Contents

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Behaviour Change Communication: A Social Marketing Framework for Sustainable *Swachh Bharat*

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The economic cost of poor sanitation and hygiene in India is enormous. Previous sanitation interventions had limited success due to the main thrust on constructing toilets. People are willing to invest their own resources in building toilets, which also is an important factor in using them and maintaining them. Interpersonal communication is the most effective strategy in changing behaviour be it use of individual household/ community/public toilets, washing hands or segregating solid waste. Lessons, behaviour change-social marketing framework, present and desired behaviour of different stakeholder groups and capacity building requirements for making the Swachh Bharat Mission a success analysed in this study.

Introduction

Water, sanitation and hygiene have a direct and significant effect on individual health. Drinking unsafe water, improper disposal of human excreta, inadequate and inappropriate environmental sanitation and substandard hygiene practices with food and water, such as not covering drinking water containers, not washing hands before feeding infants, eating and after going to the toilet etc. are major causes of a number of killer diseases such as diarrohea in many developing countries. High infant mortality is attributed to a large extent to lack of access to toilets, open defecation, improper hygiene practices of mothers and children.

The Government of India launched the Central Rural Sanitation Programme

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4

(CRSP) in 1986 in order to address the issues of sanitation and hygiene and improve the quality of life of people in rural areas. Today the concept of sanitation is comprehensive, encompassing liquid and solid waste disposal, food hygiene, and personal, domestic as well as environmental hygiene. Appropriate and adequate sanitary facilities and practices help to reduce contamination of land and water, thereby reducing the incidence and prevalence of a number of diseases. Thus the concept of sanitation was, therefore, expanded to include personal hygiene, home sanitation, safe water, garbage disposal, excreta disposal and waste water disposal in the subsequent sanitation programmes of the Government of India namely "Total Sanitation Campaign" (TSC) launched in 2007 and later renamed as "Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan" (NBA) which again focused on rural India.

Swachh Bharat (Clean India) Mission (SBM)

The new sanitation campaign – "Swachh Bharat Mission" (SBM) was flagged off by the Prime Minister of India on 2nd October 2014 and will be implemented over a span of 5 years. The new Mission covers both urban and rural areas of India. The urban component – SBM (Urban) will be administered by the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) and the rural part – SBM (Gramin) by the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation (MoDWS).

The goal

The goal of SBM (Urban) is "to transform urban India into community-driven, totally sanitised, healthy and liveable cities and towns" as per the mandate of the "National Urban Sanitation Policy". The goal of SBM (Gramin) is to achieve "Swachh Bharat" by 2019. SBM is crucial also to achieve the Millennium Development Goal (MDG)-7 namely – to ensure Environmental Sustainability and Target 10 – to "Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation". The Mission has significant bearing on health related MDGs also.

Review of Literature

The Indian sanitation context

The economic cost of Open Defecation (OD) and inadequate sanitation in India is estimated at Rs. 2.4 Trillion per year (Water & Sanitation Program, 2011, p.9). The Joint Monitoring Programme of the World Health Organisation [WHO] and United

Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] (2014, p.52) estimated that in 2012 about 48% Indians (urban–12% and rural–48%) still practice open defecation and warned that progress towards achieving MDG targets by 2015 is not on track. Slums in urban areas pose a major sanitation and hygiene threat.

Lack of access to toilets is a major contributor to open defecation. According to census 2011 the proportion of households with no latrine was reduced from 63.6% to 53.1% during the last decade. In urban India while 81.4% households have toilets, only 32.7% are connected to piped sewerage system and 38.2% have septic tanks (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2012) and 81.4% have toilets within the premises (Directorate of Census Operations, 2013, p.272). Community Toilets (CTs) are primarily meant for use by a fixed group residing in low-income settlements/slums and are an effective alternative to prevent open defecation, in absence of access to Individual Household Latrine (IHL). Only 6% urban households in India use community toilets (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2012). Non-availability of toilets in schools also lead to open defecation and also is a major cause of girl students dropping out of schools. While 81% of schools in India have boy's toilets, only 65% are functional; while 72% of schools have girl's toilets, only 85% are functional (Mehta, 2013).

Not using the toilets constructed is a major concern in making the villages and towns Open Defecation Free (ODF). Studies from different parts of the country – Puri district (Barnard et al., 2013), Koraput (MoDWS, n.d.) in Odisha and four northern states (Coffey et al., 2014), Tamil Nadu (Sriram & Maheswari, 2013) show that the toilets constructed are not always used, even when 100% households constructed latrines in West Bengal (MoDWS, 2002, p.12) or in model *Vikas Grams* in Odisha (UNICEF, 2012, p.6). In Chennai, women and children are not using community toilets available, despite the need (IFMR Research Centre, 2011, p.1). About 30% of the community toilets in four cities of Madhya Pradesh were not in use (WACP & DUAD, n. d., p.11).

Even if people construct and uses toilets, it is essential that they wash hands with clean water and soap, after defecating. According to UNICEF hand washing with soap, particularly after contact with excreta, can reduce diarrheal diseases by over 40% and respiratory infections by 30%. In Kerala, diarrhea was reported five times higher among those who did not use soap to wash hands, compared to those

6

who did (The World Bank, 2002, p.15).

Segregation at source is the most important contributor to scientific and hygienic Solid Waste Management (SWM). In none of the 30 cities surveyed by Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited (CRISIL) (2014, p.102) 100% segregation of municipal waste takes place.

A number of factors influence behaviour change. Individual preferences influenced by culture and habits are the prime determinants of open defecation (Barnard et al., 2013; Patil et al., 2014). Knowledge, attitude and beliefs play a significant role in determining hygiene and sanitation practices adopted by people. The mid-term evaluation of Total Sanitation Campaign pointed out that though aware of the existence of community toilets only about 29% of the respondents used them (Agricultural Finance Corporation, 2005). Expectations are also an important factor in this regard. Coffey et al. (2014) argue that high and expensive expectations are a major deterrent to constructing an individual household latrine in India, than the poverty itself.

Realising the importance of behaviour change the strategy adopted under Total Sanitation Campaign aims to change behaviours of rural people for improved sanitation and hygiene practices and adopts a social marketing approach by providing easier access to sanitary hardware requirements at affordable prices through a wide range of technological choices (Ministry of Rural Development, 2007, p.3). As part of this strategy motivators can be engaged at the village level for demand creation and taking up behaviour change communication by giving suitable incentives to them. The strategy outlined in the Guidelines for SBM (Gramin) also focus on interpersonal communication, especially of triggering of demand and use of toilets through social and behavioural change communication and house to house interventions (Ministry of Drinking Water & Sanitation, 2014, p.2). Similarly "to bring about a behavioural change in people regarding healthy sanitation practices" is set as an important of objective in SBM (Urban) Guidelines (Ministry of Urban Development, 2014, p.2).

Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) and Social Marketing (SM)
Many expressed surprise, when the Census 2011 revealed that India has more mobiles than toilets. It indicates that the communication tools and techniques used

to market mobiles are far more effective than those marketing toilets and sanitation in India. High scorers on outcome indicators focused on mobilising users not only to change their sanitation behaviour, but also sustain the changed behaviour and those who invested their resources for toilet construction (The World Bank, 2013, p.29).

Information, Education and Communication (IEC) activities provide correct knowledge and create awareness. Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) aims at creating an enabling environment to facilitate a positive behaviour and demand creation by addressing the attitude and beliefs. Social Marketing (SM) takes care of the supply side factors so that the demand created can be effectively satisfied. (Agrawal, Aruldas & Khan, 2014).

Formative research

Communication strategies in sanitation in India so far met with limited success as they failed to understand what motivated/prevented people from using the toilets available; not washing hands with soap, especially after defecation; or throwing waste in the open. Reasons vary from individual to individual, household to household, village to village. There is a disconnect among campaign posters, wall paintings and other IEC materials displayed at the *panchayat* related to sanitation, as was pointed out by the communities in four districts of Odisha, as they were not based on socio-economic lifestyle of the rural and tribal population; specific to the context of each block (Sutra Consulting, n.d, p.8). Behavior change communication and social marketing interventions will be effective only when they are targeted at different segments (socio-economic-geographic groups) and understand their needs, wants and demand for sanitation and hygiene. Formative research provides such information.
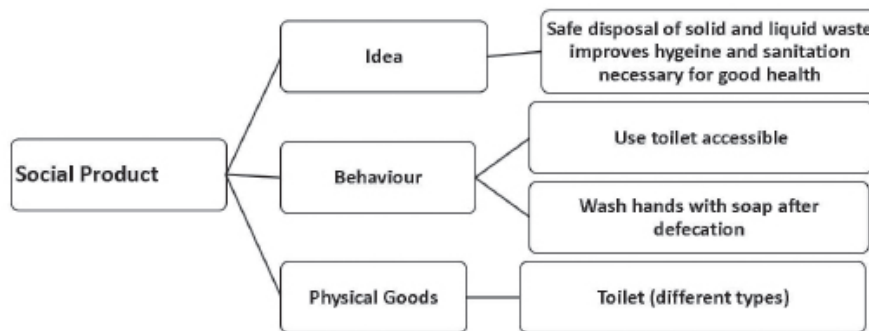
Social marketing

Marketing involves identifying the need, understanding the wants, creating/assessing demand and offering a product at an affordable price (monetary and social) and at a place convenient to the target group by communicating the benefits of the product in a way that they   understand and value. Social marketing is the use of marketing principles and techniques to influence a target audience to voluntarily accept, reject, modify, or abandon a behaviour for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society as whole (Kotler, Roberto & Lee, 2002). In the

8

context of sanitation it requires understanding of the social product and social price associated with a new sanitation and hygiene behaviour.

Product

The social product required for marketing of sanitation and waste management comprises a set of: a) behaviours, b) ideas, and c) physical goods. Social products (as proposed by author) in the context of hygiene and sanitation can be depicted as shown in the Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Social Product

At the outset social marketing involves marketing of ideas such as: a) open defecation is associated with health hazards (diarrhea, biting by animals), social risks (sexual assault) and economic cost (treatment costs), b) latrines need not be expensive, c) toilets are not against culture and religion. This requires addressing the attitudes and beliefs by providing accurate and appropriate knowledge. Awareness about advantages of sanitation and hygiene needs to be converted into positive behaviours such as: a) constructing toilets, b) using available toilets, c) maintaining hygiene of toilets, d) wash hands with soap and clean water after defecation and before eating, e) segregate solid waste etc. by providing enabling environment by means of social/peer pressure, incentives/penalties/sanctions etc.

A variety of physical goods such as toilets, soap and water for washing hands, cleaning materials for toilets, waste bins, sewerage connections etc. are also required to change and sustain the positive behaviour over a period of time.

Research Problems and Methodology

Changing the behaviour of people with respect to: a) constructing and using toilets, b) washing hands with soap after going to toilet and before eating or feeding infants and children, and c) appropriate segregation and disposal of solid and liquid waste is a major challenge in becoming Open Defecation Free and to derive benefits of improved sanitation and hygiene practices. There is need for a comprehensive framework for bringing about behaviour change with respect to sanitation and hygiene.

The available evidence is reviewed and a situational analysis is carried out with in order to come out with a comprehensive behaviour change framework.

Situational analysis

The situational analysis looks at: 1) open defecation, 2) construction and access to toilets, 3) usage of toilets, 4) washing hands with soap, and 5) solid and liquid waste management.

1. Open defecation

About 98% of the households of 60 slums located on either side of railway track in Bengaluru are without toilets, hence use railway tracks or nearby places to defecate (Gowda, Chandrashekar, Sridhara & Hemalatha, 2013).

2. Access to toilets

Access to toilets: a) Individual Household Latrine (IHL); b) School/Aganwadi toilets; c) Community Toilets (CTs), and d) Public Toilets (PTs) is an important step in elimination of open defecation.

a. IHL: According to the data on Service Level Bench Marks of 1100 cities from 8 states collected under the Performance Assessment System (PAS) by the Center for Environmental Planning and Technology University (2014) the

10

average coverage of toilets among the Indian cities is only 78.9%. However, recent baseline surveys of 30 cities by MoUD (CRISIL, 2014, p.99) place the coverage of toilets at less than 20% in 11 cities and only 7 cities have 80% coverage or above.

In rural areas while 31.7% households have a latrine, only 2.2% are connected to the piped sewerage system and 14.7% have septic tanks (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2012) and only 30.7% are within the premises (Directorate of Census Operations, 2013, p.271).

b. School/Anganwadi toilets: In schools of 6 districts of Uttar Pradesh only one toilet is available for 145 students, whereas the norm is one toilet for every 40 girls or for 80 boys. In case of 48% schools there are no separate toilets for girls. About half of the toilets are not in good condition. Only 24 % of toilets are cleaned thoroughly (Srivastava, 2013). Out of 13,42,146 operational Anganwadi Centers in the country only about 48% have toilets (Press Information Bureau, 2014).

c. Community toilets (CTs): Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and Jabalpur have 476 community toilets with 3,903 seats (Water for Asian Cities Programme [WACP] & Directorate of Urban Administration & Development [DUAD], n.d., p.9). In rural areas, all *Gram Panchayats* (GPs) are expected to have Community/Women Sanitary Complexes (CSC/WSC) under national sanitation strategies. Out of the 1,207 GPs visited during national evaluation of Total Sanitation Campaign, less than 6% have CSC/WSC. Assam, Bihar and Jharkhand have none at all. Only 1.9% rural households in India use community/public latrines. However, in Maharashtra 25% of the selected households use community toilets (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.99-106).

d. Public toilets (PTs): Public toilets are mainly for use by people passing by markets, office complexes, bus stands, railway stations, tourist/pilgrim places etc. Availability of PTs in all metro cities is meagre given the population and area covered – 303 in Hyderabad (Gonwar, 2014); 3,712 (269 for women) in Delhi (Singh, 2014); 502 (only 220 in working condition) in Bengaluru (The Hindu, 2013); 714 in Chennai (IFMR Research Centre, 2011, p.1) and 300

(against requirement of 3,600) in Kolkata (Chowdhury, 2013) and 836 with 10,381 toilet seats (whereas 35,000 seats are required) in Mumbai (Shukla, 2013), because PTs do not get adequate attention in the City Development Plans (CDPs).

3. Usage of toilets

In order to stop open defecation, access to toilets alone is not enough. It is more important to ensure that the people use the toilets available and their cleanliness is maintained.

4. Hand washing

A study conducted in West Bengal and Tripura reported that only 49% washed their hands after using the toilet, and 38% before eating food. The percentage was even less for those who washed either before preparing (30%) or serving (26%) food (Kumar, 2008). According to the survey of the Public Health Association, about half of population in the country washes hands with soap after defecation (Walker, 2008). As per the national evaluation of TSC, only 42% used soap for washing hands (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.133). Bhattacharya, Joon and Jaiswal (2011) observed that in two blocks of Sehore district, Madhya Pradesh only 22% and 54% households washed hands with soap after defecation and only 8% and 22% before eating.

Effective hand washing practices are evident only in 36 % schools in 6 district of Uttar Pradesh (Srivastava, 2013).

5. Solid waste management

According to the Service Level Benchmarks data compiled by Center for Environmental Planning and Technology University (2014, p.9), the mean household level coverage for solid waste management is 66%, while extent of segregation is only 15.8% in urban India. In Bengaluru it was found that the waste segregated is mixed again during transportation (Naveen & Nandini, 2004, p.6). Slum dwellers in Bengaluru throw their waste into nearby open drains expecting it to get washed away (Gowda et al., 2013). In Madhya Pradesh, 65.4% households disposed the waste in open places; while only in case of 14.7% it was collected from their homes (Population Foundation of India, 2012, p.15).

12

In rural areas only 14% out of 1,207 sample *gram panchayats* adopted any waste management system (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.134).

The "rapid assessment" by Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited (CRISIL) (2014, p.5) revealed 11 out of the 30 cities do not have underground sewerage system. According to the Service Level Benchmarks data provided by 1100 cities from 8 states mean coverage of sewerage network services is only 20.9% (CEPT University, 2014, p.9)

Factors Influencing

Understanding barriers to and factors which facilitate construction, use and maintenance of toilets, washing hands and disposal of waste helps in designing appropriate communication strategies and to reap the health, economic and environmental benefits of improved sanitation and hygiene.

Barriers

Culture, habits, wrong knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, functional aspects, ineffective and inadequate Information, Education and Communication (IEC) among others are important factors which come in the way of adopting hygienic sanitation behaviors.

Construction and use of toilets

Culture and habits: About 50% of people surveyed in Tamil Nadu mentioned that defecating in open is cleaner and 11% responded that it is unhygienic to have toilets in the house (UNICEF, 2012, p. 5). Difficulty in changing cultural practices was the primary reason for not using the toilets constructed in Koraput, Odisha (MoDWS, n.d.). Social discrimination such as maltreatment of widows in Jharkhand (N.R. Management Consultants Pvt. Ltd, 2013) and caste and class distinctions also adversely affect use of toilets (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.99-106).

