

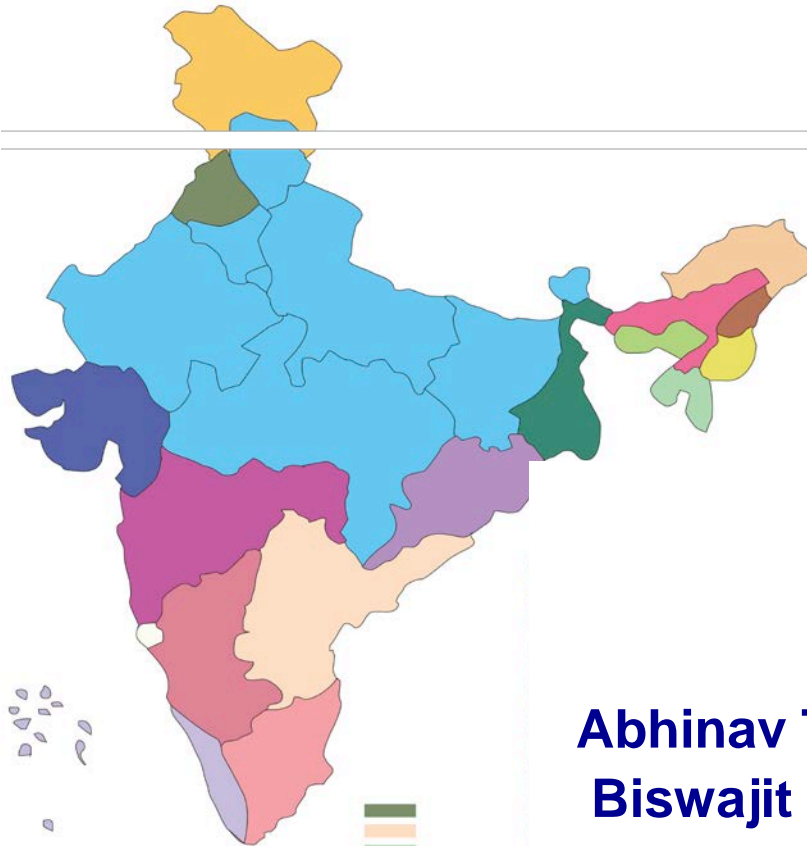
# *Enumerating a Rashomon Effect?*

## **Towards a Media Diversity Index for India:**

International Conference

**Media Diversity: Concept, Analysis, Policy**

25-26 Nov 2014, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi



**Vibodh Parthasarathi with  
Abhinav Tyagi, Alam Srinivas, Athikho Kaisii,  
Biswajit Das, Nabeela Inayati, Pradosh Nath**

# Contexts of Media Diversity

## Presence of MD in the policy arena

- MD a recurrent but ill-defined concept in public debates
- Courts narrowly invoked MD to promote de-regulation and protect ‘majors’
- Regulatory protocols on MD remain weak & amorphous

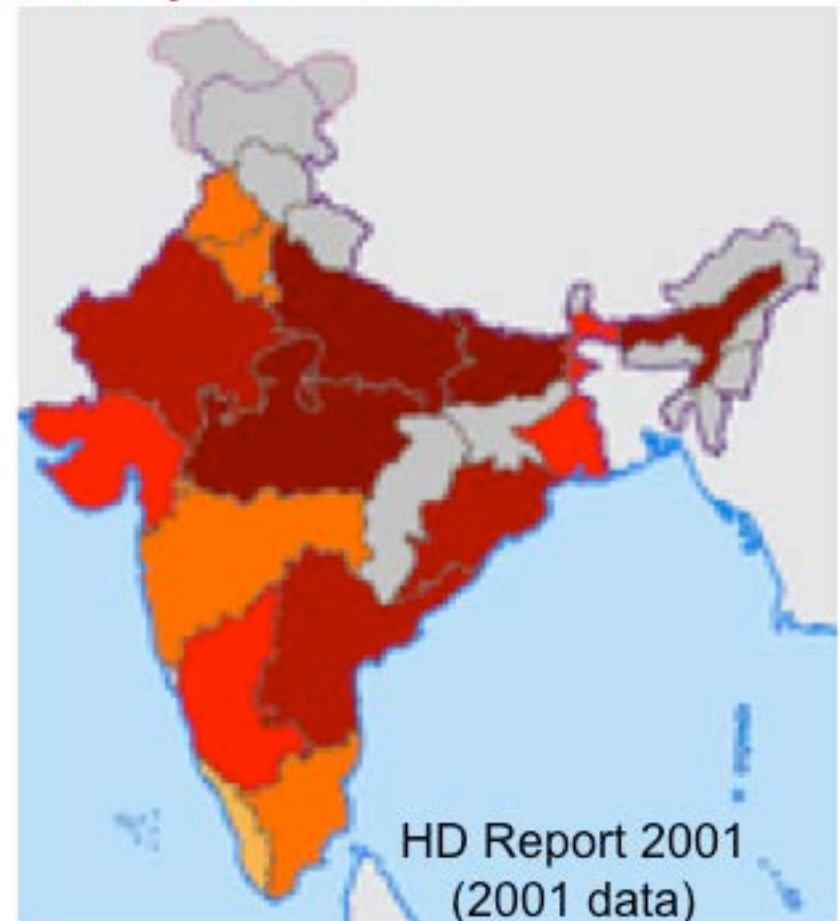
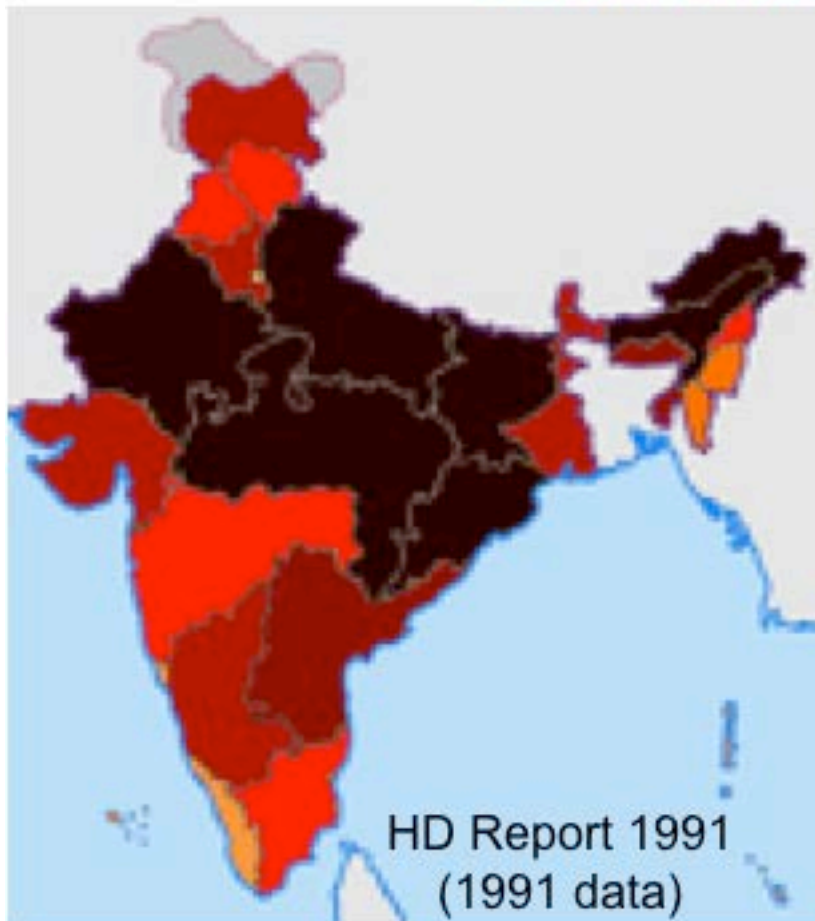
## Engagement with MD in a complex landscape

