



News Coverage of Public Protest Against to Bauxite Mining: A Content Analysis of Indian Dailies

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Abstract

In this study, we analyzed the news coverage of public protest to Bauxite Mining in India by the Indian newspapers. A quantitative designed based on content analysis was adopted in this research. The news on public protests to Bauxite mining appeared in The Hindu, The New Indian Express, Eenadu and Vaartha newspapers between 1st January, 2012 to 31st December, 2012 have been analyzed. These were classified news, news stories, editorials, articles, photos and cartoons used. It concludes that the coverage of public protests to Bauxite mining is neither significant nor encouraging in the sample dailies.

Keywords: Bauxite Mining, Public Protest, News Papers, Government Policy.

Introduction

Bauxite Mining in the tribal areas of central India has become one of the most controversial issues in the country and has faced significant opposition locally as well as nationally, the most notorious in the recent years being the Vedanta Aluminum Ltd (VAL), project at Lanjigarh in Odissa. A number of similar struggles have been witnessed in other areas as well including Kshipur in South Odissa and the area of the Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. Through the 5th schedule of the Indian constitution provides protection to Adivasi (Tribal) people living in Scheduled areas, across nine states from alienation of their lands and natural resources to non-tribes, one sees that rather than upholding the Adivasi people's rights to land and resources, government is colluding with private investors to usurp these rights.

Bauxite Mining in India

India produced 15.36 million tons of Bauxite in 2012-13. Andhra Pradesh is the second richest state in Bauxite mineral, first is Odessa. At present, the National Aluminum Company (NALCO) a public sector under taking (PSU), is the only company permitted to mine bauxite in southern Odissa, which it has been doing since the early 1980's. However, VAL has not given up hope of mining bauxite in Narayanagiri hills near Lanjigarh and further south in AP, AnRak Aluminum Ltd (AAL) has meet significant efforts to gain access to bauxite deposits in the states.

Bauxite Mining in Andhra Pradesh

It reserves of 615 million tons of metal grade bauxite have been proved in forest and tribal tracts of Visakhapatnam, East

Godavari and Vizayanagaram districts, growing the Eastern Ghat hill region (Indian Mineral Year Book 2013 in January 2015). These deposits are mainly derived from Khondalits hills of the Eastern Ghat Super group (Archean). These bauxite deposits in the state occur mostly on top of the Eastern Ghatreangess in East Godavari (Addatigala, Chidipalem, Gurtedu, Katamraj Konda, Padda Addapalli, and Y. Ramavaram), Visakhapatnam (Anantagiri, Paderu, Araku, Chintapalli and Sumkarimetta) and Vizianagaram districts. They are called East Coast Bauxite deposits of India as they are close to the proximity of Eastern Coastline¹.

Govt. Policies on Bauxite Mining

The national mineral policy was formulated in 1993. Not long thereafter a series of changes took place including government divestment in public sector mining corporations. One of the first changes of National Mineral policy² of 1998 and 2008 was to bring in private investment and specially, foreign equity holdings. It initially allowed FDI up to 50% with additional FDI on a Case-by-Case basis. All investment had to be cleared by the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB). In 1997, FIPB clearance was done away with. In 2000, FDI was allowed to 74% and 2006, 100% FDI was permitted in mining. In 2008 the policy went to step further and allowed venture capital into prospecting and exploration³. The New National Mineral policy of 2008 makes the government's stand very clear. It speaks of purely in term of revenue generation. Private sector involvement investor-friendly policies, increased power to state governments in decisions related to mining, curbs on illegal mining and the granting of special concessions. But then, issues of a socio-cultural, economic and ethical nature arise in the context of mindless mining which also affects the rights of adivasis. One of the amendments in the policy seeks to weaken schedule V of

the Indian constitution which safeguards the right of the tribe's. Schedule V forbids the lease or sale of adivasi lands to non-adivasis. This is inalienable even by the state. The R.K. Dang committee attempted to change this by recommending that mining be allowed in hitherto un-mined regions in adivasi-inhabited areas.

