope to use their language, culture and tradition in radio platform. Unlike television, a non visual medium like radio can reach every member of the community through the use of local languages (Boeren, 1994). Nevertheless, despite the sense of belongingness and fostering of languages which were on the verge of collapse, the opportunity for manipulation in their desperate state seems to outweigh the plausible characteristic of community radio. In the garb of focusing on cultural distinctiveness and allowing localized form of public broadcasting political leadership can entrench ethnic cleavages so as to manipulate them (Mhlanga, 2009). Community radio can hold independent views on issues as some have pioneered alternative ethos that community radio is a haven for non-traditional approaches to music, literature and even spirituality (R.Lewsi, McKinney as cited in Dunaway, D 2009). Studies have shown the contribution of community radios like USA's Pacifica in constructing the audience's identity as co-owner and participant in programming and management (Dunaway.,D ,2005) More significantly, Pacifica's study illustrates the presence of dynamic, interactive model of broadcasting that treats listeners not as consumers but sponsors. It also shows that listeners are not mere ratings who hold market share but people rooted in the idealism (Ibid) sums up the level of media independence of community radio in a democracy.

The establishment of community radio in many countries like South Africa has been linked with transition of political power from autocracy to democracy (Ojebode & Akingbulu,2009) endorsing the premise that community needs a medium to enhance its participation. The study on Nigeria, with low rates of literacy, concludes that the absence of community radio is a serious weakness in Nigerian democracy depriving the majority of Nigerians from participating in the democratic process as community radio would have given a medium to express their needs and aspirations in local languages in a society of ethnic diversity (Ibid). Community radio democratizes media as it creates access to the most deprived sections of the society. 'Access to media is the primary step towards the full democratization of the communication system (Tabing (2002) cited in Musubika, 2008).' In a case study on Mama FM, a community radio in Uganda established by women the findings reveal that women have much potential when it comes to community media but lack of accessibility, participation and sustainability weaken such

initiatives (Ibid). News broadcasting has been experimented with alternative media in some pockets but one has to be cautious in not allowing them to go the commercial radio way. If community radio represented a deliberate attempt to extend the public sphere, then one has to say that the results of some studies in South Africa's Johannesburg have been disappointing in the area of news reporting (Kruger, 2011). Instead of covering local news, events and problems that do not appear in commercial media, these stations have failed to deliver. Research shows that some community stations are largely just relaying a mainstream news agenda (Ibid).

METHODOLOGY

These critical issues have been analyzed using case study method to examine the premise that the CRS policy needs to be transformed to make it relevant and meaningful to the community. The three case studies selected for this analysis are firstly "Jana Dhwani", Community Radio of Viveka School of Excellence, Heggada Devana Kote taluk, Saragur, Mysore District, Karnataka which caters to tribals, secondly KVK Pravara Community Radio of Krishi Vigyan Kendra, Babhaleshwar, Maharashtra that caters to farmers and the Krishi Community Radio of University of Agricultural Sciences, Dharwad, Karnataka which also caters to farmers. Semi structured interviews were conducted besides field visits to interact with owners, listeners, station managers, coordinators and radio reporters. The data was collected on the broadcasting policy, process of radio licensing, studio facilities, programming, staffing pattern, ownership and financial resources. The programs of all three stations were heard during specific broadcast hours on location to know the strength of signals, quality of broadcasting and access.

CRS is also an FM Radio station but unlike commercial radio (High Power Transmitter with 10kw and covering 50 to 110 km radius), it is a Very Low Power Transmitter (50 watt) with very limited reach of up to 10 to 20 kms. CRS was conceptualized with social agenda to serve the grassroots, voiceless and marginalized sections of the society.

Research Questions

RQ1: How local is the ownership of community radio?

RQ2: What is level of participation in programs by the local community?

RQ3: Are community radios financially viable?