- Multiple & fragmented media markets
- Varied entities & actors in the media
- Growing accumulation of interests

# Compelling Potential to Enumerate Media Diversity

- ✓ MD may refract the *quality of socio-economic Growth*?
- ✓ MD can provide a *marker for Democracy*?

## Trends in Human Development Index



# Why Media Diversity today?

1995

A successful democracy posits an 'aware' citizenry. Diversity of opinions, views, ideas and ideologies is essential to enable the citizens to arrive at informed judgment on all issues touching them. This can not be provided by a medium controlled by a monopoly - whether the monopoly is of the State or any other individual, group or Organisation.

*The Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting*

*Vs*

*Cricket Association of Bengal & another*

1995 AIR 1236, 1995 SCC (2) 161

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.....2015

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# **Benchmarking Values**

**Have we achieved what we stand for?**

**Reach/Access of media**

**Inclusiveness**

**Business Milieu**

**Participation**

**Content Profile**

**Representation**

**Political Culture of media**

**Legitimation**

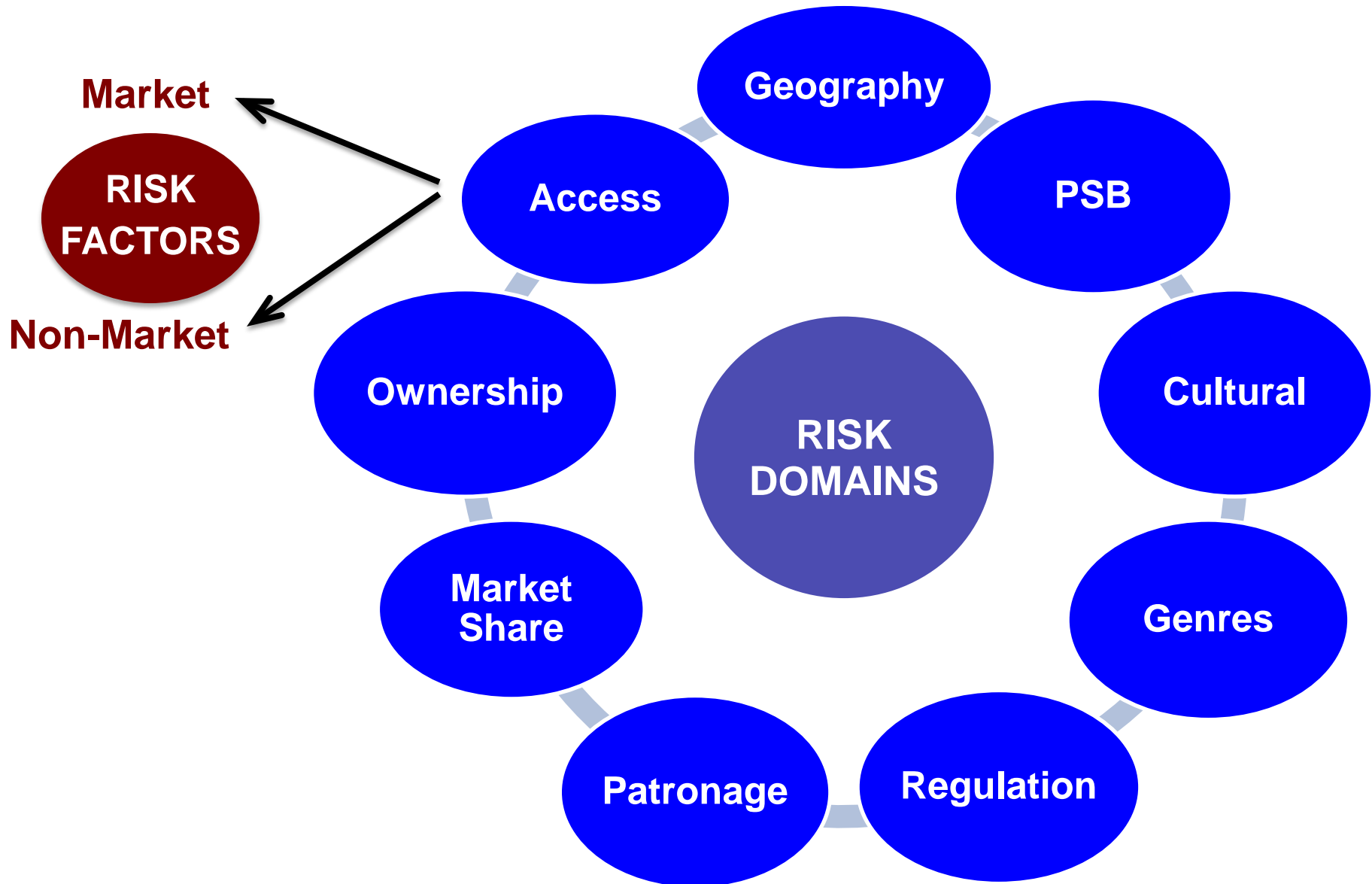
# Visualising Threats

What are the barriers to our goal?



# Visualising Threats

What are the Risks to our goal?





