

# Development - Induced Displacement and the Print Media in Karnataka

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## Abstract

*Displacement is not mere physical transfer to a new place but a long process affecting the lives of thousands of people. For those who are attached to the land it is a traumatic experience. Karnataka is one of the states where lakhs of people have been displaced by development projects. The state has the third highest number of persons displaced by dams after Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Although media in Karnataka have been reporting displacement issues for the last three decades there have hardly been any content analyses of news related to displacement. This study looks at coverage of displacement as the main focus of investigation. The study examines the coverage and framing of news related development induced displacement in daily newspapers published in Karnataka. The study shows that Environmental stories in newspapers constituted only a small percent of (0.52) of all news reported. As low as 0.9 percent of the total news in the newspapers was about issues of displacement. Official bias permeates most stories of displacement in newspapers and that explains why a majority of the displaced persons do not see the coverage of issues favourable to them.*

**Keywords:** Development, Displacement, Rehabilitation, Framing, Sources, Environment.

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the consequences of the contemporary dynamics of economic development has been displacement of millions of people. Massive industries, large dams and mines, it was believed, would transform Independent India into a modern state leading to economic progress and prosperity. The first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, was so euphoric about the benefits of industries and big dams that he called them “temples of modern India”, while inaugurating Bhakra Nangal Dam on July 7, 1954. The dominant belief was that big industries and big dams would bring prosperity to India. This ‘universal idolatry of gigantism’ (Schumacher, 1976) led to conceiving massive projects to achieve what was perceived as development.

In 1950s and 1960s, the dominant view of development was influenced by modernization theories, which saw development as transforming simple traditional Third World societies into modern, complex, Westernized ones ( Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Lerner; 1958; Hagen, 1962, McClelland, 1964; Rogers, 1976). Large-scale, capital-intensive projects were expected to accelerate the pace of economic growth. If people were displaced along the way, that was

deemed a necessary evil. It was even considered as an actual good, because it was believed that it would help them change for the better (Robinson, 2003).

The problem of development-induced displacement is a global issue that has affected millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the citizens of the developed countries. People have been displaced due to building of large dams, extraction of resources, urbanization and transformation of urban areas, population redistribution schemes, eviction in city areas, expansion of urban areas, deforestation and the conservation of nature. According to Terminsky (2015: 33) the term displacement refers to “eviction of people from their habitual homeland without adequate compensation, guarantees or mechanisms of social support, or to the initial phase of a process of resettlement which is associated with physical relocation of people from their homes.” Development-induced displacement is currently among the most prominent categories of forced migration, leading to significantly dangerous humanitarian consequences.

Displacement involves processes that affect the lives of displaced people over a long period. The gestation period of some of the projects can be decades long. When a dam is planned and villages to be submerged are identified no development takes place in those villages and once people are evicted on completion or partial completion of the project rehabilitating and resettling them will take many years, sometimes decades (Altinbilek, 2002). There have been many cases of people fighting for compensation and resettlement five decades after they were displaced. Displacement is not mere physical transfer to a new place but a long process affecting the lives of thousands of people. For those who are attached to the land it is a traumatic experience.

If large-scale, capital-intensive development projects uprooted millions of people (Cernea, 1995) the planners believed displacement would be in their interest, as they would experience social and economic change. The people living in the area earmarked for building development project were ordered to leave their homes and move elsewhere for the greater common good (Roy, 1999). Speaking at a public meeting in the submergence zone of the Pong Dam in 1961 Morarji Desai, the then Deputy Prime Minister of India said *"We will request you to move from your houses after the dam comes up. If you move it will be good. Otherwise we shall release the waters and drown you all"* (Cited in Roy, 1999) Jawaharlal Nehru told villagers who were to be displaced by the Hirakud Dam in 1948 *"If you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country."* (Cited in Roy, 1999). Although development projects like hydroelectric and irrigation projects, mines, thermal and nuclear power plants, industrial complexes have displaced several million people in the last six decades it has remained a non-issue for governments, politicians and policy makers in India (Dutta, 2007).

Large dams alone have displaced 21.6 million people (Paranjpye, 1988). Michael Cernea, a sociologist who worked for the World Bank has conducted extensive research on development-induced displacement, resettlement, social change and project assessment (1986; 1990; 1995; 2008) has identified eight potential risks that are intrinsic to development in his impoverishment risks and reconstruction model (2000). Landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, and mortality, loss of access to common property and social disintegration are the major risks that the displaced people face (Cernea, 1995). The displaced people are often forced to move to economically, socially, and culturally different settings (Dutta, 2007).

A significant number of the displaced people are the tribals, and other economically marginalized rural people, who have depended upon the natural resource base for their livelihood (Government of India, 1993). Although tribal population constitutes eight percent of the population of India 40 percent of the displaced persons are tribal people (Negi & Ganguly, 2010). The most important serious consequence of development-induced displacement for the tribal people has been the dispossession of land, along with the loss of their traditional occupation. Most tribals have been deprived of compensation and rehabilitation benefits as they do not possess any legal documents to prove their ownership right on their land although they have been earning their livelihood for centuries together.

The struggle against development-induced displacement in India began with the struggle against the *Mulshi* Dam, a hydro-electric project located at about 20 kms south-west of Poona in 1921. The project, promoted by Tatas, had been commissioned in 1920 to supply power to the rising industrial city of Bombay. Over 11,000 people were slated to be displaced from their paddy fields. With the support of the freedom fighters the local inhabitants decided to resist eviction (Bhuskote, 1968). Although a reasonable compensation was given much of it went into the hands of moneylenders to whom the peasants were indebted. The displacement left the peasants moneyless, landless and homeless. A positive consequence of this agitation was that the Tata group did not proceed with the other hydroelectric projects they had intended for the *Sahyadri* (Western Ghat - a mountain range along the western side of India).

Gadgil and Guha (2013) have drawn parallels between the *Mulshi Satyagraha* and ongoing protests against large dams. Dam building in India after independence became a major symbol of modernization, scientific progress and a matter of national pride (Raina, 2010) but no specific policy was ever formulated either by the central governments or the state governments to address the issue of displacement of people. There were strong protests against Hirakud multipurpose dam in Orissa in 1946. However, the agitation fizzled out with the involvement of

political parties. There was very little opposition to the massive river valley projects of the 1950s (Gadgil & Guha, 1995). Although the *Bhakra-Nangal* dam in Punjab, the *Tungabhadra* project on the Andhra Pradesh - Karnataka border and *Rihand* dam in Uttar Pradesh displaced tens of thousands of people there were no massive protests.

In the early years of dam building in India, villagers were willing to sacrifice for nation building (Hart, 1956). Over the years, the Indian villagers who witnessed plight of the displaced persons developed a marked unwillingness to make way for 'nation-building' projects. Although large-scale projects had displaced millions of people rehabilitation was never a part of development planning. A national policy for rehabilitation and resettlement was not formulated until 2007.

Of all the movements against big dams the movement against the *Narmada* river valley projects has been a prolonged and intense one. Although the early protests against the projects in the *Narmada* valley began in the year 1978 the movement picked up momentum with Medha Patkar assuming leadership in 1985 (Maitra, 2009).

### **Development and Displacement in Karnataka**

Karnataka is one of the states where lakhs of people have been displaced by development projects. The state has the third highest number of persons displaced by dams after Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (Ministry of Water Resources, 2016). The movement against displacement emerged in the state only towards the late 1970s and early 1980s. The struggle against the *Bedthi* hydroelectric project that was to displace people living in 25 villages of Uttara Kannada district has been one of the few successful anti-displacement struggles in Karnataka. Farmers, writers, intellectuals and environmentalists including Sundarlal Bahuguna took part in the struggle that forced the government to shelve the project (Gadgil & Guha, 1995). When another attempt was made to build *Bedthi* dam in the 1990s it was met with stiff resistance.