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

90.8 FM *"Jana Dhwani",* Community Radio of Viveka School of Excellence, *Heggada Devana Kote* taluk, Saragur, Mysore District, Karnataka

The community radio with a frequency of 90.8 in the predominantly tribal belt of Karnataka State that was established on February 24, 2012 is owned by Swami Vivekananda Youth Movement, a private educational institute in the southern region of the state surrounded by forests. Situated in the hilly side, the terrain helps in getting clear audio signals and the signals cover 80 villages within a radius of 25 kms reaching a population of 75,000- 1,000,00 and targets tribals as their key audience. The establishment of CRS was funded by the Government of

Karnataka and in the absence of any revenue the owner has created a corpus fund to meet the expenditure of running the radio station. It broadcasts on an average 4-5 hrs of programs based on agriculture, health, education and tribal development and includes repeat telecasts. Housed in tribal hospital premises, the station is professionally well equipped and has couple of people to technically run the studio. Truly it has given a voice to the tribals of the region who have been fighting the government against their eviction from the forests. The organization owning radio has been serving the tribals for more than three decades against their marginalization and has set up hospitals, school and community centres for tribals. The community radio is in the hands of a leader who enjoys the stakeholder's credibility and recognition paving way for effective communication. The sense of participation already prevails in the environment and the radio station is trying hard to generate programs from the community.

In the long run it has the potential to create a database of tribal songs and dances, medicines, rituals, arts and crafts, food, costumes and narratives for posterity and has the potential to become nodal agency for area studies on tribals. The station boasts of a well equipped studio and control room equipped with advanced professional standard infrastructure.

90.8 FM KVK Pravara Community Radio Station – Krishi
Vigyan Kendra, Babhaleshwar , Rahata District, Ahmednagar, Maharashtra State

A Krishi Vigyan Kendra serving the farmers in the region since 1992, an outreach initiative of the Indian Council of Agricultural Sciences and *Pravara Institute of Research and Education in Natural and Social Sciences* in the sugar bowl of India, established its own community radio station on October 2, 2009. Broadcasting about 6 hrs of programs daily, the station has access to adequate content as it is run by the Krishi Vigyan Kendra (Agricultural Science Centre) and targets farmers as their key audience. Airing programs to the farming community, the radio station is reaching the farmers in 214 villages with an estimated population of 8.56 lakh within a radius of 25 kms. The radio station is gradually involving the community in running the day to day programming. The farmers are involved in program production and are successfully reaching the community with agriculture related programs. More content is focused on farmers, farming methods and weather reports. The studio facilities are adequate with control room, recording studio equipped with latest facilities.

90.4 FM *Krishi* Community Radio Station of University of Agricultural Sciences, Dharwad, Karnataka
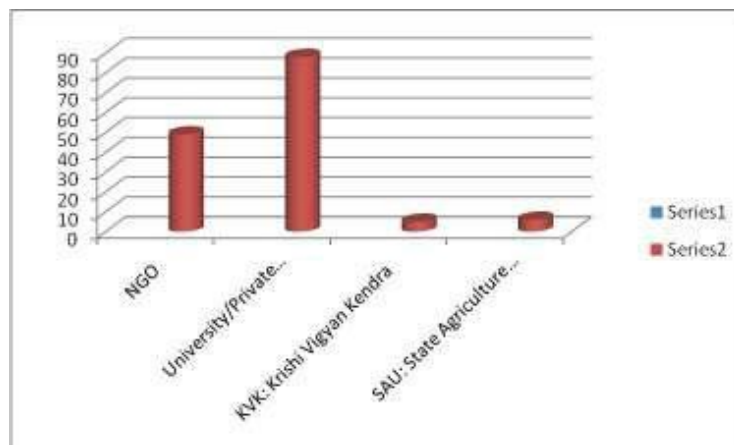
The *Krishi* (Agriculture) Community Radio Station established on May 17, 2007 heralded the arrival of development radio in the corridors of Agricultural universities in India. Supported by a credible base of agricultural scientists, the radio station soon filled the information void by strengthening the extension work of the university with distribution and sharing of vital information among farming community. The radio station reaches a population of around 1.5 lakh people within a radius of 65 villages in the remote and backward regions of the state aiding paddy, sugarcane, jowar and cotton growers and targets farmers as their key audience. The station is funded by government departments, university and other organizations to a great extent. The station has good technical infrastructure and professional standard broadcasting studio with all facilities.

Ownership
RQ1: How local is the ownership of community radio?

Based on the 3 CRS under study, it is felt that today community radio stations are owned by both government and private educational institutions, central and state universities and NGOs. Out of 3 stations one each is owned by private educational institute, agricultural university and agriculture science centre. Community radio operates on the premise that community consisting of farmers, tribals, women, students, minorities, marginalized, Dalits and others for whom radio is established have to participate in the process of development through media intervention. The community must gradually take up the responsibility of running the station and take over the ownership. CRMC- Community Radio Management Committee plays a crucial role in involving the community in the running of the radio station.