## Domain 1:

# Ownership - Structure, Concentration & Accumulation

### *Risk Factors*

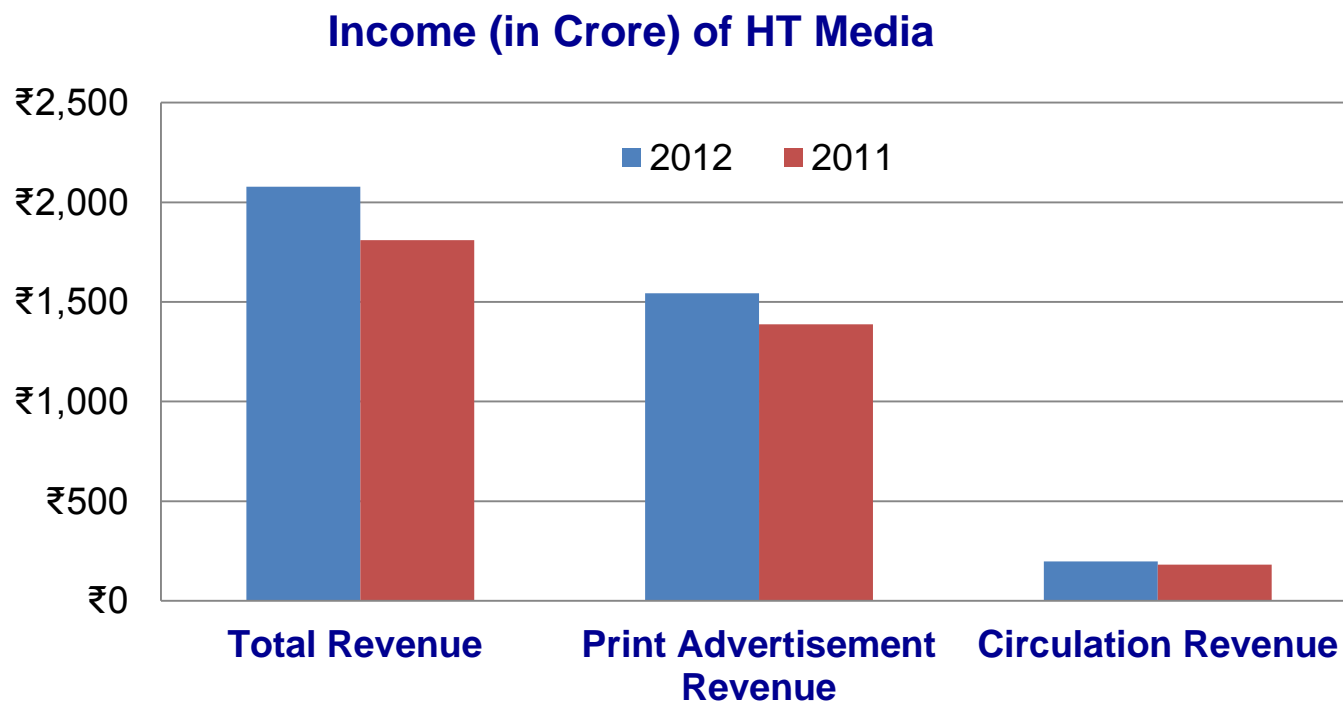
- Ownership Structure
- Ownership Concentration
- Horizontal & Vertical Ownership



## Domain 2: Market and Revenue Share Domination

### *Risk Factors*

- Market Share Dominance
- Advertisement Share Dominance
- DAVP Share Dominance
- Presence of Private Treaties



## Domain 3: Institutionalized Political Patronage

### *Risk Factors*

- Presence of media owners in Parliament/State Assemblies
- Political ownership of news media
- Election expenditure bias
- Paid News during elections

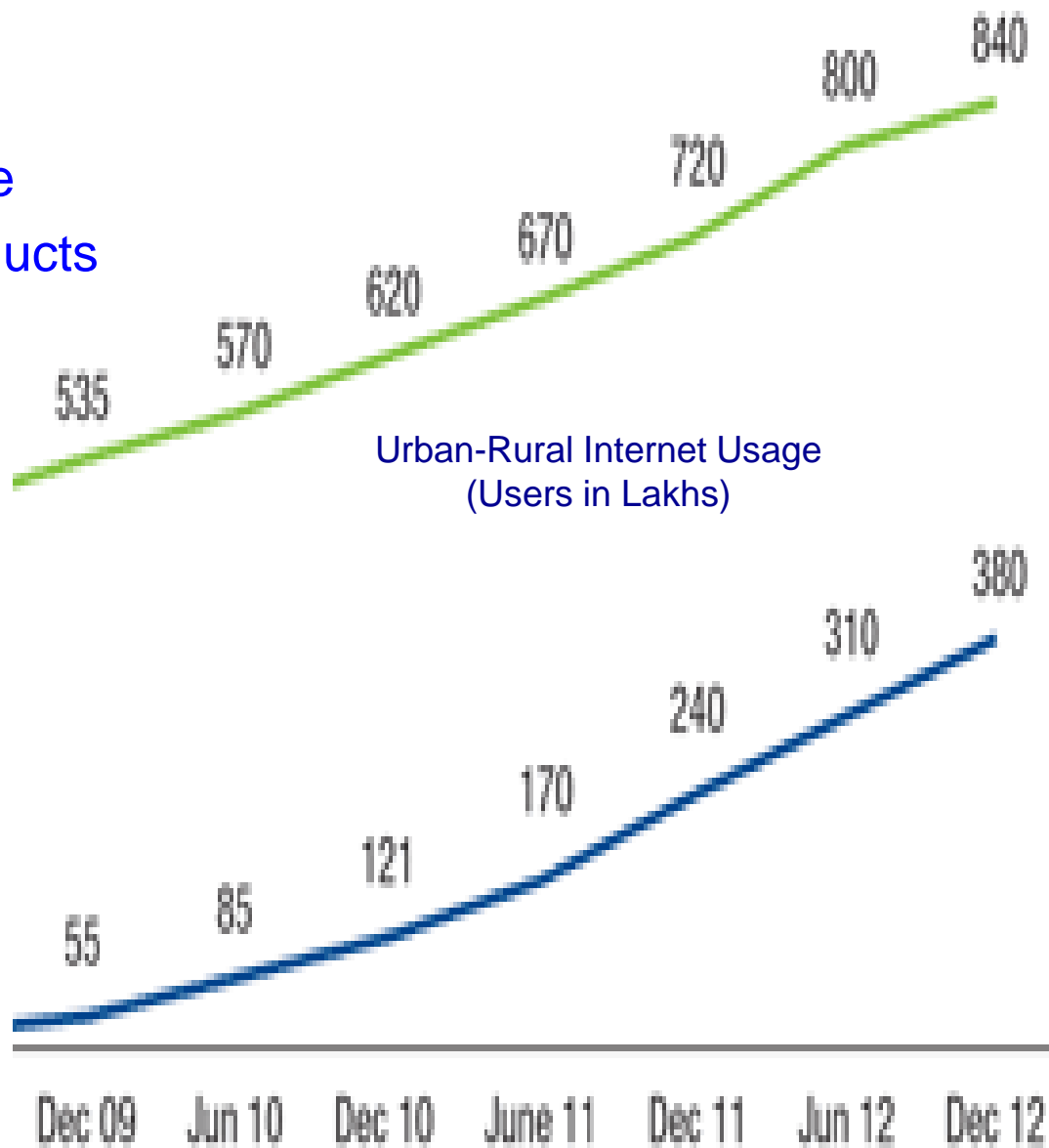
Year	States going for Elections	Cases of Paid News
2011	5	125
2013	9	143