The coastal districts of Dakshina Kannada, Udupi and Uttara Kannada have been in the forefront of environmental and anti-displacement movement. Like many other rivers in Uttara Kannada, *Kali* river has been dammed throughout its course. Six major hydroelectric dams *Supa*, *Kodasalli*, *Kadra*, *Kaneri*, *Tattihalla* and *Bommanahalli* dam were constructed across the *Kali* river. People's resistance has succeeded in preventing seventh dam being constructed on the river. Displacement by these projects has led to breaking up of communities with people being forced to move to different places cutting them off from their social and cultural roots. They had to rebuild their lives all over again in places unfamiliar to them. Some of those displaced by the *Sharavathi* project were displaced again by the *Kali* project and then by *Sharavathi* Tailrace Project. Repeated displacements have caused immeasurable social,

economic and cultural loss but no proper rehabilitation of the displaced population has taken place (Lokesh, 2010).

A dam project proposed on *Aghanashini* river near Hurlamane in Uttara Kannada district that was to submerge 100 villages was shelved due to stiff opposition from the people. A coal-fired power plant at Chamalapura near Mysore city was shelved after stiff resistance. POSCO, a steel company that had planned to set up a plant at Gadag shelved it after protests by farmers and religious leaders. The Sea Bird Project near Karwar caused massive displacement. Over 3000 families of farmers and fishermen were displaced. The Mangalore Special Economic Zone (MSEZ) displaced 500 families, which carried on a long struggle for fair compensation and rehabilitation. The Udupi Power Corporation, which had established a thermal power plant near Nandikuru in Udupi District, faced opposition by the farmers and religious leaders.

These anti-displacement struggles did create some awareness among the people of Karnataka about the harmful consequences of development projects. Since dam building was equated with nation building opposing it was almost seen as an anti-national act. For decades, media which were supposed to play a vital role in national development did not consider the consequences of building dams as a major agenda (D'Monte, 1985). However, media can greatly help create awareness among the people about the consequences of displacement and also about the rights of the people in seeking adequate compensation and rehabilitation.

### **Displacement Issues and the Media**

The mass media play an important role in shaping the public perception of problems associated with displacement (Gadgil & Guha, 1995). An analysis of how the issue of development-induced displacement is reported in the media and what frames are being used is vital in the context of economic policies aimed at achieving higher growth. Since the process of news production involves the mechanism of how mass media select and organize the reality (Getlin 1980; Tuchman, 1978), the concept of frame is important in investigating how media report displacement issues. Studies have revealed that while the media have generally shown their concern towards environmental degradation they have ignored the human consequences of displacement (Patwardhan, 2000).

Although mainstream media generally report on improper rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced persons, they tend to support the view that dam building and industrialization that displace people are inevitable consequences of economic growth (Roy, 1999).

Although claims-makers and their opponents routinely compete to promote their favoured frames to journalists as well as to potential supporters, news workers forge their own frames. Even when the details of an event are not disputed, the event can be framed in a number

of different ways. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) depict the interaction between the movements and the media as a subtle 'contest over meaning' in which activists attempt to 'sell' (Guha, 2010) their preferred images, argument and story lines to journalists and editors who, more often than not, prefer to maintain and reproduce the dominant mainstream frames and cultural codes. The issues involving displacement and rehabilitation have often been framed by journalists within event orientation.

Akhileshwari (1989), Guha (1992) Gadgil and Guha (1995), Krishna (1996), Chapman et al. (1997), Hegde (1999), D'Monte (2005) have found that the media have contributed considerably to the growth of awareness with regard to environment and displacement in India although there are differences in the approaches to understanding displacement issues by different media. These studies suggest that the media are important in promoting awareness and building agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs, 1994) with regard to environmental and displacement issues. Media framing of displacement issues has implications on claims making and mobilizing tasks of civil society groups that have been leading anti-displacement movements (Somayaji & Mangalekar, 2011).

Media coverage of displacement began with the very first struggle against the construction of a hydroelectric power plant near *Mulshi* in Maharashtra. The Times of India attempted a balanced coverage of the issue by presenting the arguments of the protesters and also the promoters of the project. The Times of India dated May 02, 1971 published five arguments against the project and seven arguments in favour of the project (Gadgil & Guha, 1995:69-70). The report of the Times of India is a classic case of a newspaper taking a neutral stand with regard to a controversial issue. This kind of balance that the media take on vital issues has been a subject of debate which is highly relevant in the context of media coverage of the issue of displacement by development projects.

While most media organizations want to address the environmental problems through objective reporting<sup>1</sup>, some of them have proclaimed themselves as environmental advocates. Objectivity in environmental reporting means that media often attempt to distance themselves from any struggle aimed at effecting a change in public consciousness, 'taking refuge instead in the objectivism of science' (Killingsworth & Palmer, 1992: 149). Journalists thus see themselves as neutral and ironic voice, willing to produce news only if the scientific evidence concerning environmental and displacement problems are sufficiently powerful and unambiguous. But

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of objectivity in journalism first arose during the nineteenth century as part of the sweeping intellectual movement towards scientific detachment and the culture-wide separation of fact from value (Gitlin, 1980). Objectivity is still viewed as the cornerstone of journalistic profession.

Friedman (1991) has found that very few reporters are sufficiently well informed to be able to evaluate the 'scientific standing' of evidence.

Reporting objectively also means that journalists rarely express the content of environmental stories in overtly political terms, opting instead for news frames that emphasise conservation, civic responsibility and consumerism. Presenting events in historical and social context would take too much time or space. Lowe and Morrison (1984) argue that a major attraction of environmental issues for the media is that they can be depicted in non-partisan terms, allowing journalists to subversively foster environmental protest at the same time as appearing to maintain a politically balanced stance. This means that environmentalists and their opponents are given equal space or time in the media without attempting to resolve who is right. In such a situation, it becomes difficult for the environmentalists to convince the public that an 'issue' in fact is a 'problem' (Hannigan, 1995).

Those who argue that media should take an active part in environmental protection say that reporting accurately what the sources say can effectively remove responsibility for their stories onto their sources. The ideal of objectivity is rejected on the ground that it encourages uncritical reporting of official statements and those of authority figures. In this way, 'the individual biases of journalists are avoided but institutional biases are reinforced' (Beder, 1998: 204). Objective reports represent society's dominant values, largely agreed upon by government, industry and other institutions including the media.

Media have been called upon to abandon their notions of balance and become advocates if people are to be protected against the onslaught of harmful industrialization (Sharma, 2010). Lester Brown (cited in Detjen, 1991, p.94) who favours advocacy in journalism argues that the time is running out and one cannot afford to wait for the audience to come to their own conclusions. Advocacy is strongly recommended as the media have the ability to educate millions of people. Advocacy is considered as a means through which further damage to the environment and to communities can be prevented.

However, Detjen (1991) argues that though the media coverage of environmental issues is often lacking, advocacy journalism is not an answer. Detjen who was the founder president of the IFEJ believes that advocacy will lead to erosion of credibility. Journalists consider it important to maintain their tradition of healthy scepticism, continuing to question government, corporations and even environmental groups. The code of Asian Forum of Environmental Journalists (AFEJ) adopted in 1998 says, "The journalist should not be influenced on environmental issues by vested interests—whether they are commercial, political and governmental or non-governmental. The journalist ought to keep a distance from such interests

and not ally with them. As a rule, journalists are expected to report on all sides of any environmental controversy” (Asian Mass Communication Bulletin, 1998: 2).

Newspapers have not taken kindly to those protesting against displacement. Leaders of movements demanding stopping of projects before adequately planning for rehabilitation were dubbed ‘militant’, ‘obstinate’ and ‘unreasonable’ (The New Indian Express, July 12, 1999). The anti-displacement campaigners were maligned as ‘merry makers’, ‘city dwellers’ and ‘romantic environmentalists’ (The Times of India, December 23, 2012). While newspapers may have remained neutral in many cases, they have taken keen interest in the completion of some projects (Warrier, 2010). The subsistence-oriented peasants who opposed projects that would displace a large number of people were presented as static and backward whereas those in favour of projects were presented as forward-looking, dynamic and progressive, working towards national goals of development (Gadgil & Guha, 1995).