Knowledge, attitude and beliefs: Only 28% of the households were aware of the CSC/WSC available in the village (Programme Evaluation Organisation,

2013, p.99-106). About 43% opined that latrine use is no way better than open defecation for child health and only about one-fourth could associate diarrhea with infectious causes (Coffey et al., 2014). In Odisha while 56% knew about adverse effects of open defecation, 36% did not think to build a toilet at home (UNICEF, 2012, p.6).

Expectations: Bangladesh eliminated open defecation as poor people built crude pit latrines using informal materials and entrepreneurs developing latrine parts from cheaper materials such as plastic pans and concrete rings for pits (Gupta & Vyas, 2014).

Functional aspects

Individual household latrine (IHL): About 53% of the IHL in Odisha did not meet the criteria of functionality leading to open defecation (Barnard et al., 2013). Other reasons for not using the available toilets include feeling of claustrophobia or reserving their use for rainy season (Agricultural Finance Corporation, 2005) and bad odour (MoDWS, 2002). Some people find alternate uses for IHL such as bathrooms in Andhra Pradesh (Latha & Anitha, 2011) and for storage (Barnard et al., 2013). Non-availability of adequate water also adversely affects use of toilets forcing people to adopt open defecation (Patil et al., 2014).

School toilets: In Andhra Pradesh they are used only by teachers and children do not have access to them (Latha & Anitha, 2011; Sriram & Maheswari, 2013).

Community toilets: CSC/WSC are defunct in many states due to poor or no maintenance (attributed to non-payment of community contribution by the *gram panchayats* and non-collection of any user charges) and water shortage. Due to this Panchayati Raj Institutions in Punjab considered that there is no need for such complexes (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.99-106).

Common reasons cited for not using community toilets, by the household with no latrine in urban poverty pockets in Bhopal include charging cash for

14

each person and not liking the facility and the way it is managed (WaterAid, 2010; Biran, Jenkins, Dabrase & Bhagwat, 2011).

Public toilets : Access to usage of public toilets is limited due to choice of their location, which is guided more by exposure to advertisements and revenue, rather than need and convenience of people in Hyderabad (Deccan Chronicle, 2015) and Delhi (The World Bank, 2007). Women are deterred from using public toilets due to lack of privacy, absence of dustbins for disposal of sanitary napkins and non-availability of clean water (Jonnalagadda, 2014); inconvenient location, poor maintenance, locking at night, privatisation (IFMR Research Centre, 2011, p. 1) and are also at risk of sexual assault (Outlook India, 2004).

Type of pit: Owners of toilets with single pit limit use of toilets to only some household members or rainy season and resort to open defecation to avoid quick filling of the pits as they are not able to empty them once they were full in Bihar (WaterAid & SHARE, 2013, p.19) and inhibitions to empty the pits, due to cultural and religious norms in Odisha (Sutra Consulting, n.b., p.8).

Information, education and communication (IEC): Motivators were not in place in more than 50% *gram panchayats* and their focus had been on persuading people to construct the latrines, instead changing behaviour and creating demand for sanitation by way of making people aware of public health impact. Only about one-fifth the selected households reported that IEC activities are effective (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.107-108). There is a need to address the prevalence of misconceptions about diseases prevented by elimination of open defecation by providing correct information. Otherwise it may lead to neglect of other aspects of environmental sanitation (Pardeshi, 2009).

Supply side factors: Rural Sanitation Marts created to improve the supply of sanitary materials for constructing toilets have not been effective. Sale of private toilets (200) was five times higher than government orders (10) for rural sanitation marts in five states (UNICEF, 2004). Less than one-third toilets constructed purchased material through rural sanitation marts (Agricultural Finance Corporation, 2005). The Planning Commission evaluation found that

only 29% *gram panchayats* and 32% households have the access to the rural sanitary marts (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.44).

Facilitators

Convenience, benefits to women, use of interpersonal communication (IPC), cleanliness, community involvement are some of the factors which have positive influence on adoption of sanitation and hygiene behaviour by people.

Construction and use of toilets

Expectations: Convenience and comfort (Coffey, 2014); benefits to women such as sense of security, privacy, comfort and dignity (Agricultural Finance Corporation, 2005) are strong considerations for constructing individual houshold latrine.

IPC: Interpersonal communication and door-to-door visits, social mobilisation sensitive to local customs and focus on shame with the help of fines, taunting or social sanctions to punish those who continued to defecate in the open was more effective than subsidies, in improving latrine ownership and discontinuation of open defecation in Odisha (Pattanayak et al., 2009), West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh (O'Reilly & Louis, 2014). In Jharkhand sanitary messages were used in tandem with Islam religious teachings, referring *purdah* system, which is associated with dignity of women, and also employed *maulvi* who constructed toilets in four mosque, so that people use them and keep the surroundings of mosque clean, which is prescribed in Quran (N.R. Management Consultants Pvt. Ltd, 2013, p.5 & 9-10). The *maulvi*, as an ambassador, has also motivated six families to construct toilets from their own resources.

Functional aspects: Good ventilation, better quality construction, separate entrances and facilities for women, special provisions for children, locating them in easily accessible areas in Pune and Mumbai (Burra, Patel & Kerr, 2003); ensuring adequate cleaning and maintenance by levying affordable user charges (50 paise per use or a monthly card services for Rs 20 for a family of five as done by Sulabh International) urban poverty pockets of Bhopal (Biran et al., 2011) helped in inducing people to use community

16

toilets and reduce practice of open defecation. Integrated WSCs with sanitary napkin incinerators are widely seen in all *panchayats* and are very popular among women in Tamil Nadu. Funds for their maintenance are raised from users, on a monthly basis, Rs. 5 to 10 per household (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.99-106).

Community/Women involvement: In Koraput 102,383 IHLs have been constructed for BPL families, involving women self-help groups for propagating communication messages through community-based theatres, disseminating messages at local festivals and door-to-door campaigns. The women self-help groups were provided with capacity building and revolving funds (MoDWS, n.d).

Pune could build over 400 community toilets with about 10,000 seats between 1999 and 2001, much more than constructed during the previous 30 years, by redefining the relationship between municipal corporation, NGOs and community (Burra et al, 2003). Entrusting the responsibility of managing community toilets to the community giving them a sense of ownership, focus on hygiene education, empowerment of women by providing social space necessary for personal and community development have been successfully used to brining in attitude and behaviour change with regard to acceptance and use of community toilets in Tiruchirapally (WaterAid, 2008) and in Madhya Pradesh (WACP & DUAD, n.d.).

Monitoring and evaluation: Seeti Bajao campaign by child health monitors was successfully used in urban Delhi in preventing open defecation (Plan, 2012). Sarola, a village in Maharashtra, effectively used the "good morning campaign", where a group practiced musical instruments at places where people went for open defecation, to deter them from open defecation and shift to toilets (Dhaktode, 2014).

School toilets: Kerala Government has decided last year not to issue "fitness certificates" to schools without toilets, in a bid to make toilets in schools a mandatory facility (News24online, 2014).

Hand washing: Availability of water and soap in the toilet result in washing hands more often in Kerala (The World Bank, 2002). *SuperAmma* a video (Biran et al., 2014) based on "emotional drivers" increased hand washing at key events in the intervention group to 37% compared to 6% in the control group. The highest improvement was observed in school aged-children (from 32 to 51%).

Solid waste management: Putting up banners to create awareness about use of alternatives for plastic bags, cash back incentives to customers for not taking plastic bags from the shops and making cloth bags available at an affordable price had been successful in changing behaviour of people in minmising use of plastic bags in different parts of Delhi and NCR region (Gupta & Somanathan, 2011). Behaviour of segregation of solid waste among households can be encouraged by providing covered bins and vehicles, reducing municipal tax (Hazra, 2013) and providing monetary incentive for the recyclable waste (Sreevatsan, 2012).

Other factors

Government support

Coffey et al. (2014) observed that people having latrines constructed with government support are likely to defecate in open two times more than people living in households whose toilets are privately constructed. They will continue open defecation if they are not ably supported by effort to change preferences and behaviour related to open defecation.

Hygiene education

School children are more amenable for behaviour change and also can influence other family and community members. However, School Sanitation and Hygiene Education (SSHE) could not result in required behaviour change due to lack of adequate emphasis on sanitation and poor quality under TSC (Programme Evaluation Organisation, 2013, p.133-34).

Ability to use resources

Allocation of the approved funds and utilisation of allocated funds for IEC under

18

sanitation campaigns has been poor. Under Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) only 4% of the 15% budget allocated was spent (Jain, 2014). In Bihar only 60% of the allowed funds were approved and the expenditure was only about 14% of the approved funds from the beginning of TSC to mid 2010 (WaterAid and SHARE, 2013, p.16). Out of Rs. 4400 million available for IEC/BCC only 23.6% was spent till 2012. It was spent mainly on print materials, which have little impact (Khan, 2012, p.75). This could be attributed to weak capacities for designing innovative and target specific effective communication interventions of the IEC staff (Ganguly, 2008).

On the other hand IEC funds and program assistance under TSC has been put to good use by Himachal Pradesh in developing the strategies, systems and capacity of the officials, enabling state and district governments to manage the program and use funds effectively and attain over 80% rural sanitation coverage, an increase of above 50% in four years (Robinson, 2012, p.4).

Lessons

Above situational analysis offers a number of lessons for improving sanitation and hygiene behaviour.

1. In case of IHL, construction is guided by factors such as convenience and dignity and people are motivated.

   a) People are willing to use their own resources when they are convinced about the dangers of open defecation and benefits of use of toilets.

2. Use of toilets is (mis)guided by culture and habits, knowledge and attitude towards open defecation and use of toilets and cleaning the pits of latrines.

3. IHL constructed by government subsidy are more likely to not be used, compared to those constructed by their own funds.

4. Design (misconceptions and inhibitions about cleaning of single pits) and quality of construction also come in the way of regular use of available toilets.

5. Awareness is a necessary but not sufficient condition for people in adopting safe and hygienic practices. Hence, continuous efforts are needed

to convert knowledge into practice and to sustain new behaviour.

> a. *Interpersonal communication and face-to-face interactions are most effective to enable people who are aware to change their attitudes and beliefs and adopt healthy sanitation and hygiene practices such as using toilets and maintaining their cleanliness, hand washing and segregation of solid waste management. In spite of this, TSC did not use interpersonal communication in the prescribed manner.*

6. In case of community toilets, location, cleanliness, security, user friendliness are the prime considerations.

> a) *Women group empowerment and involvement, levying affordable user charges for maintaining cleanliness are favourable factors in making the community toilets acceptable by the community and to ensure their usage and maintenance.*

> b) *Community toilets also can offer space for women for interacting and exchange of useful and interesting information.*

7. There is an acute shortage of public toilets in all major metro cities. Location of public toilets blocks should be guided by the needs of the people and revenues from advertisement should only be a secondary consideration.

> a) *By addressing the concerns about cleanliness and security, women can be encouraged to use public toilets. They should find a place in city sanitation plans and city development plans.*

8. With suitable communication coupled with incentives based on desired behaviours, one can help non-use of plastics, segregation at source in the context of solid waste management.

9. The competencies of IEC staff at district and state levels are weak, which resulted in low utilisation of funds available.

10. Monitoring in TSC was not linked to outcome indicators and focused only on toilet numbers.

Main implication of the above lessons is that intensive behaviour change communication interventions are required to bring in and sustain favourable sanitation and behaviours by creating an enabling environment. Mere IEC activities will not be adequate.

20

Data Analysis and implications

The data reviewed so far indicate that there is an urgent need to motivate people in order to bring about desired social and behaviour change. This requires a social product mix, which is easily accessible and affordable to the target groups and is promoted in a way people understand and accept new products, ideas and behaviour. The following section of this paper looks at these aspects through a social marketing approach.

Also the capacity building needs of different stakeholder groups to bring about the desired social and behaviour change are addressed. The five "Ps" approach is followed.

1. Product mix

Toilets

Type: Toilets considered under *Swachh Bharat Mission* (SBM) are three types – IHLs, CTs and PTs. In addition a new type of toilets "shared toilets" – a facility is used no more than 30 persons or five families, who are known to each other and can share the cost of construction and take the onus of maintaining them (WHO & UICEF, 2013) can also be considered by SBM.

Technology: Eco-sanitation/compost toilets (where urine is not allowed to mix faeces which produces odour) have the benefits of providing compost which can replace use of expensive chemical based fertilisers. Other benefits include management and conservation of water; provide sustainable livelihood by sale of compost generated, improve fertility of soil by use of natural compost etc. (Wherever the Need, 2008). e-toilets under experimentation in Chennai cleans themselves after a specified times of use. Solar-powered bio-toilets (that make use of a special strain of bacteria to decompose human waste) and self-cleaning toilets being contemplated in Mumbai slums and other parts can be considered under *Swachh Bharat Mission.*

Multi-story design of toilets will be useful for constructing CTs and PTs to tackle space crunch in urban slums, which also provide opportunities for social interactions and exchange of useful information, especially to women.

Washing hands

Promoting washing hands with soap has been effectively leveraged by big companies like Hindustan Unilever and Dabur. Increased behaviour of using and cleaning of toilets, washing hands with soap has good potential for entrepreneurship by self-help groups and other community groups to manufacture sanitary materials, soap, toilet cleaners, which are affordable to the local community and at the same time can become a life skill.

2. Price

Social price (sexual assault, injuries, animal bites etc. especially for women), economic price (falling ill and expenditure on medical care) and environmental price (water sources contamination) to the individuals, households and communities needs to be communicated in a language and manner the common man can understand. Fines, sanctions can also be as a social price for discouraging open defecation and induce toilet use.

How the money spent on toilet construction and use, washing hands and safe disposal of solid and liquid waste can be recovered by means of social, economic and environmental benefits needs to be clearly communicated to induce behaviour change among people. In Pune "Poop Rewards" (cell phone talk time) were created for motivating people to use designated public lavatories in their area by making use of the fact that India has more mobiles than toilets (Mitra, 2015).

3. Promotion

While mass media, electronic media are useful to create awareness, interpersonal communication is most effective in changing and sustaining behaviour with respect to using toilets accessible and washing hands, segregation of waste.

The Companies Act, 2013 of India encourages companies to spend at least two percent of their average net profit in the previous three years on Corporate Social Responsibilitiy (CSR) activities (Pricewaterhouse Coopers Private Limited, 2013). The Corporate India can leverage SBM (Gramin) to fulfill their CSR. The Corporate/PSUs can address issues of sanitation through IEC, HRD or through direct targeted interventions (Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, 2014).

22

Given below are examples of Indian Corporates using mass media to address the issues related to sanitation.

Mass media

They are more relevant at national and state level through print and electronic media. Some notable audio-visual clips on TV and social media include: a) 'Q2P', a film directed by Paromita Vohra about the silence that surrounds toilets in Mumbai city and their equality – gender, about class, about caste and most of all about space, urban development; b) "700 se 7 Kadam", which depict the hurdles a young girl faces to find a place for defecation by "Sanifresh"– a toilet cleaner brand of Dabur; c) "Gondappa Film" by Lifebuoy of Hindustan Unilever which talks about celebration of first child reaching age of 5 in Thesgora village in Madhya Pradesh in India which has the largest incidence of diarrhea in the country helping to reduce incidence of diarrhea from 36% to 5%.

"Lifebuoy" of Unilever has reached out to 58 million people since 2010 in both rural and urban India using the five levers of behaviour change namely: a) make it understood, b) make it easy, for children and mothers, c) make it desirable – such as taking pledge for *Swacch Bharat*, d) make it rewarding – highlighting the benefit, and e) make it a habit – by constant reminder. In urban India, Lifebuoy has reached out to six million people in 2013, through a direct school contact programme for the last three years, teaching the benefit of washing hands on five critical occasions every day (Hindustan Unilever, 2014).

Interpersonal communication (IPC)

In Budaun district of Uttar Pradesh, the campaign for converting dry toilets into flush toilets used IPC successfully, which in turn was crucial in elimination of transmission of wild polio virus. Another benefit of this campaign was that 2,200 manual scavengers (mostly women) were rehabilitated in less than one year (UNICEF, 2012, p.26). A TSC coordinator in Odisha asserts that IPC is the only strategy that results in sustainable behaviour change, which resulted in more than 80% usage of toilet (Sutra Consultancy, n.d., p.37).

In this context, *Swachhata Doot/Sena* – a dedicated, trained and properly incentivised sanitation work force to be engaged by *gram panchayat* or Village Water and Sanitation Committee (VWSC) as envisaged in SBM (Gramin) becomes vital. Adequate funds needs to be allocated and appropriate mechanisms to involve CBOs/NGOs/SHGs etc. need to be evolved so that such entity becomes a reality and functional and take up IPC activities, not merely remaining on paper. This cadre needs to be provided and be given incentive, as in case of *Jal Sahiya* in Jharkhand (N.R. Management Consultants Pvt. Ltd, 2013, p.2). SBM allocation for constructing toilets is 7 times higher than that under NBA, while the budget for IEC has been reduced from 15% to 8% (Jain, 2014). This is not in line with the requirement of shift in focus from constructing toilets to behaviour change.