Channel	State	Promoter & Political Affiliation	Party
NE TV	Assam	Former Union Min	Congress
Sakshi TV	Andhra Pradesh	Son of former Chief Min, Congress-Rebel	Ex-Congress
Sun News	Tamil Nadu	Brother of former Union Telecom Min	DMK
Kalaigarnar TV	Tamil Nadu	Majority by daughter & wife of former Chief Min	DMK
Kasturi TV	Karnataka	Wife of former Chief Min	JD(S)
Sakaal TV	Maharashtra	Nephew of Union Agricultural Min	NCP
Kairali TV	Kerala	Party owned	CPI-M

## Domain 4: Access to Media Products/Services/Infrastructure

### *Risk Factors*

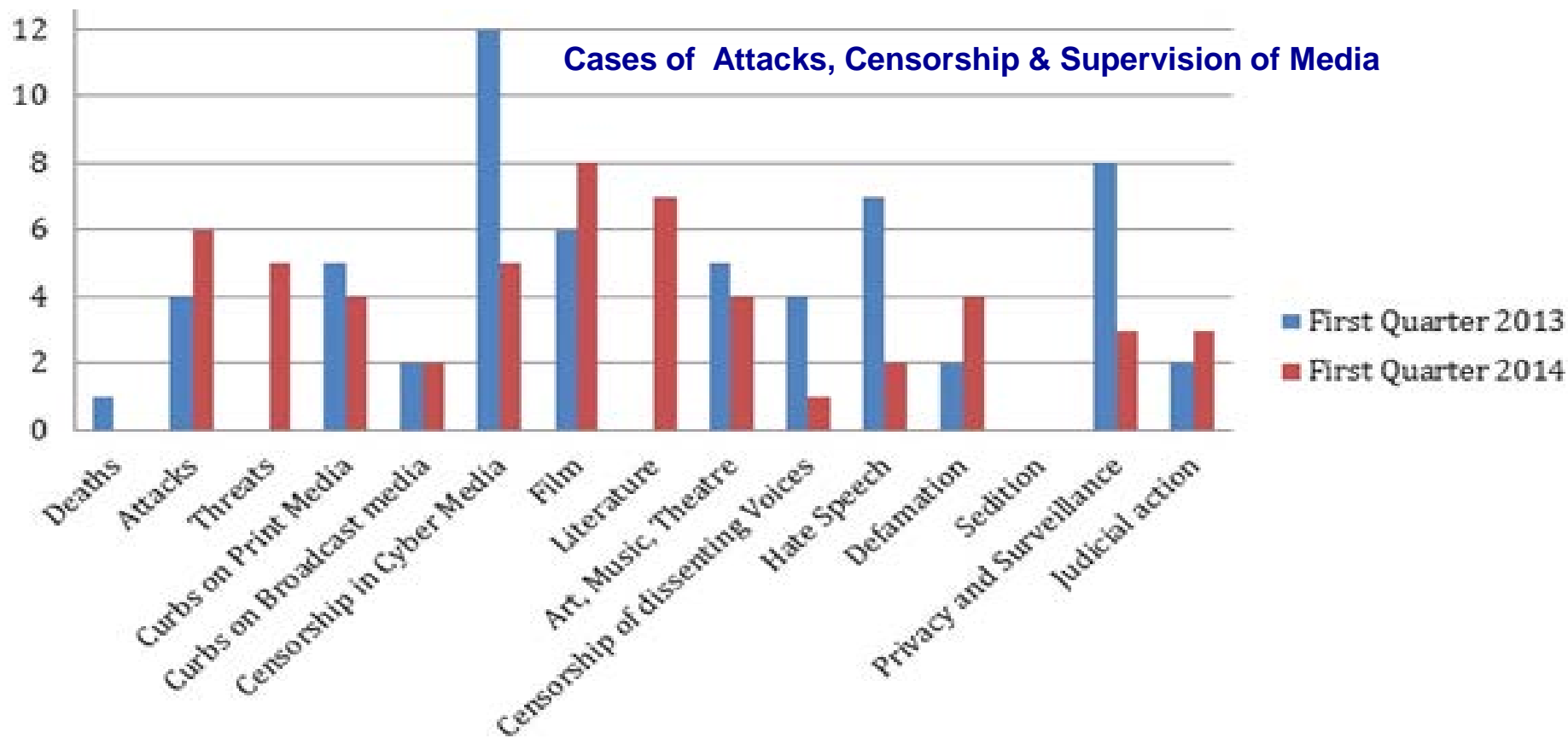
- Barrier to reach / coverage
- Affordability of media products



## Domain 5: Freedom of Speech and Expression

### *Risk Factors*

- Regulatory restrictions on news media
- Supervision of news media
- Policies enhancing media literacy



## Domain 6: Diversity in Public Sector Broadcaster

### *Risk Factors*

- Journalists from local/regional communities in PSB
- Market presence of PSB
- Financial strength of PSB
- Content diversity of PSB



## Domain 7: Geographical Centrality

### *Risk Factors*

- Centralization of news media production
- Representation of local (minority) communities
- News source preferences

Exposure of Urban Population to Hindi Press, 1970-89

Year/State	UP	MP	Bihar
1970	26.1	24.7	34.9
1978	45.0	48.1	42.8
1989	45.6	57.3	55.8

**MUMBAI MIRROR**

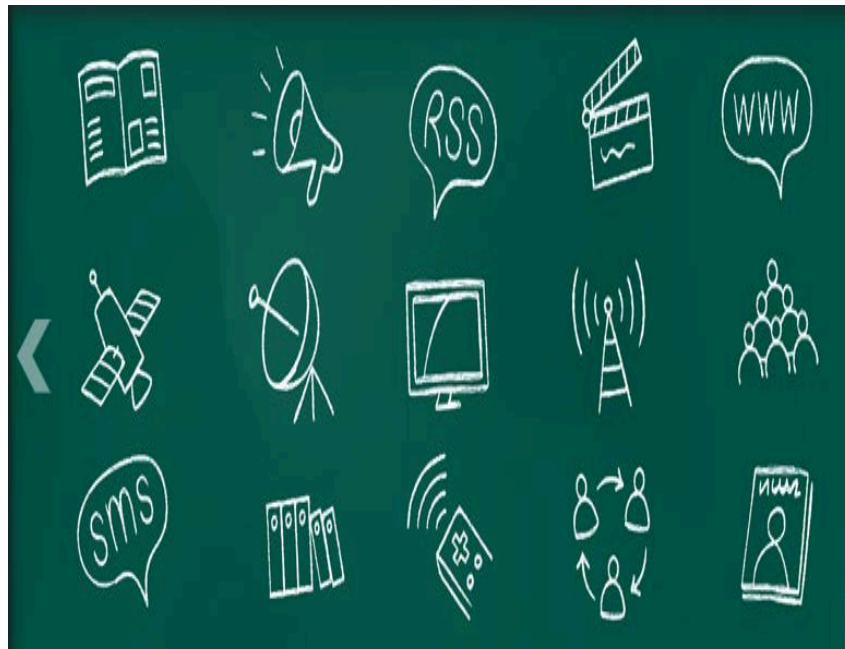
**Bombay Times**



## Domain 8: Variety of Media Types and Genres

### *Risk Factors*

- Presence of media Types
- Presence of media Genres





## Domain 9: Cultural Diversity

### *Risk Factors*

- Presence of content from other languages
- Participation of marginalised groups in newsmaking
- Representation of social groups