One of the ways in which media shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves presenting and defining an issue. A frame is a central organizing idea that gives a sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue’ (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). It helps media audience make sense of what is going on. Many researchers have applied numerous frames to the study of the media content although framing theory is less frequently used in communication research as compared to other communication theories (Baran & Davis, 2008; Goffman, 1974).

Frames function as interpretative schema to make sense of and discuss an issue. Journalists use frames to condense complex events into interesting and appealing news reports, and policy-makers use frames to define policy options and reach decisions (Getlin, 1980; Scheufele, 1999). Frames help journalists simplify complex issues by focusing attention on certain considerations and arguments. They present a certain dimension of a complex topic by excluding an alternative frame (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

The concept of framing is also used in combination with other concepts such as agenda setting or priming (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) suggested that framing was an extension of agenda setting. They used the term second-level agenda setting to describe the impact of the salience of characteristics of media coverage of audience interpretation of new stories. There are several studies that have referred to framing, agenda setting, and priming without differentiation (Popkin, 1994).

Displacement issues can be extraordinarily complex, as studying them requires understanding of issues related to science, law, politics, history, ethics, economics, and international relations as well. Sociologists have studied anti-displacement movement as a part



of the New Social Movements (NSMs). Researchers have studied how ‘environmental problems’ are constructed by the media as social problems (Hannigan, 1995). Chapman et al., (1997) had found that while the Indian language newspapers were perceived as ‘pro-development’ the English newspapers were perceived as ‘pro-environment.’ The indication was that the English newspapers which had a very high percentage of urban and upper-middleclass readers were pro-environment whereas Kannada newspapers mostly read by middle and lower middle classes were pro-development.

The present study will benefit from the concepts and methodological approaches sociologists and political scientists have worked with. Media coverage is needed for the movements like the anti-displacement movement for mobilization of political support, legitimization (or validation) in the mainstreams discourse, and to broaden the scope of conflicts (Barker, 2008). Consequently, the quality and nature of the media coverage that movements obtain strongly influences how they are perceived in the public eye.

Despite the fact that Karnataka has been one of the few states where anti-displacement movement has taken deep roots (Rai, 1999) very little investigation has been done on how the media have reported it over the years. Karnataka has been a witness to many anti-displacement struggles since the late 1970s (Hiremath, 1988; Kanavalli, 1991). Mega projects and special economic zones have displaced several thousand people in the coastal districts and the districts bordering the Western Ghats. Although media in Karnataka have been reporting displacement issues for the last three decades there have hardly been any content analyses of news related to displacement. Some studies on reporting environment have included displacement as one of the categories but few have looked at coverage of displacement as the main focus of investigation.

## OBJECTIVES

The general objective of this study is to examine the coverage and framing of news related development induced displacement in daily newspapers

The following are the specific objectives of the study

- To analyze the extent of coverage given to news of displacement.
- To find out the frames within which displacement news get interpreted in newspapers.
- To find out the news sources and their relationship with the framing of displacement issues.
- To investigate the language divide if any with regard to coverage of displacement news between English and Kannada dailies.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to analyze the coverage and framing of displacement and use of sources a content analysis of eight newspapers was carried out. Four major English dailies and four major Kannada dailies with statewide circulation were chosen for the study. The English newspapers selected were The Hindu, The Deccan Herald, The New Indian Express and The Times of India and the Kannada newspapers chosen were *Prajavani*, Kannada Prabha, Vijaya Karnataka and Samyuktha Karnataka.

To select a sample for content analysis a higher frequency of appearance of news in the newspapers is necessary (Stempel, 1958; Budd et al., 1967; Ahmed, 1996). For analyzing the content related to politics, crime, sports, economics a smaller sample would be adequate as the frequency of appearance of such news is very high (Brooks et al., 1976). But when the frequency of appearance of news of displacement is very low a census becomes necessary. All issues of the eight newspapers published between May 01, 2013 and April 30, 2015 were selected. It was expected that the two-year period would produce useful data for analysis. Each item was numbered, measured in terms of space devoted to it, and classified into different categories on the coding sheet.

All news items on environment and displacement induced by development projects published between May 01, 2013 and April 30, 2015 were examined. The unit of analysis was a news story. Only those stories that appeared in the main section of the newspaper were considered for analysis as supplements were not published by all newspapers and were focused on diverse subjects. Environmental stories were first identified and then the displacement stories among them. Only those stories that referred to displacement by development projects like dams, mines, power plants, industries, ports and military base were considered as stories about development induced displacement. Displacement due to internal conflicts, natural disasters and ethnic violence was excluded in the analysis.

In order to operationalize frames the headlines of news stories and the lead paragraphs were considered. When the lead paragraph appeared unclear the second paragraph or paragraph that followed was considered. Based on the studies carried out in the past three types of frames were chosen for the purpose of analysis. These were aspect frames, functional frames and scope frames.

One of the questions encountered in a content analysis is what should be the base of analysis. One could take either the amount of space (measured in terms of column centimeters) or the frequency count of items. Stevenson and Cole (1982) and Ahmed (1992) have shown that

whether one takes space or frequency count of items the results would be the same. Since a significant positive correlation (Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient of above .924) was found between the amount of space and the number of items it was decided to analyze the content on the basis of frequency count of items.

## ANALYSIS

### Coverage of displacement news

Environmental content in newspapers has generally received low coverage in media as has been shown in several studies in the past. In the eight sample newspapers, (Table 1) environmental news accounted for less than one percent of the total news. Environmental stories in the two-year period accounted only for 0.52 percent of the total number of stories published. The *Deccan Herald* carried the highest percent (0.71%) of environmental news followed by *The Hindu* (0.61%). *The New Indian Express* and *The Times of India* had the lowest coverage of environmental news. It is interesting to note that highest and lowest coverage was found among the English newspapers. Of the four Kannada newspapers, *Kannada Prabha* had the highest coverage and the *Samyukta Karnataka* the lowest.

Table 1: Environmental News in Newspapers during 2013-2015

Newspaper	May 2013-April 2014			May 2014-April 2015			Total		
	All news items	Environmental news	% of environmental news	All news items	Environmental news	% of environmental news	News items	Environmental news	% of environmental news
Deccan Herald	32718	303	0.93	30202	146	0.48	62920	449	0.71
The Hindu	31709	246	0.78	29312	126	0.43	61021	372	0.61
The New Indian Express	28193	108	0.38	24792	64	0.26	52985	172	0.32
The Times of India	23147	110	0.48	25617	46	0.18	48764	156	0.32
<i>Prajavani</i>	23233	162	0.7	22105	107	0.48	45338	269	0.59
Vijaya Karnataka	21617	131	0.61	21105	83	0.39	42722	214	0.5
Kannada Prabha	21518	143	0.66	20699	109	0.53	42217	252	0.6
Samyukta Karnataka	24115	98	0.41	21930	92	0.42	46045	190	0.41
Total	206250	1301	0.63	195762	773	0.39	402012	2074	0.52

The coverage of environmental issues went down from 0.63 percent in the year 2013-14 to 0.39 percent in the year 2014-15. With the sole exception of *Samyukta Karnataka* all

newspapers had higher percentage of environmental news in the year 2013-14 as compared to the year 2014-15. The *Deccan Herald* (0.93%) and *The Hindu* (0.78%) had the highest coverage in the year 2013-14. *The Times of India*, the largest circulated and the most widely read newspaper, had only 0.18 percent of the stories on environment in the year 2014-15. The coverage in this newspaper had declined from the previous year (0.48%) In the year 2013-14 *Prajavani* was ahead of other Kannada newspapers in covering environmental problems (0.7%).