4. Place

In case of public toilets and community toilets locations which ensures not only ease of accessibility but also ensure safety especially for women, should be the primary consideration.

5. Fifth P

Spears (2013) highlights the significance of a fifth P – *Pradhan* - in the Indian context of sanitation. *Pradhan* (or *Sarpanch*) can make a lot of difference and influence the programme implementation and its outputs and outcomes.

Capacity building

This note urges a shift from obsession with toilet construction to giving the thrust to behaviour change and adopting social marketing approach to attain sustainable *Swachh Bharat*. Such approach requires capacity building of different target groups.

Target groups

The following table 1 provides details of: a) present, b) desired knowledge, attitude and behaviour, and c) capacity building requirements – by important target group for sustainable *Swachh Bharat Mission*.

Table -1

Target group	Present/Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Desired Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Capacity Building
Individuals/ households	• Open defecation (OD) is healthy, pleasant • Toilets in house is not pure • Toilets are expensive • Not constructing individual toilets • Not using available toilets and continuing OD • Not washing hands after going to toilet • Not washing hands before eating • Cleaning of pits of toilets is harmful; against culture	• Good hygiene and sanitation stop spread of diseases • OD is harmful fraught with dangers to health, female security and dignity • Toilets in house can be maintained clean • Low technology toilets are available • Construct Individual Toilets • Use toilets available (individual, community or public) • Take responsibility of hygienic maintenance of toilets being used • Wash hands • Segregate solid waste • Adopt household level waste management practices for bio-waste • Pay user charges for community/public toilets • Clean pits	Interpersonal communication to address the attitudes and beliefs with right and appropriate behavior Regular monitoring, till the adopted practices become behaviours
Village level workers (Swachh Sena, ASHA, Jal Shiya)	Focus on motivating people to construct toilets	Household visits to monitor and ensure people use the toilets constructed and wash hands with soap	Capacity building on BCC

Target group	Present/Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Desired Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Capacity Building
GPs and PRI Leaders, NGOs, SHGs	• Lack of ownership of community toilets and monitoring of open defecation	• Collect User charges • Maintain toilets • Monitor open defecation • Positive sanitation and hygiene behaviour has potential for employment opportunity for making soap, sanitation materials locally and at affordable cost and generate revenues by selling compost or bio-gas generated from toilet pits	Capacity building and Advocacy
State/ district /ULB level officials	• Low priority to sanitation and hygiene in terms of fund allocation, adequate manpower and place in city development plans (CDPs) • Limited use of funds available for communication • In ability to employ target specific messages and media	• Realise the contribution of sanitation and hygiene's to city development • Provide adequate funds, build capacity of staff and prepare and implement CDPs • Full utilization of funds available for IEC/BCC • Formative research based BCC interventions • Use appropriate communication media, with a focus on Interpersonal Communication • Provide adequate provisions for CTs & PTs in CDPs	Advocacy, Capacity building on formative research, BCC tools and techniques and social marketing

26

Target group	Present/Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Desired Knowledge/ Attitude/Behaviour	Capacity Building
Industry	Focus on toilet construction	• Undertake sustainable behaviour change interventions to promote health, hygiene and sanitation • Construction of toilets for women • Improve access to cheap cleaning materials to wash toilets and hands	Advocacy
Employees/ Contractors involved in Waste Management	Waste segregated at household is mixed again Mixed Waste Collected is not segregated	Practice effective waste segregation	Capacity building in BCC for effective segregation and safe handling of SWM
Trainers		Include BCC in their training programmes	Training on BCC and SM theory, practice and applications

M&E

The monitoring of SBM should rectify the weaknesses of earlier sanitation campaigns of not focusing on behavioural change and address linkage between improved sanitation and health. It should provide for mid-course corrections.

The BCC-SM Capacity Building framework (Figure 2) defines important stakeholders for capacity building. It identifies different media and messages to be used for different target groups and also spells out the intended effect of the communication interventions.
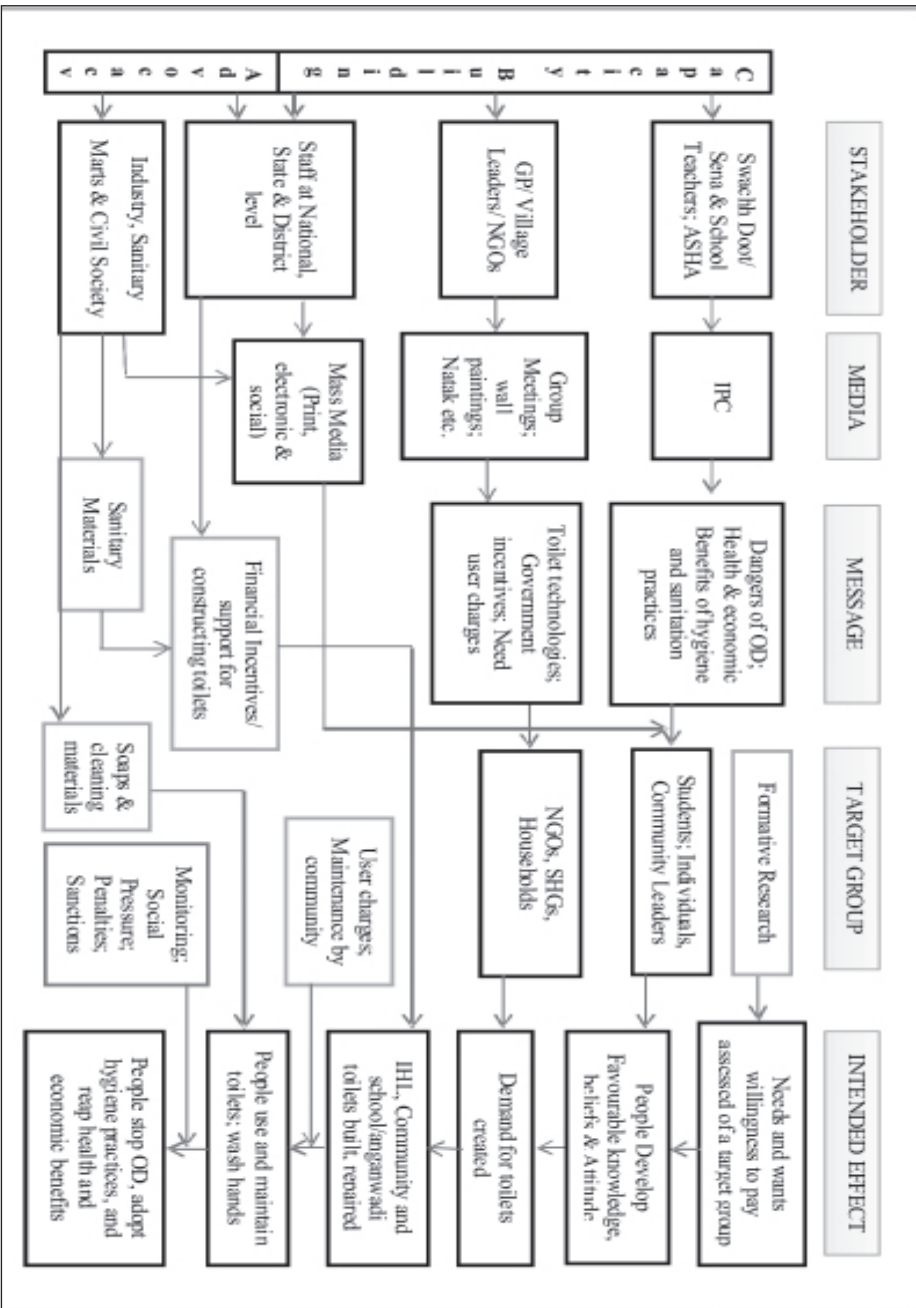
Figure-2: BCC-SM Capacity Building Framework For Sustainable *Swachh Bharat*

28

Conclusion

This paper started with highlighting the need and importance of good sanitation and hygiene. Review of the available evidence and situational analysis reveal the need for adopting a comprehensive strategy in order to achieve the goal of SBM. At the end the paper has offered a BCC-SM capacity building framework for sustainable *Swacch Bharat Mission.*

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Democratisation of Communication for Social Development: A Case Study of the Communist Movement in Kerala

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The present study examines the specific features of the communication practice and propaganda techniques of the Communist Movement in Kerala and its significance in development communication studies. As an alien, Western and atheist concept, communism was totally unfamiliar to a caste oriented feudalistic society like Kerala. Within a short time it was disseminated throughout the society ranging from the illiterate villagers to the urban elite. Though an alien concept, this ideology was successfully propagated among the public in an effective manner. The communists utilised all media resources like theatre, press, publications, art forms and word of mouth to reach each and every sector of society. The most striking feature of their communication practice is that they successfully exploited and manipulated all available channels of communication in service of their propaganda. The findings of this study suggests that by the effective utilisation of all available media in society they successfully democratised the process of communication and ensured public participation in the social reformation process.

Introduction

The latter half of the 20th century has brought a sea change in communication studies. Communication scientists and researchers have shown more interest in the studies of indigenous communication practices and traditional media. There is a broad agreement among the development communication experts and

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strategy planners of social development programmes in developed and developing countries alike that in order to reach a marginalised society with limited media exposure, literacy rate and lower socio-economic status, effective utilisation of indigenous communication practices and traditional media are essential (Howkins, 1982; Inkeles, 1968; Hedebro, 1982; Liu, 1971; Pye, 1963). The present study is an attempt to examine such a communication practice, which indicates the potential of indigenous modes of communication, and the possibilities of an integrated role of various communication channels to effect social development. The researcher hopes that this study will develop some tentative answers that might serve as a basis for the formulation of a communication strategy for development programmes in developing countries.

The present study aims at highlighting the communication factors that contributed to the formation of the first democratically elected communist government in the world. In 1957, the Communist Party had come to power through democratic process in Kerala, a small state in the southern part of India. Though communism came to Kerala as a part of an international Communist Movement, it gained power through a democratic electoral process. Unlike the totalitarian societies like Russia or China, communists in Kerala succeeded in propagating their ideology in a democratic system, which already had been enlightened by the radical ideas and activities of various social reform movements and the National Movement. In the 1957 general elections, communists came out as the single biggest party in the state by securing 38% of the vote polled. Apart from the tiny Italian principality San Marino, Kerala emerged as the first case of a democratically elected communist government in the world (Nossitter, 1982; Nair, 1993).

Whatever may be the reasons behind this victory, it is obvious that the communication strategy of the communists had played a significant role in it. Social reawakening on socialist lines and ideological influence on art and literature during that period also substantiated the impact of communist propaganda and persuasive mode of communication on the social life of Kerala (Fic, 1970; Balakrishnan, 1993; Offredi, 1992). So it is felt that, an exploration of the communication practice of the communists would be worthwhile, in bringing out the methods they utilised to popularise such an alien, Western concept like communism in a caste oriented feudalistic society which also had a long cultural and religious tradition in Kerala.

Like any other state in India, religious and cultural practices were deep rooted

38

in Kerala. Before assessing the communication practice of communists, some background analysis on the mass communication scenario of Kerala is imperative.

Mass communication: The Kerala scenario

In early times oral communication was the only mode of communication for the masses and written communication was confined to the educated upper class people. Mass communication at the grass root level took place mainly through word of mouth and the public functions like festivals, trade fairs, places of worship etc. were treated as early forums of communication. On such occasions people came together and renewed their friendships and established new contacts. These public gatherings provided them with a platform to share their experiences and opinions (Iyer, 1970).

Apart from these indigenous communication forms, there existed a wide variety of folk and traditional art forms. Being a great repository of various folk and traditional performing art forms, Kerala had a long history of social communication. Folk songs were recited and remembered without any script and communicated orally from generation to generation. Besides entertainment these folk media functioned as vehicles for the transmission of knowledge and instruments of social change (Varier, 1985; Parambol, 1993).

The arrival of Christian missionaries in the early half of 16th century was a major land mark in the development of mass communication in Kerala. The introduction of printing by Christian missionaries, their educational and literary activities nurtured the mass communication sphere of Kerala to a great extent.

Introduction of printing

The introduction of printing was a momentous event in the history of communication, which made it possible to reproduce information cheaply and disseminate it to a vast audience simultaneously. It was the Portuguese Christian missionaries, who came to India in the last decades of the 16th century who introduced printing in Kerala. Though their educational and literary activities were aimed at religious propagation, it also enabled the majority of people to become literate. They established several schools and free education was given to all irrespective of caste and creed. They had also set up printing presses at various locations in Kerala (Raghavan, 1985). These attempts enlightened society in general and mass education and mass

communication sphere in particular. Increased literacy, extension of education and emergence of newspapers had fostered a social, political and cultural renaissance in Kerala and shaped the thought patterns of people with new reformist ideas and opinions.

Era of the National Movement

As anywhere else in India, the National Movement had its repercussions on the socio-political milieu of Kerala as well. The mass communication sphere also underwent subsequent changes. Increased literacy and a high percentage of media diffusion made the communication process more effective and triggered the rise of public opinion tremendously. People showed a keen interest in the ongoing socio-political reformation in the state. All these developments in turn gave a vigorous impetus to the mass communication sphere, especially to the print media (Kumar, 1993; Menon, 1956).

As a part of the National Movement, a social reform movement was also intensified during this period. These movements were spear headed mainly by various communally oriented social organisations in Kerala. These social organisations also utilised print media as an effective weapon for social change. The *Namboothiri Yogashema Sabha* (NYS)*,* an organisation formed for the welfare of the *Namboothiri* community went a step further by manipulating a novel communication practice i.e. theatre. The leaders of NYS utilised theatre to mobilise public opinion against the age old customs of the *Namboothiri* community (Kali, 1989; Kumar, 1993; Prasad, 1993).

Emergence of the Communist Party

The socio-political milieu of Kerala witnessed a radical change in the early 30s. It was the global revolutionary mass movement of peasants and working classes under the communist umbrella that sowed the seeds of revolutionary activities in Kerala. The enthralling victory of Russian communists over capitalism and autocracy also boosted the aspirations of the younger generation (Cherian, 1999). In 1939, the formation of the Kerala unit of the Communist Party was declared in a secret meeting at *Pinarayi* (a remote village in northern Kerala). After the formation of the Kerala unit, the Communist Party organisation began to expand throughout Kerala.

40

Emergence as an electoral force

Elections to the provincial assemblies, held in 1945 were an epoch-making event in the history of the Kerala Communist Party. It was the first time that the Communist Party came before the voters in its own name, under its own flag and with its own statement of policy or election manifesto. Though the Communist Party candidates were defeated in all constituencies, they secured enough votes to retain their security (Balakrishnan, 1993; Fic, 1970).

In the first general elections held in 1951, the Communist Party fielded its candidates in 53 seats and secured 29 seats. In the second general elections in 1957, of the 125 Assembly seats, the Communist Party contested in 100 seats and won 60 seats. The opponent Congress won only 43 seats though it contested in all 125 constituencies. The progress made by the Communist Party during this period was phenomenal and significant compared to its own record in the previous elections and with that of the record of other parties (Balakrishnan, 1993; Fic, 1970). The electoral victory of 1957 is sufficient proof for their subsequent success in acquiring mass support.

In order to see the whole picture of communist efforts at persuasion in Kerala, it is necessary to examine the means by which communism carried its message to the public. The present study aims to explore the communist attempt to utilise various communication channels to achieve their political objectives and to examine the particular features of their communication pattern and propaganda techniques. Specifically it is addressed to the following questions:

1. How was an alien, Western, atheist concept like communism implemented in a caste oriented feudalistic society in Kerala?
2. How did the Communist Party communicate with a cross section of the society ranging from illiterate villagers to the urban elite?
3. How did they overcome communication barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure, variations in socio-economic status etc?
4. How did they communicate successfully with the public even in the periods of political ban?

Research Design

Area

Out of 14 districts of Kerala, four districts were selected for the study i.e. Kannur, Kozhikode, Thrissur and Alappuzha. Of these Kannur and Alappuzha can be considered as bastions of the Communist Movement in Kerala, whereas Thrissur and Kozhikode did not have much affiliation with communist ideology. The districts selected are of different geographical, educational, political background, socio-economic status and religious status, literacy rate, media exposure etc.

Respondents

Since the study is mainly concerned with the communication practice of Communists, a particular group of people was selected for the study. The criteria for the selection of respondents depended on their age and association with the Communist Movement. In order to get adequate information, the study was concentrated in certain places, which are well known for communist upheavals in the district. All veteran party workers were interviewed to get their opinions and experiences regarding Communist Movement in the respective areas.

Data collection

Both primary and secondary data were collected for the study. Since the study is concerned with a historic subject, oral history method was used for the collection of primary data. Oral history means the process of collecting opinions and experiences from the recent past by interviewing those who took part in the event (Hoopes, 1979).