# Domains, Risk and Measures

## Domain #

### 1.1 *Risk Factor*

#### 1.1.1 Media Diversity Indicator

*Method of Calculation*

*Additional/Complementary Method of Calculation*

# Domains, Risk and Measures

## Domain #

### 1.1 *Risk Factor*

#### 1.1.1 Media Diversity Indicator

*Method of Calculation*

*Additional/Complementary Method of Calculation*

## Domain 8: Variety of Media Types & Genres

### 8.1 *Presence of Media Types*

#### 8.1.2 Dominance of TV News channels In Official Language/s

*Share of TV News Channels in Official Language/s*

#### 8.1.3 Dominance of Big News publications

*Share of Big Dailies*

*Share of Big Periodicals*



## Sample for pilot MDI

### Media Segments

#### *Print*

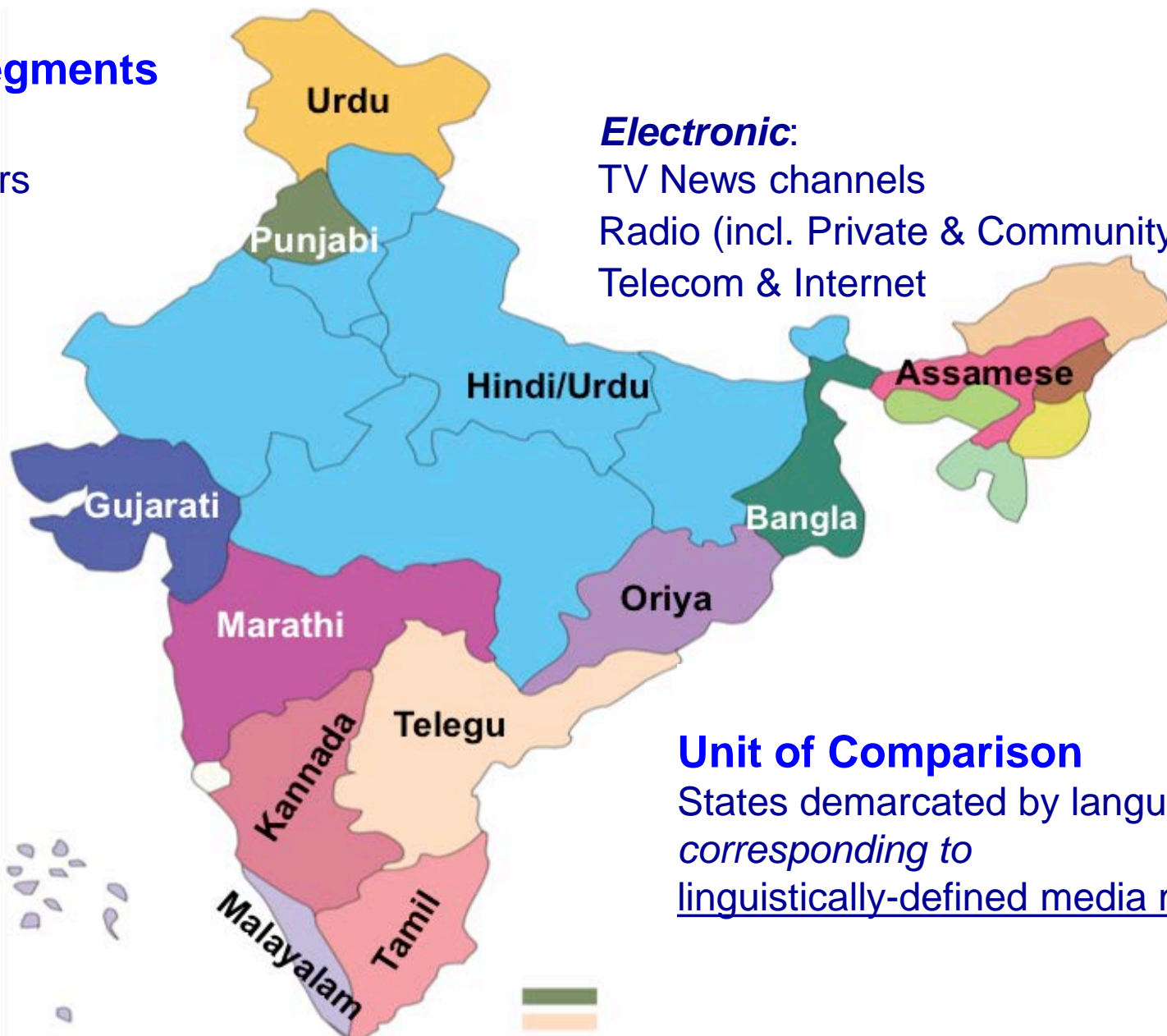
Newspapers

#### *Electronic:*

TV News channels

Radio (incl. Private & Community Radio)

Telecom & Internet



### Unit of Comparison

States demarcated by language,  
*corresponding to*  
linguistically-defined media markets

## **Visualisation of Pilot MDI**

<http://media-diversity.tumblr.com/post/100390581070/media-diversity-index>

# Evaluating the Pilot MDI

**Data Universe** Limitations: Quantitative Desk Research

**Data Quality** Unevenness: Periodicity (Annual, Quinquennial, Decennial)  
Metrics (Ministry, Regulator, Trade Body, Agency)

**Data Access** Impediments: Financial capacity  
Legal barriers

# Evaluating the Pilot MDI

**Data Universe** Limitations: Quantitative Desk Research  
FGDs with media personnel  
Reception Surveys  
Content Analysis

**Data Quality** Unevenness: Periodicity (Annual, Quinquennial, Decennial)  
Metrics (Ministry, Regulator, Trade Body, Agency)  
Multi-stakeholder/Statutory Consensus

**Data Access** Impediments: Financial capacity  
Legal barriers  
Collaboration with Ministries/Regulator/Census  
Partnership with Private firms

**Unit of Analysis** States demarcated by language  
- *Extend to all States like HDI*  
- *Principal Language-markets identified by TRAI*