What is clearly indicated is that there was no significant difference among the newspapers with regard to coverage of environmental news in two years. Low coverage of environmental news is attributed, among other factors, to the complex nature of environmental issues, professional norms and media's links with the industry (Bavadam, 2010) and the media have been reactive than being proactive in writing about environmental consequence of industrial policies (Sharma, 2010).

During the two-year period, one problem that dominated the newspaper coverage of environmental issues was deforestation. The other problems, with the exception of global warming and displacement, accounted for less than seven percent of all stories on environment. While the highest percent of stories (43.8) were about deforestation, the lowest percent of stories were about air pollution (Table 2). Displacement accounted for 17.4 percent of the environmental stories. Global warming received the third highest coverage with 16.1 percent. The higher coverage of displacement stories could be linked to the increasing number of dams, industries, infrastructure projects and special economic zones. One issue that is being hotly debated in media is the problem of global warming.

Table 2: Environmental Issues in Newspapers

Environmental issues	Frequency	Percent
Air pollution	32	1.5
Water pollution	42	2.0
Deforestation	908	43.8
Wildlife endangerment	103	5.0
Solid waste	127	6.1
Nuclear Hazard	70	3.4
Sea pollution	42	2.0
Global warming	334	16.1
Loss of biodiversity	56	2.7
Displacement	360	17.4
Total	2074	100.0

A lot of efforts are being made globally, nationally and locally to reduce production of greenhouse gases that cause global warming. Climate change is also on the agenda of not only international forum but also on the agenda of regional and local governments. A huge gap existed between deforestation and global warming and displacement. Solid waste received the fourth highest coverage of 6.1 percent followed by wildlife endangerment with 5 percent. After threat to wildlife came nuclear hazard with coverage of 3.4 percent. Biodiversity loss that has been the subject of international and national debate received 2 percent coverage. Water pollution and sea pollution appeared in only 2 percent of the environmental stories each. It is clearly indicated that deforestation has received the highest attention of newspapers, followed by global warming and displacement although at a huge gap.

### Displacement news

Between May 2013 and April 2015, there were 360 items in newspapers that were categorized as news of displacement. As shown in Table 2 these items constituted 17.4 percent of the environmental news found in all the issues of newspapers in the two year period. The remaining 82.6 percent of the environmental news was about other environmental problems including deforestation, global warming, big dam, and mining, threat to wild life, bio-diversity loss, air pollution and water pollution. As shown in Table 3, of the eight newspapers, *Prajavani* had highest percent (0.16) and the *The Times of India* lowest percent (0.04) of the displacement news. *Prajavani* was followed by *Vijaya Karnataka* (0.11%) and *Kannada Prabha* (0.11%) which carried the same amount of news.

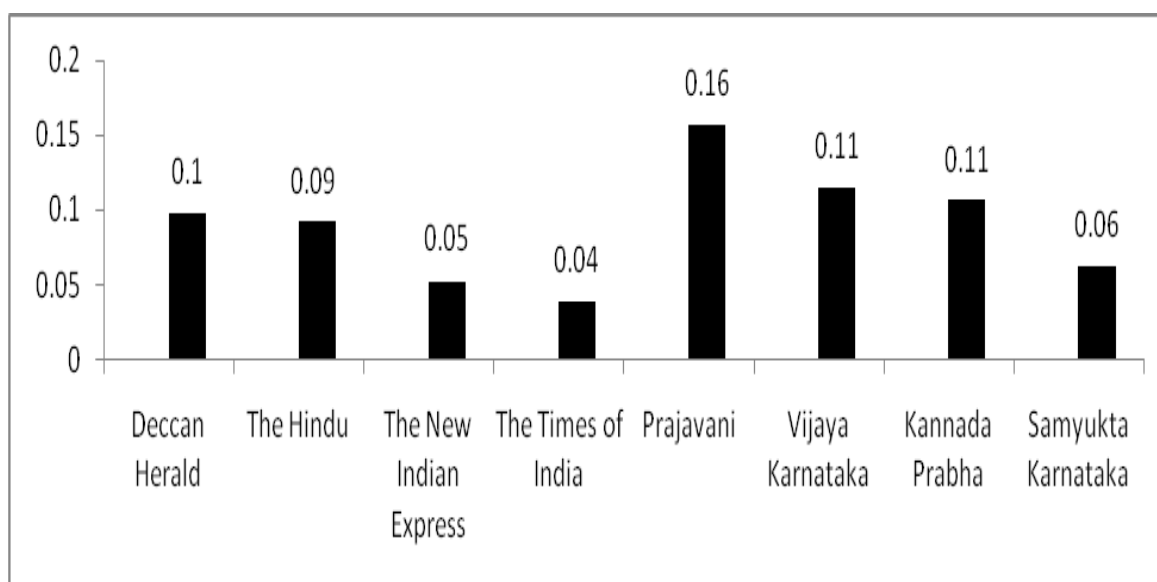
Table 3: All News and Displacement News in Newspapers

Newspaper	All news items	Displacement news	% of Displacement news
Deccan Herald	62920	62	0.1
The Hindu	61021	57	0.09
The New Indian Express	52985	28	0.05
The Times of India	48764	19	0.04
<i>Prajavani</i>	45338	71	0.16
Vijaya Karnataka	42722	49	0.11
Kannada Prabha	42217	45	0.11

Samyukta Karnataka	46045	29	0.06
<b>Total</b>	<b>402012</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>0.09</b>

*The Deccan Herald* had the highest percent of displacement news among the English newspapers and the 3<sup>rd</sup> position when compared to all the papers. *The Hindu* ranked 4<sup>th</sup> among all the newspapers and 2<sup>nd</sup> among the English newspapers in term of coverage of displacement news. *Samyukta Karnataka* ranked 5<sup>th</sup> (0.6 %) among all the newspapers and 4<sup>th</sup> among the four Kannada newspapers. *The New Indian Express* and *The Times of India* had 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> positions respectively. The largest circulated and the widely read newspaper *The Times of India* not only had the least percentage of environmental news but also displacement news. Among the newspapers there were noticeable differences with regard to the coverage given to environmental news and within the environment news to the news about displacement.

Figure 1: Displacement News in Newspapers



It is interesting to note that Kannada newspapers (0.44 %) carried more displacement news than English newspapers (0.28%). Kannada newspapers have circulation reaching into the remote parts of districts whereas the circulation of the English newspapers is concentrated in and around big cities. Since most of the incidences of displacement take place in the far-flung areas they have better chance of getting reported in Kannada newspapers. It is clear that more displacement news was found in Kannada newspapers than in English newspapers although the difference in terms of the quantity of coverage was not significant.

Of the 8 newspapers, as shown in Table 4, the coverage of displacement among *Deccan Herald*, *The Hindu*, *The New Indian Express* and *The Times of India* had significant correlation. There was a significant correlation between *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* and *Vijaya Karnataka*. *The New Indian Express* had significant correlation with *Prajavani*, *Vijaya Karnataka* and *Kannada Prabha* but hardly any relationship with *Samyukta Karnataka*. The coverage in *The Times of India* had significant positive correlation with *Deccan Herald* and *The Hindu* and no relationship with any of the Kannada newspapers. It was only between *The Times of India* and *Prajavani* that a slightly negative correlation was found although not significant. *Prajavani*'s coverage had significant correlation with that of *The New Indian Express*, *Vijaya Karnataka* and *Kannada Prabha* but hardly any relationship with *Samyukta Karnataka*. *Vijaya Karnataka*'s coverage of displacement issues was correlated with the coverage in *The Hindu*, *The New Indian Express* and *Prajavani*. Its coverage had no significant relationship with the two other Kannada newspapers.