Secondary data collected from various sources like:

- Government documents (administrative reports, police reports, judicial reports etc.)
- Newspaper reports
- Biographies and autobiographies of eminent communist leaders
- Books, pamphlets and other publications regarding the Communist Movement in Kerala.

Strategy and practice of communication

From its inception the Communist Party was the most organised and engaged in

42

the continual process of politicisation of its cadres and communicating with its followers. Party cadres and workers were well informed about their party and its ideology. Even in the early stages of its development, when the organisation and its membership were negligible, the Communist Party maintained an effective and impressive communication network. The present study is an attempt to expose the principle forms of propaganda techniques used by the Communist Party to disseminate their ideology. Jowett and O'Donnell (1986) defined the term: "propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist". The term propaganda used in this study refers to the verbal and non verbal forms of communication used by the Communist Party to influence the motives, believes, attitudes and actions of the public in lines with their ideology. Inter personal communication, propaganda through the press and publishing programme, propaganda through cultural activities and demonstrations form the major propaganda attempts of the Communist Party.

The most important feature of their communication practice was the importance given to verbal propaganda and direct communication. Study classes and night schools under the guidance of party leaders had been conducted throughout the state to give an ideological orientation to party cadres. Along with the classes on fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, issues like global revolutionary movements, national and international political situations, regional matters were also discussed in these classes. Besides this, general education was also given to them so as to enable them to read and write and thereby raise their consciousness (Das, 1983).

Press and publications

The press and publishing programme form another important mass medium tool of the Communist Party. They have maintained an official party press and impressive array of publications along with their political activity. *Prabhatham* (The Dawn), *Deshabhimani* (Patriot) were the dailies published by the Party. Of these, *Deshabhimani* is still functioning as the official organ of the Communist Party of Kerala. Besides these dailies, dozens of weeklies and periodicals were published by the Party with a clear motive to reach each and every sector of the society. Though bureaucratic interventions interrupted their circulation, the available copies were widely circulated and read by the party workers. In addition to the official party

publications, communist influenced mass organisations and front groups also launched a number of publications to support propagation of communist ideology in different sections of the society. *Krishikkaran* (Farmer), *Trade Union*, *Railway thozhilali (*Railway worker), *Thozhilai* (Worker), *Adyapakan* (Teacher), *Vidyardhi* (Student), *Party samghatakan* (Party organiser) were important among them (Nampoothirippad, 1986; Kumar, 1993).

Books and pamphlets were yet another important source of communist propaganda in Kerala. On the one hand party press aimed at "agitation" and the Party's interpretations of day-to-day socio-political issues and events, books and journals, on the other hand focused on ideological orientation towards communist ideology.

Available records on the Communist Movement in Kerala record that 2,14,000 copies of leaflets and booklets, 21,128 copies of daily newspaper (per day) and 7,000 weeklies had been published by the Communist Party during the period of the general election of 1951-52 (Balakrishnan, 1993). As part of the propaganda machinery Prabhatham Printing and Publishing Company Ltd was established in 1953, which later introduced foreign publications, especially Chinese and Soviet publications in Kerala.

Cultural activities

One of the best elements of the cultural heritage of Kerala is its songs and art forms. Communists have the credit of being the first to have initiated systematic attempts, in exploiting and manipulating the socio-political potential of various art forms and cultural activities in bringing about social change. They utilised songs and various art forms for the propagation of communism in rural areas. Thousands of songs were composed by party activists and they made it a practice to sing them during marches, meetings, party conferences etc. These songs were embedded with revolutionary ideas and called for the working class to fight against exploitation. Besides songs, various types of art forms, both classical and folk were utilised to mobilise the public in line with the communist ideology. The folk and traditional aspects of the art forms and simple style of presentation helped to cut across the traditional resistance to new ideas and removed barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure to mass media, variations in socio-economic status etc (Kali, 1989; Kumar, 1992; Parambol,1993).

44

Theatre also acted as a successful propaganda device to disseminate socialist and revolutionary ideas. Several plays with revolutionary themes were staged at party meetings, farmers and factory workers conferences. In 1950, Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC) formed the cultural wing of the Communist Party. They presented a number of plays of socio-political significance. Of them '*You made me a Communist'*, became a box-office hit. There were 40 bookings for the play at the inaugural day itself. The play symbolised Kerala's changing political culture. The audience responded enthusiastically and the popularity of play swept along the length and breadth of Kerala for some months. In March 1953, the District Magistrate of Trivandrum banned the play. The efforts to ban the play itself proved the impact that it made on the socio-political sphere of Kerala. From the study it is revealed that cultural activities had played a crucial role in creating a platform for the successful dissemination of complex revolutionary ideas and acted as instruments for mobilising the public in line with communist ideology (Balakrishnan, 1993; Richmond, 1973).

Demonstrations form another kind of propaganda activity, which constitute marches, meetings, campaigns, fairs etc. All these performances were intended to draw public attention to specific issues like labour problems; national and international issues and make them aware of their seriousness and far reaching impact on the society. Songs, art forms and cultural activities were also performed during these programmes to attract people.

Reading rooms

Reading rooms form another forum of communication for the mass. In villages study classes and night schools were conducted in these reading rooms to educate the party workers. They acted as centres for the dissemination of political ideology and also venues for the meetings of workers, peasants and students.

Mass/Front organisations

Mass/Front organisations form another important part of their communication network. They formed labourers, farmers, cultural, youth and women's organisations to organise people from different sectors of life in line with the communist ideology. These organisations helped in sparking the interest of politically indifferent people and eventually drawing them into the Communist Party. During the period of political ban these organisations acted as intermediaries between the Party and the public.

Analysis and interpretation

From the study it is clear that communists placed great importance on communication. They used communication as a tool to bring out changes in the social structure. On analysis it can be seen that dissemination of communist ideology in Kerala comes under the category of sub propaganda or facilitative communication. In his book *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, Leonard Doob (1948) explains sub propaganda as the dissemination of an unfamiliar doctrine for which a considerable period of time is required to build a frame of mind in the audience towards the acceptance of that doctrine. In order to gain the target audience's favour various stimuli are used to arouse the attention of the audience and related codes and agents who mediate communication. As an alien, Western, atheist concept, communism was totally unfamiliar to a caste oriented, feudalistic society like Kerala. But within a short time it disseminated throughout the society ranging from illiterate village mass to the urban elite. Personal contacts, cultural activities and publishing programmes helped very much to create a favourable climate for the receptivity of their radical ideas.

Agit-prop instrument

Agitation and propaganda are two inevitable factors in the communications strategy of the Communist Movement. Propaganda means the propagation of complex ideas to a select audience whereas agitation refers to the dissemination of simple ideas, often in the form of mere slogans, to mass audience. According to the party principle every party worker should be a full time agitator and propagandist. As an agitator he must, through the spoken or written word, through daily contact with masses, stimulate them to action with elementary political slogans related to immediate issues. As a propagandist he must address a reasoned exposition of the party principle to small, sophisticated groups with an aim of a total conversion (Documents of History of Communist Party in India, 1976).

The study reveals that the overall communication strategy of the party is also designed in line with this agit-prop mechanism. Propaganda via press, theoretical journals, books and indoctrination classes were primarily aimed at educating the party cadres and intellectual sympathisers, whereas cultural activities, demonstrations etc. were meant for drawing the masses towards party's activities and agitations. This mechanism enabled the party to draw people from different walks of life.

46

Communication as development mechanism

Though communism came as a part of an international Communist Movement, it has acquired a nationalist and populist character in Kerala. Unlike the international Communist Movement's motto of socialism and revolution; themes of the Communist Movement in Kerala concentrated on national and regional specific issues like problems of the working class, eradication of social evils like casteism, feudalism etc. and supported national liberation movements also. They have taken up local problems faced by the village mass as a matter of agitation. At that time the majority of the people in Kerala belonged to the working class with lower socio-economic status and educational level. But the study classes and night schools organised by the Communist Party helped to raise their literacy level and general socio-political awareness, and the organisational leadership and ideological impetus provided by the Communist Party politicised a substantial section of the society which was hitherto marginalised or excluded from the mainstream of public activities. Even while agitating for the redressal of their economic grievances the working class had ideological perceptions that their problems could be rectified only through the attainment of proper democratic rights to the people. This kind of rapid politicisation resulted in the emergence of the Communist Party with a strong social base in rural areas.

Towards the democratisation of communication

The communication practice of communists in Kerala presents a striking model for alternative use of communication, which proved the potential of indigenous modes of communication and possibilities of integrated use of various communication channels to effect social development. The study suggests that the communists succeeded in exploiting and manipulating all available channels of communication in service of their propaganda. The integrated use of various communication channels helped them to reach different sectors of the society. In rural areas, the Party gave more emphasis to the achievement of mass literacy, raising the general socio-political awareness among the individuals etc. and depended mainly on indigenous and popular media like songs, art forms, theatre and word of mouth to disseminate their ideology. The press and publishing programme was oriented mainly towards the educated elite. By the effective utilisation of available media in the society they successfully democratised the process of communication.

The communication experience of communists suggests that democratising the process of communication by availing popular and indigenous communication

media will facilitate active participation of individuals in the social and political development. For them the democratisation of communication will lead to increased media exposure and increased literacy which in turn enhance social representation and political participation.

UNESCO'S report on the International Information Order (Macbride, 1982) defines democratisation of communication as the process whereby : (a) the individual becomes an active partner, not a mere object of communication, (b) variety of messages exchanged increases and (c) the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication are augmented. By their educational and communication programmes Communist Party enriched the general educational standard and socio-political awareness among the working class and ensured their active participation in the ongoing socio-political reformation in the state.

A well informed citizenry is indispensable for the effective functioning of a democratic system. But in India, democratic communication is scarcely a reality for hundreds of millions of people. Social, cultural and economic discrimination, limited access to media, high rate of illiteracy hampered the democratisation of communication and hence social development (Kumar, 1994). In a developing country like India messages conveyed through mass media and social media are not entirely relevant to the cultural and social reality of the vast majority of the people. Studies have shown that the mass media alone could not effect social development in such social situations. Alternative communication practices and strategies are needed for the dissemination of developmental messages to them (Howkins, 1982; Inkeles, 1968; Hedebro, 1982; Liu, 1971).

Against this backdrop, the communication practice of communists in Kerala deserves considerable attention. The great success of their communication practice was the integrated use of various communication channels like inter-personal communication, traditional media, folk media and mass media to effect social development, which enabled them to eliminate communication barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure and variations in socio-economic status. But it does not mean that communication practice of communists in Kerala can be replicated in other countries or other social situations for implementing social development programmes. It must be realised that social, cultural and economic conditions of different countries are different. So it is not easy to transfer the same

48

communication policy to other countries. But the communication experience of the Communist Movement in Kerala provides some guidelines for the effective utilisation of communication for social development.

The communication experience of communists in Kerala suggests that the communication strategy for a development programme in developing countries should be strictly in accordance with the social and cultural background of the people and in their language and dialect. The strategy planners of such development programmes should be aware of various modes and channels of communication existing in the society including indigenous communication practices, traditional media and mass media. Ultimately every nation should find its own way and its specific design of communication strategy on the basis of its own economic, social and cultural preconditions.

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The Role of Media in Pre-Cyclone Preparedness and Post-Cyclone Recovery in South Odisha: An Exploratory Study

Manoj Deori[1] & Neena Baruah[2]

In 2013, when the India Meteorological Department (IMD) announced the arrival of super cyclone "Phailin" that was to make its landfall at Gopalpur, Southern Odisha, the state begun preparations with the target of achieving zero casualties. Since the alert was given well ahead of time, it perhaps helped save many lives since the state government took immediate steps to evacuate and make necessary arrangements to scale down the magnitude of the damage caused by the super cyclone. Approximately 900,000 residents were evacuated to shelters in schools, colleges, universities and government offices. Authorities also moved food, water and medicine close to the affected areas before the storm. Phailin being the strongest tropical storm to hit Odisha in more than a decade, such preparedness contributed in bringing down the number of casualties in 2013 as compared to that of the last super cyclone which hit coastal Odisha in 1999, leaving 10,000 people dead and causing huge loss to property. After the super cyclone Phailin, the authors conducted a post disaster study to find out how the natural disaster affected the residents who were directly impacted. The survey was then reviewed to determine the usefulness and role of media during such an event. The authors also studied the media's role in helping the residents in pre-disaster preparedness and post disaster recovery which perhaps helped reduce the devastation and destruction that Cyclone Phailin could otherwise have caused. The authors also stressed upon the importance of establishing an effective relationship between government and non-government disaster mitigation groups and the scientific community and with the media to reduce risk during such disasters.

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Introduction

Odisha has experienced severe cyclonic disasters in the past. The state is highly vulnerable to this natural disaster and in the past several cyclonic storms have made landfall in the coastal areas of the state with aftermaths like flood due to heavy rainfall (Chhotray & Few, 2012). In 1999, a Super Cyclone hit the state and according to official records a total of 9,803 people died, thousands were injured and over 3 lakhs homes were destroyed leaving lakhs of people homeless with the highest number of domestic animal deaths. Over 50 lakh farmers lost their means of livelihood. Going over past records and data shows the state has suffered huge loss to life and property in severe cyclonic storms that have hit the state year after year. But loss caused during the Super Cyclone *Phailin* in 2013 was contained to a single-digit figure by a well-prepared administration in Odisha. The success of this endeavour can be attributed to timely dissemination of information about the severity of the cyclone and prompt evacuation of people from the coastal areas (Singh & Chudasama, 2015).

The severity of cyclones varies according to their intensity of wind speed. Nomenclature of the cyclonic disturbances according to the wind speed used by IMD has been divided into certain categories such as Cyclonic Storm, Severe Cyclonic Storm, Very Severe Cyclonic storm and Super Cyclonic Storm. The maximum sustained surface wind speed (KMPH) for a Cyclonic Storm is 62-88 KMPH, for Severe Cyclonic Storm it is 89-117 KMPH, for Very Severe Cyclonic Storm it is 118-221 KMPH and for Super Cyclonic Storm it is 222 KMPH and above.

Background to cyclonic storms in Odisha

The first recorded cyclone in Odisha was during 1737, which was under Super Cyclone category and resulted in huge loss to life and property. In 1831, a Very Severe Cyclonic storm made its landfall in coastal Odisha claiming 50,000 lives. After almost three decades two very Severe Cyclonic storms hit Odisha in the same year of 1864 which recorded huge devastation of life and property. During 1885, a Super Cyclonic storm crossed Odisha coast at false point, a low headland in the Bay of Bengal located in the Kendrapara district of Odisha, claiming 5,000 lives. Similarly in 1942 and 1967, Very Severe Cyclonic storms crossed West Bengal coast near Contai and Odisha coast between *Puri* and *Paradeep* eventually creating

52

havoc among the people by inflicting huge loss to life and property. Again in 1971, a Very Severe Cyclonic storm that crossed Odisha near *Paradeep* claimed 10,000 lives. In 1977, 1990 and 1996 two Super Cyclones and a Very Severe Cyclonic storm respectively crossed Odisha causing huge devastation to life and property. Similarly in 1999, a total of 9,803 people died, thousands were injured and over 3 lakhs homes destroyed leaving lakhs of people homeless during a Super Cyclone that made its landfall in Odisha (Odisha State Disaster Management Authority).

Examining the historical records of severe cyclones which formed in the Bay of Bengal and made landfall at the eastern coast of India from 1971-1999 shows such cyclonic storms have claimed million lives in Odisha and in the neighbouring states with a huge loss of property as well. Since Odisha is highly vulnerable to such hazards in the future also it is essential to constitute an integrated system during such disasters to minimise the loss of life and property.

Mass media and disaster management

Substantial research has been done on the role of mass media in pre-disaster preparedness and post disaster recovery by scholars in various disciplines. A major theme of studies in media coverage of disaster situations carried out in Japan and the US dwelt on how different media agencies have different styles of reporting news about disaster emergencies and how the content of national and local media coverage of disaster news was rather different. These studies also dealt with the theme where audiences often do not get the information they want from these media agencies (Quarantelli, 1987).

Limited research in Odisha shows the critical role of the media in such events. The pervasiveness of the mass media in the contemporary society has created an effective platform for immediate dissemination of information related to different types of communications. Of all the instruments available to disaster mitigation organisations, the media is potentially the most powerful. The degree to which the media contributes to disaster management is, however, heavily dependent on the quality of the *relationship* between disaster managers and the media. If this relationship is characterised by *mutual trust, visibility* and *flexibility* it is highly likely to be mutually beneficial (Venter, 1999). The media has to play an important role by systematically planning to provide adequate information to all the stakeholders. The role of the media will be very important and it can be clarified through proper planning in an ordered and sequential way, the context of what

has to be communicated, how it will be communicated, through what media, what people and resources can be counted on and the audience for the message (Pan American Health Organisation, 2009).

In recent times, cyclone warning systems have improved a lot because of information and communication technology, especially the Internet, mobile phones, and improved broadcasting technology with global television channels (Hossain et al, 2008). Warnings are effective only if they are specific about the threat, specific about who is affected and specific about what to do and – because persons hearing a warning from one source are inclined to check with another – they are effective only if they come from all possible sources (Scanlon, 2009).