Andhra Pradesh Government Policy on Bauxite Mining

The proposal was first mooted by the TDP Government in the late nineties when Chandrababu Naidu was the CM, there was stiff opposition to the move from all quarters and he quickly gave up the idea. Subsequently, when the late Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy of the congress party assumed charge as the chief minister, the proposal was received. Agreements were signed with the Anrak group and the Jindal group for setting alumina refineries, with the understanding that the Andhra Pradesh Mineral Development Corporation (APMDC) would take up bauxite mining in the area and provide the ore to the refineries. The Anrak group was built a refinery at Mekavari Palem village near Narsipatnam in Visakhapatnam district. There was a huge row over the issue when the congress government was in power and even the TDP then supported the anti-bauxite agitation and gave the promise that it would bury the proposal once and for all, if voted to power. After assuming charge in the state in 2014, the TDP government appears to have changed its stance on the issue and has been making efforts to revive the proposal slowly, fearing public reactions. Recently government issued the order for bauxite mining, revealing its intension.

Environmental and social impacts of Bauxite mining

Impacts on water resources: Acid mine drainage is considered one of the mining's most serious threats to water resources. Erosion of soils and mine wastes into surface waters quality is a serious problem. The impacts of tailing impoundments, waste rock, heap leach, and dump leach facilities on water quality can be severe. Pumping and discharging mine water causes a unique set of environmental impacts.

Impacts on air quality: The largest sources of air pollution in mining operation, i.e., extraction, processing, handling and transport depend on equipment generators, processes and materials that generate hazardous air pollutants such as particulate matter, heavy metals, carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide.

Noise and vibrations: Noise pollution associated with mining may come more from vehicle engines loading and unloading of rock, power generation, and other sources. Cumulative impact of shacking, ripping, drilling, blasting, transport, crushing, grinding and stock piling can significantly affect wild life and nearby residents.

Public protests: The movements of protests in the emerging world are of many kinds and by many kinds of people. On the one hand, we have protests happening on the streets of urban India against corruption. This has certainly captured popular imagination and media attention. But there are many more protests- mutinies against displacement and pollution across the country. We rarely hear about and forget too soon. These movements of small groups of people fighting for survival are real and intensifying. In a democracy there will be some hearing. Many of these protests – against land acquisition, water takeover, mining, dams, power projects or pollution are getting some measure of official response. This is not to say that every protest will be successful. But it is also a fact that these movements represent voices that are asking for different ways of development. These movements stand for rights to land, water, forest and mineral resources. These movements are collectively teaching us that we will have to build different pathways for economic growth that is inclusive and sustainable. Therefore, even of these protest movements do not have a ready blue print for future economic model, they have enough practice of prompting us to think different ways. Most importantly, these movements are a response to real survival threats⁴.

Media coverage of Bauxite mining

For any public discourse or political process of any issue, media coverage played a very critical role. Mass media have been attributed an important role for the higher awareness of environmental issues also⁵. Even, general public knowledge about the environment is articulated and circulated by mass media⁶. So, Journalistic discourse is very much important in shaping the public agenda and discourse. But everyday steady news does not allow people to know the issue. Thus, intensive media coverage can act as a catalyst by directing the public attention over some social issues⁷. In India, media has given people that sphere to create opinion, argue regarding any issue. The main stream media, entertainment media are an important source of information about the environment⁸. Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF)⁹ disclosed the startling fact that in the last three decades, close to 110,000 hectares of forest land has been lost to 1,309 cases of mining activities in varying categories.

Research objectives: i. To examine the contents of Bauxite mining news coverage in selected newspapers during a select period. ii. To study, the editorial content on Bauxite Mining issue of the selected newspapers. iii. To find out the direction of treatment in coverage of Bauxite mining news items.

Method of study

The present study is based on content analysis method. The universe of the study is newspapers (daily) in English and Telugu language, which have largest circulation in the state. There are as many as four in English and eight in Telugu newspapers in Andhra Pradesh. The first two newspapers which

have larger circulation in the state was considered for the study and these papers will be analyzed for duration of one calendar year. The period for study was the year 2012. Two English dailies namely *The Hindu* and *The New Indian Express* and in Telugu *Eenadu* and *Vaaritha* were selected for this purpose.