## MDI team at CCMG

Abhinav Tyagi

Alam Srinivas

Athikho Kaisii

Biswajit Das

Nabeela Inayati

Pradosh Nath

Vibodh Parthasarathi

Maharashtra, Gujarat

Support

ICSSR

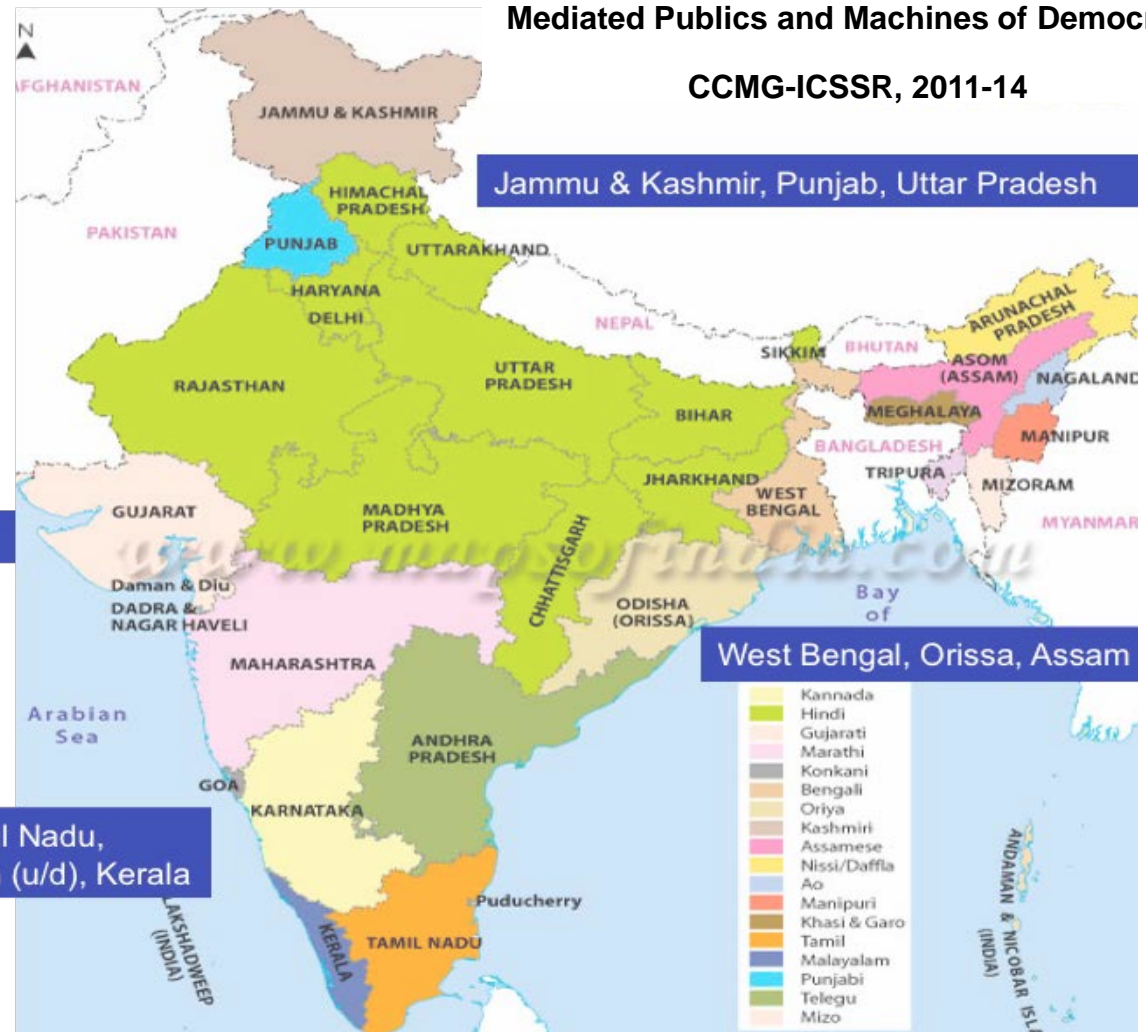
Karnataka, Tamil Nadu,  
Andhra Pradesh (u/d), Kerala

Mediated Publics and Machines of Democracy

CCMG-ICSSR, 2011-14

Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh

West Bengal, Orissa, Assam



<http://www.mapsofindia.com/culture/indian-languages.html>





**Slides**

# **From Monopoly to Multitude**

**We have created a milieu of plenty.....**

**Audiences**

**Viewers**

**Owners**

**Competition**

**Capital**

**Genres**

## **From Multiplicity to Diversity**

**.....what is the extent of plurality in this multitude?**

- Nature of **Audiences**: Regional & sub-regional languages
- Profile of **Viewers**: Dispersions, SECs,
- Types of **Owners**: Local, regional & national enterprises
- Level of **Competition**: Uneven across regional/linguistic markets
- Types of **Capital**: Industrial, Finance, 'unorganised'
- Types of **Genres**: 'Business News' and city-specific channels

**Slide 2:** Contradictions in “fragmented markets” but “growing accumulation of interests”

**Slide 10:** Keep the risk factors as they originally were

Market presence of PSB – Risk Factor 2

Political Diversity in PSB

**Slide 11:** Impact of Prosperous Geographies

**Slide 13:** Representation in a state in news media (It is the communities in the same state)

**Slide 15:** Don't say “Increase in Corporate Ownership” but just “Corporate Ownership” to make it neutral

We can have example from “Access” if there is a need

**Last Slide:** Possible Paths

**Extension of Quantitative Analysis:** To all the states / principal languages identified by TRAI / Separate Indices for print, TV news channels and Internet news (on the basis of languages; although we have done this in pilot, we need to crack news websites that will become more critical in future)

**Entry into Qualitative Analysis:** Extensive content analysis of top 5-10 print, TV and websites separately to generate separate qualitative indices for print, private TV, PSB and Internet / To be aided by audience surveys and FGDs with media personnel in the demarcated geographies or languages (In effect, we have two sets of indices – one quantitative and other qualitative; we also start pushing for a liberal and diverse PSB, like in the UK, through the Index for PSB) / Also time-bound qualitative indices for print, TV and websites for specific events or special coverage like Elections, Budget, Parliament and Assembly coverage, etc -- how diverse was the media in handling these events and these institutions in a given year