Media not only provides information but also has latent functions in disasters. During such events the particular community or the individual gets disconnected from the rest of the world. It is media who keeps them connected and provides emotional support and companionship (Perez-Lugo, 2004). As the media becomes an important link between the local disaster area and the outside world, it can be effectively utilised to disseminate specified, focused requests for aid and can translate into a vital source of effective response (Wenger, 1985).

Media can affect various myths which the public and organisational actors tend to believe during disasters. At the same time, media can disseminate wrong and exaggerated views about disaster behaviour. After the *Hurricane Katrina*, it was the media that framed the response of the disaster victims in ways that greatly exaggerated the incidence and severity of looting and lawlessness (Tierney, Bevc, & Kuligowski, 2006). To contain myths and rumours Wenger (1985) suggests, "by clearing information, controlling what items are released, utilising trained public relations and media personnel, and filtering all information through one authoritative source, it is felt that rumours will be limited, conflicting and inaccurate information not disseminated, and public and official action will be maximised".

This aspect of the media's role is beyond the scope of this paper and may be studied at a later stage.

Both before and during a natural disaster, the media can be effectively used to provide timely and factual information to the public – about preventive measures to

54

be taken and risk reduction and post-disaster recovery and relief measures adopted by the authorities and other stakeholders. It can be used to update people with information about the actions being taken by the authorities and aid groups. It can also play an important role in facilitating communication among affected people scattered in various parts of the state/country. Also, it can be used to highlight the potential secondary risks associated with any natural disaster to minimise further damage to life and property (Rattien, 1990).

The media can help maintain an effective connection between the authorities and the needs of the survivors in the post-disaster period. It can also help to advocate risk reduction in affected areas and encourage people's participation in the rescue and relief operations in the post-disaster phase. The various forms of media can also be integrated to form an effective emergency response network which would involve constant planning and active participation on the part of officials of the administration interacting with the media. Only a thorough understanding of how the mass media operates will help in effective implementation of the same (Wenger, 1985).

A brief overview of public access to mass media in Odisha

The penetration of media in one form or another in the majority of the households is quite evident in urban as well as rural Odisha. Since the year 2000, vernacular or local language newspapers have almost doubled its number. Till September, 2015 there were about 72 vernacular newspapers circulated within the state along with the national dailies. Southern Odisha also has Telugu newspapers along with Odia since the state of Andhra Pradesh borders Odisha in the south.

Apart from Doordarshan Odisha, a State-run Broadcaster there has been a considerable increase in television channels in Odisha since the year 2000. The regional private news and entertainment channels have became popular among the people of Odisha. There are about 13 Odia news channels and 10 general entertainment channels including music and religious channels currently operational in Odisha till 2014 (Ghosh, 2014) .

At present the All India Radio (AIR) network (State-run Broadcaster), has 15 radio stations in Odisha which basically cater to the needs of the rural listeners with news and entertainment, Radio Choklate has three radio stations, Big FM

has also three FM radio stations and Red FM has one station in Odisha which cater to infotainment, mostly to the urban listeners. Besides these, there are nearly 10 community radio stations which are operational at present. The private players were allowed in the radio broadcasting segment in 2001 only after the first phase of sanctioning of licenses. The easy access of radio channels through mobile phones has brought a new dimension to radio broadcasting in Odisha. Most of the local stations of AIR are on FM Band or after converting them into FM (Jena, 2013).

However, when it comes to Internet penetration in 2011, only 1, 35, 255 people have access to the Internet in Odisha, which makes it only 1.4% of the total number of households surveyed (Census, 2011). According to a report, till September, 2014 Odisha had 26.63 million subscribers from which 14.39 million subscribers were rural subscribers and 12.24 million subscribers were urban subscribers (Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, 2014). At present various numbers of ISPs (Internet service providers) both governmental and non-governmental have come into play. The use of mobile internet through mobile phones is also becoming popular among the masses especially with the youth (Nath & Sahu, 2011).

Methodology

The present study uses the framework of Uses and Gratification theory. Uses and gratification theory (Ruggiero, 2000) hypothesises how different people use the same media messages for different purposes to satisfy their psychological and social needs and achieve their goals (Katz, 1959). The survey method along with interview method of research was followed in this descriptive study to help gather varied views of the participants. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to study the environment related to disaster management and the role of the media. A structured questionnaire was distributed among the participants and the participants responded to the questionnaire with the help of an interpreter (if needed). Computer assisted data analysis was carried to analyse the data collected though the survey.

Sample selection

Ganjam district is one among the largest districts of southern Odisha. The district is broadly divided into two divisions, the Coastal plain area in the east and hill and table lands in the west. The Eastern Ghats (mountains) run along the western

56

side of the District. The district of Ganjam is one among the highly cyclone hazard prone districts of Odisha. The people and the place have experienced cyclonic storms and their aftermath very often. The district has a rural as well as a semi-urban population. Moreover *Gopalpur*-on-sea in Ganjam district of Odisha had been the place of landfall of the cyclonic storms in Odisha a couple of times. It is assumed that the study in Ganjam district of Odisha would be representative of other parts of the state.

Sample size

The determination of sample size was done by applying Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) findings. The sample size has been given as 384 for a population of 10,000,000. The population of Ganjam is 3,529,031 (Census, 2011). Average literacy rate of Ganjam in 2011 was 71.09 of which male and female literacy was at 80.99 and 61.13 respectively. Based on this the sample size adequate for this study was 384. However for ensuring better statistical analysis, a total of 450 samples were collected.

Findings

Natural disasters in the last 5 years

As shown in Figure 1.1, a total of 95.12% of the respondents (including themselves or someone in their household) had experienced a natural disaster such as a cyclone, severe thunderstorm, flood, or other type of natural disaster in the past five years**.**

Fig.1.1: Percentage of respondents encountering natural disasters in the last 5 years
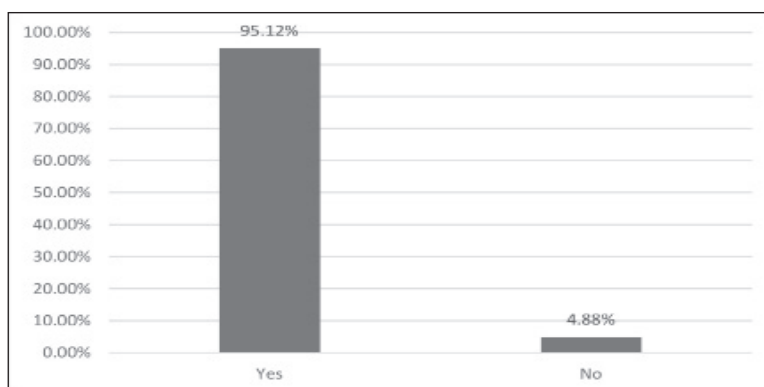
Types of natural disasters

In Figure 1.2, findings also revealed that of the respondents, who had encountered a natural disaster in the last 5 years, 84.57% had faced a Super Cyclone, 6.54% faced a Very Severe Cyclone Storm, 5.38% faced Flooding, while only 2.80% respondents faced a Heat Wave and 0.24% had faced an Earthquake during this period in Odisha.

Fig.1.2: Types of Natural Disasters encountered by the respondents
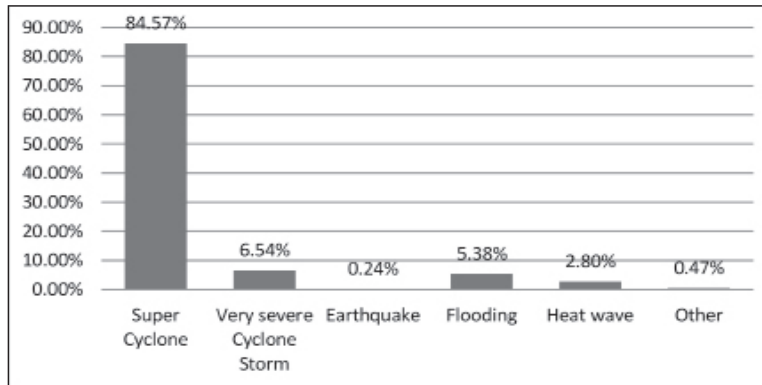
Types of Media

The survey revealed (Figure 1.3) that only 49.55% of the respondents had access to more than one form of media at their homes, while 27.11% had access to only Televisions, 11.55% had access only to Radios, 9.34% had access only to Newspapers, 1.11% had access only to the Internet and 1.34% of the respondents had access to other forms of media.

Fig. 1.3: Types of media in the respondents' home

58
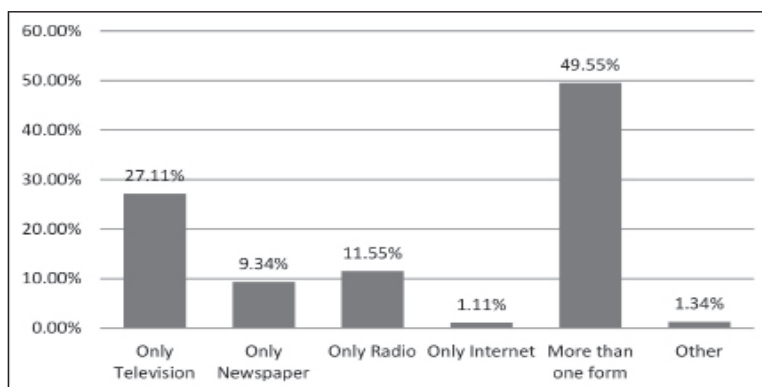
Reach of information

As shown in Figure 1.4, 95.33% of the respondents said they had received information from various media forms about how to make the family and home safer from natural disasters prior to natural disasters.

Fig.1.4 Reach of information on disaster preparedness ahead of *Phailin*
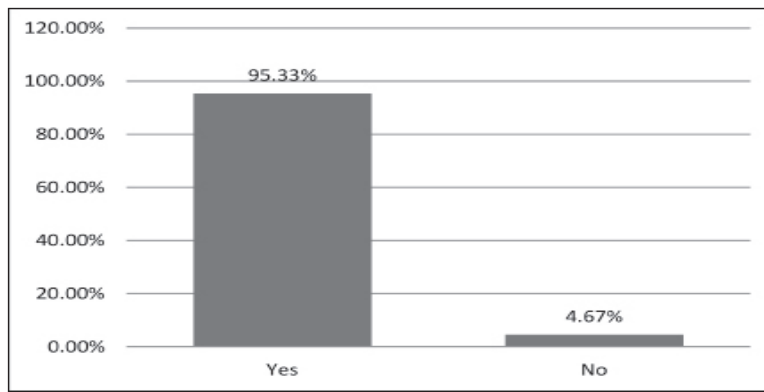
Sources of information

As shown in Figure 1.5, the 36.23% of the respondents received information on disaster preparedness from Televisions, 20 % from Government Agencies, 17.11% from Newspapers, 16.88% from the Radio, 2.67% from the Internet and 7.11% received such information from Other sources.

Fig.1.5. Sources of information on disaster preparedness
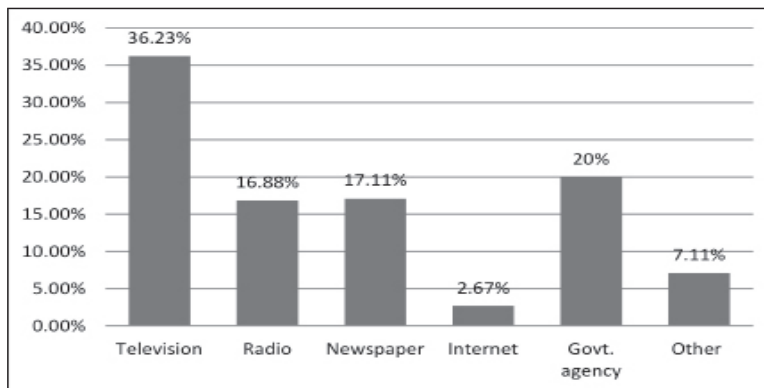
Authenticity of information

Where authenticity of information was concerned, Figure 1.6 shows that, the 44.88% of the respondents replied that they relied on Mass Media sources for providing them with genuine information. On the other hand, 30.89% of the respondents said they relied on Government Agencies for authentic information, 8.67% trusted the Internet as a source, while 7.78% relied on Universities/Research Institutes and 5.78% relied on Non-profit organisations for providing them with genuine information.

Fig.1.6. Authenticity of Information Source as per respondents' perception
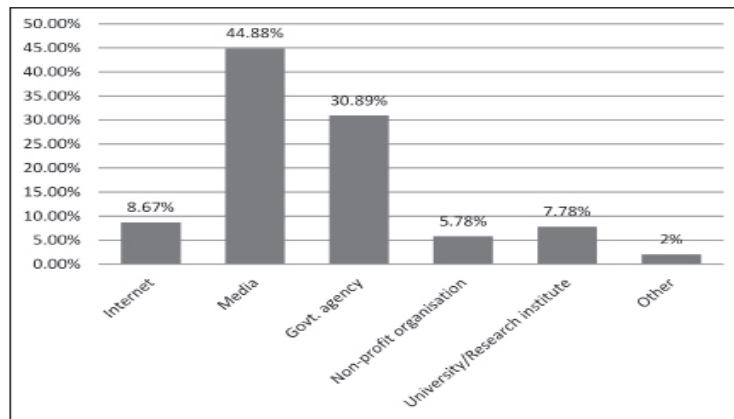
Information satisfaction

As shown in Figure 1.7, 64.45% of the total respondents replied that they were satisfied with the information made available on disaster preparedness during 2013 Cyclone, *Phailin.*

Fig.1.7. Respondents' satisfaction with the information provided.

60
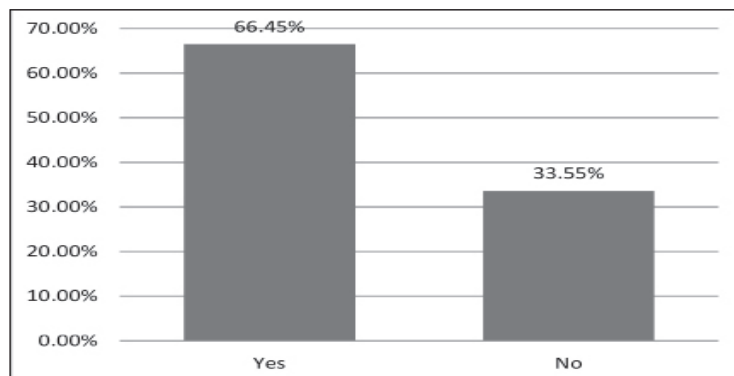
Disaster preparedness

As shown in Figure 1.8, a whopping 93.55% of the respondents replied that they prepared themselves for the natural disasters based on the information received from various media forms during 2013 cyclone, *Phailin.*
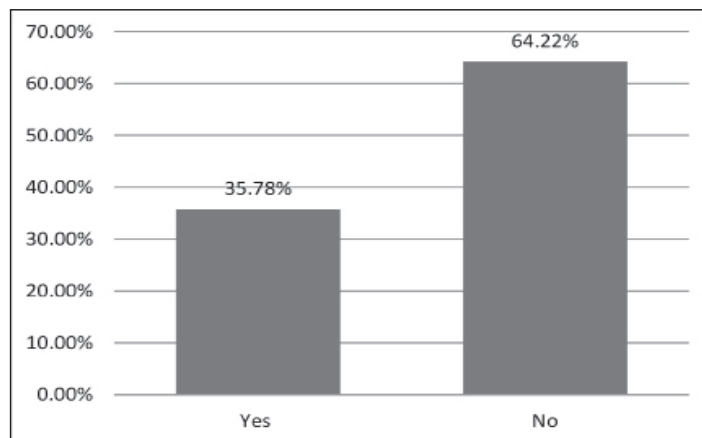
Fig.1.8. Preparation for disasters based on prior information
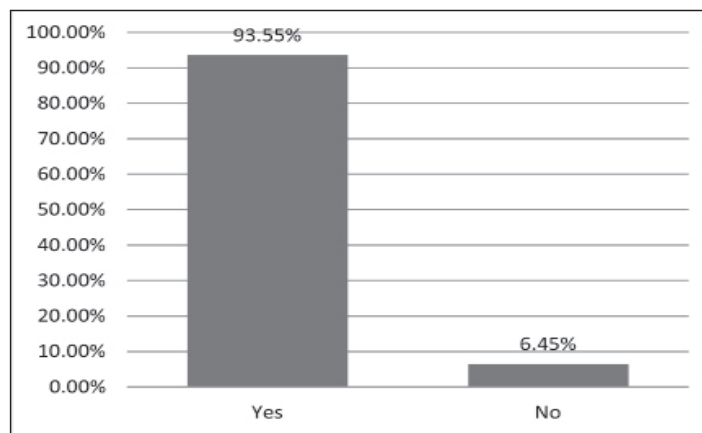
Response time for disaster preparedness

As shown in Figure 1.9, the 35.78% of the respondents thought that the time they received to prepare/evacuate was sufficient after receiving an alert about a disaster.