Geographical categories: All news items were analyzed in terms of geographical regions Regional and National.

Selection of subject categories and subthemes

The coverage of the 7 subject categories were in term divided into subthemes: i. Management (a) MNC (b) National, (c) State, (d) Private. ii. Govt. Views (a) Central, (b) State, (c) Foreign, iii. Public Protest: (a) NGO + Public, (b) Public, iv. Political Parties: (a) Opposition, (b) Ruling, v. Media Views, vi. Experts/ Scientists/ Environmentalists, vii. Committees/ Commissions.

Directional analysis

The purpose of using the directional analysis is to find out how the newspapers have accorded treatment to Environmental protests related news themes in their coverage of the themes, to

find out the treatment given by the four newspapers on 3 point scale: Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral.

Procedures of measurement

The units of analysis, coded into various subject categories were measured both in terms of their frequencies and space. When a photograph accompanied a news item, the space of the photograph was also treating as part of the news item. The method of coefficient of imbalance was used to establish the favorable, the unfavorable and neutral treatment given to environmental protests.

Statistical techniques used

The following statistical measures have been used for analyzing the data i.e., Simple Percentage, ANOVA and Chi-Square (X^2) test of association.

During the study period, it was found that *Eenadu* had published highest number of news items, followed by *Vaaritha*, *The Hindu* and *The New Indian Express* (Table-1).

Table-1
Percentage distribution of frequency and space in the sample newspapers

Name of The News Paper	fr	%	sp	%
The Hindu	15	14.3	542	13.9
The New Indian Express	3	2.9	57	1.5
Eenadu	63	60.0	2226	57.0
Vaaritha	24	22.8	1079	27.6
Total	105	100.0	3904	100.0

Table-2
Percentage distribution of unit of analysis by frequency and space in the sample dailies

Name of the News Paper	News Units									
	N		NS		Editorial		Article		P	C
	fr (%)	sp (%)	fr (%)	sp (%)	fr (%)	sp (%)	fr (%)	sp (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)
The Hindu	2 (3.8)	57 (2.1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (2.6)	-
The New Indian Express	10 (18.5)	449 (16.4)	2 (66.7)	93 (41.0)	-	-	-	-	3 (7.9)	-
Eenadu	28 (51.8)	1476 (53.8)	-	-	1 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	5 (71.4)	674 (78.5)	27 (71.1)	2 (100.0)
Vaaritha	14 (25.9)	760 (27.7)	1 (33.3)	134 (59.0)	-	-	2 (28.6)	185 (21.5)	7 (18.4)	-
Total	54 (100.0)	2742 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	227 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	76 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	859 (100.0)	38 (100.0)	2 (100.0)

In all, a total of 54 News, three News Stories, 38 Photos, two Cartoons, one Editotial, seven Articles came up for analysis in the four newspapers, i.e., *The Hindu*, *The New Indian Express*, *Eenadu* and *Vaaritha* (Table-2).

Table-3 explains the coverage of regional news, *Eenadu* covered the highest percentage of news by assigning frequency 60 percent and space 58 percent followed by the *Vaaritha* 21 percent frequency and 27 percent space. The English dailies *The Hindu* and *The New Indian Express* covered very less percentage. In National region *The New Indian Express* did not covered even single news.

Among the four newspapers under study, *Eenadu* published the highest number of news items (60%) on the front page followed by *Vaaritha* and *The New Indian Express*. *The Hindu* did not cover even a single news item on front page. In the inside pages,

Eenadu (55.8%) published the highest number of news items compared to the other dailies while *Vaaritha* (23.37%) occupied second place, *The Hindu* and *The New Indian Express* occupied third and fourth place subsequently. The two English dailies did not cover a single Editorial in editorial page (Table-4).

Table-5 shows data about the coverage of news under seven different subject categories. As can be seen, in *Eenadu* newspaper, the subject category, the Government View ranked first in frequency, the subject category 'Media' ranked first in space. The subject category 'Public Protest' ranked 4. The two English dailies did not cover even a single news item on public protest. *The Hindu* only published Expert Views subject category. Other three newspapers *Eenadu*, *Vaaritha* and *The New Indian Express* did not cover. The English newspaper *The Hindu* given more priority to political parties' subject category.