**Data Collaborations:** To remain as they are

# Conceptual Framework for Media Diversity

**Domains:** Various axis of *perceiving diversity* in the media

Ownership – structure, concentration and accumulation

Market and revenue share domination

Institutionalized political patronage

Access to media products/ services/ infrastructure

Freedom of speech and expression

Diversity of and within public sector broadcaster

Geographical Centrality

Variety of media types and genres

Cultural Diversity

**Risk Factors:** Types of *threats to diversity* in each Domain

**Indicators:** Ways to *measure the threats* posed by each Risk

# Discussion & Limitations

## Data Gathering

Desk Research -> *Lack of validation/corroboration*

Only Quantitative -> *Devoid of qualitative indicators*

Absence of Content -> Infrastructure

## Data Availability

Non-Uniform Periodicity (Annual, Quinquennial, Decennial) -> *Correlations*

Varied Sources (Ministry, Regulator, Trade Body, Agency) -> *Uneven metrics*

Differential Enumeration: Press is State-wise, while TV is Language-wise

## Data Access

Financial impediments

Legal barriers

# Possible Paths

## Unit of Analysis

All States of India

Principal Language-markets identified by TRAI

## Qualitative Data

FGDs with media personnel

Audience Surveys

Content Analysis

## Data Collaborations

Commercial Agencies

Private firms

Ministries/Regulator/Census



# INDIA

## INDIAN LANGUAGES



Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh

Maharashtra, Gujarat

West Bengal, Orissa, Assam

Karnataka, Tamil Nadu,  
Andhra Pradesh (u/d), Kerala

# Sample for pilot MDI

## Media Segments

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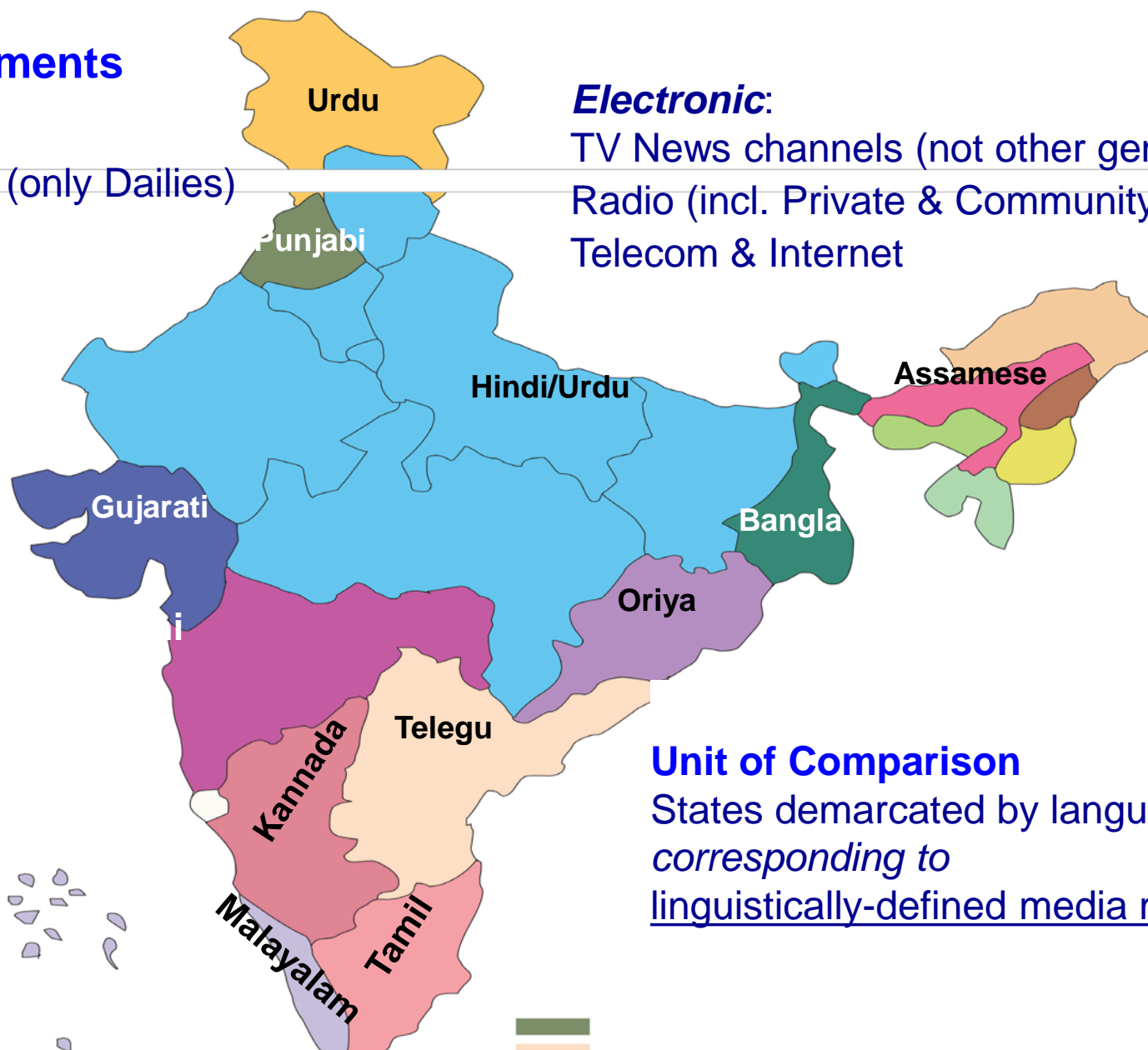
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TV News channels (not other genres)

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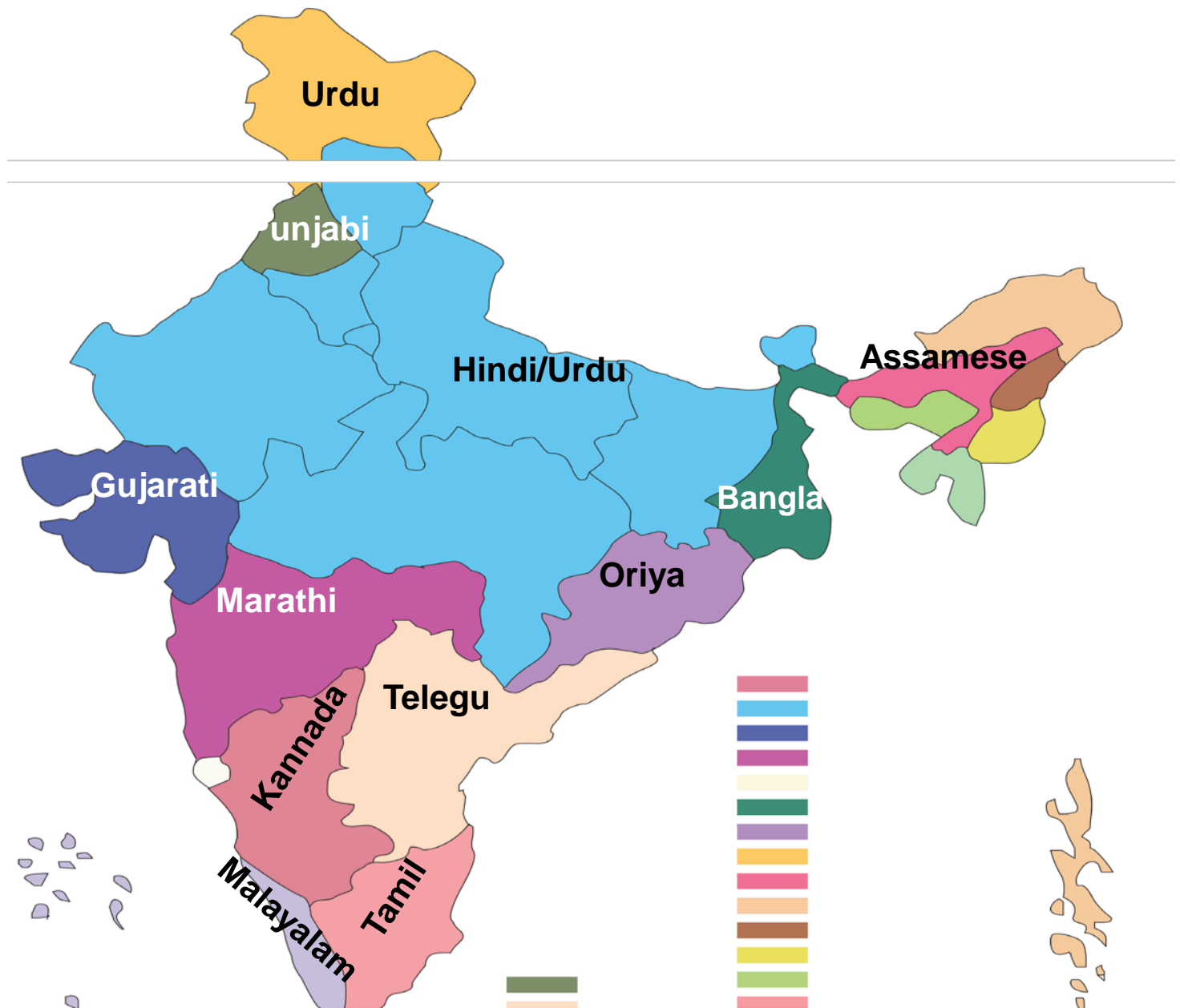