Figure 1

Ownership pattern of Community Radio Stations
1. *NGOs*
2. *University/Private Educational Institutions*
3. *Krishi Vigyan Kendra*
4. *State Agriculture University*

In all the 3 stations, the community members are involved at one level or the other but it is peripheral and total transfer of running the station has not been accomplished as per the agenda. They claim that 'slowly CRS will be owned by the local people' but doesn't say how and when this transition of ownership is going to happen. It is the license holder who continues to run the station and not the community per se. The present pattern of ownership illustrates low representation of the community in the CMRC for whom the station has been established. Unless and until the CMRC becomes truly representative of the community, the content generation, programming and management of station will be in the hands of the NGOs, universities, educational institutions and others. The model of community radio is based on participatory management theory that draws power from capacity building of community members involved in governance and leadership. It has been pointed out that 'community ownership stems from the CRMC and the disconnection of umbilical cord between the NGOs and CRMC is crucial in the transition of ownership to the community members' (unicef study, 2012).

Program, Listenership and Participation

RQ2: What is level of participation in programs by the local community?

The purpose of establishing mass media is to communicate with the masses and the process of communication begins only when you have something to say. Electronic media unlike print

media have to handle time by generating content for every fraction of a minute. Silence is deadly for the medium of sound compelling station to fill the radio time with meaningful content. Content creation is the biggest challenge of community radio and it requires people who are trained in radio programs to make stations work. The heart of any mass media is content and that requires planning, production and scheduling.

Participation is the essence of community radio set up and the local people are involved in program making and content generation. Programs portray their problems, issues, development, and opinions through discussions, interviews and talk shows. Unfortunately, the ground realities show that music constitutes the staple diet of programs to attract listenership. There are discussions and talk shows but the ideas for programming generate from the station and not from the community members. Participation means people's right to express their point of view but in the present model there is no room for exercising it. A radio station in the university or a tribal belt cannot take a critical look at the government or the institution's policies and programs. The CRS has become a tool for promoting government supported welfare programs and cultural programsextensively used in creating awareness about development programs with programs continuing to flow top down rather than bottom up and paradoxically the latter is the essence of CRS communication process. In the case of universities, students or the people in the surrounding geographical area are involved in planning cultural programs rather than expressing their views in discussions on issues concerning them. It is the elite university administration that controls ownership, programming and broadcasting. Even in the NGO run stations, its point of view gets precedence over community's as programs are prescriptive bordered on its goals and community's real voice get muffled in the din of elite's opinion undermining the participatory approach.

Figure 2

Improvised CSR Model

CRS model has made provision for creation of community radio reporters consisting of station personnel and members of the community who have been identified and trained to carry out the job.

This is a major bottleneck as community reporters have to be trained in radio program production and the reporters need financial assistance like stipend, salary or monetary aid to work either on full time or part time basis. The philosophy of CRS requires content generation and dissemination by the community members which in the given constraints is not easy to implement. How to expect a community in the remotely located area to give up their livelihood to participate in content production for radio is the moot point that needs to be answered. The owner of CRS should have funds to pay the community radio reporters as well as the talent requiring station owners to mobilize funds for financial sustainability. The model also provides for voluntary participation by the community and today the slow growth of CRS movement is also attributed to low participation by the volunteers. Voluntary participation will complement a system but cannot replace community radio reporters who have to keep the flow of programs to fill an average of 4 - 6 hrs of broadcasting every day. In the 24X7 age of broadcasting, producing programs that are relevant to the community even for few hours demands huge database of radio programs.

Under the circumstances, it is possible to identify few strong CRSs as nodal agencies for producing a database of general development oriented programs in different languages that could be shared and distributed among the radio stations to fill the time slots. All India Radio (AIR) perhaps has the world's largest network of radio stations in India with huge database of programs on development in different languages that should be made available to community radios. Government should network between AIRs and community radio stations for distribution and transmission of programs free of cost for wider reach and access. Further, CRS should collaborate with local print media to access development stories and enlist the support of reporters in writing radio scripts. Journalism and Mass Communication programs that teach Radio should be networked with local CRS for education, training and internship. The funds meant for creating infrastructure in the departments could be used to support education and training programs for students of Journalism, Social Work and Electronic media in community radio stations. Students should earn credits in academic programs linked with CRS thus serving the twin purpose of content generation and education/ training. In the long run, community radio becomes a viable platform for producing journalists or social workers with social concern sensitized to development improving the quality of coverage of development issues in media. University Grants Commission should support such initiatives by the university departments by creating exclusive funds to strengthen radio based courses to produce trained program producers to man hundreds of community radios that are mushrooming all over the country. The major lacuna of community radios in India is the dearth of trained hands to run radio stations and produce radio programs. CRSs need the participation by the universities in a big way to help realize the goals of reaching the community. All the 3 radio stations suffer from reaching the stakeholders with 50 watt transmitter capable of covering a radius of 10-15 kms only and the signals are technically very weak and cannot compared with the commercial FM stations signals. The listenership is abysmally low as the technical quality of broadcast is much to be desired. Initially Krishi Community Radio Station at Dharwar distributed radio sets in the listening pockets. But now the people prefer to listen to radio over mobile phone changing the listening pattern. The commercial programs of radio FM and pre recorded music programs in the mobile have led to fragmented listenership relegating the CRS programs to