Fig.1.9. Response time for disaster preparedness

Media's role

As shown in Figure 1.10, around 55.77% of the respondents said they "strongly agreed" that the media plays a vital role in disseminating information during the time of natural disaster, while 36% said they "partially agreed", 5.33% "disagreed" and the rest 2.88% said they were unsure.

Fig.1.10. Respondents' perception of Media's role in disaster preparedness
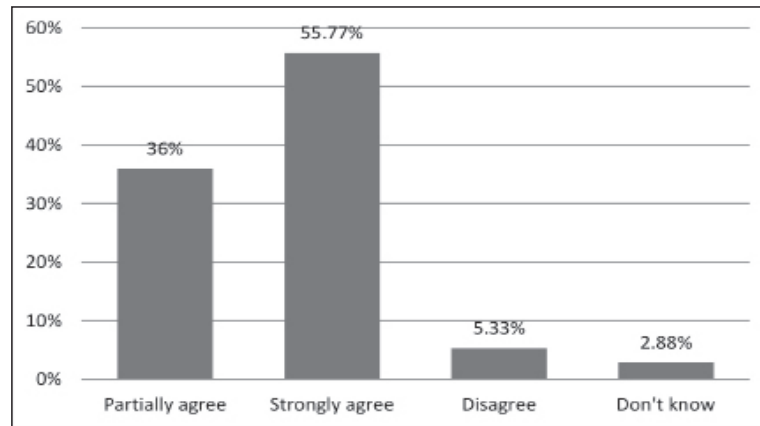
Perception of safety

As shown in Figure 1.11, the 40.67% of the respondents said that their family and home were relatively safe and well prepared for a natural disaster after getting adequate information from the media. On the other hand, 39.11% replied they were not sure while 20.22% replied that it had no impact on their safety.

Fig.1.11: Respondents' perception of safety after receiving information on disaster preparedness

62
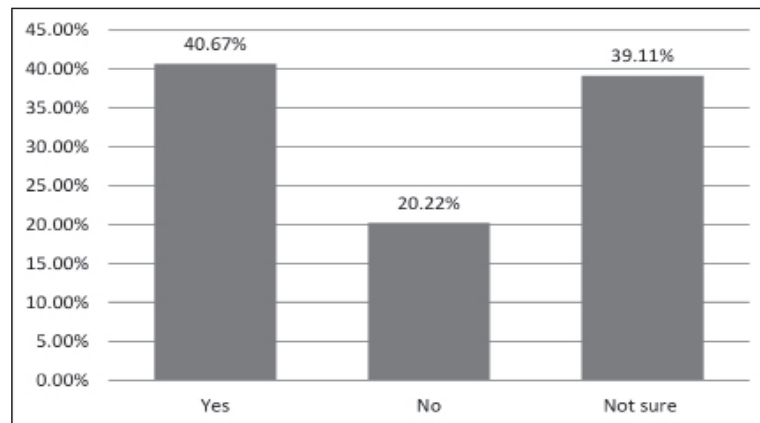
Warning response

After receiving prior warning of an impending natural disaster, the survey revealed (Figure 1.12) that, majority of the respondents said they made provisions for ensuring safety of their livestock. Only 5.55% responded that they left the cattle in the open without taking any extra effort to ensure their safety.
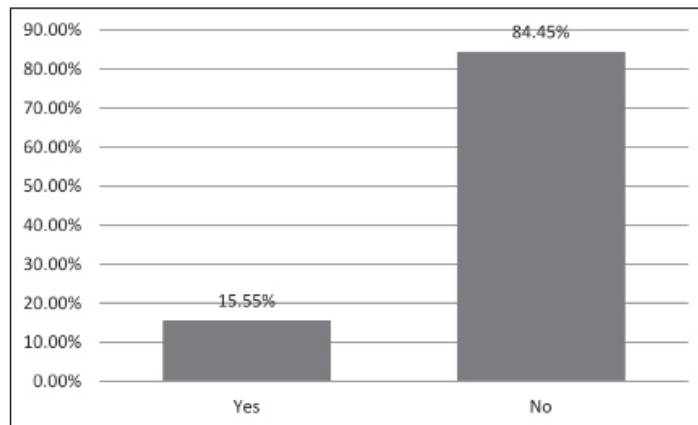
Fig.1.12. Response to disaster warnings and preparedness for livestock
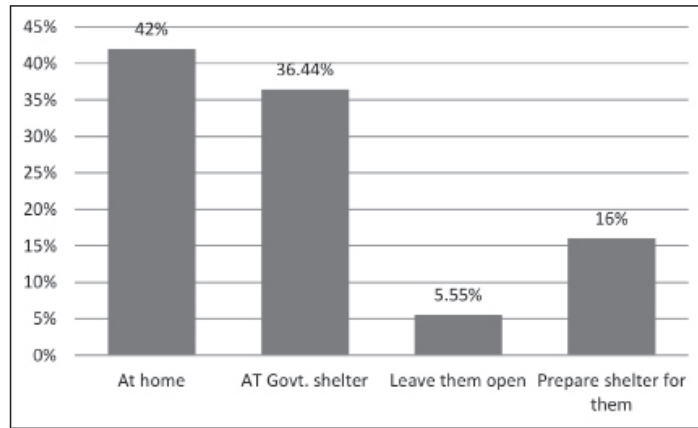
Disaster preparedness for livestock

As shown in Figure 1.13, of the total respondents, only 15.55% said they stocked on food for their livestock in view of an impending natural disaster.

Fig.1.13. Response to disaster warnings and stocking food for cattle

Effective source of information

A shown in Figure 1.14, the 38% of the total number of respondents surveyed thought Televisions to be the most effective source of information, 34.67% replied on Radio broadcasts, while only 12.67% of the respondents relied on Newspapers for disaster preparedness information to make their family and home safer.

**Fig.1.14. Respondents' opinion on most effective source of information**
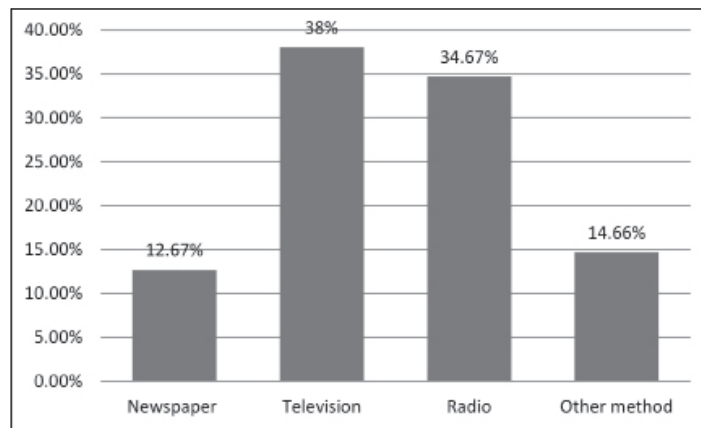
Source of information in Newspapers

As shown in the Figure 1.14 (a), among the newspaper readers 59.64% of the total respondents said that newspaper stories gave them more information during such disasters whereas 40.36% said newspaper advertisements gave them more information.

Fig. 1.14(a). Main source of information among newspaper readers
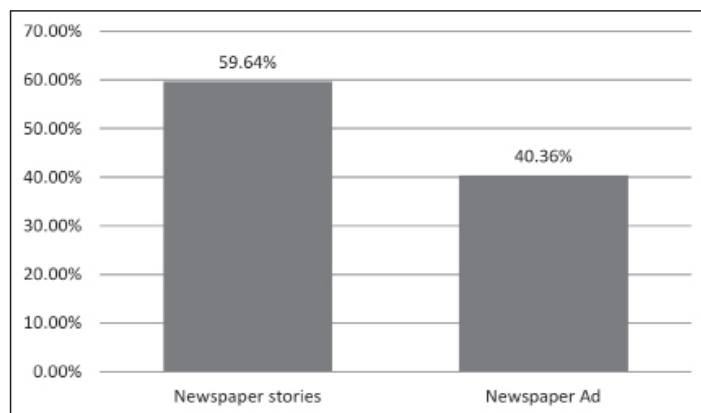
64

Source of information in Television

As shown in the Figure 1.14 (b), the 61.99 % of the total respondents said that, television news was more informative than the television advertisements.

Fig. 1.14(b). Main source of information among television viewers
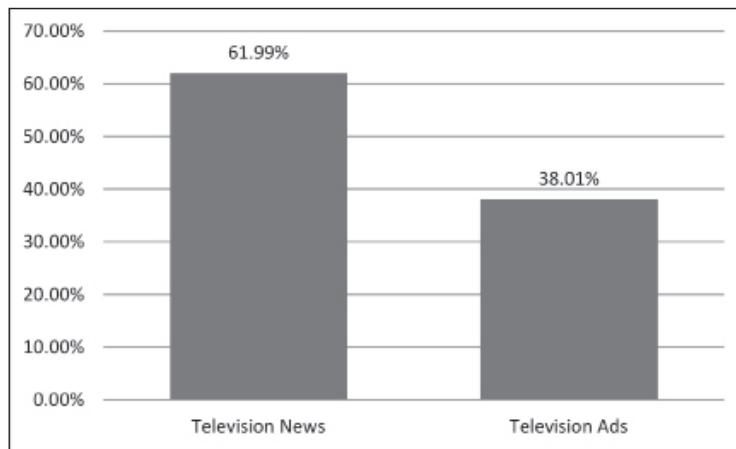
Source of information in Radio

As shown in the Figure 1.14 (C), of the total respondents, 53.2% said that, radio advertisements gave them more information than the radio news during *Phailin*.

Fig. 1.14(c). Main source of information among Radio listeners
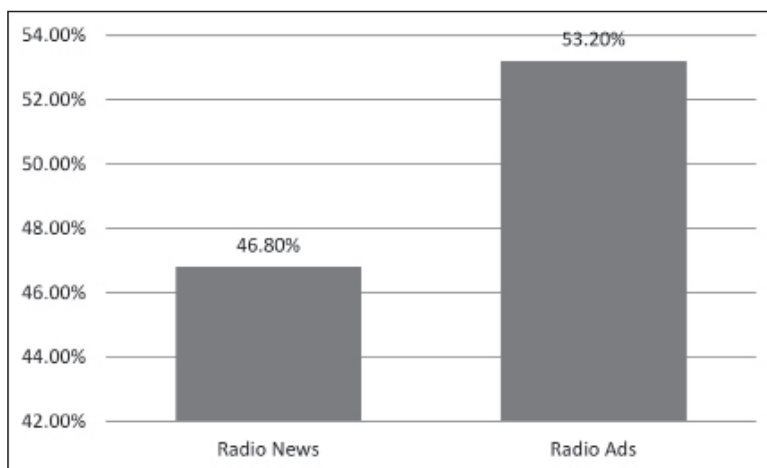
Source of information among others

As shown in the Figure 1.14 (d), among the other categories 31.82% said books were main source of information during such disasters and 30.3% said Internet, 13.64% Outdoor Advertising, 10.6% Academic Institutions, 6.06% Public Workshop and 7.58% Other.

Fig. 1.14(d). Main source of information among other categories
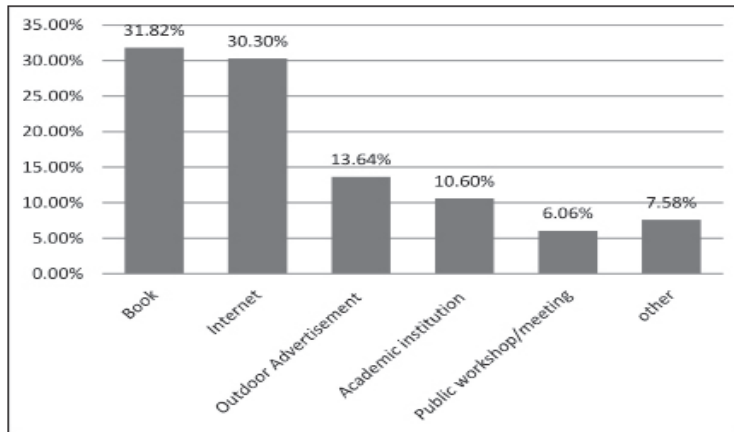
Alert during 1999 cyclone

As shown in Figure 1.15, the 36.89% of the total respondents said that, they received prior alert ahead of the 1999 Cyclone that was to hit coastal Odisha.

Fig. 1.15. Prior alert ahead of the 1999 Cyclone

66
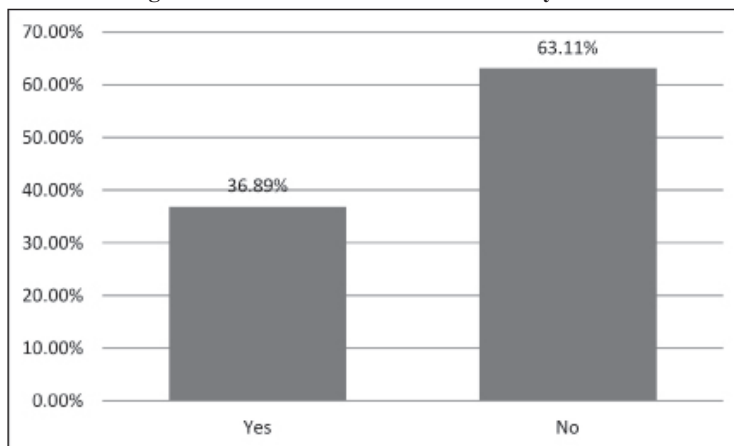
Media during the 1999 cyclone

As shown in the Figure 1.16, of all the respondents 29.11% received prior alert through radio during the 1999 Cyclone, 27.78% through Television, 19.11% through Newspapers, 19.33% through Government Agencies, 2.89% received prior alert through Other sources whereas 1.78% received prior alert through Internet.

Fig. 1.16. Sources of prior alert ahead of the 1999 Cyclone
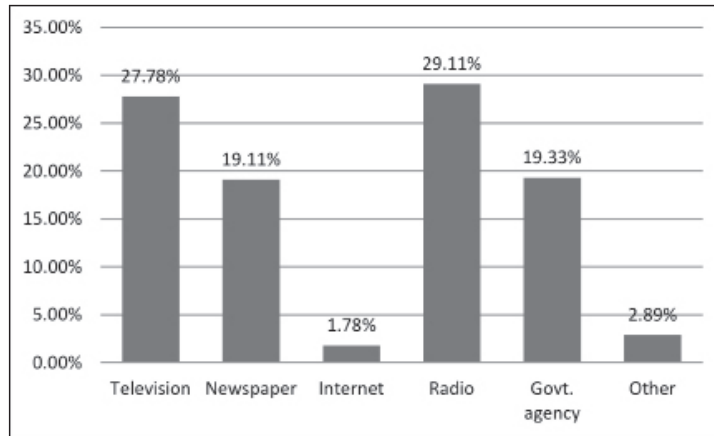
Media during power outage

The survey revealed (Figure 1.17) that, in the power outage during the cyclone *Phailin*, 39.77% of the total respondents said Radio was the main source of information, 18.67 Newspapers, 16.22% Mobile Internet, 10.44% Government Agencies, 7.55% Phone calls and 7.35% Other sources.

Fig. 1.17. Source of information in case of power outage during disasters
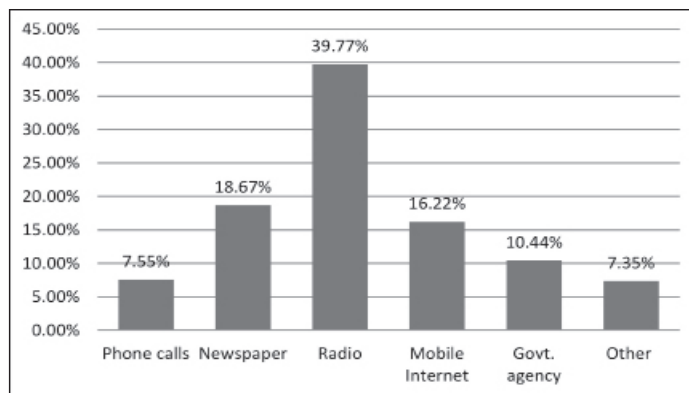
Conclusion

The state administration was credited for its disaster preparedness by prominent authorities in India as well as abroad that saved many lives during the Super Cyclone *Phailin* in 2013 (Mishra, 2013). There is no doubt that technology also played a vital role in forecasting the cyclone by informing the stakeholders about all its aspects.

The findings reveal that information disseminated through the media about disaster preparedness ahead of Super Cyclone *Phailin* reached a majority of the population (95.33%). The most widely accessible form of media was the television, followed by radio and newspapers. Government agencies (through their announcements) also served as a major source of information.

When it came to the public perception on authenticity of the information source, it was found that the public relied more on the media than Government Agencies (Fig 1.6). This figure stresses all the more on the need of the media to provide accurate information based on facts as it can have a major impact on the perception of the people. Inaccurate information can unleash mayhem among the people and it can have a disastrous impact on the social fabric.