Table 4: Correlation Coefficients between the Newspapers in Covering Displacement News

Newspapers	<i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The New Indian Express</i>	<i>The Times of India</i>	<i>Prajavani</i>	<i>Vijaya Karnataka</i>	<i>Kannada Prabha</i>	<i>Samyukta Karnataka</i>
Deccan Herald	.596**	.605**	.573**	.381	.381	.256	.247
The Hindu		.301	.511*	.198	.438*	.327	.175
The New Indian Express			.403	.567**	.527**	.435*	.382
The Times of India				-.072	.207	.064	.277
Prajavani					.605**	.446*	.063
Vijaya Karnataka						.335	.322
Kannada Prabha							.140
	** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level						
	* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level						

*Samyukta Karnataka*'s coverage of displacement stories had no significant correlation with the coverage in any other newspaper. Of the 28 combinations of newspapers only 10 combinations had significant correlations suggesting that newspapers differed in publishing issues related to developed-induced displacement. Between English and Kannada newspapers a

significant correlation ( $r_s=.510$ ) was found at .05 level of significance indicating that the language of the newspaper did not influence the publication of news stories about displacement.

The months of June and July accounted for the highest percent of displacement news in the two-year period (Table 5). The two months fall in the monsoon period and the issue of displacement is likely to find space in newspapers as the water levels rise in big dams. As big dams displace a large number of people (Negi & Ganguly, 2010) the issue is likely to be debated in the media around the time when the threat of submergence looms large.

Protests against the big dams and demands for better compensation and rehabilitation are usually noticed in the monsoon months. June is also the month in which the World Environmental Day is celebrated on the occasion of which issues related to the environment are likely to be reported and discussed in newspapers. The only other month in which more than 10 percent of the displacement news was found in the newspapers was in April. The Earth Day is celebrated on April 22 on the occasion of which a lot of events are held highlighting the need to protect the earth and natural resources.

Table 5: Displacement News Month-Wise

Month	Frequency	Percent
May	19	5.3
June	58	16.1
July	59	16.4
August	23	6.4
September	24	6.7
October	34	9.4
November	32	8.9
December	10	2.8
January	26	7.2
February	19	5.3
March	19	5.3
April	37	10.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100.0</b>

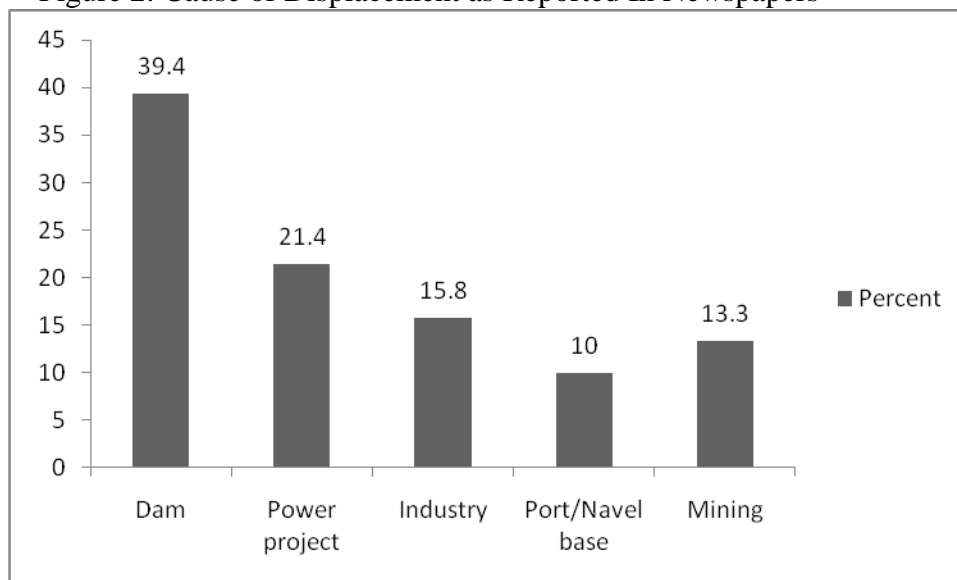
The Earth Day that was first celebrated in the year 1970 has been identified as the day on which the environmental movement began globally. Several issues related to the environment including displacement are discussed throughout the world. The lowest coverage of 2.8 percent was found in the month of December. There does not seem to be significant variation in the coverage of displacement news during the other months.



## Causes and Risks of Displacement

Of all the major projects it is the dams that have displaced the largest number of people in India. That the dams continue to displace people is reflected in the coverage given to them. A majority of the news stories (39.4) were about displacement by big dams (Figure 2). Many studies endorse the premise that large majority of the people have been displaced by big dams. Of all the environmental movements it is the movement against the big dams that has remained active for more than three decades (Mathur, 2013). As big dams displace a large number of people organized struggle have been common in many parts of the country. Since a large majority of the displaced people have not yet been properly compensated and rehabilitated they continue to carry on periodic struggles to get the government to act<sup>2</sup>. Displaced persons petition the government and hold demonstrations frequently in order to highlight their plight. Therefore, of all the displacements it is the displacement by big dams that continues to get the attention of the newspapers.

Figure 2: Cause of Displacement as Reported In Newspapers



Power projects other than big dams accounted for 21.4 percent of the displacement stories. In the recent past many thermal and nuclear power projects have come up in several part of the country including Karnataka that have caused displacement of several thousand families. There has been rapid industrial growth in the last two decades with Karnataka becoming one of the key hubs of mega industries. Establishment of these mega industries involves acquisition of land and

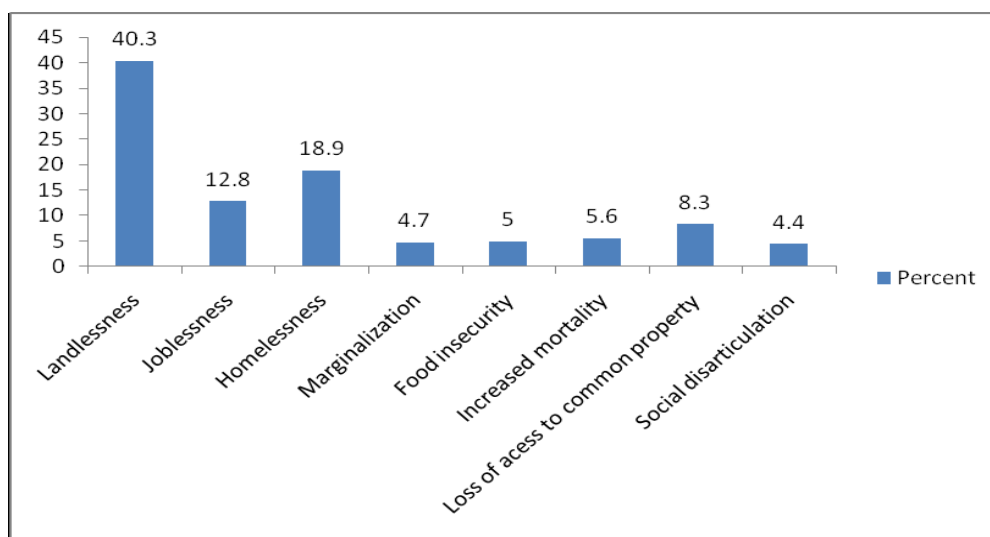
<sup>2</sup> Six decades after the Linganamakki dam was commissioned the displaced persons are still struggling for allotment of land. The *Deccan Herald* (30-09-2015, p.3) and *Vijaya Karnataka* (20-08-2015, p.4) reported that Shivamogga district forest and revenue officials have taken a decision to send a proposal to the Government of Karnataka to grant ownership of the land to the displaced persons. Displacement by big dams continues to make news for decades after their completion.

displacement of the landowners. Besides legal battles against land acquisition, there are also frequent demonstrations that are held to get media attention.

As many as 15.8 percent of the news stories were about displacement by industries. Of all the displacement stories, 13.3 percent were about displacement due to mining. After big dams, power projects and industries it is mining that is featured as an issue in the newspapers. Air and naval ports in Karnataka have also led to forcible ejection of people from their homes. The Seabird Naval Base in Karnataka has also displaced thousands of fishermen and farmers families in Uttara Kannada district. Ten percent of the displacement news was about people suffering due to loss of land, improper rehabilitation and denial of basic amenities.