the background. 'Potentially radio is a very democratic medium which when used in a decentralized manner may give local people and communities an opportunity to express their grievances in representative discussions' (Ronning, 1994). Ironically in India, despite privatization and decentralization of radio, news broadcast is exclusively a government preserve and therefore community radios owned by both private sector and government are not allowed to carry news. Further, the law bans news broadcast even by the private commercial radio stations. One of the features of democracy is the expanding access to the means of expression (Post and Olorunnisola cited in Ojebode & Akingbulu, 2009) and access to radio will increase the layers of voice. Then it will be the turn of local people and not media barons who are driven by market forces to control the message and to create a platform for healthy meaningful debate and discussion on public affairs. Radio initiative is a step towards bringing fundamental social change but the degree of isolation of community from news related programs reflects exclusion of marginalized groups from participating in public discussions and debates. Alternative media must be strong enough to accommodate spaces for the oppressed to voice their opinions in a country like India where it is supported by a liberal constitution that has given freedom of speech and expression to every citizen. Therefore, the right to express one's opinion is the crucial issue in a society where the media industry driven by market forces has ignored the existence of voiceless communities for long. India has a vast and huge network of mass media but no media created space for oppressed, marginalized and small communities. The liberal media policy has established community radio to capture the attention of less privileged but unless the structure accommodates their perspective on public issues and issues related to their welfare and development, the movement will collapse. Radio has been given social agenda but it cannot be isolated from political discussions and debates as the concept of development is based on political ideology.

Michael Delorme of World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC) states that 'community radio……remai ns a type of radio that encourages expression and participation and that values local culture. Its purpose is to give a voice to those without voices, to marginalized groups and to communities far from large urban centers, where population is too small to attract commercial or large scale state radio' (AMARC cited in CEMCA & Unicef Report 2012). Paradoxically, the map of CRS establishes an urban up market profile intending to serve urban listenership relegating the rural development to the background. Technologically CRS should have been provided with VHPTs to have adequate reach in the community. Poor signals compel it to compete with high power public and private commercial FM channels mushrooming all over the remote places of India. CRSs have to wait till 2016 when the present commercial public and private FM radio stations will become digital making the entire spectrum available to community radio system. FM Signals are more powerful than CRSs' affecting listenership. Ironically one finds the CRS penetration more in media rich urban areas and metropolitan cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Chandigarh, Patna, Pune, Nasik, Mangalore, Thiruvananthapuram, Bhopal, Puducherry and other cities than in rural and remote pockets of India.

Financial Support

RQ3: Are community radios financially viable?

Yet an another medium, the so called third broadcasting force, fails to deliver due to wrong planning and short sighted policy decisions. Setting up of a community radio requires a capital of INR 2.5 million and annual recurring expenditure of around INR.1million. CRSs established by the universities and educational institutions have been supported by the state government, University Grants Commission and other government agencies. But the concept of CSR requires participation by communities like civil society, NGOs and private organizations. How to make CSR model financially viable in private sector and village communities is the moot question? The government in its initiative to strengthen this movement recently has announced the cancellation of license fee for CRSs. It has plans to give financial assistance to community radio in its 12th Five Year Plan. A planned scheme of 'Supporting Community Movement in India' proposes to fund the CRSs initiatives to the tune of INR.1.5 Million depending on the purpose with provision to fund infrastructure cost and the Planning Commission has allocated INR.50 million for the scheme. Obviously government is keen on funding such radio station endeavor in rural or remote areas run by marginalized communities. Agriculture Technology Management agency (ATMA) of Ministry of Agriculture has also been supporting CSR initiatives through financial assistance. CSRs are extensively supported by government. 'The state's support of a community radio station is aimed at paving the way for state policies that are tangential to the needs of the minorities being targeted, and at seeking to promote policies of containment and repression'(Riggins, 1992). Political and economic factors have to be considered in evaluating the media independence says Mhlanga (2009) citing Taylor and Willis (2000).