Table-3
Percentage distribution of frequencies and space of all news items by regional focus in the sample dailies

Name of the News Paper	Geographical Location							
	Regional				National			
	fr	%	sp	%	fr	%	sp	%
The Hindu	14	14.6	499	13.5	1	11.1	63	29.2
The New Indian Express	3	3.1	57	1.5	-	-	-	-
Eenadu	58	60.4	2151	58.0	5	55.6	75	34.7
Vaaritha	21	21.9	1001	27.0	3	33.3	78	36.1
Total	96	100.0	3708	100.0	9	100.0	216	100.0

Table-4
Percentage distribution of news items between front, inside and editorial pages in the sample papers

Name of The News Paper	News Paper Location											
	Front Page				Inside Page				Editorial Page			
	fr	%	sp	%	fr	%	sp	%	fr	%	sp	%
The Hindu	-	-	-	-	15	19.5	542	23.5	-	-	-	-
The New Indian Express	2	13.3	36	5.5	1	1.3	21	0.9	-	-	-	-
Eenadu	9	60.0	424	64.5	43	55.9	1052	45.5	11	84.6	750	80.2
Vaaritha	4	26.7	197	30.0	18	23.3	697	30.1	2	15.4	185	19.8
Total	15	100.0	657	100.0	77	100.0	2312	100.0	13	100.0	935	100.0

Table-5
Distribution of frequencies and space by subject categories in the sample dailies

Subject Categories	Name of The News Paper							
	The Hindu		The New Indian Express		Eenadu		Vaartha	
	fr	sp	fr	sp	fr	sp	fr	sp
Management	-	-	-	-	2	144	-	-
Government View	4	166	3	57	20	506	12	490
Public Protest	-	-	-	-	5	105	2	83
Political Parties	9	282	-	-	16	369	5	126
Media	-	-	-	-	18	1002	4	319
Expert Views	2	94	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committees	-	-	-	-	2	100	1	61
Total	15	542	3	57	63	2226	24	1079

Table-6
Distribution of frequency and space of news items by themes under subject categories in the sample dailies

Subject Categories	Subthemes	Name of The News Paper							
		The Hindu		The New Indian Express		Eenadu		Vaartha	
		fr	sp	fr	sp	fr	sp	fr	sp
Management	a. MNC	-	-	-	-	2	144	-	-
	b. National	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c. State	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	d. Private	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government View	a. Central	1	63	3	57	10	213	9	377
	b. State	3	103	-	-	10	293	3	113
	c. Foreign	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public Protest	a. NGO + Public	-	-	-	-	3	45	1	35
	b. Public	-	-	-	-	2	60	1	48
Political Parties	a. Opposition	8	217	-	-	16	369	5	126
	b. Ruling	1	65	-	-				
Media Views		-	-	-	-	18	1002	4	319
Expert Views		2	94	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committees		-	-	-	-	2	100	1	61
Total		15	542	3	57	63	2226	24	1079

Table-6 provides data about the distribution of frequencies and space of news items. The subject category Government Views related news items received significant coverage in all the four newspapers. In terms of coverage given to the sub-themes under the political party category on the theme 'Opposition' *Eenadu* (16), *The Hindu* (8), *Vaaritha* (5). *The Hindu* published a single news item to 'Ruling Party' sub theme. In terms of coverage given to the sub theme MNC under the subject category 'Management' *Eenadu* published 2 news items, other three newspaper were did not published.

In the present study, an attempt was made to the asses the direction of treatment given to the 7 subject categories. The coefficient of imbalance was used to find out the degree of treatment given to different subject categories by the sample dailies. For this purpose, a three point scale, namely favorable, unfavorable and neutral, was adapted to assess the direction of treatment. As can be seen, from Table-8, the four sample dailies published more number of unfavorable news items *The Hindu* 912), *The New Indian Express* (3), *Eenadu* (47) and *Vaaritha*(19). The chi square analysis showed that the coverage given to the different issues did not differ significantly. ($\chi^2 = 4.97$, $df = 7$).