Eight risks that the displaced persons generally face have been identified by Cernea (2002) who has been studying the problems of the displaced people for many years. These eight risks were identified in the displacement stories carried by the eight newspapers. Although displaced people face most or all of these risks one risk that was found to be the dominant was landlessness. Landlessness as a major problem was found in 40.3 percent of the displacement stories (Figure 3). This is one of the most visible problems that the displacement causes. Loss of property and the problems that follow it tend to be discussed in media more often than any other problems.

Figure 3: Displacement risks in newspapers



Homelessness was the second most frequently reported problem (18.9%) that was found in the newspaper stories about displacement. Peoples' houses getting submerged or demolished make good stories for the media. There have been many cases of people living in makeshift shelter for decades without proper housing. Displaced people lose their traditional occupations and are unable to pursue other professions as they lack necessary skills for them. Joblessness was the third-most frequently appearing problem (12.8) in the newspapers. Joblessness leads to

disempowering of those who were dependent on the jobs that their communities provided. The other five problems accounted for 10 percent of the stories each. Social disarticulation was the least frequently used frame as compared to the other frames. These are the stories that refer to displaced people from one community being scattered in different places. People lose their ancestral shrines and graves, mountains and rivers considered holy when they are displaced.

Despite the fact that displacement pushes people to social oblivion newspaper, do not seem to have considered it as important as landlessness, joblessness and homelessness. Among the five risks that received less than 10 percent coverage each, loss of access to common property was slightly more frequently used (8.3). Only 5.6 percent of the news was focused on increased mortality, which brings into focus higher death rate among the displaced people due to lack of amenities. Food insecurity as a problem was found in only five percent of the stories. Displaced people face severe food security risk as the traditional growing and collecting of food is severely affected. That there is marginalization of displaced people is less frequently found in the news stories. Displaced people are marginalized to such an extent that they are unable to use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location leading to human capital becoming obsolete.

Except for social disarticulation, there was noticeable variation between the newspapers in the two languages. There were significant differences between English and Kannada newspapers with regard to the covering the risks of development-induced displacement.

### **Framing**

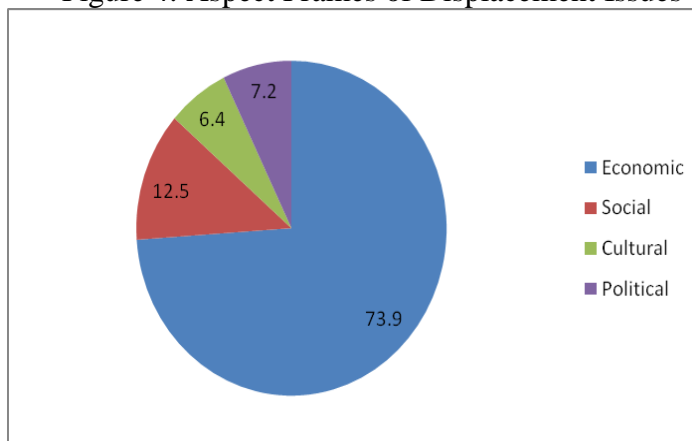
Media shape public opinion by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves presenting and defining an issue. A frame is an organizing idea that helps make sense of events by suggesting what is at issue (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Displacement news can be framed in different ways. The frames identified in this study are based on aspect, risk, function and focus of displacement stories.

Displacement has many aspects to it. In order to understand the depth and breadth of the issue of development-induced displacement one has to look into several aspects which are considered important. Studies in the past have shown that economic and political aspects of environmental issues have dominated the newspaper pages (Nambiar, 2014). The present study shows that economic aspect of the displacement issues dominated the newspaper coverage (Figure 4). Nearly one-fourth of the displacement news was primarily focused on the economic aspect of problem. Stories mainly focused on issues related compensation, granting of land and people's suffering from lack of means of livelihood. Newspapers tend to reduce the entire problem of displacement to mere economics of compensation without looking into the human

angle (Nambiar, 2014). The complex issues surrounding the problem of displacement are not given adequate and balanced coverage.

Social frame of displacement was featured only in 12.5 percent of the stories. Breaking up of communities and impact of displacement on social relationships which are an important factor of any society did not get due attention in newspaper stories. Cultural and political aspects of displacement which are important in the context of disintegration of cultural practices and marginalization of displaced groups of people found very little space in newspapers. Whenever large scale displacement takes place it led to destruction of communities and cultures (Penz et al., 2011) but such an aspect rarely gets media attention.

Figure 4: Aspect Frames of Displacement Issues

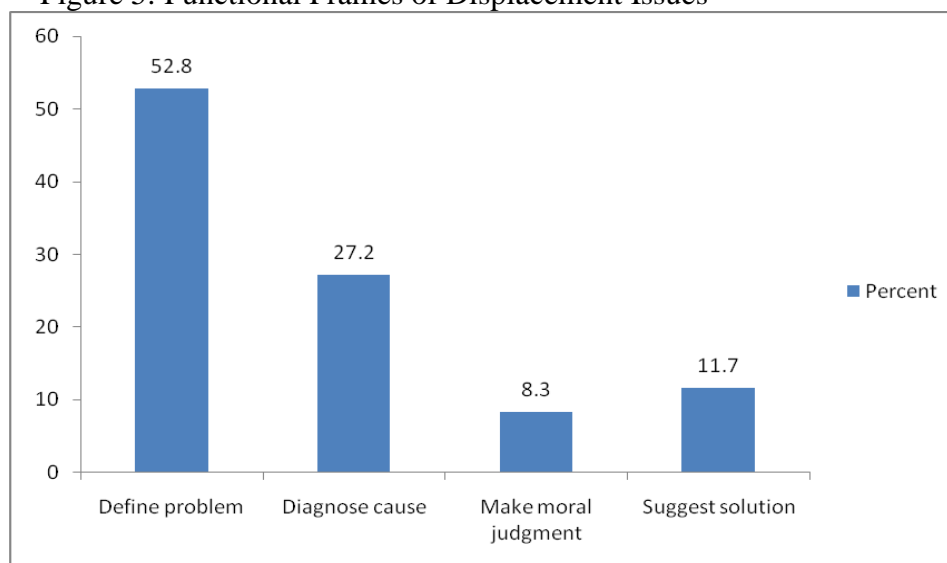


Culture is an important aspect of the overall wellbeing of the people but it was rarely seen in the stories of displacement. Many of the displacement issues are connected with politics as building of mega projects is the result of political decision making at different levels. Only 7.2 percent of the displacement stories referred to political aspect of the issue despite the fact that it is politics that dominates newspapers columns in Indian newspapers. Aspects other than the economics require a lot of time-consuming research and fieldwork which are not always possible in a situation where a journalist is expected to do the regular assignments. The economic-related issues gets covered more often as information and statistical data collected from authoritative sources. While economic loss is quantifiable the other aspects need to be described with case studies and analysis of the situations the displaced people live in.

According to Entman (1993) frames which are found at the top of the inverted pyramid of news perform four functions: defining the problem, diagnosing cause, making moral

judgment and suggesting remedies. Among these functional frames (Trumbo, 1996) problem definition dominated the displacement stories. As shown in Figure 5 as many as 52.8 percent of the stories explained the negative and positive consequences of displacement that constituted problem definition. It is interesting to note that more than a half of the stories did not go beyond defining the problem. In his analysis of news about climate change Trumbo (1996) has found problem definition as a major frame. The percent of stories that diagnosed causes with evidences against displacement or presented evidence in favour of displacement was 27.2. These newspaper stories provided details of reports and documents that emphasized the gravity of the problem of displacement or presented arguments about the inevitability of displacement and its possible advantages.