Other major findings of the study are that the majority of the people (64.45%) found the information provided up to their satisfaction and a whopping 93.55% said availability of prior information about the impending disaster helped them prepare for the event.

However, 64.22% of the respondents said the response time after receiving the warnings was not sufficient. The people's perception of the role of the media in disaster preparedness and public perception of safety based on prior warnings is revealed in Figures 1.10 and 1.11.

Of the various media forms, the people thought television was more effective in providing information closely followed by radio. Comparing the pre-*Phailin*

68

scenario to that of the 1999 Super Cyclone, it was found that only 36.89% received prior alert ahead of the 1999 cyclone. In 1999, radio and television were the major sources of information for the people.

In the context of 2013, in the view of the low reach of social media/Internet in the state, traditional media forms played a greater role in propagating information to the masses. Moreover, as during such severe natural disasters, lack of access to electricity renders a majority of media forms useless, the radio comes in to play a key role in keeping the people abreast with news and events all around. Similarly, due to power outages, use of internet/television was low. Since people seek real-time access to information which is available only through TV, Internet and radio, use of newspapers was less during this period.

From the findings above, it can be safely deduced that the wide reach of media in 2013 helped disseminate prior warning and information to a larger number of people and people responded positively to these messages taking adequate care to take precautionary measures and take steps to safeguard their family and property (including livestock) during the natural disaster.

The dissemination of better and effective information, awareness and disaster communication to all the involved stakeholders is an important task and the media played a very important role in disaster risk reduction by supplying risk education to the public about disasters, warning of hazards, gathering and transmitting information about affected areas during pre-disaster planning and post-disaster recovery. The media plays a very important role in fulfilling peoples' cognitive needs in such disasters. During the 1989 *Loma Prieta* earthquake in Nepal a similar study reveals peoples' interaction with media to fulfil their cognitive needs (Massey, 1995). This perhaps could be the first time after the considerable growth of the media in Odisha that the early warning reached the masses very fast and a considerable amount of information was being consumed by the people before, during and after the cyclone in 2013 and a very important part was played by the media though it became the unsung hero.

It also shows that distortion of information by the media can also lead to

panic and misunderstanding among the stakeholders and cause non-response by the people to disaster warnings. Disaster mitigation groups should develop a very good mutual relationship with the media to successfully achieve their goal during such disasters. Misinformation or exaggeration by the media can prove harmful to the people and can lead to chaos and result anti-social activities. It is very important for the media to carefully plan and organise the message during such situations and avoid unnecessary exaggeration to maintain calm. It should also be noted that, the media can be very helpful for the administration to tackle the chaos created during such situations, since it can be properly utilised to provide essential information to all the stakeholders.

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Indian Culture as Represented in Current Persian Travelogues

Maryam Papi[1]

In the cyber era, almost every traveller has a chance to share the experience of travelling with others. Despite the altered form of those new emerging travelogues, the purpose of writing remains the same. This study attempts to achieve a social analysis of the modern travelogues (texts) which are written on India by Iranian journalists. The main purpose of this research is to realise the mindset of Iranian journalists (as the representatives of Iranians) about Indian society. This study helps us to know how the two cultures are close and able to communicate with each other.

Introduction

Travelogue is assumed to be an old-fashioned literary form that does not have a significant place in modern Persian literature. It has transformed into a new form of travel writing that is not considered as valuable as the classic text. Previously, Persian literature consisted of plenty of travelogues. This type of writing is almost missed in today's Persian literature and has transferred to the journalism field. A reason that the travelogue has lost its influence on Persian literature is due to the considerable changes in the concept of travel. Thanks to modern facilities, travelling is easier and faster than before. Yet, even in this kind of modern travel writing there is much to say about the experience of discovering new places. The goal of this study is to do a socio-cultural analysis on journalistic travel writings.

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72

In the cyber era[1], almost every traveller has a chance to share the experience of travelling with others. In the absence of professional travel writers, who had documented the long and arduous process of travelling, new types of travel writers like bloggers have emerged. Even these texts which are produced by non-professional writers can be considered as a part of modern literature production. Thus, travelogue can be traced even modern literature though in different forms and with less significance than before.

Despite the altered form of the new emerging travelogues, the purpose of writing remains the same. Every travelogue through the history is written to share the travel experiences with readers/audiences who are back home. In fact, travelogues attempt to overcome the deficiency of a human being's ability to travel all over the world. This fulfils some of the main aims of media in the modern era- reproduce the world in order to inform people and represent this information in a desired form.

In the past, travelling was a job that could take some years for professional travelogue writers[2]. They were stepping into risky ways and documenting their observations, experiences and feelings that could open new windows for people who were speaking the same language. Some differences between classic and modern travelogue (mostly for journalism purposes) can be distinguished as: 1) Many of the travels in the former time, have been made only for the purpose of writing travelogues. Whereas in modern time, mostly the journalistic travelogues narrate the story of comparatively less time-taking travel. People who document their travels may have a profession other than travel-writing, 2) In the classical travelogue, the writer feels responsibility to cover every aspect and gives a comprehensive idea about its object, but in journalistic travelogue, the writer talks about selective matters which are more interesting. Modern travelogues do not need to provide a comprehensive prospect including any relevant information as they are accessible on Internet by a click. In travelogues of classical literature, detailed information such as geographical and demographical features of the travel destinations are mentioned, 3) In the classical travelogue, the writer gets involved in the story and usually has a pivotal role in it, while in the journalistic travelogue, the journalist narrates a general story or talk about a third person, 4) The main focus of modern travelogues is on destination rather than the way itself, though in classical travelogues the vagaries and toil of the journey itself were an indispensable part of the text. In all the aforementioned perspectives travelogues have changed from

literal pieces to journalistic pieces during centuries.

Review of literature

Literature from around the world suggests that travelogues are a major component of literal production which adhere more to reality compared to fictions, poems and other literal expressions. Being a kind of documentation of realities, travelogues have many unsaid words, which researchers may bring into the light.

Regarding the fact that the journalistic pieces selected for the purpose of this research are in Persian, the word travelogue in this language must be illuminated. *Safarnama* consists of *safar = travels* and nama = memoirs. This word is a connotation of a medieval genre of travel writing in Persian, attributed to Naser-e Khosraw (1003–ca. 1088). Shayoni Mitra in a review of the film *Tanvir Ka Safarnama* (Tanvir's Travelogue, 2007) mentions that Safarnama has been presented in the literary milieus of South Asia since at least the fourteenth century, when the conservative Islamist judge and inveterate traveler Ibn Batuta visited the subcontinent (Mitra, 2007, p. 315).

Reviewing the literature in this field verifies that research on travelogues are mainly descriptive, while mostly examine the texts through a specific lens. Xavier Guillaume in an article entitled *Travelogues of Difference: International Relations Theory and Travel Literature* (2011) argues that travel literature can provide "a strong heuristic for comprehending the development of modern and contemporary expressions of the international" and "calling on a non-European and non-modern travelogue to provide for such heuristic" (Guillaume, 2011, p. 136).

Many of the research works are focused on the travel destinations as touristic places. A paper entitled *Summarising Tourist Destinations by Mining User-Generated Travelogues and Photos* (Pang et al, 2011), has gathered a large collection of travelogues and photos on destinations. It provides an informative summary, which describes a given destination both textually and visually.

Another quantitative research is done by two Iranian researchers, Nahid Bani-Eghbal and Azadeh Heidari (2011), on the translated travelogues on Iran,

74

written by British tourists. The research has presented the figures that delineate the places have been visited the most by the travelers. It also puts an emphasis on their opinion about Iran and the frequency of visits in different periods of time. According to this study, the positive opinion of travellers reaches to 37.5 percent (24 travelogues) while 12.5 percent (8 travelogues) have negative and 50 percent have neutral opinion. What is also clear is that most of travellers have travelled to Iran in the first half of 20th century (33 travelers equivalent to 51.56 percent). The number of travellers follows by 40.62 percent (25 people) in the 19th century, 3.12 percent (2 persons) in the 16th and 18th centuries and 1.56 percent (one person) in the 17th century.

In a more in-depth study, Salah (2014) finds a possible paradigm in the European genre of travelogue to show Romanelli's traumatic experience in the ghetto and anxieties of Morocco. This paper entitled *The Otherness of the Self: On Samuel Romanelli's Travelogue* set out to explore the particular way in which the subjectivity of the narrator is constructed in the Masa Ba-'Arav, Samuel Romanelli's travelogue of his stay in Morocco between 1786 and 1790 (Salah, 2014, p. 219). The findings of the study recall that the Western, Eurocentric gaze at the Other is constituted by a plurality of subjects that cannot be reduced to a single model, teleologically oriented toward conquest and cultural abuse (Salah, 2014, p. 237).

Other research entitled *Empire and I* by M. Reza Pirbhai (2013), is a close reading of Captain Donald Campbell's late eighteenth-century travelogue to shed light on post-colonial approaches to the British Empire's influence on culture. This travelogue, contextualises the personal particularities in his assessments of Habsburg Europe, Ottoman West Asia and Mysorean/British South Asia. He believes that the concept of "Otherness" is different from continental Europeans and Ottomans to South Asia. Only in the case of South Asia the very humanity of the 'Other' denied. The research that has been done on this travelogue, argues that this landscape of Otherness reflects the coincidence of the interests of his 'self' and the 'Empire', which overlaps most thoroughly in South Asia.

Even the pedagogy of the travelogue has been studied in some papers as *Virtual Travel in Second Life: Understanding Eighteenth-Century Travelogues through Experiential Learning* by Elizabeth Zold (2014). A key contribution of this paper is that it helps to improve the student's understanding of travelogue.

As it is obvious in the previously mentioned previous research on the travelogues, they cover a wide range of issues though most of them are from the point of view of historical literature and hardly any are considered through a social lens. In case of travelogues that are written on Indian trips, most of the researchers are looking for proving their hypotheses. Hence, they hardly let the text to guide them by itself. By choosing a general theme as the viewpoint of Iranian journalists about India, this research lets the selected travelogues speak for themselves. The major task of this study is to classify the texts in order to highlight the messages, which might be said indirectly and to read between the lines.

Research methodology

Looking at travel writings through a social lense

As it argued earlier, the content of media (print, digital, and cyber) can be considered as a main source of travelogue in contemporary Persian language. This may be as various as the number of social media or weblog activists. Even so, in order to draw out credible data out of modern travelogues, one should analyse the texts which are written by journalists or professional writers. The reason lies in the fact that social responsibility of professional writers directs them to make a reasonable, unbiased and accurate representation.

The productions of media have multi-angle aspects. When it comes to travel writing, particularly, in the Persian language, most of the analysis has been done in the field of literature. Nevertheless, the focus of this study is on social analysis of the modern travelogues (texts) which are written on India by Iranian journalists through a social science research method. A key contribution of this research is to realise the mind-set of Iranian journalists (as the representatives of Iranians) about Indian society. The success of this endeavour would lead us to a more elaborate and meaningful people to people contact and actualise the affinity between two nations beyond the superficial measures of good will.

Hence, the main question of this research is :
- Which qualities of Indian culture are considered most by Iranian journalists?

Then a subsequent question comes to the mind:
- How are these qualities represented by Iranian journalists?

76

To fulfil the objectives of this study, the concepts of 10 journalistic pieces (including column and stories) written by Iranian journalists in different Persian written media (print, digital, and cyber) have been analysed. Selected pieces are published in newspapers and news agencies, as well as weblogs of some journalists (like official weblogs of BBC Persian). They target a wide range of Persian speaker audiences from Iran to Afghanistan, Tajikistan and a large number of diaspora from these countries.

The method of this research is qualitative conceptual analysis. An open coding system has been used to analyse the selected texts. In this technique, firstly the data is detached and categorized under some conceptual themes. Then the relevant concepts are attached to them (Flick, 2002, p. 330). The second stage is collecting the most frequent and relevant themes which are raised by selected journalistic pieces.

Journalistic pieces selected for the purpose of this research have been published from 2004 to 2013. They are chosen by a random sampling system based on the availability of relevant concepts (travel-related) in Persian written media. The productions are of professional writers/journalists because they have learnt to be unprejudiced. Given the paucity of journalistic pieces on this issue, there were not many choices to be considered as the samples for this research.

General findings

The concepts of selected texts are divided into "lead" (the first paragraph of the text), "body" and "conclusion". Regarding three mentioned component parts of a journalistic piece, the outcome of analysing selected texts shows that leads mostly are directing and encouraging the readers to the texts via description of personal feelings and impressions. The most frequent theme in the leads is poverty but this poverty is not presented in the form of an absolute deprivation. Most of the writers mention *poverty* in Indian society to point out the coexistence of poor and rich as well as the fact that the poverty is not hidden or ignored in Indian society. The Iranian journalists nominate this quality of Indian society as a kind of 'social-confidence'. In general, most of the leads positively describe India.

In the body of selected journalistic pieces, some other themes as *the conciliation between human and animals*, *the transition time of Indian society*, *tolerance*, *democracy,* and *social freedom* are highlighted. Furthermore, in talking about religion, as another major theme in the body of selected texts, some matters like *getting far from the ideals*, *populism*, and *social ignorance* are the most frequent sub-themes.

In most of the concluding paragraphs a bright prosperous future is drawn for India. Out of the ten journalistic pieces, only two ended pessimistically.

Major themes

Regarding the coding system which is employed to analyse the content of selected Persian media, *social* (1), *women issues* (2), *political* (3), and *economic issues* (4) are most frequent and significant matters which have been brought up. It is worthwhile to remind that this research attempts to analyse Persian journalistic pieces through a social lens. The economic and political matters that have been expressed in selected texts are subordinate to social issues. Obviously, while conducting a study in the field of humanities it is almost impossible to avoid the influences of different social elements on human life. Regarding this fact, political and economic issues in selected texts are also considered by this research.

1) Social isses

In terms of *social issues*, numerous problems/sub-themes as *the contradictions between poor and rich*, *social or cultural pressures*, *child abuse*, *addiction*, *prostitution*, *violence*, *patriarchy*, *population growth*, *tourism* and *social ethics* have been mentioned in selected pieces. Yet, the only matter they bring up by referring to statistical data is prostitution.

Likewise almost every text written on India by Iranian writers, in the selected journalistic pieces the acceptance and tolerance among different religions and cultures are admired. One of the texts, while telling the story of a train going from Delhi to Varanasi (Banaras), cites a political discussion between passengers. Furthermore, this story mentions the tolerance of the inconveniences made by some of passengers in the midnight. After all, the story gets to the point that the train is a sample of Indian society (Papi, 2013).

78

Social ethics can be deemed as the central subtheme of social issues. The viewpoints of journalists in terms of social ethics demonstrate that the journalists have not had enough chances to come across different sections of Indian society and engage with their daily life. The mindsets of these journalists are mostly made by people in their surroundings, especially in tourism sector. Furthermore, the writers have not seen some indispensable facts of Indian society such as the widespread violence, sectarian and deprivation (can be in form of starvation).

Nevertheless, the journalists have been able to draw out the most noteworthy qualities of Indian identity and ideology. Some qualities of Indian ideology have been more highlighted in the texts of Iranian journalists: existence of a real (rather than an outward appearance of) happiness, a unique calmness and tranquillity, belief in being blessed by God, make food available to everyone, keep a vegetarian diet, and hospitality.

The other social ethics-related matters raised briefly by Iranian writers are: the quality of working in groups (as the national identity of Indian society since the ancient time), the efforts made by Indian elites to improve the life of deprived people, and the elimination of misbeliefs. Moreover, as unethical behaviour, Iranian writers express their wonder about how Indians say lots of compliments to foreigners and at the same time, simply ignore their rights by cheating them.

Generally, the selected journalistic pieces raise some of the Indian social problems as a metaphor of the problems in Iranian society: *the gap between ideal and real in terms of religious and social matters*, *superstitious ideas*, and *religious dictatorship* are some of the matters which indirectly provoke the problems of Iranian society.

2) Women's issues

Analysing selected stories indicates that Iranian journalists in their travel writings have been astonished by new social roles of Indian women while preserving the social traditions. It seems that they were not expecting to see women do heavy physical works in an Eastern society like India (Khorsand, 2007). Selected journalistic pieces compare this feature of Indian society with Iranian society in which women traditionally take teaching or nursing jobs. Moreover, Iranian women get only moderately paid jobs and rarely can obtain high rank positions. The journalists

come to the conclusion that Indian women, consciously or unconsciously, pay a big price to achieve equality with men. This is why Indian women workers bear the heavy construction materials on their shoulders. Overall, the writers of selected stories have found Indian women more active than Indian men in social sphere. They sadly mention the fact that despite all achievements of Indian women, their society still sacrifices them in different forms.

3) Political issues

It seems that Iranian journalists are not eager to discuss any political issue other than some hints to Indian colonial time, Kashmir conflicts, and India's position in the world. In general, it can be claimed that, not only do Iranian journalists not put Indian administration under any severe criticism, but also they consider the Indian system as a pattern for Iranian political system.