Findings: i. It is observed that the Bauxite mining coverage in Indian newspapers was broadly under six heads (News units) – News, News Stories, Editorials, Articles, Photo and Cartoons. ii. It was found that 'Public Protest' news item constitute only 6.6 percent to the total Bauxite mining news item during the year 2012. ii. Our study revealed that of the total of 105 items on Bauxite mining appeared in the year 2012, 51.4% were news items, 36.2% were photos, 6.6% were articles, 2.8% were news stories, 1.9% were cartoons, 0.95% were editorials. iv. Our study revealed that coverage of Bauxite mining items under the item- 'Government Views' and 'Political Parties' stories was more in frequency and space. Often it was found these stories were carried out in inside pages rarely in front page. v. Editorials are the opinion pieces expressed by newspapers on current topics. But, in this study, *Eenadu* wrote on editorial on the Bauxite mining, it was not effective. On the other hand the Telugu newspaper *Vaaritha* and the two English newspapers *The Hindu* and *The New Indian Express* did not spare even a single editorial to the Bauxite mining issue. vi. The four sample dailies reported more number of unfavorable stories on Bauxite mining. *Eenadu* (47), *Vaaritha* (19), *The Hindu* (12), *The New Indian Express* (3) over all. It appears that the *Eenadu* gave more political coverage (16) as compared to other three newspapers.

Table-7
Directional analysis of coverage of the total bauxite mining related news items in all the sample dailies

Name of The News Paper	Direction					
	Favorable		Unfavorable		Nu	
	fr	sp	fr	sp	fr	sp
The Hindu	1	45	12	397	2	100
The New Indian Express	-	-	3	57	-	-
Eenadu	16	633	47	1593	-	-
Vaaritha	2	80	19	774	3	225
Total	19	758	81	2821	5	325

Table-8
Directional analysis with coefficient of imbalance

Name of the News Paper	n	Direction of Coverage			Coefficient of Imbalance
		F	UF	Nu	
The Hindu	15	1	12	2	-0.5866
The New Indian Express	3	-	3	-	-1
Eenadu	63	16	47	-	-0.3670
Vaaritha	24	2	19	3	0.5607
N=	105	19	81	5	

$\chi^2 = 4.97$, $df = 7$, P-value =0.670052

Table-9
Frequency distribution of the Bauxite mining related news items in selected newspapers by directional analysis

Subject Categories	Name of The News Paper											
	The Hindu			The New Indian Express			Eenadu			Vaartha		
	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu
Management	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Government View	-	3	1	-	3	-	7	13	-	2	8	2
Public Protest	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	2	-
Political Parties	1	7	1	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	5	-
Media	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14	-	-	3	1
Expert Views	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committees	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
Total	1	12	2	-	3	-	16	47	-	2	19	3

Table-10
Space distribution of the Bauxite mining related news items in selected newspapers by directional analysis

Subject Categories	Name of The News Paper											
	The Hindu			The New Indian Express			Eenadu			Vaartha		
	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu	F	UF	Nu
Management	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	144	-	-	-	-
Government View	-	131	35	-	57	-	252	254	-	80	260	150
Public Protest	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	60	-	-	83	-
Political Parties	45	172	65	-	-	-	-	369	-	-	126	-
Media	-	-	-	-	-	-	236	766	-	-	244	75
Expert Views	-	94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Committees	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	61	-
Total	45	397	100	-	57	-	633	1593	-	80	774	225

Conclusion

The advancement in the technology and communication systems tremendously changing the world in to global village. So, it is the duty of the media to bring out and publish happenings around the world in front of the people. The development may be positive (public interest) or negative (public against), but

instead of giving of a judicious importance to such happenings, the mass media reports and portrays pollution and ecological changes; more than corporate interest. Today, most of the media establishments are owned by corporations or business houses. So, profit will be motive than social responsibility. They have responsibility towards the corporate companies and business organizations who gave the advertisements than to the society

they belong. The selection of events for news and reports are based on these equations. Overall, the study concludes that the main stream newspaper study have reported the Bauxite mining negatively as can be seen from the directional analysis.

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