Figure 5: Functional Frames of Displacement Issues



Nearly 11.7 percent of stories made specific suggestions with regard to how compensation should be given, what rehabilitation package should be given, what jobs could be given and how their basic needs should be addressed. Making moral judgment was the frame of 8.3 percent of the stories on displacement. These included general statements about action that needed to be taken in terms of policy or statements against giving into the demands of the people who are going to lose their lands. Of the four functional frames defining the problem and diagnosing the cause accounted for 80 percent of the displacement stories. A very small percent of newspaper stories on displacement had frames of moral judgment and suggestion of solution.

On the basis of their focus of the news stories episodic and thematic frames can be identified (Gross, 2008; Iyengar, 1991; de Vreese et al., 2001; Iyengar, 2010). While episodic frame is focused on events that are related to an issue, thematic frames are focused on the

broader context of events and present collective, abstract and general evidence about an issue. As shown in Table 6 a great majority of the displacement stories (75.3) had episodic frames suggesting that newspapers only reported events and did not provide context of those events. Events happen to be the principal diet of a journalist because an issue is reported when someone holds a hearing, when an irate citizen complains about pollution, when a meeting is held or when a government body makes a decision or when a suit is filed (Dunwody and Griffin, 1993). Event orientation allows sources to control the process and the frames besides absolving journalists from attending to the big picture.

Only 24.7 percent of the stories were in thematic frame, which provided broader context that included details about consequences of displacement drawing the attention of the readers to the discourse on development (Table 6). Those stories that provided context to the issue appeared more frequently in the English newspapers (33.3) rather than Kannada newspapers (17.9). English newspapers have given more importance to the causes and consequences of displacement than Kannada newspapers. The differences between English and Kannada newspapers in giving episodic and thematic frames to the stories of development were significant.

Table 6: Episodic and Thematic Frames in English and Kannada Newspapers

<b>Frames</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Kannada</b>	<b>Total</b>
Episodic frame	106 66.7%	165 82.1%	271 75.3%
Thematic frame	53 33.3%	36 17.9%	89 24.7%
Total	159 100.0%	201 100.0%	360 100.0%
$\chi^2 = 11.347$ df= 1 sig= .001			

The news coverage was strongly biased towards an episodic interpretation in which news displacement issues were not placed in a broader context. Iyengar (1991) suggested that norms and standards within news organizations and news production reinforce episodic framing. This practice 'simplifies complex issues and presents them as mere events.

The reports in newspapers looked topical, disorganized and isolated rather than general and contextual. Iyengar found that audience exposed to episodic news were less likely to consider society responsible for what has been caused, and those exposed to thematic reports were less likely hold individuals responsible for what has been caused. Audiences exposed to

episodic framing tend to put the blame on the individual for the origin of a problem whereas the audiences exposed to thematic framing tend to see a problem in the context of government policies and other factors.

Nambiar (2014) had also found that media frames with regard to sustainability and environmental issues were episodic as the focus was more on the incidents that happen in society rather than patterns of themes. As has been seen in the previous studies domination of episodic frame was seen in the present study also.

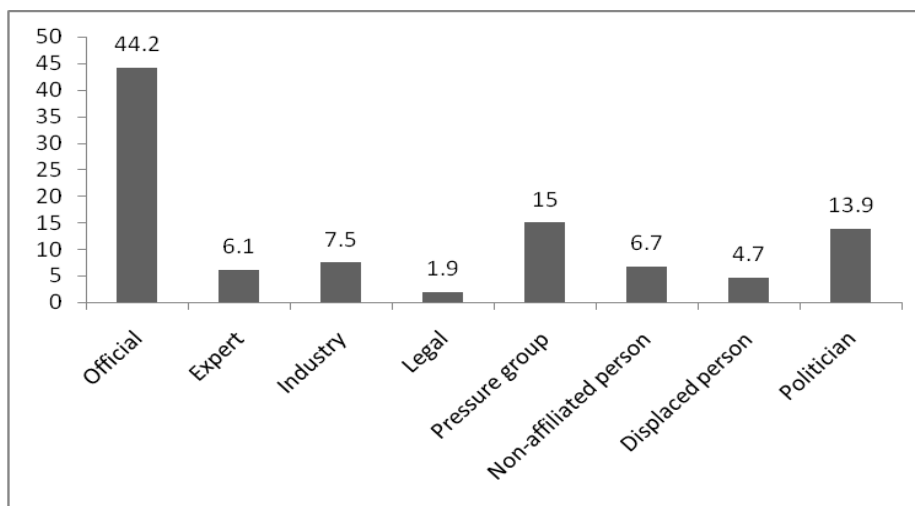
### **Sources and Frames of Displacement News**

Sources play a key role in framing of news. Sources exercise substantial control over story frames (Dunwoody & Griffin, 1993) and become 'primary definers' (Hall et al., 1978) of key issues. Research carried out in many countries suggests that official sources are cited by print journalists and broadcasters much more often than environmental groups (Gandy, 1989; Einsiedel, 1988; Greenberg et al., 1989; Wang, 1988; Hansen, 1993; Nohrstedt, 1991; Anderson, 1993, Einsiedel & Coughlan, 1993, Gooch, 1996). Although an average of 1.4 sources were found per story only the prime source—the source quoted in the headline or the lead—was considered for the purpose this study. While some stories had single source, others had multiple sources. As had been shown by previous studies a majority of the sources (44.2%) were official sources, which suggest that they play an important role in framing displacement news in newspapers. Official sources are usually considered as authentic sources and what they say is considered reliable (Hall et al., 1978). Especially in cases of displacement it is the government agencies that are involved in giving compensation and resettling people. Sources other than official sources were less frequently used in the news stories. As the government plays the dual role of both promoting development and protecting the environment, its officials are often quoted as sources.

Pressure groups that consisted of environmental NGOs, groups created to resist building of projects, organizations formed to fight for higher compensation and better rehabilitation accounted for 15 percent of the sources used in the displacement stories. These groups often organize protests, demonstrations, address press conferences, and also issue pamphlets which often become the material for news stories. They also present views and facts that are in contrast with those of the officials. Interestingly politicians (13.9%) occupy the third position as sources of displacement news in newspapers. Politicians who make policies as part of the government or influence them when they are not part of the government are quoted more often than the displaced persons are. Displaced persons often look up to politicians for support and at the same

time industries try to make use of them for protecting their interests (Penz et al.,2011). Industrial sources occupy the fourth position (7.5 %) as the sources of displacement news. Mega industries, power projects and special economic zones have displaced lakhs of people in the recent decades.

Figure 6: Sources of Displacement News



The voices of the industries are more often heard than the voices of the displaced persons and those who have expertise on displacement issues. Industrial sources have resources and skilled media relations people to reach out to the media where they find space and time (Lokesh, 2010).

Only 4.7 percent of the sources were displaced persons. Despite the fact that they were the victims of the development projects their voices were less frequently heard than those of politicians. It should be noted that quoting displaced persons does not mean that the newspapers provide their perspective. They are usually quoted along with other sources and are rarely used as the major sources. In many cases their reactions are sought for the statement or announcements made by officials. Experts were less frequently quoted than industry representatives suggesting that the voice of the industries was heard more often than the voice of the experts. Although many displaced persons and their organizations carried on prolonged legal battles legal source quoted accounted for only in 1.9 percent of the total sources.

While information given by officials was more often used without reactions from the pressure groups or displaced persons, the statements of the pressure groups or displaced persons were seldom carried without the reactions of the officials. Non-official sources were seen as far



less credible than pressure groups. Independent sources that were likely to provide objective view of the displacement issues were also not quoted often.

That the newspapers doubted the credibility of non-official sources was evident in the way they were quoted. The terms like ‘claimed’, ‘argued’, ‘accused’ and ‘contended’, ‘vowed’ and ‘alleged’ were often used whenever non-official sources were quoted. These terms raise doubts in the minds of the readers about the reliability of their statements. By using such terms the newspapers express skepticism on the information given by the non-official sources. In the news stories officials ‘said’, ‘explained’, ‘asserted’, ‘explained’, ‘observed’, ‘stated’ and ‘clarified’ when they were quoted suggesting that they were speaking about a reality whereas the non-official sources were only expressing their opinion. Official sources seem to serve as legitimizing agents for the press. Without formal structures for news generation, non-official sources are often unable to gain access to press as independent sources. The nature of the reporting of events invariably favours those considered authoritative at the expense of the protesting group. Without adequate access, their definition of displacement issues may be marginalized or ignored altogether.