Besides, selected journalistic pieces have raised political matters through expressing social problems:

> Looking at the beautiful trees, I envy why in my country the very rare
> number of old trees, that have been survived during millenniums,
> are cut with no doubt; while those holy trees demonstrate their
> significance to every newcomer by showing off the worship stripes
> that were hanging on them…. In Iran, these trees are cut in charge
> of having those bands while in India they are preserved to divert the
> attention of tourists from poverty and dirtiness to the beauties of nature.
> (Qassemian, 2009)

4) Economic issues

The advancement of transportation, social and tourism services, labour law, and prosperity are the most significant economic issues raised by Iranian journalists in their texts. These hints seem to have a mere descriptive essence rather than the metaphorical language that the Iranian journalists have employed in other cases. As mentioned earlier, the economic matters are not the core ideas of selected texts.

The difference between views of male and female journalists

Besides the mentioned themes, the female and male points of view are distinguishable in selected Persian journalistic pieces. Three of the selected texts were written by men and the rest by women. Female journalists seem to be more

focused on one specific issue while male journalists talk about many matters in a single journalistic piece. One of the stories written by a female reporter is nothing but a description of 15 minutes stuck in morning traffic jam of the national capital of India (Khorsand, 2009). She uses some flashbacks to develop her story and recall some social problems of Indian society. Whereas in case of male journalists, too many of odd things in Indian society shock them and they carry this shock along, till the end of their trip. They constantly mention the contradictions within the Indian society and express their wonder about the Indian lifestyle. One of them states in the *lead* paragraph: "Thank God that I do not live in this place!" (Ardalan, 2011).

Conclusion

As in ancient times, travelogues in the modern era are dedicated to stating the process of travelling as well as the issues of visited places. Taking selected journalistic pieces as modern travelogues, they talk about a significant aspect of Indian society; the transition from tradition to modernity. The indicators of this change are some unpleasant phenomenon as new emerging social problems and some pleasant phenomena like democracy, the diversity of facilities and booming tourism sector. The Iranian journalists believe that Indian society embodies the problems as well as the solutions. This quality of Indian society is considered as an indication of willingness to change for a better life.

Almost half of the ten selected journalistic pieces are dedicated to visiting only one place in India and the rest of the texts raise general issues of Indian society. The stories are mainly based on the perceptions of the journalists rather than statistical or documented data. Most of them have employed a descriptive discourse to express the issues of 'diversity', 'conflict' and 'tolerance'. These three concepts are the essences of four themes which are raised in selected journalistic pieces.

Yet, most of the selected texts published by the Persian media are not comprehensive in terms of depicting the qualities of Indian society. It seems that the writers have been impressed by some facts of Indian society and were not able to have a holistic approach (this quality of the texts might be purposely). At the same time, the writers have not been prejudiced against Indian society and have done their best to provide a fair image of India for their readers. The journalistic

travelogues are the product of today's world. Whereas, in comparison with classic travelogues, they are flimsy. To overcome this shortfall, the journalists should learn how to deal with a new place and have a wide scope; instead of being shocked by unexpected facts or happenings.

The journalism techniques which are used more frequently in selected texts are: "purposeful selection of data" and "using metaphor" in order to make a base for doing comparison between Indian and Iranian societies. These comparisons have been expressed either explicitly or implicitly. Travelogues as journalistic pieces that have been analysed in this study are not as holistic as their ancestors in classic Persian literature. They seem to be a glance at India from a "personal point of view" though this view is pointed by professional journalists. The difference is not necessarily a negative point as new kind of travelogues are representatives and outcomes of today's culture. Travelogues as journalistic pieces that are the outcome of some days of travelling are definitely different from travelogues that were written after months or years of living with people who were considered as Others (in destination places). Moreover, the lack of documented data such as statistics is obvious in selected texts.

The last important point in analysing selected journalistic pieces is that the Iranian journalists have written about Indian society not only to introduce the other culture to their own people but also to talk about their own pains; for them, India can be more glad or gloomy in comparison with their own society. The reason lies in the happiness and calmness which is missed in Iranian life.

This survey has proven the very unique data may come out of a conceptual analysis of journalistic travelogues. A similar analytical research on travel writings of Indian journalists to Iran may be more illustrative by providing a comparative base. Furthermore, the future research can be focused on specific subjects in the texts. Additionally, doing a comparative study by conceptual analysis of both classic and modern travelogues can be more illustrative.

Notes

1 According to a general definition given by International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the term cyber is used to describe systems and services connected either directly to or indirectly to the Internet, telecommunications and computer networks (IUT Cyber Security Strategy Guide, www.int.int). In terms of journalism, some turning points such as the elimination of printing machines, changing digital to hyper link texts and other new facilities and possibilities to produce a content as considered as cyber journalism (Shokrkhah, 2006)

82

2 There are many famous travelogue writers in Persian literature. Naser Khosrow (1004 – 1088) is one of them.

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83

Book Review

Asian Cinema – A Reader and Guide

Dimitris Eleftheriotis and Gary Needham (2008)
Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
Price \$44.99, Pages 473.

Swayamprava Biswas[1]

Asian cinemas are still believed to be under the hegemonic shades of Hollywood and European art cinema. But they are imagined to be well ahead of the Western films in theoretical as well as visual approaches. Mostly Neorealism has been the driving factor for the Asian films. As the name of the book suggests, the subject matter 'Asian Cinema' itself is becoming an integral part of research in the subject of film studies in Europe and the U.S. The two renowned writers who have worked extensively in the field of media studies as Senior lecturers in Film and Television, Media and Cultural Studies respectively in reputed universities of England are Dimitris Eleftheriotis and Gary Needham. The book takes up quite a number of detailed case studies and examines them thoroughly to delve deep into the limitations of the Anglo-US theoretical models.

The entire textual part makes its way through the book like a wave beginning with what would be the proper approach to study Asian cinema by dissecting Japanese, Hong Kong, Chinese, Turkish, Taiwanese and Indian cinema.

The first section of the book begins with the light being thrown on Japan and Japanese cinema because movies from this nation have been consistently fascinated filmmakers, researchers and film critics alike from European countries as well as the U.S. Also Japanese films have, more often than not, fostered the imagination and also justified colonial conquests and imperial ideologies, which is known as

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'orientalism'. An important point to be kept in mind is that Asian cinemas have connection from various historical discourses that have helped shaping them into their present form. Japanese films have slowly been shedding their old skins and the new wave of Japanese films is increasingly drawing more international audience as well as the researchers. The 'Japanese-ness' that was brought by Akira Kurosawa is slowly but steadily declining under new filmmakers like Kurosawa Kiyoshi. OzuYasujiro is one of the most recent of the intelligent and erudite filmmakers. As Gary Needham has reviewed, Yasujiro's difference from Kurosawa lies in the fact that Kurosawa through his action cinema and period drama conveys a mostly humanistic message. Ozu, on the other hand mainly deals with complex essential themes, detailing the scenario of post-war Japan and moving towards modernity.

The movie reviewed from Japan here in this book is 'Godzilla', the Japanese monster. The first Godzilla film was directed by Ishiro Honda (1954) and the most recent one was by Tezuka Masaaki (2003). This is a part of a genre known as monster film where rubber suited monsters engage in plenty of spirited warfare, ultimately giving out social and humanistic messages like dangers of nuclear power, technological determinism or even pollution.

The next part of this section is a filmmaker for all seasons by David Desser referring to OzuYasujiro. Yasujiro, till the mid of 1970's was Japan's most well-known and respected film directors outside Asia. Only his first movie 'The Sword of Penitence' was a period film (zange no yaiba 1927). He never made another one like that again. So, as films were made like 'Ugetsu', 'Gate of Hell' and 'Samurai Trilogy' by Inagaki Hiroshi and earned plenty of accolades in the West. Yasujiro silently worked on his movies, sometimes making two films a year. The popularity of his films was known only after his death in 1963.

The second part of Section 1 is entitled 'The difficulty of being radical: the discipline of film studies and the post-colonial world order' by Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto. Once upon a time, writing about national cinemas was thought to be an easy task as the filmmakers had to portray how cinema traversed through a historical narrative within the designated national boundary. But this obviousness has evaporated because the concept of nation state itself is in danger. The problem

becomes more complicated while dealing with non-Western national cinemas. The fundamental imperialism of the self/other dichotomy cannot be corrected through cross cultural exchanges. On the contrary, the imperialist logic is enforced under the disguise of liberal humanism. The third and the fourth section deals with Godzilla films by Chon Noriega and Philip Brophy respectively. The first cycle of Godzilla movies started with 'Godzilla king of Monsters' (1959 and ended in 1976 with Godzilla v/s Mecha Godzilla. The second cycle started in 1985 to remarket Godzilla that continues till today.

Section 2, by Gary Needham deals mainly with the post-colonial Hong Kong cinema. All the essays in this section deal with the multiple changes brought in the culture and identity of Hong Kong with reference to recent movies. The post-colonial concerns centered mainly around national identity, inspite of Hong Kong's own non-nation or quasi-nation status. But Needham said that maybe the term neo-colonial is more accurate as multi-national corporations and media empires are all bringing in the evils of inequalities through massive globalisation. The designation of everything as post-colonial concerned with Hong Kong can define and unify one's thinking about the cinema made there. Thus making it work as an almost essential category basically working on a politics of anti-essentialism.

We then come to the next section called 'The New Hong Kong Cinema and DEJA DISPARU' by author Ackbar Abbas. He points out that Hong Kong cinema has to be popular in order to survive at all. Therefore it cannot reject commercialism at all. So, commercialism even though called an impurity can yield very good results, as a number of outstanding movies the country produced has shown. Then Siu Leung Li, in the next section talks about 'Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity'. In the movies Kung Fu is visualised as a contest between tradition and modernity with a self-denial of modernity caught up within a fixed space somewhere in modern history. The last section of Hong Kong is titled 'Under Western Eyes' by Tony Williams. This deals with TsuiHark's 'Once upon a time in China'. It deals with dispersion, China's relationship with the external world and framing ways to strengthen national identity focusing on the character of legendary martial artist Huang Feihong.

The next part deals with 'Cross-cultural criticism and Chinese cinema' by Dimitris Eleftheriotis. The end of the Cultural Revolution in China in the 1970's, coupled with the deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong in 1976 brought important changes in the Chinese socio-political scenario. Many movies of the later 1970s directly criticised the Cultural Revolution period, as well as questioned the conventions of Socialist realism. The film industry underwent a dramatic change in the early part of the 1980s. Studios could now work with more liberty, controlling their own budgets. What Western films scholars were fascinated about was the 'Fifth Generation' cinema hailed as the intriguing film 'movement' of that time. Named after a number of young filmmakers (graduating students of Beijing Film Academy), 'Fifth Generation' films were screened at many International film festivals, attracting intense critical acclaim.

The next section by E. Ann Kaplan deals with 'Problematizing Cross-Cultural Analysis'. Her essays deal with American interest in Chinese films and on the other Chinese scholars interested in American film theory. She defined her position as 'Self-conscious feminism'. Rey Chow in the third section was similar in her approach to Kaplan's while suggesting that the relationship between the two is hierarchical and the symbolic, interrogative, interpretive structure frames the imaginary and erotic. Esther Yau made her detailed analysis in 'Yellow Earth' on three levels- diagetic, critical, discursive.

Next, we come to Turkish national cinema where Dimitris says, in its early years Turkey was seen as the product and demonstration of power of countries like France, U.K. and U.S.A. Battling this notion and Western 'essence' was the key reaching a significantly large number of the Turkish audience by portraying powerful impressions of their life.

One essay by Ahmet Guirata and two by Nezih Erdogan offer illuminating insights into the history of cinema from Turkey and for their superb critical note of essentialist, purist understandings of 'national cinema'.

Then we come to genre criticism and popular Indian cinema by Dimitris Eleftheriotis. Genre criticism refers to the four essays written here offering

changing of textual practices and modes of address from the 1940's to the present alongside providing crucial evidence of how critical work of Indian cinema has evolved. Rosie Thomas whose essay 'Indian Cinema: Pleasure and Popularity' has found a place in this book makes a corrective move by her argument on a culture specific genre approach. She says rather than using terms like 'comedy', 'musical' and 'melodrama', distinctions like 'social', 'family social', 'devotional', 'stunt' and 'multi-starrer' are more apt in the Indian context. Ravi S. Vasudevan in his essay 'Addressing the spectator of a Third World' national cinema shows skepticism towards Indian cinema by firstly considering and secondly rejecting the title 'Third cinema' as befitting to Indian cinema. He mentioned that commercial Indian cinema negotiates a 'national space' as opposite to Hollywood. Lalitha Gopalan in her '*Hum Aapke Hain Kaun*?' essay clarifies that her main aim is to find out and delve into the conventions of Indian cinema but says that such an attempt will lead to a theoretical revision. Ian Garwood in his essay 'Shifting pitch' take a note of the strong ties of Kinship as well as family feuds as forming the plots of the 'social' films of the 1950's (*Naseeb, Hum Saath Saath Hain*).

The next Asian country whose cinematic aspect is to be reviewed is 'Taiwan'. The three essays here not only talk about the supremely talented director trio of Hou Hsiao-Hsen, Edward Yang and Ang Lee but the chapters discuss topics ranging from urban-alienation to trans-nationalism. Taiwanese cinema has now become an important object of film studies in an international framework. 'Hou-Hsiao-Hsen' is a filmmaker to be studied from Taiwan who is ever-changing and contradictory trying to tell us more about Taiwan than 'Japan' with his 'Ozu-like' image. 'Café Lumiere' is a movie bearing testimony to Hou's talent. Edward Yang, the other filmmaker mentioned here has films concerned with the difficulties of adjusting to a changing environment and they are particularly more interested in unraveling the social dynamics of the middle-class. Yang believed it was the middle class who confronted the wave of the all-invading foreign culture and experienced Taiwan changing. Therefore Yang's films focused on middle class people and especially on independent but sensitive women. Last but not the least, Ang Lee known for his diverse transnational movies was mentioned in the essay by Julianne Pidduck. Pidduck's account is important for knowing Lee's cinematic understanding of sexuality, gender and generation within a 'diasporic' Chinese milieu.

Last but not the least, the essays end with the legend of Bruce Lee with essays by Dimitris, Needham, Stephen Teo, Leo Hunt and Yvonne Tasker. The essays discussed Bruce Lee, one of the most famous stars ever to emerge outside Hollywood and what gave rise to his phoenix like cult status. The second part of the essay deals with the question of identity and masculinity.

The book albeit a bit heavy on the textual front, can be of immense help for the film researchers. Also this book may come handy for avid film critics who would like to know more about Asian cinema.

Communicator 2013 - Abstracts

Missing Links in Adaptations: An Analysis of Steven Spielberg's Film Adaptation of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*

Manjri Suman & Om Prakash

Alice Walker's The Color Purple is an epistolary novel which tells the story of Celie, a black woman who faces repeated abuse in a patriarchal and racist American South. This was made into a motion picture by Steven Spielberg in 1985. This study attempts to show the variations that occur in the text and the movie and highlights the time period, societal acceptance, audience response, and commercial expectations which could have contributed to it. It examines the film keeping various paradigms in mind and at the same time analyses the existing theories and paradigms of film adaptation. It also tries to explore how the usage of African-American dialect that forms such a unique part of the text has been rendered in the movie. In addition it looks at the way a black narrative is appropriated by a white director for a larger and mixed audience. In this analysis of adaptation, the study also intends to underline the attributes that might have played a significant role in negotiating the differences of expressions in both the narratives.

Communicator 2013 - Abstracts

Voices of the "People of the Field": Reflections About Oppression in the Pulaya Agrarian Folk Songs of Kerala, India

Dona Baby & Kalyani Suresh

The study examines the labour or "working folk songs" of the Pulaya community of the Southern state of Kerala, India, and explores whether ideas of oppression are questioned and reaffirmed through the songs, while reflecting upon the relevance of these songs, among the Pulaya community today. The "Youngian" framework based on the writings of Iris Marion Young (2004), that focuses on the ways in which people experience oppressive conditions in their daily lives, is used for analysis.

Perspectives on Framing Effects: Implications for Journalism

Jaya Srivastava & Puja Mahesh

The concept of frames and framing is defined and reviewed in the present paper. Different types of frames identified in the literature are listed and discussed. Framing effects as defined in the literature are assessed and elaborated. Different types of framing effects have been reviewed with an emphasis on the methodology used. Moderators and mediators of framing effects are defined and reviewed based on past research. Also, recent models proposed for studying framing effects have been elaborated upon.

Communicator 2013 - Abstracts

Communication Model of Polio Eradication in India

M Rabindranath & Sujay Kapil

This study discusses the role played by communication in maintenance of public health. The emergence of media and social advertising as a partner in the field of public health has also been analysed. The classical success story in India is the complete eradication of Polio disease which has been made possible only though the vital role played by media. This study highlights all the factors behind the success of the communication model of the pulse polio campaign in India. A communication plan has also been suggested for a sound maintenance of public health.

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