These stations have to generate revenue through ads and private program production work. Today, DAVP, the government wing for empanelment of media for advertisements, has evolved guidelines for empanelment of CRSs to receive government advertisements and sponsored programs. But is it feasible to get adequate revenue from ads as government ad rates of DAVP are dismally low? Regarding commercial viability, who would like to market their products or services except the government on these radio stations that aim to reach small pockets of communities? How would thousands of community radios generate revenue from advertisements with social agenda when public radio the largest public broadcasting network in the world has failed to earn more advertising revenue and continues to be loss making? How NGOs and Self Help Groups, the latter is already considered as the largest female vote bank of the state governments, who own community radios can function independently when they are under government patronage?

CONCLUSION

The vision of Government of India to establish CRS since 2007 every mile in thousands has failed to materialize as the policy suffers from many shortcomings. Decentralized radio in a democracy ironically falls short of reaching its goal because it has been isolated from political discussions and debates on grounds of social agenda but the very concept of development is determined by political ideology. Privatization of broadcasting has paradoxically brought the private players knocking the doors of the government for financial succor. News broadcasting is paramount in radio movement as it can highlight local issues and problems not only to get and endure listenership but also to create avenues for financial sustainability.

Technically, all the 3 radio stations suffer from reaching the stakeholders with 50 watt transmitter covering a radius of 10-15 kms only and the signals are very weak and cannot compared with the commercial FM stations .

Is it decentralization of radio broadcasting? The community is given with radio station but does it have a voice? Stations are still new to the concept of broadcasting and produce programs that they are comfortable with by using the same old stereotypical prescriptive AIR program formats rather than telling the stories of the people who are their key audience. They are good at creating awareness about government's development programs but lack clear cut policy on making the community radio movement a force to reckon with.

SL. No	State/UT	Population (in millions)		Rural Population (in millions)	Literacy rate (%)		2011-2012 Growth Rate of GSDP at (2004-05) Prices (%)	Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 males)	Community Radio Stations
		Male	Female		Male	Female			
1	Andhra Pradesh	42.51	42.16	56.31	75.56	59.74	6.81	992	7
2	Assam	15.95	15.21	26.78	78.81	67.27	8.42	954	2
3	Bihar	54.18	49.62	92.07	73.39	53.33	13.13	916	4
4	Chandigarh	0.58	0.47	0.03	90.84	81.38	NA	818	3
5	Chattisgarh	12.83	12.71	19.6	81.45	60.59	10.81	991	3
6	Delhi	8.98	7.78	0.42	91.03	80.93	11.34	866	6
7	Gujarat	31.48	28.90	34.67	87.23	70.73	10.47	918	5
8	Haryana	13.51	11.85	16.53	85.38	66.77	8.12	877	7
9	Himachal Pradesh	3.47	3.38	6.17	90.83	76.60	7.59	974	2
10	J & K	6.67	5.88	9.14	78.26	58.01	6.78	883	1
11	Jharkhand	16.93	16.03	25.04	78.45	56.21	6.57	947	1
12	Karnataka	31.06	30.07	37.55	82.85	68.13	6.44	368	11
13	Kerala	16.02	17.37	26.93	96.02	91.98	7.80	1084	6
14	Madhya Pradesh*	37.61	34.98	52.54	80.53	60.02	8.17*	930	10
15	*Maharashtra**	58.36	54.01	61.54	89.82	75.48	10.47**	925	16
16	Odisha	21.20	20.75	34.95	82.40	64.36	7.18	978	5
17	Puducherry	0.61	0.63	0.39	92.12	81.22	10.95	1038	3
18	Punjab	14.63	13.07	17.32	81.48	71.34	5.79	893	3
19	Rajasthan	35.62	33.00	51.54	80.51	52.66	9.69	926	7
20	Tamil Nadu	36.16	35.98	37.19	86.81	73.86	9.39	995	23
21	Uttar Pradesh	104.59	94.99	155.11	79.24	59.26	6.23	908	16
22	Uttarakhand	5.15	4.96	0.03	88.33	70.70	8.80	963	5
23	West Bengal	46.93	44.42	62.21	82.67	71.16	7.06	947	2

*2010-11   **2010-12

Figure 2. The List of States and Union Territories in India that have Community Radio Stations and Demographic Profile

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