Official sources were the major sources in all of the four aspect frames. What looks interesting is that official sources were quoted more often in stories of social frames than in stories of economic frames. Table 7 shows that as many as 64.4 percent of the stories with social frame had officials as sources whereas for stories with cultural frames the officials constituted 41 percent of the sources quoted. After officials the displacement stories in economic frame had 16.2 percent of pressure groups and 14.7 percent of politicians quoted as sources.

Table 7: Sources and Aspect Frames

Sources	Economic	Social	Cultural	Political	Total
Official	109 41.0%	29 64.4%	8 34.8%	13 50.0%	159 44.2%
Expert	16 6.0%	0 .0%	2 8.7%	4 15.4%	22 6.1%
Industry	19 7.1%	1 2.2%	4 17.4%	3 11.5%	27 7.5%
Legal	5 1.9%	0 .0%	2 8.7%	0 .0%	7 1.9%
Pressure group	43 16.2%	5 11.1%	3 13.0%	3 11.5%	54 15.0%
Non-affiliated person	18 6.8%	3 6.7%	1 4.3%	2 7.7%	24 6.7%

Displaced person	17 6.4%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	17 4.7%
Politician	39 14.7%	7 15.6%	3 13.0%	1 3.8%	50 13.9%
Total	266 100.0%	45 100.0%	23 100.0%	26 100.0%	360 100.0%

All the displaced persons were quoted only in stories with economic frame despite the fact they are a rich source for writing stories with human angle. Their absence in other frames only points at the fact that the in the context of aspects other than the economic aspect the displaced persons did not matter at all as sources. Interestingly, 17.4 percent of the stories in cultural frame and 11.5 percent of the stories in political frame had industrial sources. In the stories of social frame the second most often quoted sources after official sources were politicians. The lowest percent of official sources were used only in stories that had cultural frame. Pressure groups which normally try to bring the attention of the government and the public to the issues other than economic issues had greater presence in economic stories than in other stories.

Although official sources were the prominent sources in stories with both episodic and thematic frames their presence was much higher in stories that had thematic frame. As much as 40.2 percent of the stories with episodic frame had official sources as major sources.

Pressure groups figured as the major sources in 15.9 percent of the displacement stories that were in episodic frame. As pressure groups are involved in petitioning the government and in protesting against displacement they are more likely to be quoted as sources. Agitations, demonstrations, sit-ins, hunger strikes get media attention, as they are events that fit into the definition of what makes news.

However, pressure groups had lesser presence in the stories (12.4%) with thematic frame where a broader and more comprehensive picture of the displacement problem was presented. It is interesting to note that politicians were more often (15.7) used than pressure groups as sources in displacement stories with thematic frames. Politicians get involved in those issues that concern their constituencies and those who have smaller constituencies tend to get more involved than those who have larger constituencies.

When a wider picture of a particular displacement problem is to be presented their opinions get quoted in the newspapers. Gadgil and Guha (1995) say that the politicians' interest in environmental issues is negatively correlated with the size of their constituencies. A member of a legislative assembly has greater concern for the environmental issues than a member of the

parliament as his constituency is smaller. Politicians also try to project themselves as promoters of development because of which they consider access to the media as very important.

Table 8: Focus frames and prime sources

Sources	Episodic	Thematic	Total
Official	109 40.2%	50 56.2%	159 44.2%
Expert	21 7.7%	1 1.1%	22 6.1%
Industry	21 7.7%	6 6.7%	27 7.5%
Legal/court	7 2.6%	0 .0%	7 1.9%
Pressure group	43 15.9%	11 12.4%	54 15.0%
Nonaffiliated person	19 7.0%	5 5.6%	24 6.7%
Displaced person	15 5.5%	2 2.2%	17 4.7%
Politician	36 13.3%	14 15.7%	50 13.9%
Total	271 100.0%	89 100.0%	360 100.0%
$\chi^2 = 13.632$ df=7 Sig= .058			

Experts, industries, and non-affiliated persons almost have equal representation (around 7%) as major sources in episodically framed displacement stories. Only 5.5 percent of the displaced persons were quoted as sources in stories that had episodic frame, which suggests that even when events were reported they were rarely asked for their opinions. With the exception of official sources and politicians, all other sources were quoted less frequently in thematically framed displacement stories. Only 2.2 percent of the thematically framed stories had displaced persons quoted in them. Interestingly experts hardly had a mention as a source in stories with thematic frame. In using different sources for episodic and thematic frames there were no significant differences.

## CONCLUSION

Environmental stories in newspapers constituted only a small percent of (0.52) of all news reported during the two year period. Displacement as one of the environmental issues was

the second most covered issue after deforestation. But there was a difference of more than 26 percent between them suggesting that no other issue was as important as deforestation for the newspapers. As low as 0.9 percent of the total news in the newspapers was about issues of displacement. Displacement is a low salience issue as stories of displacement do not generally make front-page news. Deforestation is a dominant environmental theme in newspapers. A very low frequency of coverage of displacement even at a time when large numbers of people continue to be displaced is a matter of concern. A majority of the stories of displacement are about displacement of people by large dams. Although Kannada newspapers which have higher circulation and readership in the districts, taluks and villages comparatively carry a higher percentage of displacement news than English newspapers there are no substantial differences between the newspapers in the two languages. No adequate evidence was found to support the indications of the earlier studies that Kannada newspapers are pro-development and English newspapers are pro-environment.

Landlessness, homelessness and joblessness are the issues of displacement that are found frequently in newspapers. Marginalization and social disarticulation hardly appear as problems in the displacement stories.

Economic frame dominates the coverage of displacement news indicating that social, cultural and political aspects are ignored. Communities and families breaking up, traditional systems getting disintegrated and people getting disempowered in the process have not received media attention. The economic aspect about which a lot of information is available finds greater space in newspapers even though the other issues form the core of the displacement problem.

Among the functional frames one frame that dominates displacement stories is 'defining problem'. This is an indication of lack comprehensive coverage of the problem. Newspapers mostly define the problem and do not frequently diagnose cause, make moral judgment or suggest solution. Orienting stories towards defining the problem is likely to prevent newspapers from presenting a comprehensive picture of displacement.

It is very clear that much of displacement news is episodic that describe events as they happen with no initiative taken by the newspaper to place the issue in perspective. The reports in newspapers tend to be topical, disorganized and isolated rather than general and contextual. A very small percent of the stories of displacement are in thematic frame that give depth and analysis. The norms and standards within news organizations and news production reinforce episodic framing which simplifies complex issues and presents them as mere events.

Official sources are the most dominant sources and the primary definers of displacement issues. Although pressure groups and politicians do play some role in shaping frames of

displacement news the other sources are rarely found quoted. Displaced persons are rarely quoted as sources in spite of the fact they are involved in several of the events that get reported. Lack of resources among the groups of project-affected people hinders their effort to put forward their definitions of displacement issues through news media. Those who hold institutional power are able to sponsor frames that influence public discourse on displacement issues.

Officials were the most dominant source in all aspect frames. Interestingly the officials were quoted more often in stories of social frames than in stories of economic frames. Lack of balance in coverage of displacement news was visible. Official bias permeates most stories of displacement in newspapers and that explains why a majority of the displaced persons do not see the coverage of issues favourable to them.

In both episodic and thematic frames the official sources were again the prominent sources. Much of the displacement news lacked completeness as its frames were influenced by the dominant official sources. The role of pressure groups and displaced persons in framing of the displacement news is insignificant.

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