## Unit of Comparison

States demarcated by language,

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# Enumerating Media Diversity

**Domains:** Various axis of *perceiving diversity* in the media

Political

Ownership

Access *to products*

Patronage

*to production*

**Risk Factors:** Types of *threats to diversity* in each Domain

Market

Non-Market

*Regulatory Environment*

*Social Environment*

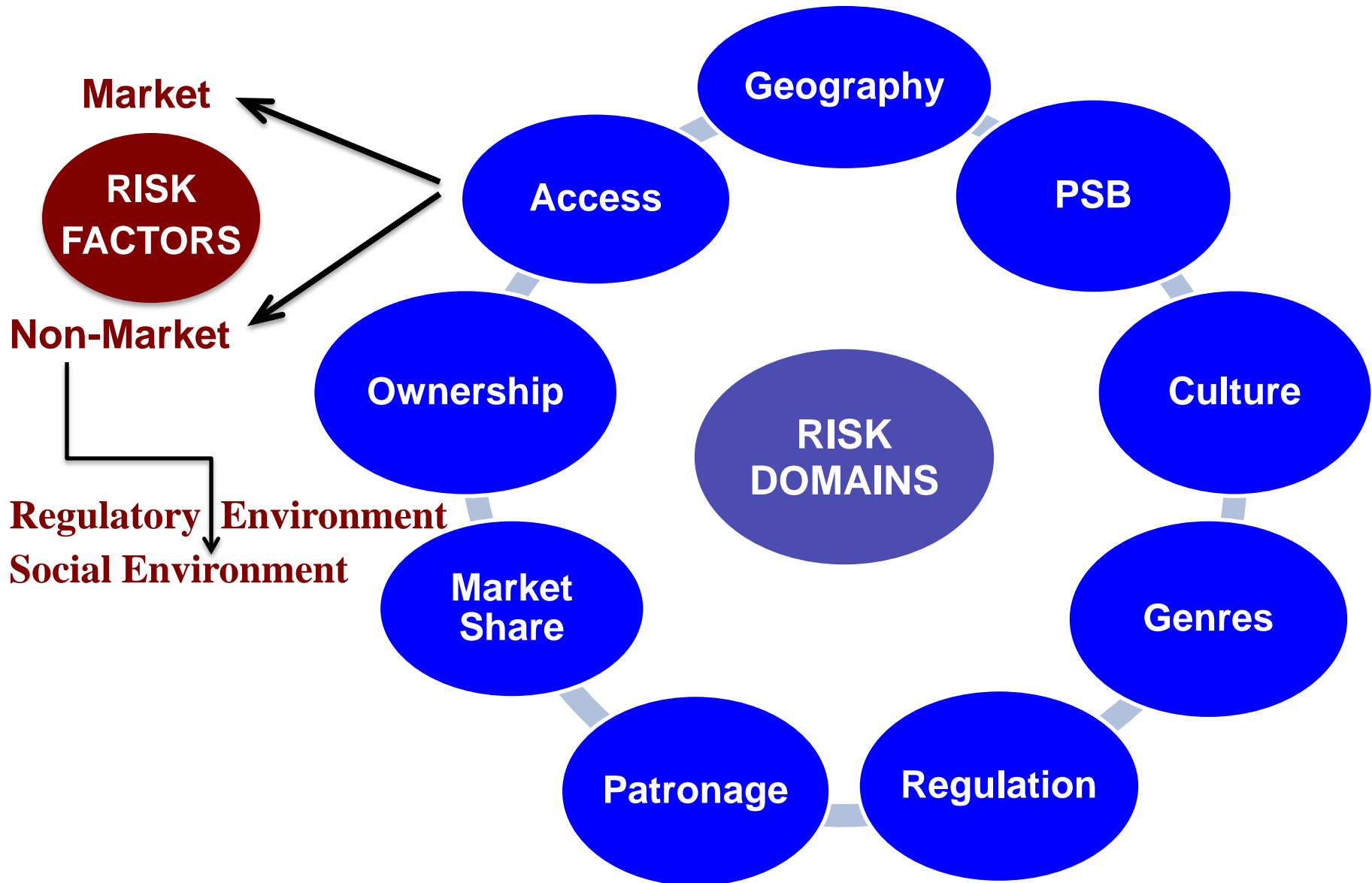
**Indicators:** Ways to *measure threats* posed by each Risk

Operationalise & Quantify

Multiple Measures

# Visualising Threats

What are the barriers to our goals?



# Why Media Diversity today?

1995

The right of free speech guaranteed by Article 19(1)(a) does not include the right to use airwaves, which are public property. The airwaves can be used by a citizen for the purpose of broadcasting only when allowed to do so by a statute and in accordance with such statute. Airwaves being public property, it is the duty of the State to see that airwaves are so utilised as to advance the free speech right of the citizens which is served by ensuring plurality and diversity of views, opinions and ideas. This is imperative in every democracy where freedom of speech is assured.

.....

A successful democracy posits an 'aware' citizenry. Diversity of opinions, views, ideas and ideologies is essential to enable the citizens to arrive at informed judgment on all issues touching them. This can not be provided by a medium controlled by a monopoly - whether the monopoly is of the State or any other individual, group or Organisation.

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